

NAG HAMMADI CODICES

III, 2 AND IV, 4

THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS



# NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

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## IV

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## THE MANUSCRIPTS

Two versions of GEGYPT have been preserved in the Coptic Gnostic library from Nag Hammadi. One is the second of the five tractates of Codex III, the other is the second of the two tractates in Codex IV. Codex III, 2 originally comprised pages 40-69, and Codex IV, 2 included pages 50-81. Both versions have suffered considerable loss. Of III, 2, pages 40-44 have lost the inside margin and part of the text, pages 45-48 are completely missing, pages 49-54 lack the inside top corner with almost all the text surviving, and the inside half of pages 57-58 has broken off and is lost. IV, 2 is much more fragmentary, although every page is represented. Only pages 50-53, 59-66 and 71-78 contain more than half of their original text. Of the original tractate more than 90 percent survives in one or the other of the two versions.

The physical dimensions of Codices III and IV have been described by MARTIN KRAUSE.<sup>1</sup> He also presents on Plate 5 of his volume a photo of III 40, which contains the end of ApocryJn and the beginning of GEGYPT.<sup>2</sup> Thus far no plates have been published of IV, 2.<sup>3</sup>

### Codex III, 2

Of the original thirty pages twenty-six have been partly or completely preserved. Their original size was 15,5 × 25,5 cm, and the average column of writing measures 11 × 20 cm. The pages were numbered above the middle of the column.<sup>4</sup> Numbers are partly

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<sup>1</sup> *Die drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*, ADAIK, Kopt. Reihe 1 (Wiesbaden 1962) pp. 17-22.

<sup>2</sup> A photographic reproduction of III 40 can also be found in "Les papyrus gnostiques coptes" by PAHOR LABIB, *La Revue du Caire*, 197 (1956), 227 and in "Le Livre sacré du grand Esprit invisible" by JEAN DORESSE, *Journal Asiatique* 254 (1966), Plate 1. In the same article DORESSE presents III 69 on Plate 2. Pages 69 and 67 can be found in DORESSE's "A Gnostic Library from Upper Egypt," *Archaeology* III (1950), 72. This plate was also published in "The Gnostic Library of Chenoboskion" by VICTOR R. GOLD, *The Biblical Archaeologist* XV (1952), 75.

<sup>3</sup> Some pages of IV, 1 have been published by KRAUSE in: *Die drei Versionen*, Plates 16-24.

<sup>4</sup> Also the Subachmimic Codices I, X and XI (first hand) in the library have the numbers above the middle of the column. Codices IV-IX and XI (second hand) have been numbered above the outside of the writing column.

or completely visible on pages 40, 42, 44, 54-56 and 60-69. The even-numbered pages have horizontal fibers and the odd pages have vertical fibers. No fragments belonging to III, 2 have been found.

The scribe of the codex did not write any of the other Nag Hammadi codices. The codex is written in a casual, flowing uncial script, evidently by an experienced scribe. Noteworthy is the  $\omicron$  with its long sweeping top stroke which continues over one or more of the following letters.<sup>1</sup> The left margin is straight and some effort has also been made to keep a straight right margin, if necessary by means of line fillers.<sup>2</sup> In some places where a word division would have been awkward, letters have been crowded at the end of a line.

The scribe regularly placed a dot above the right side of a  $\pi$  or  $\tau$  when it is the final letter of a word, and above the first  $\gamma$  of a double gamma combination.<sup>3</sup> There are also a few instances where a dot was placed on the  $\tau$  in  $\epsilon\tau$ -,  $\lambda\tau$ - and  $m\eta\tau$ -.<sup>4</sup> Evidently this constitutes a development towards word and syllable division.<sup>5</sup> In Codices IV, V, VI, VIII and IX the final  $\pi$  and  $\tau$  of a word or syllable are marked by means of a backstroke or "flag" instead of a dot. In Codices VII and XI (second hand) only the  $\tau$  has the backstroke pointing mark. Codices II and XIII have a more developed pointing system. They use a mark which looks like an apostrophe or small diagonal stroke where Codex III has a dot.<sup>6</sup>

Most of the inconsistencies in pointing by the scribe of III, 2 can be readily explained. The final  $\tau$  of  $\psi\omicron m\eta\tau$  has in most cases

<sup>1</sup> There are several instances where the top stroke of the  $\omicron$  serves simultaneously as the superlinear stroke over a following  $\eta$  (40,13; 49,23; 51,3; 63,21).

<sup>2</sup> Line fillers were used only on pages 41, 42, 52, 55 and 69. Apparently only a half-hearted attempt was made to regulate the right margin, perhaps after the Codex was finished. Besides Codex III only Codex XII uses line fillers.

<sup>3</sup> In most instances (57,9; 58,8; 60,3; 61,21; 62,15; 69,12) the mark over the  $\gamma$  is not a dot but a small circumflex. This "circumflex" is also found in other tractates in the codex and is used in Codices IV-VI, VIII and IX.

<sup>4</sup> The instances are:  $\lambda\tau$ - 41,4.20; 42,17; 44,11; 49,24; 64,8; 66,25 and 68,18;  $m\eta\tau$ - 64,4;  $\epsilon\tau$ - 68,22. Occasionally there is also a dot on the article  $\Pi$  when it precedes a noun beginning with the letter  $\Pi$  or on the article  $\tau$  before a noun beginning with a  $\tau$ .

<sup>5</sup> The reason for pointing final letters of a word or syllable is most likely an effort to facilitate reading aloud. Since the  $\Pi$  and  $\tau$  as articles are often the first letter of a word the need for word division would be especially felt with these letters. This would explain the instance in 65,7 where the dots were placed both above the  $\tau$  and  $\Pi$  in  $\kappa\omega\tau\tau\eta$ . At first the scribe thought the  $\Pi$  belonged with the following word and thus placed the dot on the  $\tau$ . When he noticed his mistake he placed another dot above the  $\Pi$ .

<sup>6</sup> The apostrophe is also used in a few instances in Codex VII after  $\mu$  and  $\lambda$ .

not been pointed. Apparently the scribe confused the ending with the prefix  $\overline{\text{MNT}}$ - which he normally does not point. He usually does not point the final  $\pi$  and  $\tau$  when they fall at the end of a line.<sup>1</sup> This is consistent with the function of pointing as word division. Pointing cannot always be easily distinguished from punctuation. Particularly in Codices I, II and III the pointing mark is easily confused with the full stop ( $\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\mu\acute{\eta}$ ). This has led to the unfortunate conclusion that punctuation in Coptic manuscripts is of little or no help to the modern editor. However, when justice is done to the pointing conventions of, for example, Codices II and III, the punctuation can be distinguished and generally makes good sense.<sup>2</sup> A paragraphos in the left margin has been used at the end of the tractate (69,5) and again at the end of the colophon (69,17).<sup>3</sup>

An unusual feature in III, 2 is the use of  $\bar{\text{n}}$  before  $\pi$  as in 40, 16  $\bar{\text{n}}\pi\text{p}\text{o}\gamma\text{o}\epsilon\text{i}\text{n}$ . There are twenty-three instances in the tractate where the normal assimilation to  $\bar{\text{m}}$  has not occurred. III, 2, in contrast to many other tractates in the library, has very few doublings of the  $\text{n}$  before vowels.<sup>4</sup> Also the use of  $\pi\text{i}$ ,  $\uparrow$  and  $\text{n}\text{i}$  is sparse. The few occurrences may have a demonstrative force. It is worthy of note that the plural definite article form  $\text{n}\epsilon\text{n}$ - occurs once at 64,22.

Codex III shares with Codex II a peculiar policy for the superlinear strokes on the final two consonants of a word. Strokes appear only when the last letter is  $\text{b, m, n, c}$  or  $\text{p}$  such as in  $\text{z}\omega\text{t}\bar{\text{b}}$ ,  $\text{c}\omega\text{t}\bar{\text{m}}$ ,  $\omega\bar{\text{x}}\bar{\text{n}}$ ,  $\text{z}\omega\bar{\text{c}}$  and  $\text{z}\omega\text{t}\bar{\text{p}}$ . When the final two consonants of a word end in  $\text{k, p, t, q, z}$  or  $\text{x}$  such as in  $\omega\text{m}\text{k}$ ,  $\text{z}\omega\text{t}\text{p}$ ,  $\text{m}\text{o}\gamma\text{x}\text{t}$ ,  $\text{p}\omega\text{r}\omega$ ,  $\text{o}\gamma\omega\text{c}\text{q}$ ,  $\omega\text{n}\text{z}$  and  $\text{p}\omega\text{r}\text{x}$  there is no superlinear stroke.<sup>5</sup> This policy is so consistently followed that it must have a firm phonetic basis.<sup>6</sup>

The verb  $\epsilon\text{i}$  only rarely received a "circumflex", and  $\text{z}\text{i}$  never.<sup>7</sup> Most proper names have not been marked with the usual long super-

<sup>1</sup> The four remaining instances where the pointing is missing must be oversights (51,8; 57,4; 63,22; 67,1).

<sup>2</sup> The published editions of Codices II and III made an attempt at reproducing pointing and punctuation but failed to distinguish between them.

<sup>3</sup> The paragraphos was also used by the scribe of Codices IV-VI and VIII-IX.

<sup>4</sup> There are only four instances: 41,20; 49,14; 55,19 and 62,14.

<sup>5</sup> When the final letter is the suffix  $\text{k}$  or  $\text{q}$  the combination normally does have a superlinear stroke. This is not the case in Codex II.

<sup>6</sup> It appears that the superlinear stroke is used only when the second consonant functions as a sonant.

<sup>7</sup> III 49,15 and 65,18. A slightly curved stroke or circumflex on  $\bar{\epsilon}\text{i}$  n  $\bar{\text{z}}\text{i}$  is normal for Codices IV-IX and XI (second hand).

linear stroke. If a pattern can be observed at all it is that the more important and familiar heavenly beings are the more likely ones to have a superlinear stroke. Generally the strokes are used only in the first couple of occurrences of a name.<sup>1</sup> This suggests that once the reader could be assumed to be familiar with the name the superlinear stroke was left out. Also the particle of relation  $\bar{n}$  linking an adjective with the following noun is often not present before proper names, e.g. III 52, 22f. 24f. 26; 62, 19.

Corrections in III, 2 are frequent. They were made by writing over the error or by crossing it out and writing above the line. The written-over readings cannot always be recovered with certainty, since they have often been erased by washing out the ink. A number of the corrections were definitely made by the scribe himself, and possibly all of them were. However, many of the corrections involve a change of meaning and cannot be explained as corrections of scribal errors. Thus either the scribe of the codex made changes in substance after copying the tractate or this was done by another scribe whose hand cannot be readily distinguished from the copyist of the codex. There are a number of apparent corrections by means of over-writing which on close examination proved to be blottings from the facing page.

The following list of references is made up of corrections which do not involve a change of meaning; details are given in the notes to the transcription: 42, 5; 43, 2.3 (bis).12.13; 44, 24; 49, 20; 51, 8; 53, 12.23; 55, 6.13.24; 56, 3.9.22; 57, 11.25; 58, 14.20; 59, 6; 60, 1.13.16; 61, 15.20; 62, 6.15.23; 63, 7.16.19.20.22.24; 64, 3; 65, 26; 66, 3.9.23. 24.26; 67, 1.15; 68, 4.7; 69, 12. Most of these are mistakes which were noticed immediately by the scribe and corrected before he finished the line. These scribal errors include omitted letters, haplography, dittography and misassociation with a word or phrase in the immediate context.

The following list of references is made up of corrections which do or may involve a change of meaning; details are given in the notes to the transcription and translation: 41, 20; 44, 17; 49, 22; 51, 1; 52, 5; 53, 11 (bis); 54, 8; 59, 9; 62, 13; 64, 23; 65, 5; 66, 2.7; 67, 14. Several of these, such as the change from "seventy-fourth" to "fourth" in 54, 8, cannot be explained as scribal errors. These may be from the hand of another scribe. In 59, 9 the scribe wrote inadvertently "the first man" instead of "the first creature". He noticed his mistake

<sup>1</sup> The name **CHΘ** has a superlinear stroke only in five of its twenty-four occurrences (51,20; 54,11; 60,9; 62,4; 68,2).

immediately, crossed out  $\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ , and followed it with the correct word. Since this did not result in an extra long line, the scribe could not have followed the column of the Coptic model he was copying. This is confirmed by other corrections, and by the fact that the several extensive cases of homoioteleuton did not result in fewer lines per column.

In spite of the many corrections, many scribal errors requiring emendation remain. In the following cases a word was misspelled due to haplography, dittography, omitted letters or scrambled letters; details are given in the notes to the transcription: 41, 19; 52, 6.13; 54, 8; 55, 3.14.21; 56, 19; 58, 5; 59, 17.22; 62, 11; 65, 4; 66, 26; 68, 13.19.

A second category of emendations involves  $\bar{n}$ - and  $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ -. The scribe is particularly inaccurate at this point.<sup>1</sup>

40, 18	$\bar{n}\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$	for	$\bar{m}\bar{n}\pi\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$	(IV 50, 9).
40, 19	$\bar{m}\bar{t}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}$	for	$\bar{m}\bar{n}\tau\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}$	(IV 50, 10).
52, 12	$\bar{m}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}\bar{n}$	for	$\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}\bar{n}$ .	
53, 9	$\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{z}\bar{q}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}$	for	$\bar{p}\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{z}\bar{q}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}$ .	
53, 23	$\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$	for	$\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{p}\bar{\omega}\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}$	(IV 65, 17).
54, 5	$\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{n}$	for	$\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{\alpha}\bar{i}\bar{\omega}\bar{n}$	(IV 65, 24).
60, 8	$\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}$	for	$\bar{n}\bar{\tau}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\rho}\bar{o}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}$ .	
60, 21	$\bar{n}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{n}\bar{m}\bar{i}\bar{c}\bar{c}\bar{\alpha}$	for	$\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{m}\bar{i}\bar{c}\bar{c}\bar{\alpha}$	(III 62, 20 and IV 72, 3).
64, 24	$\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{\delta}$	for	$\bar{m}\bar{p}\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{\delta}$	(IV 76, 15).

The remaining emendations are more extensive and thus more controversial; details are given in the notes to the transcription: 40, 12; 42, 5; 52, 20; 55, 15; 60, 6; 62, 24f.

Both the corrections and emendations indicate that the accuracy of the scribe of III, 2 left much to be desired. This conclusion is supported by his spelling of proper names.<sup>2</sup>

Finally there are some unattested forms which may be due to scribal error: 43,7 ( $\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}$  for  $\bar{k}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}$ ); 51, 12 ( $\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}$  for  $\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}$ ); 54, 15 ( $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{c}\bar{h}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$  for  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{c}\bar{h}\bar{\tau}$ ); 56, 7.7-8 ( $\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{y}\bar{\epsilon}$  for  $\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{y}$ ); 60, 12.15 ( $\bar{z}\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}\bar{n}$  for  $\bar{z}\bar{o}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{\epsilon}$ ); 62, 6 ( $\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$  for  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{m}\bar{\alpha}\bar{z}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ ); 63, 8 ( $\bar{n}\bar{o}\bar{y}\bar{z}\bar{m}$ ); 41, 19 ( $\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{q}$ - for  $\bar{m}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{z}$ -), cf. Kahle, Bala'izah I, p. 145.

It is questionable, however, whether this is a matter of spelling errors. These forms can also be explained as dialectical or orthogra-

<sup>1</sup> See also the corrections in 51,1; 52,5 and 66,2.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, pp. 16f.

phical peculiarities. **ΜΕΕΥΕ** for **ΜΑΑΥ** and **ΖΟΕΙΝ** for **ΖΟΕΙΝΕ** are very well possible, since an **ε** can readily be attached to sonants, cf. in Sahidic **ΝΗΥΕ** for **ΝΗΥ**, **ΛΑΑΥΕ** for **ΛΑΑΥ**, and on the other hand, **ΜΕΕΥ** for **ΜΕΕΥΕ**. Such an **ε** also occurs with non-sonant sounds; thus **ΕΧΗΤΕ** would be confirmed by **ΟΥΩΥΕ**, which occurs along side of **ΟΥΩΥ** in this text.<sup>1</sup> **ΜΑΖΤΕ** is possible in light of the fact that the form **ΜΑΖΕ** is attested in Sahidic. **ΝΟΥΖ̄Μ-** would here be an instance of *status absolutus* being used for *status constructus*, a phenomenon that is not found elsewhere in III, 2, but that is possible in the dialectical or non-standardized form of Sahidic. The remaining forms, **ΤΟΥΝ=** and **ΚΟΟΥΝ=** can also be permitted to stand without emendation when one considers that for both words the spellings vary considerably.

The few forms which depart from standardized Sahidic can be grouped as follows:

1. Orthographical peculiarities :

- a) Single instead of double vowel: **ΜΟΝΕ** 60, 13; **ΜΑΧΕ** 68, 9.
- b) **ΜΕΝ** for **Μ̄Ν** 53, 14; reversed **Ρ̄Ν=** for **ΡΕΝ=** 60, 18.
- c) **ΗΟΥ** instead of **ΗΥ**; **ΕΡΗΟΥ** 49, 19 and **ΕΟΥ** instead of **ΕΥ** : **ΜΕΟΥΕ** 68, 19.
- d) **ΡΩΧΖ** 61, 5 alongside of **ΡΩΚΖ** 63, 6.

2. AA<sup>2</sup> vocalization in a few places :

- a) **α** for **ο** : **ΝΑΜΤΕ** 50, 22.  
**ΝΑΒ** 66, 22.
- b) **ε** for **α** : **ΕΜΑΖΤΕ** 54, 1; 55, 23.  
**ΜΕΕΥ(ε)** 56, 6.7 (bis).  
**ΠΕΙ**, **ΠΕΕΙ**, **ΝΕΕΙ** 49, 5; 66, 4; 67, 7.  
**ΡΕΝ** 68, 7; 69, 12.  
**ΖΕΠ** 63, 7.

3. Forms that correspond to A, A<sup>2</sup> or B:

- ΑΝΗΖΕ** 50, 22; 60, 22; 66, 19; 68, 24.
- ΣΖΗΤ=** 69, 10. (It is to be noted that earlier at 68, 2.10 **ΣΑΖ=** occurred. Perhaps this shows that the translators of the colophon and the tractate were not the same person.)
- ΤΟΥΒΟ** or **ΤΟΥΒΟ=** 64, 18; 67, 20.
- ΜΗΕ** 40, 19; 55, 6; 64, 15; 65, 14.

<sup>1</sup> P. E. KAHLER, *Bala'izah* (London 1954) I, p. 64f.

4.  $\chi\omega$  instead of  $\chi\omicron$ . Cf. KAHLE, *Bala'izah* I, p. 82.

Variations between  $\chi\iota\bar{n}$   $\bar{n}$  alongside of  $\chi\bar{n}$   $\bar{n}$  and  $\zeta\alpha\rho\epsilon\zeta$  alongside of  $\zeta\alpha\rho\eta\zeta$  occur.

Most of these forms which appear to be non-Sahidic are in reality early spellings of the pre-classical period. Thus what appear to be Subachmimic intrusions are actually forms which are regularly found in the Sahidic tractates of the Nag Hammadi library and other Sahidic manuscripts of the same period. This is confirmed by RODOLPHE KASSER's *Compléments au Dictionnaire Copte de Crum*.

There are almost no unusual or non-Sahidic grammatical features in the tractate. The Perfect Relative is normally  $\bar{n}\tau\alpha$  but twice  $\epsilon\tau\alpha$  (59, 12; 63, 22) and once  $\epsilon\rho$ - (60, 26).  $\chi\epsilon\kappa\lambda\lambda\epsilon$  is used with III Fut. (51, 7f. 12.13f.; 59, 17; 68, 19) and II Fut. (50, 24f.; 51, 9f.; 54, 6f.).  $\chi\epsilon$  is used once with II Fut. (67, 25). Only once is a Greek verb introduced by  $\bar{\rho}$ - (67, 13). A unique expression for the passive by means of an impersonal third person feminine singular instead of the usual third person plural occurs. This construction, which also is found in III, 1, is in a relative clause both times (III, 2, 66, 6 and III, 1, 33, 17).

#### Codex IV, 2

Few Nag Hammadi codices have gotten into as much disarray as Codex IV.<sup>1</sup> Although parts of all its eighty-one inscribed pages have been preserved, the majority of them are extant only in fragmentary form and these fragments were thoroughly mixed up by the time they were put in plexiglass containers by MARTIN KRAUSE. By eliminating all the fragments which KRAUSE had identified as belonging to IV, 1, the remainder could be presumed to belong to IV, 2. The main clue to the order and position of the fragments had to be found in the parallel version in Codex III. The situation was far more difficult than with IV, 1, however, since the versions of ApocryJn in Codices II and IV are almost identical and the former was well preserved except for the first four pages.<sup>2</sup> Consequently even small

<sup>1</sup> Only Codex X rivals it. Unfortunately the tractates in Codex X have no parallel versions, as do those in Codex IV, to bring order to the confusion.

<sup>2</sup> An almost complete text of these first pages was available in the Codex Berolinensis 8502. WALTER C. TILL, *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis*

fragments of IV, 1 could be identified with certainty. In contrast the two versions of GEgypt are independent translations from the Greek which differ widely in wording, syntax, and sometimes meaning.<sup>1</sup> Compounding the problem are the lacunae in the first half of III, 2 and the lack of pages 45-48. The recurring liturgical formulae of the tractate proved to be of great help in restoring the pages of IV, 2 for which no parallel was available. Only a number of small fragments remain unidentified.<sup>2</sup> Some of the text of several pages of Codex IV has flaked-off lettering. Reconstruction on the basis of traces of letters proved generally successful.

In preparing this edition an attempt has been made to do justice to even the smallest trace of a letter. When a letter is certain, independent of the context, even though it is partly in a lacuna, no dot has been used under the letter. A dot has been placed under all letters of which the traces of ink were ambiguous. With a parallel text available it proved useful to fill in as many of the lacunae as possible. The available space in the line and the linguistic characteristics of the tractate were usually sufficiently known to make the reconstruction valuable. As a result it was often possible to ascertain whether the two versions differed in the passage in question. If no parallel text had been available it would have been little more than a fatuous exercise in Coptic composition.

MARTIN KRAUSE reports that IV, 2 consisted of pages 50-83 with page 84 empty.<sup>3</sup> JAMES M. ROBINSON, on the other hand, lists pages 50, 1-82, top.<sup>4</sup> However, there is no evidence of writing beyond page 81. Only a fragment of the top of pages 81 and 82 is extant. Of page 81 the left half of the first line and the top of the second line is visible, but the top of page 82 is blank. Page 81 could readily have contained the last part of the tractate up to the colophon. This means that either page 82 was empty and IV, 2 lacked the colophon, or the colophon was written on page 82 but began at a lower point on the page. Since the colophon is clearly secondary there is no need to assume that

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8502 (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 60<sup>2</sup>, 2 ed. by H.-M. Schenke, Berlin 1972), pp. 78-195.

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, pp. 11-15.

<sup>2</sup> Their identification depends on a prior successful reconstruction of the place where the fragment belongs. Thus at best they only help to confirm the text. Some of the small fragments may actually belong to IV, 1 or to another codex.

<sup>3</sup> *Die drei Versionen*, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> "The Coptic Gnostic Library Today," *NTS* XIV (1968), 395. He changed this to 50,1-81 end in "The Coptic Gnostic Library," *Novum Testamentum* 12 (1970), 83.

IV, 2 had the colophon. The codex has a front flyleaf and a blank protective sheet in the center, between pages 42 and 43. It is not clear whether the protective sheet extended over the full width. Whether the end papers belonged to the original quire, as they do in Codex VII, can no longer be ascertained. Not counting the end papers this adds up to a quire of twenty-three sheets. The last two folios of the second half of the quire appear to have been uninscribed. Fragments of these blank pages have been identified. Due to the fragmentary state of the codex and the inferior quality of the papyrus the extent of the rolls or strips from which the sheets of the quire were cut could not be established with certainty.

The original size of the pages was  $13,2 \times 23,3$  cm and the average column of writing measures  $9,5 \times 19,5$  cm. The pages were numbered above the outside edge of the writing column. Numbers are partially or completely visible on pages 71-78. The even-numbered pages have vertical fibers and the odd-numbered pages have horizontal fibers.

The hand of Codex IV is very similar to those of Codices V, VI, VIII and IX. The codex is written in a handsome, regular uncial script. Its regularity, clarity and lack of errors indicate a careful and experienced scribe. The left margin is reasonably straight; less care has been taken with the right margin. There are no line fillers and there is little crowding of letters. The superlinear strokes are remarkably precise, running from the middle of a letter to the middle of the next when two consonants form a syllable.<sup>1</sup> All proper names except place names have been marked with a long superlinear stroke. The only apparent exceptions are ΔΟΞΟΜΕΔΩΝ and ΕΛΟΚΛΑ. Perhaps they were not considered beings but places.

The final π or τ of a word as well as the τ in ετ-, ατ- and  $\overline{m\ n\ t}$ -<sup>2</sup> are consistently marked by means of a backstroke or "flag." The purpose is clearly the same as the pointing in Codex III. The verb  $\widehat{\epsilon\iota}$  and the syllable  $\widehat{\zeta\iota}$  have a slightly rounded superlinear stroke

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<sup>1</sup> The same is true for the most beautiful hand in the library found in Codices VII and the second half of XI. In contrast the superlinear strokes in Codices II and XII are much less accurate. In Codex II the stroke on the final letter of a construct form does not connect the last two consonants of that form but rather the last letter of the construct with the first letter of its complement. In Codex XII the scribe placed the stroke too far to the right.

<sup>2</sup> The exception is when the superlinear stroke runs only over the M and N rather than over all three letters (e.g.  $\overline{m\ n\ t\ m\ e}$ ).

or circumflex.<sup>1</sup> Since most of the superlinear strokes are somewhat rounded, it is difficult to say whether the scribe intended to distinguish between the stroke on  $\widehat{\epsilon}$  and  $\widehat{\zeta}$  and the normal superlinear stroke. A diaeresis is used on the initial iota or upsilon of names. Paragraphing is accomplished by placing the first letter of the new paragraph in the margin (67, 2),<sup>2</sup> and by means of a colon (78, 10; 80, 25).

There are only four corrections in the extant text (54, 26; 57, 11; 59, 20 and 77, 1; see notes *in loco*). Emendations are necessary only in the following places (see the transcription notes for details): 62, 2; 63, 4; 72, 2; 74, 8.17; 75, 3 and 79, 11. However, IV is not without omissions. Instances of homoioteleuton occur at 52, 17 and 67, 27, and something has also been left out before 79, 17.

The tractate conforms to standard Sahidic spelling. It generally uses one form of a word consistently even when the Sahidic has several options. There are some minor exceptions as well as some pre-classical and unattested spellings.  $\epsilon^\dagger$  is used instead of  $\omicron^\dagger$  as in many other Nag Hammadi texts;  $\overline{\text{NTW}}$  (B) in 64, 25 against otherwise  $\overline{\text{NTA}}$ ;  $\overline{\text{KOYONQ}}$  in 75, 9 against four times  $\overline{\text{KON}}$ ;  $\overline{\text{ETBHNT}}$  63, 4 for  $\overline{\text{ETBHHT}}$  and  $\overline{\text{AZWP}}$  instead of  $\overline{\text{AZWOP}}$ , 56, 15; 60, 17;  $\overline{\text{NM}}$ - in 73, 11 against  $\overline{\text{MN}}$ -;  $\overline{\text{MEZWOMET}}$  64, 5; 68, 4; 77, 16 against otherwise  $\overline{\text{MEZWOMT}}$ .  $\overline{\text{COT}}$  71, 1 in place of  $\overline{\text{CAT}}$  may be seen as an overly correct form.  $\overline{\text{NEA}}$  in 74, 4; 75, 10 agrees with V46, 10 etc. The form  $\overline{\text{TAWONQ}}$  in 76, 11 is unattested, while  $\overline{\text{WTRTP}}$  in 66, 1 is also found in A<sup>2</sup> and Bodmer VI. In 78, 6  $\overline{\text{COYWN}}$ - is used as *status constructus*.<sup>3</sup>

The articles  $\overline{\text{PI}}$ ,  $\dagger$  and  $\overline{\text{NI}}$  are used very frequently, although not consistently. In IV 55, 3 it is striking that, contrary to the normal usage, the plural article  $\overline{\text{NI}}$  is used before the number  $\overline{\text{WMT}}$ , although this may be explained as an error resulting from the frequent use of the plural article in the context. Noteworthy in this tractate is the almost exclusive use of  $\overline{\text{NTE}}$  for the genitive. The  $\overline{\text{N}}$  is generally doubled before  $\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon$  and  $\omicron\gamma$ , and  $\alpha\gamma\omega$  is used to connect adjectives.  $\overline{\text{W}}\alpha \overline{\text{ENEZ}}$  with the exception of 65, 1 is not linked to the preceding noun with the normal adjectival  $\overline{\text{N}}$ . Greek verbs are introduced by  $\overline{\text{P}}$ -.

<sup>1</sup> Also the Greek vocative particle  $\omega$  receives such a stroke but it does not occur in IV, 2.

<sup>2</sup> The first letter of 51,1 is in the margin but it appears that this is due to the fact that the scribe had first written the  $\epsilon$  on the last line of page 50 but changed his mind after he had already written the  $\text{BOA}$  on 51,1.

<sup>3</sup> It may or may not be accidental that these forms occur mostly in the last part of the tractate.

The prefix **ḲIN-** builds a masculine noun as in Bohairic (51, 6). The normal Perfect Relative is **ετα**, but also **εντα** is used (58, 5; 62, 15).<sup>1</sup> The relative substantives are introduced by the demonstrative pronouns **πη**, **τη**, **νη**, as in Bohairic. There are only three definite cases where **παι** is the antecedent of the relative construction (53, 25; 55, 13 and 60, 4). Otherwise **παι**, **ται** and **ναι** are used in **ετε παι πε** and when no relative construction is involved. **ετα** functions as a Temporal after **ζοταν** in 66, 2. Final clauses are constructed with **ζινα** and the conjunctive,<sup>2</sup> and once with **χεκαας** and the II Future (63, 8). The tractate frequently uses the verbal prefix **εα** (51, 15; 52, 12.19; 59, 2.4.29; 61, 9.16; 63, 22; 64, 13; 66, 29; 78, 8; 80, 10). The parallel passages in III, 2, when extant, use the I Perfect.<sup>3</sup> Most likely it is the use of the Perfect Circumstantial which here does not have the usual circumstantial function but rather continues a preceding I Perfect (STERN, *Kopt. Gram.* § 423).

The two Coptic versions of GEGypt are independent translations of basically the same Greek text, as is the case with the two versions of ApocryJn found in BG 8502 and III, 1. The extent to which the numerous differences between III, 2 and IV, 2 go back to variants in the Greek *Vorlagen* or to the Coptic textual tradition must be investigated for each particular case and can not be established with certainty. The reader is referred to the commentary on the particular passages. That these manuscripts are copies of earlier Coptic manuscripts can be clearly demonstrated in the case of III. For instance this is seen first at III 55, 21-22 where two lines of the *Vorlage* have been omitted due to homoioteleuton, and secondly at III 63, 2 where **πνουτε** instead of **π†** is found.<sup>4</sup> In IV 52, 17 a similar case of homoioteleuton, where a complete line is apparently missing, suggests that IV too is a copy of a Coptic manuscript. If one assumes that the Coptic text of III has been frequently copied and either interpreted or even changed with more or less success, then a considerable

<sup>1</sup> The **ΝΤΑ** in 51,18 and 53,1 appears to be II Perfect rather than the Perfect Relative.

<sup>2</sup> The third person singular is spelled **ΝΤΕϚ** in 63, 2 and perhaps 63, 6, as in Bohairic. The third person singular feminine is spelled **ΝΤΑΣ** in 63,4 but this should be emended to **ΝΤΕC**. The other examples of the conjunctive conform to standard Sahidic.

<sup>3</sup> The two exceptions are III 52,2 (**ϠΑΣ**) and III 66,6 (Conjunctive following II Future).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 191.

number of the variants can be attributed to developments within the Coptic textual tradition. Similarly, unstandardized texts such as the old Syriac and old Latin textual traditions of the New Testament, as well as the Coptic translations of the book of Proverbs reflect the rather wide divergences typical for this period.

Initially the most striking difference between III, 2 and IV, 2 concerns translation policies. Although both versions are translations into the Sahidic dialect, the diction of III, 2 is strikingly different from that of IV, 2. In III the translation is rather free, whereas IV reflects a concerted effort to render the Greek as faithfully as possible; for example,  $\bar{\rho}\psi\bar{\nu}\eta\rho\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$  for *συνευδοκεῖν*,  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}$  for *προαιτεῖν* ( $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}$  in III);  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\omega}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}\ \bar{\chi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}$  for *ἀναγεννᾶν* ( $\bar{\chi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}$  in III). In IV 75, 19  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\phi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\phi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\gamma}$  is a very literal translation of *ἐκύρωσεν*, "to make motionless" (cf. *infra*, p. 193f.). The use of Greek words is especially striking, since there are twice as many in III, 2 as in IV, 2. In this respect also the relationship of these two manuscripts corresponds to that between III, 1 and BG ApocryJn. The following table provides a list of the corresponding Greek and Coptic terms used in both versions. The Coptic or Greek equivalents have been added in parentheses if they are used elsewhere in the tractate in question.

III	IV
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}$ ( $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$ )	$\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$	$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\epsilon}$
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$ ( $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\beta}$ )	$\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\beta}$
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\delta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ ( $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omega}\bar{=}$ )	$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omega}\bar{=}$
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$ ( $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}$ )	$\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}$ (normally $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$ )
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ (-v)	$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\chi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}\bar{=}$
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ ( $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\epsilon}$ , $\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}$ )	$\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}$ ( $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ )
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\varsigma}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$	$\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\omega}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}$
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$	$\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\omega}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}$
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$	$\bar{\mu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ (-v) ( $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{=}$ )	$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{=}$
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}$ ( $\bar{\chi}\bar{\iota}$ )	$\bar{\chi}\bar{\iota}$
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$	$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\chi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omega}\bar{=}$
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ ( $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omega}\bar{=}$ )	$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omega}\bar{=}$
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\eta}$ ( $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}$ )	$\bar{\zeta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}$
$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$	$\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\tau}\ \bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\zeta}\ \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{=}$ , $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$

αὐτογενής	ΧΠΟ ΕΒΟΛ $\bar{ΜΜΟ}$ = ΜΑΓΑΑ = (normally αὐτογενής)
αὐτογένιος	ΧΠΟ ΕΒΟΛ $\bar{ΜΜΟ}$ = ΜΑΓΑΑ =
ἄφθαρσία	ΑΤΧΩΖ $\bar{Μ}$ , ΜΝΤΑΤΧΩΖ $\bar{Μ}$
ἄφθαρτος (-ν)	ΑΤΧΩΖ $\bar{Μ}$
βάπτισμα (ΧΩΚ $\bar{Μ}$ )	ΧΩΚ $\bar{Μ}$ , ΩΜ $\bar{C}$
βίβλος (ΧΩΜΕ)	ΧΩΜΕ
γεννητός (ΧΠΟ)	ΧΠΟ
COOYN	γνώσις (COOYN)
δύναμις (ΘΟΜ)	ΘΟΜ
ΔΟΞΟΜΕΔΩΝ	ΡΕϞ† ΕΟΟΥ
ἐπιγένιος (ΠΙΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ)	ΠΙΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ $\bar{ΜΜΟ}$ = ΜΑΓΑΑ =
ἐπίκλητος	ΤΩΖ $\bar{Μ}$
ἐπιτροπή	ΟΥΑΖ ΣΑΖΝΕ
ΑΤΟΥΑΖΜ = (-ἐρμηνεύειν)	-ἐρμηνεύειν
-εὐαγγελίζεσθαι	ΑΤΤΑΨΕ ΟΕΙΨ $\bar{ΜΜΟ}$ =
εὐδοκεῖν	† ΜΕΤΕ
εὐδοκία	† ΜΕΤΕ
θέλημα (ΟΥΩΨ, ΟΥΩΨΕ)	ΟΥΩΨ, ΟΥΩΨΕ
ΧΕΚΑΑΣ	ἵνα (ΧΕΚΑΑΣ)
ἱέρα (ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ)	ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ
καιρός (ΟΥΟΕΙΨ)	ΟΥΟΕΙΨ
καταλύειν	ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ
κατανεύειν	† ΜΕΤΕ
κερανύναι	ΘΩΡ $\bar{Θ}$
κόλπος (ΚΟΥΟΥΝΤ =)	ΚΟΥΝ =, ΚΟΥΟΥΝ =
κρίνειν (ΖΑΠ)	† ΖΑΠ
κυροῦν (ΤΑΧΡΟ)	ΤΑΧΡΟ, ΟΥΟCϞ =
λογογενής	ΧΠΟ $\bar{ΝΨΑΧΕ}$
λόγος (ΨΑΧΕ)	ΧΠΟ = $\bar{ΖΝ}$ ΟΥΨΑΧΕ
λοιμός (ΜΟΥ)	ΨΑΧΕ
ΚΟΥΟΥΝΤ =	ΜΟΥ
μνήμη (ΜΕΕΥΕ)	μήτρα (ΚΟΥΝ =, ΚΟΥΟΥΝ =)
μορφή (ΕΙΝΕ)	ΜΕΕΥΕ
ὀνομάζειν, -ὀνομάζειν († ΡΑΝ)	ΕΙΝΕ (μορφή)
ὀπλίζειν	† (ΡΑΝ), ΑΤ† ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟ =
παραστάτης	ΖΩΩΚ
πλανᾶν	ΕΤΑΖΕΡΑΤ =
ΧΩΚ (πλήρωμα)	CΩΡ $\bar{Μ}$
	πλήρωμα

πρόγνωσις	ḐΙΝṚṔṔṚṔ ḠṚṚṚṚṚṚṚ
προελθεῖν (ἘΙ ΕΒΟΛ)	ἘΙ ΕΒΟΛ, ṚṔṔṚṔ ḠἘΙ ΕΒΟΛ
καρωϞ (σιγή)	ṚṔṔṚṔ ḠṚṚṚṚṚṚ ΕΒΟΛ
σιγή (καρωϞ)	σιγή (καρωϞ)
ϞΟ (normally σπορά)	καρωϞ (σιγή)
σταυροῦν	σπορά
σύνεσις (ṚṚṚṚṚṚ)	ΕΙṔḐ
συνευδοκεῖν	ṚṚṚṚṚṚ
τελεία (ϞΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ)	ṚṔṔṔṔ ḠṚ ḠṚṚṚṚṚ
ὑστέρημα	ΕṚϞΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ
φρόνησις	ṚṚḐ
φωνή (ṚṔṔ)	ṚṔṔ
ΟΥΟΕΙΝ (φωστήρ)	ṔṔṔṔṔ (ΟΥΟΕΙΝ)
χάρις (ṚṔṔṔ)	ṚṔṔṔṔ
ΟΥΟΕΙṔ (χρόνος)	χρόνος (ΟΥΟΕΙṔ)
χωρεῖν	Ṕ<Ṕ>ṔṔ (χωρεῖν)
ḠṔḐ	ṔṔ (ḠṔḐ)

The list demonstrates the remarkable fact that the large number of Greek words in III did not cause an appreciable reduction in the Coptic vocabulary used in the tractate. For elsewhere in the tractate III uses the Coptic equivalent found in IV of half of its Greek vocabulary. In other words, in a large number of cases the use of Greek words in III is not due to the lack of an appropriate Coptic equivalent nor to uncertainty about the exact meaning of the Greek word. Here, as is generally the case with the Greek words in Coptic texts, it is not a matter of *whether* Greek words have been used in the Coptic translation, but *how many*.

Some reasons for the large number of Greek words in III are apparent. Greek in titles as well as words or phrases which have become or were in the process of becoming *termini technici* are preferred. Thus III retains the Greek words for "holy" only in the title and in "holy Spirit." Also such words as *αὐτογενής*, *αἰών*, *ἀνάπανσις*, *ἀφθαρσία*, *δύναμις*, *ἐξουσία*, etc., fall into this category. On this point III shows more sensitivity to Gnostic religious idiom than IV. III does not have a consistent policy on the "negative" divine attributes.

There appears to be a tendency on the part of the Coptic-speaking Gnostic to appropriate for his own the Greek terminology of Gnosticism. This is especially strong in the untitled tractate from Codex

Brucianus. It is not necessary to assume that the Coptic translators of GEgypt were not able to translate certain words. Rather, to the extent that such words were not already present in vernacular Coptic, they intended to make a creative contribution to the language by importing Greek words. This was nothing unusual, since a great many Greek words had already been taken up into the vernacular. The fact that in certain places the translator of III allowed the feminine ending of the adjective to stand need not indicate lack of skill.<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon probably has been occasioned by the fact that the Greek expression formed a conceptual unit, for example, *ἀρσενικὴ παρθένος, πνευματικὴ ἐκκλησία, ἱερὰ βιβλος, ἕλικὴ σοφία*. The last expression does not even conform to Coptic grammar. In none of these expressions is there any reason to make corrections.

The appropriation of liturgical formulae in III betrays the same tendency as the appropriation of gnostic terminology. *εἰ δὲ εἰ, εἰ δὲ εἰ* in III and IV were taken over untranslated. In addition III has also left *εἰ ἔν* and *αἰὼν ὁ ὦν* untranslated. One should recall that the Coptic liturgy retains entire Greek sentences. It is also possible that the Coptic translators did not recognize these phrases to be Greek, since they are found in conjunction with unintelligible speech.

The places in which IV has a Greek word which differs from III need mentioning. In IV *ἀερόδιος* is not used but instead it is replaced by the genitival attribute *ἄλληλογενής*. In III *ἀποτάσσεισθαι* and *ἀπόταξις* occur, while IV has the synonym *ἀποταγή*. Furthermore IV has once *ἐπειδή* for *γάρ* and *οὔτε* for *οὐδέ*. III 54, 13 ff. has a main clause with *τότε* where IV 66, 2ff. has a dependent clause with *ὅταν*.

Scribal errors have also occurred in Greek words, e.g. III has *ἀναγπαγσις* for *ἀναπαγσις*, *ἀφάρτος* (both an error and an unorthographic spelling) for *ἀφθάρτος*, *γενα* for *γενεα*, and *στραγῆτος* for *στρατηγος*. That IV has both *παρλλημπτωρος* and *παρλλημδαωρος* is to be explained phonetically, as is *ἀπορροια* with a single ρ. Also *παρεστατης* in III for *παρστατης* need not be a mistake. *πλассα* in III instead of *πлассе* is also found in BG ApocryJn and SJC (cf. index s.v.).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. BÖHLIG, *Die griechischen Lehnwörter im sahidischen und bohairischen Neuen Testament* (München 1958), pp. 124ff.

It can be viewed as a change into another conjugation, especially when one considers that the form **ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΑ** is formed from **ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΕΙ**. The use of itacistic spellings and the like are not uncommon in IV (e.g. **ΕΩΝ**), but III is also not free from them (**ΚΕΡΟΣ**, **ΕΣΘΗΣΙΣ**). Thus it is not possible to deduce the quality of the texts from the orthography of the Greek words.

The proper names should be discussed along with the Greek words. They were not part of the vernacular, and a large number of them look like artificial formulations which must not have been known to all Gnostics. This made errors possible. A number of itacistic spellings and the like occur in IV, where III, apart from obvious misspellings, reflects the *Vorlage*. **ΣΕΛΜΕΧΕΛ** for **ΣΕΛΜΕΛΧΕΛ** and the lack of **ΒΑΡ** in **ΣΕΣΕΓΓΕΝΦΑΡΑΓΓΗΣ** appear to be errors in III, for example. **ΣΑΜΛΩ** instead of **ΣΑΜΒΛΩ** could be a sound-spelling. There are also differences in endings between the two versions. The spelling **ΒΑΡΒΗΛΟΝ** (III, 2) corresponds to that of III, 1 over against **ΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ** in IV, 2 and ApocryJn II, 1; IV, 1; BG 8502. The "great James" stands over against the "great Jacob." Though in the New Testament the Greek ending is only used when naming contemporary persons, and **ΙΑΚΩΒ** is used for the patriarch, one does not expect a reference to Jacob here.<sup>1</sup> Rather it should be noted that the Greek ending was not added when the name was mentioned in a ceremonial tone as is the case here. Why the attribute "the great" occurs instead of "the just" is not clear. Is James "the great" being contrasted with James "the less" (BAUER, *Lexicon*, s.v.) or has James, who still bears Jewish-Christian traits in the two apocalypses named after him in Codex V, become one among other great bringers of salvation? That would fit well with the advanced pluralism in Gnosticism as it is attested in the Nag Hammadi library. For Peter stands along side of James in ApocryJas, and ApocPaul is found in the same codex as I and II ApocJas.

For **ΙΕΣΣΕΥΣ ΜΑΖΑΡΕΥΣ ΙΕΣΣΕΔΕΚΕΥΣ**, as in ApocAd V 85, 30f., the hymn in III 66, 8-22 has the vocative **ΙΕΣΣΕΥ ΜΑΖΑΡΕΥ ΙΕΣΣΕΔΕΚΕΥ** while IV uses the nominative of the second declension, **ΙΕΣΣΕΟΣ** etc.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand both manuscripts have the accusative **-ΕΛ** in a place where the accusative may have occurred in the *Vorlagen*. The accusative also remains with other names:

<sup>1</sup> BLASS-DEBRUNNER § 53,2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. BÖHLIG, *Lehnwörter*, pp. 117ff.

ακραμαν (III, IV) μικξανθηρα (IV), μιχανορα (III, IV), μιχεα (III, IV), σοδομην (III, IV). The nominative of these words occurs in μιξανθηρ (III), μιχεγς (III, but IV μισεγς).<sup>1</sup> In IV 76, 4 μνησινουγ could be μνησινουγν (III has μνησινουγς). The **ν** falls away easily, especially here at the end of the line, where it can be indicated by a stroke over the last letter which could have been combined with the stroke used over the proper name. The name *Μνησιουθς* is a typical Greek compound word. The forms for Sodom are especially interesting. To protect the final consonant an α had become attached as in *Ἱεροσόλυμα : Σόδομα* III 56, 10; 60, 18; IV 71, 30. This word, inflected as a plural neuter noun, has followed the pattern of *Γομόρρα*, while until now only the reverse phenomenon was known.<sup>2</sup> In both instances of the accusative *Σοδόμην* in III, the corresponding place in IV has the nominative *Σοδόμη*. It remains a question whether this had already developed in Greek or is a construction of the Coptic translator. The occurrences of *Σόδομα* speak for the latter. Perhaps in IV the final **ν** has fallen away because the next word begins with  $\bar{\nu}$ .

A peculiarity of IV lies in the attempt to translate *Δοξομέδων* once with **ρεϳτ εσογ**. Although IV as a rule strives to be faithful to the Greek text, the translator was not able to avoid mistranslations completely. IV 52, 17 renders *δόξα* by means of **σογν**, although here it should certainly be translated by **εσογ** as in III. When IV 76, 27 speaks of the "slain souls" in contrast to III 65, 7 "souls of the elect", the different translations of the Greek word *ἐξαιρεθείς* (Aorist passive participle of *ἐξαιρέω* "to slay" or *ἐξαιρέισθαι* "to elect") could have been in the *Vorlagen*. Likewise III 61, 17f. and IV 73, 1 can go back to the different meanings of *ἀμφιβολία*, just as **τωϳμ** in IV 75, 7 may well render *ἐπίκλητος*. Real misunderstanding seems to occur in III 60, 21. Furthermore, there are in III a considerable number of misinterpretations, secondary expansions as well as omissions. In light of this, III must be considered the inferior version. (See commentary for particulars).

<sup>1</sup> **MICEYC** is not a misspelling but goes back to palatalization, cf. *κασία* for *κακία* (E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik* I, p. 160). Cf. also Rev 18:13 **CINAMWMON** (ss) for *κιννάμωμον*.

<sup>2</sup> BLASS-DEBRUNNER § 38 and 57.

## THE TITLE

Ever since JEAN DORESSE's brief description of III, 2 in "Trois livres gnostiques inédits: Évangile des Égyptiens, Épître d'Eugnoste, Sagesse de Jésus Christ"<sup>1</sup> the tractate has been known as "The Gospel of the Egyptians". This is the name given to the tractate at the beginning of the scribal colophon in III 69, 6. The formal title of the tractate as stated at the end of the colophon III 69, 16-17 and again, with the usual decorations, directly below the colophon (III 69, 18-20) reads ΤΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΤΖΙΕΡΑ ΜΠΝΟΒ ΝΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠΝΕΥΜΑ (69, 17 ΠΝΑ) ΖΑΜΗΝ.<sup>2</sup> The title "The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit" should have been preferred but DORESSE's title is now too well established to change it.<sup>3</sup>

Strictly speaking, the colophon does not read "The Gospel of the Egyptians" but "The Egyptian Gospel" (ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΝΡΜΝΚΗΜΕ).<sup>4</sup> However, the adjective in this context would be most unusual if not unprecedented. All parallel expressions, such as the Gospel of Peter, of Mary, of the Hebrews, of the Ebionites, etc., refer to persons either as the users of the gospel or as the alleged authors. Such titles as the Gospel of Truth or the Gospel of Perfection refer either to the subject matter or make a value judgement about the book. Therefore, the adjective "Egyptian" with "gospel" should be rejected as rendering a most unlikely, if not impossible, meaning. Either the scribe skipped one of the three Ν's or the plural article was left out, as is done more often with the names of nations in the genitive case.<sup>5</sup> The German translation "Ägypterevangelium" allows one to skirt the problem.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vigiliae Christianae* II (1948), 137-143.

<sup>2</sup> The ΖΑΜΗΝ in 69,17 closes the colophon and should not be considered a part of the title. The final decorated title in 69,18-20 is a copy of the title at the end of the colophon and it consequently retained the ΖΑΜΗΝ. A jagged line is placed directly under the title decoration perhaps to prevent further writing on the page.

<sup>3</sup> DORESSE himself now uses the double title "Le Livre sacré du grand Esprit invisible" or "L'Évangile des Égyptiens," in his publication of the text and translation of III, 2 in *Journal Asiatique* 254 (1966), 317-435 (appeared early 1968).

<sup>4</sup> ΠΜΝΚΗΜΕ is the usual adjective of ΚΗΜΕ, see CRUM, *Dict.* p. 110a.

<sup>5</sup> See HANS QUECKE, *Das Markusevangelium Saisisch, Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 182 mit den Varianten der Handschrift M 569* (Barcelona 1972), pp. 46f.

<sup>6</sup> This is the title used by ALEXANDER BÖHLIG in his publication of a tentative translation and short commentary of III 40,12 - 55,16 and its parallel IV 50,1 - 67,1 in "Die himmlische Welt nach dem Ägypterevangelium von Nag Hammadi," *Le Muséon*

The question which remains is where the two titles came from. MARTIN KRAUSE believes that the formal title at the end is an abbreviation of the full title given in the colophon : ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ Ν̄Ρ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΚΗΜΕ ΤΒΙΒΛΟΣ Ν̄ΣΖΑΪ Ν̄ΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΖΙΕΡΑ ΕΤΖΗΠ (69, 6-8).<sup>1</sup> This is unlikely, not only because it is difficult to see 69, 16-17 and 18-20 as an abbreviation of 69, 6-8, but because the formal title is obviously taken from the incipit to the tractate (III 40,12f. = IV 50,1-3).

Many of the titles in the Nag Hammadi library prove to be secondarily developed from the incipit to the tractate. In the earliest stage no title is present but the incipit lends itself to an easy identification of the tractate. The Gospel of Truth (I, 2) is the most obvious example of this. One step removed from this is the title of VI, 7 where the first part of the incipit "This is the Prayer that they spoke" has been made into a title by means of some decorative lines and diphthongs. In the next development a phrase or abbreviation of the incipit has been made into the formal title either at the beginning or at the end of the tractate. Indentation and decorative marks clearly separate it from the body of the tractate. Tractates in this category are: the Hypostasis of the Archons (II, 4), the Apocalypse of Adam (V, 5), the Paraphrase of Shem (VII, 1), and the Three Steles of Seth (VII, 5).<sup>2</sup> The formal title at the end of III, 2 clearly belongs with this group.

In the next group the title is formed by means of a short interpretative rephrasing of the incipit. In this category belong the Apocryphon of John (II, 1; III, 1; IV, 1), the Gospel of Thomas (II, 2), the Book of Thomas the Contender (II, 7), the Letter of Eugnostos the Blessed (III, 3; V, 1), the Apocalypse of Paul (V, 2), the Apocalypse of James (V, 3), the Apocalypse of James (V, 4), and the Letter of Peter which he sent to Philip (VIII, 2). A closer look at these titles reveals that there was more involved than the need for a short and memorable phrase. What stands out is that the canonical terms "gospel", "letter" and "apocalypse" have been introduced even

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LXXX (1967), 5-26 and 365-377, and by HANS-MARTIN SCHENKE for his German translation, based on DORESSE's transcription, in "Das Ägypter-Evangelium aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex III," *NTS* XVI (1969/70), 196-208.

<sup>1</sup> *Die drei Versionen*, p. 19 n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Zost (VIII, 1) probably also belongs to this category. VII, 1 has its title at the beginning, II, 4 and VII, 5 at the end, and V, 5 both at the beginning and at the end of the tractate.

though these designations were not used in the tractate itself. These secondary titles betray a Christianization process.

It appears now that the title at the beginning of the colophon in III, 2 is such a Christianization of the first line of the incipit. The uncertainty is due to the unfortunate lacunae at the beginning of both versions. The general structure of the incipit is clear. After the designation "holy book" there follow two clauses. Using the evidence of both versions the following reconstruction can be considered certain:

III  $\overline{\text{ΠΧΩΩΜΕ}} \overline{\text{ΝΤΖ}}[\overline{\text{ΙΕ}}]\overline{\text{Ρ}}[\overline{\text{Α}} \overline{\text{ΝΤΕ}} \overline{\text{Ν}}\dots\dots] \overline{\text{ΝΤΕ}} \overline{\text{ΠΙΝΟΒ}} \overline{\text{ΝΑΤΝΑΥ}}$   
 $\overline{\text{ΕΡ}}[\overline{\text{ΟΦ}} \overline{\text{ΜΠΝΑ}}]$

IV  $[\overline{\text{ΠΧΩΩΜΕ}} \overline{\text{ΕΤΟΥΑ}}]\overline{\text{ΑΒ}} \overline{\text{ΝΤΕ}} \overline{\text{ΝΙ}}[\dots\dots \overline{\text{ΝΤΕ}}] \overline{\text{ΠΙΝΟΒ}} \overline{\text{ΝΝΑ}}$   
 $[\overline{\text{ΤΝΑΥ}} \overline{\text{ΕΡΟΦ}} \overline{\text{ΜΠΝΑ}}]$

It is immediately apparent that the title in III 69, 18-20 is taken from the incipit, combining the introductory phrase "the holy book" with the second attribute introduced by  $\overline{\text{ΝΤΕ}}$ .<sup>1</sup> All that remains of the word following the first  $\overline{\text{ΝΤΕ}}$  is the plural article in Codex IV. Fortunately there is a close parallel to the opening lines of GEGYPT. The incipit of 3StSeth (VII, 5) reads  $\overline{\text{ΠΟΥΩΝΖ}} \overline{\text{ΕΒΟΛ}}$  (= ἡ ἀποκάλυψις)  $\overline{\text{ΝΤΕ}} \overline{\text{ΔΩΣΙΘΕΟΣ}} \overline{\text{ΝΤΕ}} \overline{\text{ΨΟΜΤΕ}} \overline{\text{ΝΣΤΗΛΗ}} \overline{\text{ΝΤΕ}} \overline{\text{ΣΗΘ}}$ .<sup>2</sup> The  $\overline{\text{ΠΟΥΩΝΖ}} \overline{\text{ΕΒΟΛ}}$  is parallel to the "the holy book". The first  $\overline{\text{ΝΤΕ}}$  introduces the person with whom the tractate is associated, in this case the mythological author, and the second  $\overline{\text{ΝΤΕ}}$  introduces the main subject matter. Thus the parallel in VII, 5 strongly suggests that the word in the lacuna refers to persons. If the  $\overline{\text{ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ}} \langle \overline{\text{Ν}} \rangle \overline{\text{ΝΡΜΝΚΗΜΕ}}$  is derived from the incipit then these persons must be the Egyptians. A careful measurement of the available space shows that  $\overline{\text{ΡΜΝΚΗΜΕ}}$  fits very well in both cases.

The colophon has a much more Christian character than the tractate

<sup>1</sup> Translations of some of the titles are often left partly or completely in Greek. Examples of this are:

IV, 1  $\overline{\text{ΚΑΤΑ}} \overline{\text{ΪΩ}}[\overline{\text{ΑΝ}}]\overline{\text{ΗΝ}} \overline{\text{ΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ}}$  (49,27f.)

VI, 3  $\overline{\text{ΑΥΘΕΝΤΙΚΟΣ}} \overline{\text{ΛΟΓΟΣ}}$  (35,23f.)

VII, 2  $\overline{\text{ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ}} \overline{\text{ΛΟΓΟΣ}} \overline{\text{ΤΟΥ}} \overline{\text{ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ}} \overline{\text{ΣΗΘ}}$  (70,11-12)

VII, 3  $\overline{\text{ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ}} \overline{\text{ΠΕΤΡΟΥ}}$  (70,13; 84,14)

XIII, 1  $\overline{\text{ΠΛΟΓΟΣ}} \overline{\text{ΝΤΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΑ}} \overline{\text{Γ}} \overline{\text{ΠΡΩΤΕΝΝΟΙΑ}} \overline{\text{ΤΡΙΜΟΡΦΟΣ}} \overline{\text{Γ}}$   
 $\overline{\text{ΑΓΙΑ}} \overline{\text{ΓΡΑΦΗ}} \overline{\text{ΠΑΤΡΟΓΡΑΦΟΣ}} \overline{\text{ΕΝ}} \overline{\text{ΓΝΩΣΕΙ}} \overline{\text{ΤΕΛΕΙΑ}}$  (50,  
 18-21).

<sup>2</sup> VII 118,10-12.

itself, which can at best only be called marginally Christian. This is especially seen in the presence of the Christian confession *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ* followed by the *ΙΧΘΥΣ* monogram (69, 14f.). Therefore, just as the term *εὐαγγέλιον* in the title of the Gospel of Thomas appears to be an apologetic adaptation of “the secret words” in the incipit <sup>1</sup>, so the word *εὐαγγέλιον* in the colophon of III, 2 can be seen as a Christianizing interpretation of “the holy book” in the incipit. Also the second line of the colophon reflects the content of the tractate. *ΤΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΝΣΖΑΪ ΝΝΟΥΓΤΕ ΤΖΙΕΡΑ ΕΤΖΗΠ* (69, 7f.) refers to the authorship of the book by Seth who hid it in high mountains on which the sun has not risen.<sup>2</sup>

The mythological heavenly Seth inspired by God was the author of this writing. When one considers the fact that Seth was made the father of the seed of the primal Father, then he can also be assigned by the primal Father to write a holy book. The meaning of the phrase introduced by *ΝΤΕ* is difficult. Is it a subjective or objective genitive? Is it a holy book which the Egyptians possess and which is about the great invisible Spirit or which originates from the invisible Spirit? If one feels obliged to see an exact parallelism to the title of 3StSeth, then the first meaning would be fitting. If one considers the circumstance that in Greek, and correspondingly in Coptic, the genitive occurred, one should be conscious of its ambiguity. One could consider it to be a genitive of relation which is also possible in the case of 3StSeth. Such a genitive can mean “pertaining to”, that is, either “belonging to” or “concerning”.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the ambiguity is intended for the Gnostic reader.

Why did the author of the colophon re-name the writing a gospel? One could, of course, be satisfied with seeing a mechanical process in this re-naming, since in this case “holy book” could mean “gospel”, assuming the Christianizing tendency. A scribe familiar with the title of the Christian apocryphal Gospel of the Egyptians would have been especially tempted to replace “holy book” with “gospel”.

But one can also argue on the basis of the content and not only on the basis of the title. Then it would be well to proceed from the passages in which Jesus and Christ occur in this writing. Christ is a figure in heaven and Jesus is the embodiment of Seth on earth.

<sup>1</sup> II 32,10f.

<sup>2</sup> III 68,1-4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. in Coptic ΠΔ-, ΤΔ-, ΝΔ-.

The central position occupied by Seth in the work makes it not difficult to see it as a gospel of Seth, since the creation of Seth is presented in the framework of the creation of the heavenly and lower world. To be sure, a gospel for the Gnostics is not only a report about the work and words of the historical Jesus, and not a literary genre as in the ecclesiastical formation of the canon, but a view of the history of the world *sub specie aeternitatis* in which the way of those to be redeemed and the way of the redeemer is presented. For this an explanation of their origin was necessary, and therefore, a description of the light-world. The other Gnostic gospels also can only be understood on the basis of a real Gnostic-cosmic view. The Gospel of Thomas, which has only sayings, is only understandable against the background of this cosmic view. The Gospel of Philip employs mythological conceptions. In the Gospel of Truth Jesus is pictured as the redeemer in a cosmic framework. In the present document the Christianization process is completed by the writer of the colophon who explains the book as a gospel on the basis of the identification of Seth with Jesus. It is to be assumed that the colophon did not exist in IV, 2.

It remains a question why the writing was connected with the Egyptians. This could point to an origin in Egypt. One can, however, just as legitimately accept the explanation that the naming was done by non-Egyptians who wanted to see in it references to Egypt. With great caution can one infer a connection with Egypt on the basis of the name Seth alone. Perhaps in Egypt someone may have connected the Seth of the Old Testament with the Egyptian god Seth.<sup>1</sup> Although Seth is often seen as an evil god, there were strong tendencies in the later period to remove this onus from him. In magical texts he is designated as the god who hates evil.<sup>2</sup> It is even said of him that he did *not* injure his brother. A change in evaluation of a being from negative to positive is moreover very common in Gnosticism.<sup>3</sup> One encounters a typical example in GEgypt, where Sodom and Gomorrah are seen not as cities of sin but as holy cities.<sup>4</sup> When one considers that the Egyptian god Seth was accused of sodomy, it is a short step to see GEgypt as an attempt to change the role of the Egyptian Seth

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. HERMANN KEES, "Seth" in *Pauly-Wissowa RE* 2.R., 2.Hbd., col. 1896-1922; cf. also HANS BONNET, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin 1952), Art. Seth, col. 702-715.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. KEES, col. 1921.

<sup>3</sup> ALEXANDER BÖHLIG, *Mysterion und Wahrheit* (Leiden 1968), pp. 82f.

<sup>4</sup> III 56,8-13 (IV is lost); III 60,9-18 = IV 71,18-30.

or to surpass him with Seth, the son of Adam. The Egyptian Seth who was a well-known and powerful god, and who was incarnate in the Pharaoh,<sup>1</sup> is then changed into the biblical Seth of the Gnostics who was revealed in Jesus. The Sethians thereby claim to have the correct theology of Seth.<sup>2</sup>

The issue remains of the strange  $\tau$  of  $\bar{\nu}\tau\zeta\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha$  in III 40, 12. It should be kept in mind that the twice-stated title at the end of the tractate as well as the incipit of IV, 2 support the reading "the holy book". Secondly, the Coptic translator of III, 2, who also translated the colophon and the title, has in the three parallel occurrences of the word (69, 6f. 16.19) translated word for word :  $\eta\ \beta\iota\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\ \iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$  =  $\tau\upsilon\beta\iota\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\zeta\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha$ . The colophon has the typical style of an interlinear version, thereby showing its origin from a Greek *Vorlage*. The first two words of the incipit were in the same way literally translated but the Greek  $\eta\ \beta\iota\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  was substituted by  $\pi\chi\omega\omega\mu\epsilon$ ,  $\eta\ \iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$  was retained, however, in spite of the difference of gender, and preceded by  $\bar{\nu}$ . Can one perhaps suppose that  $\tau\zeta\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha$  was seen as one word and that  $\bar{\nu}$  is a connective particle indicating the adjective? Although this construction is not attested, the alternative of assuming that the title in III, 2 differed from the title in IV, 2 is more difficult. Therefore, the text has been emended.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. KEES, col. 1905-1908; 1911.

<sup>2</sup> On the problem of identifying Sethian teaching see "The Sethians and the Nag Hammadi Library" by FREDERIK WISSE in *Society of Biblical Literature 1972 Proceedings* Vol. 2, pp. 601-607.

## THE CONTENT

The so-called Gospel of the Egyptians is a typical work of mythological Gnosticism. In spite of the basic work of HANS JONAS,<sup>1</sup> writings of this kind still do not receive their due appreciation. They too have a situation in life (*Sitz im Leben*) — indeed, a situation in intellectual life. To view ourselves only as the heirs of the classical period of Greek philosophy, to devaluate other ancient ways of thought, and to discard what is different is too easy a solution. It is not the task of a historian to become a Gnostic himself, but he must make a serious effort to discern the peculiar inner logic of each text. He may not terminate the investigation with the assertion that the text is abstruse.

The question must be asked why a confusing abundance of mythological names and events are offered in a text which in the colophon is even designated as a gospel. Does this literature emerge out of theological and philosophical thought or is it the result of a partly magical, partly fanciful degeneration? Magical currents, however, are to be found in Neoplatonists worthy of serious consideration (Iamblichus), and the use of myth (*Mythos*) was a legitimate means of philosophical presentation since Plato. The combination of dialogue and myth he used has been retained in those Gnostic writings in which a mythological main part serves to answer a question, such as II, 5, for example, where Hesiod's thesis of the origin of the world from chaos provides the point of departure for the discussion. Another example is found in Eugnostos, the Blessed (III, 3; V, 1) where the problems of pagan philosophers are answered with a mythological presentation. Likewise in the Exegesis on the Soul (II, 6) the opinions of "the wise" serve as the starting point of the writing. Thus the disparagement of mythological Gnosticism because of its use of myths is unfounded.

Another question is whether the mythological presentation so predominates that it becomes an end in itself and eclipses the main thought with the result that the logical structure of the work is no longer apparent. As a parallel one could cite the relationship of theology and liturgy in the liturgies of the eastern churches. According to contemporary opinion the influence of arithmology led to an uncon-

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<sup>1</sup> HANS JONAS, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* (3 ed. Göttingen 1964).

trolled overgrowth. At least concerning the Pythagoreans it has been claimed that "the oddities of symbolic explanation (*Deuterei*) into which they fell should not cause us to overlook that thereby the attempt was made to recognize an enduring conceptual order of things and to find their ultimate basis in mathematical relationships".<sup>1</sup> The same allowance should be made for the Gnostics, for whom numerical harmony also played an important role.

Likewise, the thought pattern of a prototype and its counterpart (*Urbild-Abbild*), which already in an older form came out of Pythagoreanism, required a considerable expansion of the mythology. For the cosmic world must indeed have its prototype in the heavenly world. The Gnostics wanted to have information about this heavenly world, irrespective of whether the supreme, unknowable God was assumed to be within the heavenly world or to exist above it. Furthermore, some Gnostics made another distinction within the world itself by separating cosmic prototype from an earthly counterpart. Such speculation can likewise be explained, particularly since the dualism in these Gnostic systems is a prominent factor as is also the astrological view of the world.

The discussion of man and his soul is actually the main theme of Gnosticism. The cosmogonic and cosmological constructions of Gnosticism form the logical presuppositions for its anthropology and psychology. The myth (*Mythos*) of Greek philosophy is combined with the view of the history of salvation as it was developed by Judaism and taken up by Christianity. Such a constructed myth (*Kunstmythos*) made use of individual myths circulating in the Near East. The syncretistic multiplicity and frequent parallel arrangement and combination cause the picture to appear kaleidoscopic and confusing for the non-specialist. However, when one investigates the relationship of the religious content to the form of expression, a definite structure can generally be discerned. To see mythological Gnosticism as a degeneration would be a misunderstanding of its method. For even Christocentric Gnosticism such as that of the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Philip, the Gospel of Truth, and the Treatise on the Resurrection can really be understood only in terms of a mythological understanding of existence, and presents a less perplexing picture only because Jesus Christ is so much in the foreground. Some of the

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<sup>1</sup> W. WINDELBAND, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*, ed. H. Heimsoeth (15th ed. Tübingen 1957), p. 41.

Nag Hammadi writings are difficult to understand because they are compilations of various pieces of tradition. Yet the fact that such a compilation has not always been successfully carried out does not contradict that Gnosticism was able to communicate by means of mythology, as the following analysis of the content of G<sup>E</sup>gypt will attempt to make clear.

The tractate can be divided into four main sections.

- I. The origin of the heavenly world: III 40, 12-55, 16 = IV 50, 1-67, 1.
- II. The origin, preservation and salvation of the race of Seth: III 55, 16-66, 8 = IV 67, 2-78, 10.
- III. The hymnic section: III 66, 8-67, 26 = IV 78, 10-80, 15.
- IV. The concluding section dealing with the origin and transmission of the tractate: III 68, 1-69, 17 = IV 80, 15-81 end.

I. The supreme God dwells in solitary height. He is light and silence, and he is primarily described by means of negative attributes. His Pronoia still lives within him. He does not emanate a divine being in order to beget a third being with her, but rather evolves in such a way that a trinity made up of Father, Mother and Son comes forth. At the same time, the Domedon (Lord of the house) comes into being who is usually called Doxomedon (Lord of glory). He can be considered to be the aeon which envelops the world of light. Over against the alien, supreme God, he may be regarded as a kind of second God. After the main description,<sup>1</sup> this evolutionary development is mentioned once more, this time from a viewpoint which takes the members of the trinity to be ogdoads. The first ogdoad, the Father, is made up of *ἔννοια*, *λόγος*, *ἀφθαρσία*, eternal life, *θέλημα*, *νοῦς*, *πρόγνωσις* and Father.<sup>2</sup> The second ogdoad, the Mother, also bears the name Barbelo. Her parts are complex mythological entities which are hard to identify, partly due to the lacunae in both versions. The third ogdoad, the Son, is made up of himself together with the seven voices.<sup>3</sup>

After the detailed description of the ogdoads follows a section in which the Doxomedon-aeon is pictured, now in greater detail, as a heavenly throne room. A plaque has been attached to the throne with an inscription on it made up of all the vowels of the Greek alphabet with each vowel listed twenty-two times — the total number of letters in the Semitic alphabet.

<sup>1</sup> III 41,7-23 = IV 50,23 - 51,15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *infra*, pp. 171f.

<sup>3</sup> III 41,23 - 43,8 = IV 51,15 - 53,3.

Having provided a picture of the genesis of the heavenly primal powers, the text continues with their liturgical activities. Presentations of praise and accompanying requests for the sending forth of a new power are now typical for the further development of the action, particularly in the first section, although this literary device is also used in the second section.

1. The primal trinity turns to the great invisible Spirit and the Barbelo. As a consequence the thrice-male child fills the Doxomedonaeon.

2. The thrice-male child — now shown to belong to the great Christ — in turn makes a request of the great invisible Spirit and the Barbelo. The male virgin Youel comes into being. Next the Splenditenens Esephech appears. The thrice-male child, Youel and Esephech are considered the five seals of the primal trinity and together they form its completion.<sup>1</sup>

3. There is a presentation of praise, of which the subject has to be inferred,<sup>2</sup> on the bottom fragment of IV 57.<sup>3</sup> In IV 59 we find a female being (probably *πρόνοια*) who, while passing through the aeons, establishes angelic powers which are to praise the trinity and its pleroma. The pleroma seems to be made up of the five seals and is also referred to here as the great Christ. After the great Christ comes the great Logos, the divine *αὐτογενής*. The Logos functions next as the heavenly creator.

4. The Logos offers praise to the great invisible Spirit. As a result Mirothoe appears, a great cloud of light, who begets the Light-Adamas. The supreme God appears in Adamas in order to eliminate the deficiency in the lower regions. The Logos and the Light-Adamas are united.

5. The Logos and Adamas offer praise and pray together for the pleroma of the lights. Adamas, on his own, requests that he may beget his son Seth. As a fulfillment of the request, the lights Harmozel, Oroiael, Davithe and Eleleth are begotten, and likewise the great Seth. The four lights, together with the perfect hebdomad, form eleven ogdoads. It is not further specified with what kind of hebdomad we are dealing here. The lights are complemented with consorts

<sup>1</sup> They add up to eight although this is not mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> The fragmentary state of IV 57-58 and the complete loss of the corresponding pages in Codex III leaves the total number of the presentations of praise uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> IV 57,13ff.

(*χάρις, αἰσθησις, σύνεσις, φρόνησις*) and thus become themselves an ogdoad. Added to these is another ogdoad made up of ministers and their consorts: Gamaliel, Gabriel, Samblo and Abrasax with *μνήμη, ἀγάπη, εἰρήνη* and Eternal Life. These two ogdoads, together with the three ogdoads of the Father, the Mother and the Son form a quintet of ogdoads, a total of forty heavenly beings.

6. The Logos and the pleroma of the four lights give praise and request that the Father may be called the fourth in respect to the incorruptible race, and that the seed of the Father may be called the seed of the great Seth. In response to this prayer the thrice-male child appears together with the great Christ who creates a church of angelic beings which praises the trinity of Father, Mother and Son, and their pleroma. This church has the task of bringing the revelation to those who are worthy. The section ends with "amen", indicating that the first main part has come to an end.<sup>1</sup>

II. The second main section is dominated by the work of Seth. As the son of Adamas, he was one of the lower powers of the world of light. Through him, the light in the lower world is connected with the supreme God. The fact that the church of angelic beings was created in answer to the request to call the children of the Father the seed of Seth, is probably an indication that this church of angelic beings, which has been begotten by the thrice-male child and Christ and thus is the seed of the Father, now represents the heavenly prototype of the race of Seth.

Also in this section of the tractate presentations of praise with prayer and response are used twice as a stylistic device. However, this time Seth performs the action. The first prayer begins the section which deals with the creation of the seed, i.e. the race of Seth. In the second prayer Seth asks God for guards for his seed. A third segment of this section then describes how Seth himself performs the work of salvation.

In answer to the first prayer Plesithea, the virgin with the four breasts, comes into being. She is the "mother of the angels, the mother of the lights, the glorious mother".<sup>2</sup> She produces the seed of Seth out of Sodom and Gomorrah, and Seth accepts it with great joy and places it in the four aeons, in the third phoster Davithe.

<sup>1</sup> III 55,16 = IV 67,1.

<sup>2</sup> III 56,6ff. (IV is lost).

Following this presentation, a description of the origin of the creator of the world is inserted to clarify the background of the work of Seth and his race in the world. His origin goes back to the wish of the light Eleleth, who thinks it appropriate that after 5000 years a ruler over chaos and the underworld should come into being. Gamaliel, the minister of the light Oroiael, speaks the creative word upon which the hylic Sophia, who already has come forth, divides herself into two parts, the second of which becomes the angel Saklas. Together with the demon Nebruel, he creates twelve angelic assistants and orders them to become rulers over their worlds. Upon completion of the world he finally says in mistaken self-confidence, "I am a jealous God, and apart from me, nothing has come into being".<sup>1</sup> This claim is refuted by a voice from heaven which rebukes him with the words, "The Man exists and the Son of Man".<sup>2</sup> Along with the voice, an image appears which presents the occasion for the creation of the first creature (*πλάσμα*). In order to help him, the *μετάνοια* appears. On account of God's approval (*εὐδοκία*) of the race of the sons of Seth, he sends the *μετάνοια* to eliminate the *ὕστέρημα*. She prayed for (the repentance of) the children of the evil Archon as well as those of Adam and Seth.

After this cosmogonic section the author returns to the creation of the seed of Seth. A new mythological figure, the angel Hormos, appears. He creates the seed of Seth in a *λογογενὲς σκεῦος* through the Holy Spirit, although by means of mortal maidens. The great Seth sows his seed into the created aeons. Again Sodom and Gomorrah are mentioned. It is the place of the planting, or the place of origin. Still a third origin of the seed of Seth is reported. Through a word, Edokla gives birth to truth and justice, the beginning of the seed of life eternal and of all those who persevere because they know their heavenly origin, i.e. the children of Seth. Thus they are scattered over both the heavenly and the lower world. The problem lies in their existence in the world, for there they are exposed to dangers. Flood, fire, starvation and pestilence threaten them, afflictions which occur because of them. The devil is considered the originator of these afflic-

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<sup>1</sup> III 58,25f. (IV is lost).

<sup>2</sup> III 59,2ff. (IV is lost). As an answer to the arrogance of Ialdabaoth this voice is also mentioned in OnOrWld II 103 (151), 19f. where it refers to the immortal man of light. The reference to the existence of Man and the Son of Man also occurs in ApocryJn (II 14,14f. = III 21,17f. = BG 47,15f.), but there it is directed toward Pistis Sophia.

tions. He is characterized by his many guises and the strife within his realm. Therefore Seth raises his voice in presentation of praise and prayer for the protection of his seed. In response, 400 angels come forth under the leadership of Aerosiel and Selmelchel to guard the men of Seth. The earthly history of the children of Seth begins after the creation of ἀλήθεια and θέμισσα and continues until the end of the world, when the judgment of the present aeon and its archons will take place.

The picture would be incomplete if the saving work of Seth in the world were left unmentioned. Seth cannot leave his children alone. In accordance with the will of the great invisible Spirit, he is sent down by the heavenly world to do this task. For the sake of pacifying the cosmos, he also suffers the hostilities that are connected with earthly existence; for that precisely is the means of redeeming the race that has gone astray. He brings baptism as a rite for rebirth through the Holy Spirit. To accomplish his mission, he puts on the living Jesus as a garment. Salvation is accomplished by a reconciliation of the world with itself, by a denial of the world and the god of the thirteen aeons, and by the convocation of the saints and the heavenly beings, in particular the pre-existent Father. Seth-Jesus is established as Lord over the cosmic powers.

Upon the description of the works of Seth follows a catalog of all the powers who dispense salvation,<sup>1</sup> beginning with Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekus up to the great invisible Spirit. At the end of the enumeration the specific means of salvation are dealt with again. Yoel is listed as a pre-existent heavenly being who corresponds to John the Baptist in the world. Then a time reference is given: "from now on ...".<sup>2</sup> From that time stems the gnosis of those who are to be redeemed through the incorruptible person Poimael and those that are worthy of the baptism. The section closes with the promise that the saved ones will not taste death.

III. The hymnic part appears to have two sections of hymns. The reconstruction of the meter is greatly complicated by the fact that we are dealing with a Coptic translation from the Greek. A guarded attempt has been made in the commentary to argue for two hymns made up of five strophes with four lines each. It is unclear to whom

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<sup>1</sup> III 64,9 - 65,26 = IV 75,24 - 77 end.

<sup>2</sup> III 65,26 (IV is lost).

the first hymn is addressed. It could refer to Jesus. In the second hymn the worshipper is addressing a trinity or a tetrad consisting of the supreme God as the Father, the Mother, Jesus as the Son, and another light-being. In this way he expresses the ecstatic-mystical experience of the Gnostic believer.

IV. The final section <sup>1</sup> consists of several, originally independent units. First Seth is designated as the author of the book.<sup>2</sup> The first part mentions<sup>3</sup> that Seth had placed this book on very high mountains so that it has remained unknown up to now. Neither the prophets nor primitive Christianity were familiar with it.

Also in the second part <sup>4</sup> the authorship is attributed to Seth. A time of 130 years is indicated for the writing.<sup>5</sup> This time the mountain on which the book was placed is mentioned by name: Charaxio. The book will reveal at the end of time the race of Seth and its adherents who belong to the invisible Spirit, his *μονογενής*-son and the Barbelo. This section ends with "amen".<sup>6</sup>

Finally a colophon follows.<sup>7</sup> In it the tractate is given the name "The Egyptian Gospel" or "The Gospel of the Egyptians". The author — who must be one of the copyists of the tractate — asks for himself and his fellow lights *χάρις, σύνεσις, αἴσθησις* and *φρόνησις*. The prayer is addressed to *Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ* whose monogram *ΙΧΘΥC* is added. The author himself mentions both his spiritual name, Eugnostos, and his name in the flesh, Gongessos.

In the reconstruction of the principal ideas, the preceding sketch of the content was based upon the version which appeared to be correct or the one which was extant. Therefore, the details and the differences between the versions could not be dealt with. These will be treated in the commentary. However, again and again it becomes obvious that an adequate interpretation without the version contained in Codex IV is not possible since it seems to have been based on a

<sup>1</sup> III 68,1-69,17 = IV 80,14-81 end.

<sup>2</sup> III 68,2 = IV 80,15f.; III 68,10f. = IV 80,26-81,1.

<sup>3</sup> III 68,1-9 = IV 80,15-25.

<sup>4</sup> III 68,10 - 69,5 = IV 80,26-81 end.

<sup>5</sup> The 130 years are identical to the time which passed, according to the Hebrew tradition, before Adam became father of Seth (Gen 5:3).

<sup>6</sup> III 69,5.

<sup>7</sup> III 69,6-17 (lost or not originally present in IV).

better Greek original and also contains less errors and misunderstandings than III.

The tractate belongs to those texts which are grouped as writings of Seth in *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus dem Codex V von Nag Hammadi* by A. BÖHLIG - P. LABIB, p. 87. Though direct access to these texts has cast doubt upon the Sethian character of some of them<sup>1</sup>, in the present work we are dealing with a writing of Seth in the fullest sense of the word. If we accept the title "Gospel of the Egyptians", then we have a Sethian gospel because in it Seth's work of salvation in behalf of his children takes the central place. But it has been combined with Barbelo-Gnostic material in which the creation of Seth is mentioned. Thus the heavenly prologue could be given. For this one should compare ApocryJn, which comes from a similar tradition. Also there, the invisible, virginal Spirit, whose uniqueness is best expressed by means of negative attributes, stands at the head of the pantheon.<sup>2</sup> Barbelo, his *ἔννοια*, emanates from him as a feminine complement. In accordance with the trinity of Father, Mother and Son, which was current at that time in the East Mediterranean area, she also gives birth to a spark of light, a *μονογενής*. The great invisible Spirit anoints him and makes him *χριστός*. The emanation in ApocryJn is complicated by the insertion of beings such as Nous, Will, Understanding, etc., into the order of emanation. In contrast to ApocryJn, GEgypt presents the trinity of Father, Mother and Son as an evolution of the great invisible Spirit. Its description is more disciplined. The understanding of the individual beings of the trinity as ogdoads is a new element. The Doxomedon-aeon and the five seals are also not present in ApocryJn.

The *λόγος*, the divine *ἀπογενής*, plays a much greater role in GEgypt than in ApocryJn. In the latter tractate he has moved to the background in favor of Christ. Christ is the divine *ἀπογενής* who has created the world through the *λόγος*. In GEgypt, Christ has only a peripheral role. Both texts know about his anointing by the great invisible Spirit.<sup>3</sup> Another important difference is found in the time of the creation of the four lights. In ApocryJn they come forth from the light, which is identified with Christ. In GEgypt they appear upon the request of the Logos and Adamas.<sup>4</sup> Here the Logos is given a

<sup>1</sup> See F. WISSE, "The Sethians and the Nag Hammadi Library".

<sup>2</sup> BG 22,17ff. = II 2,26ff.

<sup>3</sup> III 44,23f. = IV 55,12f.; BG 30,14ff. = III 9,24ff. = II 6,23ff.

<sup>4</sup> BG 32,19ff. = III 11,15ff. = II 7,30ff.; III 50,17ff. = IV 62,16ff.

considerably larger role; he practically takes the place of the Christ in ApocryJn. However, Christ precedes him.<sup>1</sup> This Christ belongs to the second group of the pantheon, which is only attested in GEgypt: the thrice-male child, the virgin Youel and the Splenditenens Esephech. The mentioning of Christ appears to be secondary; it could be an interpretative gloss. The four lights in ApocryJn have not been complemented by consorts to become an ogdoad, but are surrounded by twelve ( $4 \times 3$ ) aeons. Yet the female consorts, as described in GEgypt, are also mentioned in ApocryJn, although rather abruptly.<sup>2</sup> Also the ogdoad of their ministers is missing. The creation of Adam in ApocryJn takes place after that of the lights but also through the *ἀπογενής*. However, in ApocryJn he is identified as Christ, whereas in GEgypt he is identified as Logos. Furthermore, in GEgypt the work of Mirothoe has been inserted, while in ApocryJn we find the *πρόγνωσις* and the perfect *νοῦς*. The difference in the characterization of Adamas is also of interest. In ApocryJn he is the perfect, true human being, while in GEgypt he originates from Man. This latter formulation thus presents the concept of the God "Anthropos". All the more interesting in both versions is the ascription of praise to the supreme God as he through whom and to whom everything was created. In GEgypt this refers to "Man", while in ApocryJn it is spoken by Adamas as a presentation of praise to the invisible Spirit. In both texts Seth is the son of Adamas. Although ApocryJn also speaks of the descendants of Seth and specifies their dwelling place — this occurs in GEgypt in a different context — the problematic behind the petition in III 54, 6ff. is absent. However, it is a characteristic element of the theme of GEgypt.

The problematic of the second main section of GEgypt is completely different from the section that follows in ApocryJn.<sup>3</sup> Yet the story of Sophia and her son, which is treated at great length in ApocryJn, is also used in GEgypt, though in a very abbreviated form.<sup>4</sup> The fall of Sophia is not mentioned here, for the creation of a ruler of the world is due to a decision of the heavenly realm. Eleleth expresses the wish that a ruler be created, perhaps due to the fact that he stands closest to the lower region, as the dwelling place of the more susceptible

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<sup>1</sup> IV 60, 7f. The corresponding page in III is lost.

<sup>2</sup> BG 33,6f. = III 11,22f. = II 8,3f.

<sup>3</sup> BG 36,16ff. = III 14,9ff. = II 9,25ff.

<sup>4</sup> III 56,26ff. = IV 68,9 (the rest is lost).

souls. A descending hierarchy of lights, moreover, seems to be indicated in Zost (VIII, 1) where, similar to ApocryJn, Adamas and Seth appear subsequent to the lights.<sup>1</sup> In contrast, the hierarchy in GEgypt puts a special emphasis on Seth.

For the birth of the seed of Seth, its dwelling place, preservation and salvation as presented in the second main section of GEgypt there are parallels available in some other writings in the Nag Hammadi library. Particularly relevant are ApocAd (V, 5), Zost (VIII, 1) and TriProt (XIII, 1). The Codex Brucianus should also be mentioned at this point. In GEgypt as well as ApocryJn, Zost and Codex Brucianus, Seth belongs to the heavenly world. This is also the case in the ApocAd, yet here the double appearance of Seth and his seed in heaven and on earth is explained through a clever dialectic. Adam calls the son who takes the place of Abel, Seth. This is the name of the heavenly progenitor of the great race, who was given the knowledge (*γνώσις*) which Adam and Eve lost.<sup>2</sup> In GEgypt the heavenly Seth is the son of the heavenly Adamas. But his relationship to the world and his work of salvation are achieved through his descent into the world, where he appears as Jesus. For the mythological details of the creation of the children of Seth, we have, unfortunately, no parallels available up to now. Even though the mythological repertoire must have been familiar to the author of Zost, the references there are either on fragmentary pages or so short that no further conclusions can be drawn from them. The threat of the flood and the fire to the race of Seth are described in detail in ApocAd. While in ApocAd the race of Seth is removed by angels,<sup>3</sup> in GEgypt there are only hints of this, such as the report that guardians will guard them. Some of the mythological beings who are enumerated at the end of the second main part are also mentioned in ApocAd, Zost and Codex Brucianus.

One could describe GEgypt as a work in which the Sethians portrayed their salvation history. That could have been the basis for the name "gospel" in the colophon. If one extends the term gospel somewhat beyond its use in the New Testament, this characterization is certainly legitimate. Just as the Gospels of the New Testament describe the life of Jesus from the history preceding his birth — and in the Gospel of John from his pre-existence in heaven — through his words

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<sup>1</sup> VIII 29 and 30.

<sup>2</sup> V 64,29ff.

<sup>3</sup> V 69,19ff.; 76,17ff.

and works to death and resurrection, so too, in GEgypt, the life of Seth is presented: his pre-history, the origin of his seed, its preservation by the heavenly powers and the coming of Seth into the world, and his work of salvation, especially through baptism. If one takes into account that liturgical acts have an important role in the unfolding cosmic drama, then it is perfectly understandable that the experience of salvation is expressed in a hymnic section. It is Seth himself who puts the account about himself in writing. The presence of hymns brings to mind the presentations of praise in 3StSeth (VII, 5).<sup>1</sup>

The mystery character of GEgypt stems from the fact that the book has long been hidden. It also fits well with the nature of Gnostic sects. The name "Gospel of the Egyptians" leads also to a further suggestion. It is possible that this title was given to the book by non-Egyptians because they knew that the book had been transmitted by Egyptians or that it was especially liked in Egypt. But in that case there must be a special feature, which forms the basis for this popularity. Only one comes to mind: Seth, who is a central figure in the tractate.<sup>2</sup> Gnosticism is fond of interpreting as good what traditionally was considered evil, e.g. the serpent in paradise. Thus it is possible that the Egyptian god Seth — or Set — was reinterpreted in terms of Seth, the son of Adam. Perhaps this was done by the Sethians for missionary purposes,<sup>3</sup> for we know of attempts to rehabilitate the Egyptian god Seth from magical texts.<sup>4</sup> They call him a god who hates evil, and they deny that he injured his brother. Since he is connected in this tractate with Sodom and Gomorrah, which have been reinterpreted as the home of the good seed of Seth, one is reminded that the Egyptian Seth was accused of sodomy. Furthermore, the use of the symbol of the fish may also relate to this, for the fish was a typhonian animal.<sup>5</sup> At the same time  $\text{ΙΧΘΥΣ}$  was a monogram for Christ ( $\text{Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ}$ ) which is attested in Egypt in *The Tutor* ( $\text{Παιδαγωγός}$ )<sup>6</sup> of Clement of Alexan-

<sup>1</sup> VII 118,10 - 127,27.

<sup>2</sup> For the original location and the interpretation of the Nag Hammadi library it is important to know whether the place name  $\text{ϞΕΝΕΧΤ}$  could mean "the trees of Seth," since this place is located near Nag Hammadi. Cf. H. KEES, "Seth" (in *Pauly-Wissowa*, RE), col. 1903.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, pp. 22f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. H. KEES, "Seth", col. 1896-1922, especially 1921.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. H. KEES, "Seth", col. 1901-1902.

<sup>6</sup> *Paed.* III 11,59,2 (= ed. STÄHLIN, p. 270,8).

dria. Perhaps the monogram in the colophon was deliberately used. In that case Egypt may be the place of origin of the tractate.

The work cannot be considered a unity, for it appears to incorporate several groups of traditions. The first part, which is related to ApocryJn, must be considered a typical product of "Barbelo-Gnostic" speculation. Yet the grouping according to ogdoads could be evidence of Valentinian influence. Even though the redaction appears to be very skillful, it is evident that older pieces of traditional material were used. Thus the tractate gives a simple description of the trinity at first, but later it presents an expanded interpretation which uses the schema of ogdoads. This further description need not be attributed to the compiler, since it could just as well have been a piece of tradition which circulated on the subject. Indeed, such a compilation of pieces of tradition helps to explain the variation in the order of creation between GEgypt and ApocryJn.

Even more than the first section, the second section is characterized by a compilation of disparate pieces. The birth and settlement of the seed of Seth is made up of three mythologumena designed to make different contributions to the story and to form a unified account. The first describes the birth through Plesitheia. Also Zost presents her as the mother of the angels,<sup>1</sup> thus indicating that the heavenly part of the race of Seth is being described. Since the children of Seth are not cosmic beings by nature, they receive a place in heaven in the third light Davithe. Consequently this first report precedes that of the creation of the world. But the same tradition teaches that the children of Seth appear in the world. In ApocAd this happens rather unexpectedly; nothing is said about a connection with the human form.<sup>2</sup> The second mythologumenon which follows upon the creation story, seems to deal with that question. Here the angel Hormos clothes the seed of Seth in human form, and they are brought by Seth into the created aeons. In both mythologumena, the story has been connected with Sodom and Gomorrah as the dwelling place of the seed of Seth. How the opinions of the Gnostics differed becomes apparent in Codex III 60, 12ff.,<sup>3</sup> where competing views are placed directly next to each other.

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<sup>1</sup> VIII 53,12f.

<sup>2</sup> V 71,10ff.

<sup>3</sup> IV 71,21ff. does not present these alternatives. Yet it is best to assume that they were already present in the Greek *Vorlage* of III.

The third mythologumenon deals with the race of Edokla. This must refer to the seed of Seth called here the seed of eternal life. Through her creation of truth and justice she establishes the beginning of a new epoch.<sup>1</sup> The time span from "truth and justice" until the end is the earthly time.

If one assumes a compilation of pieces of tradition, it will also be easier to separate Christian from pre-Christian material. First of all, the colophon belongs to the Christianized parts since it speaks of Jesus Christ, while the two preceding conclusions are pieces of tradition which, in connection with the composition of the book, speak only of Seth. The teaching of the appearance of Seth as Jesus, which presupposes familiarity of the Sethians with Christianity,<sup>2</sup> is extensively developed in GEgypt. Jesus is also seated in heaven with Seth. Furthermore the hostile attitude toward the law is significant. What is in the law is crucified. This is probably due to Pauline influence.<sup>3</sup> Christ is not mentioned very often. Apart from the occurrence in the colophon<sup>4</sup> the "great Christ" appears six times.<sup>5</sup> In all cases the context leaves no doubt that  $\bar{\chi}\bar{c}$  (IV) or  $\bar{\chi}\bar{p}\bar{c}$  (III) indicates  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$  and not  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ . It is problematic how far the thrice-male child has been identified with Christ<sup>6</sup>. This is in itself further evidence for the secondary role given to Christ in the tractate.

Some allusions to the New Testament are evident. In the soteriological passage 2 Cor 5: 19 has been reinterpreted,<sup>7</sup> and at the end of the passage there is a reference to John 8: 52. In the description of the angels Eph 2: 2 seems to have been reinterpreted. For the crucifixion of that which is in the law, Gal 6: 14; Eph 2: 15f. and Col 2: 14 come to mind. The interpretation of the cross as a sign of victory fully agrees with the Gnostic way of thinking and was favored by Origen as well. The formula  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\iota\omega\upsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  can be found in Ignatius<sup>8</sup> and corresponds to  $\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon\ (\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon)$  in John 12: 31; 14: 30; 16: 11 and  $\delta\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \alpha\iota\omega\upsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  in 2 Cor 4: 4. We also meet the term  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . As in other Gnostic texts, baptism is mentioned, but it has not been spiritualized as in ApocAd.

<sup>1</sup> III 62,19ff. = IV 74,4ff.

<sup>2</sup> EPIPHANIUS, *Panarion* 39.1,2-3 (ed. HOLL, p. 72).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> III 69,14 (not present in IV).

<sup>5</sup> IV [55,6]; IV 55,12=III 44,22; IV [56,27]; 59,17; 60,8; IV 66,8 = III 54,20.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 192.

<sup>8</sup> IGNATIUS, *Eph.* 17,1 *et al.*

It functions instead as a symbol of the Spirit. Thus Christian elements are found throughout the tractate. This would indicate a composition date in the second or third century if we can assume that the tractate in its present form is a compilation. Yet some of the pieces of tradition may well be considerably older and, as in the case of other Nag Hammadi tractates, go back to a Gnosticism which precedes the development of Christian Gnosticism.

## THE PRESENTATIONS OF PRAISE

Presentations of praise and prayers play an important role in the development of the narrative in GEgypt. The same phenomenon can be observed in ApocryJn and the Manichaean literature.<sup>1</sup> In these acts of worship the whole pantheon is recounted as far as it has been developed at that point in the narrative. In order to consider these mythological figures and their characteristics in greater detail and to simplify the discussion in the commentary, the relevant material has been brought together into one chapter.

The presentations of praise in III, 2 are introduced by †  $\bar{\text{N}}\text{OYCMOY}$ <sup>2</sup> and once by †  $\text{CMOY}$ .<sup>3</sup> IV, 2 on the other hand, uses  $\epsilon\text{I}\bar{\text{N}}\epsilon\ \epsilon\text{ZPAI}\ \bar{\text{N}}\text{OYCMOY}$ .<sup>4</sup> Usually the presentation of praise is followed by a petition.<sup>5</sup>

The following beings are the recipients of the presentations of praise:

1. the great invisible Spirit,
2. the male virgin Barbelo,
3. the great Doxomedon-aeon,
4. the thrice-male child,
5. the male virgin Youel,
6. Esephech, the Splenditenens,
7. the ethereal earth.

1. The great invisible Spirit is the supreme deity who can only be described by means of negative attributes. Such a description has been employed in GEgypt as well as in the extensive introductory sections of ApocryJn and SJC. Instances of this are presented in the presentations of praise as well as in some other places. The tractate

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<sup>1</sup> *Kephalaia* II (Lfg. 11-12) ed. A. Böhlig (Stuttgart 1966), p. 271,26ff. See also A. BÖHLIG, "Neue Kephalaia des Mani", in *Mysterion und Wahrheit* (Leiden 1968), p. 257

<sup>2</sup> III [44,25]; 49,23; 50,17f. where it refers back to the previous instance; 53,15f. 55,18; 61,23f.

<sup>3</sup> III 44,10.

<sup>4</sup> IV 54,14f.; 55,15f.; 56,7f.; 57,13; 60,22; 61,24; [62,16] where it refers back to the previous instance; 65,8f.; 67,3f.; 73,7f.

<sup>5</sup> In III, 2 it is introduced by  $\text{AITI}$ : 44,13; 50,21; 51,6; 56,3; 62,12, and in IV, 2 by  $\text{PAITI}$ : 54,20; 56,8; [62,19f. 31]; 73,25.

has been named after this being "the holy book of the great invisible Spirit". In all the presentations of praise he is called great (**ΝΟΒ**) and invisible (**ΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ** in III,2, **ΑΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ** in IV,2).<sup>1</sup> The predicate "virginal" (**ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ**) is missing in one instance.<sup>2</sup> Four times the additional predicates "uncallable" <sup>3</sup> and "unnameable"<sup>4</sup> have been used. Once the predicate "incomprehensible" (**ΑΤΤΑΖΟQ**) occurs.<sup>5</sup> Outside of the presentations of praise the great invisible Spirit is also called "Father".<sup>6</sup>

2. After the Father comes the male virgin Barbelo. She is found in six of the seven presentations of praise. The name Barbelo in most cases has been left out in III, 2.<sup>7</sup> Such differences between the versions may go back to the Greek *Vorlagen*. In III 44, 27 the male virgin is called **ΙΩ[ΗΛ]**.<sup>8</sup> Since the male virgin Yoel does not appear on the scene until IV 56, 20 — the text is uncertain due to lacunae in IV, 2 and missing pages in III, 2 — Yoel was most likely mistakenly written for Barbelo. There is no reference to the male virgin in IV 60, 24f.<sup>9</sup>

In one place Barbelo is called "Mother".<sup>10</sup> She is the female complement of the Father. However, we are dealing here with a higher form of existence which is difficult to grasp in terms of human concepts. She is not simply the divine consort of mythology. She is a virgin just as the great invisible Spirit is "virginal". The predicate "male" indicates her truly divine character. For the essence of divine per-

<sup>1</sup> III 44,11.26; 49,23; 53,16; 55,19 (**ΑΖΟΡΑΤΟC**). 61,24 **ΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ** is missing; probably the scribe skipped a line. IV 54,16; 55,17; 60,23 (the parallel in III is lost); 61,25; 65,10; 67,5; 73,9.

<sup>2</sup> III 44,26 = IV 55,17.

<sup>3</sup> **ΑΚΛΗΤΟΝ** in III 44,12; 53,17; 55,19 (**ΑΚΛΗΤΟC**); 61,24. All the parallel occurrences in IV are partly or completely in lacunae. There is a question about the way IV has translated *ἀκλήτων*. The **ΑΚΛΗΤΟΝ** in III 65,10 has for its parallel in IV 77,5 **ΑΤΧΑΖΜ[ΕQ]** (but not in a presentation of praise). Since in IV 54,16 **ΑΤΧ[** is visible it is possible that the translator of IV, 2 consistently mistranslated *ἀκλήτων* by **ΑΤΧΑΖΜQ** [65,10; 67,5; 73,8].

<sup>4</sup> III 44,11 **ΑΤΧΩ ΜΠ[ΕQΡΑΝ]**; 55,20 **ΑΤΟΝΟΜΑΖΕ ΜΜΟQ**; IV: **ΑΤ† ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟQ** 54,17; 65,11 (missing in the parallel III 53, 16ff.); 67,6. It probably also occurs in IV 73,9f., but IV has a lacuna and III appears to have skipped a line.

<sup>5</sup> III 49,24. The parallel in IV 61,25 is in a lacuna.

<sup>6</sup> III 40,13f. = IV 50,3 etc.

<sup>7</sup> It is spelled **ΒΑΡΒΗΛΟΝ** in III 42,12; 62,1; 69,3. This same spelling is found in ApocryJn (III, 1). IV, 2 reads **ΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ** in [52,4; 54,20; 61,27] and 73,12.

<sup>8</sup> The parallel in IV 55,17f. is in a lacuna.

<sup>9</sup> The parallel in III is lost.

<sup>10</sup> III 42,12 = IV 52,4.

fection is that unity in which male and female are united.<sup>1</sup> Barbelo possesses precisely those characteristics which belong to the highest deity. Like the great invisible Spirit, she too is uninterpretable, ineffable and self-begotten.<sup>2</sup> According to Irenaeus,<sup>3</sup> as well as the Gnostic writing Apocry Jn, the so-called Barbelo-Gnostics made Barbelo their characteristic deity.

The meaning of the name Barbelo remains an open question.<sup>4</sup> One wonders whether *barbē' elōh* ("in four is God") is related to the *τετρακτύς* of Greek philosophy. The sporadic use of the name Barbelo in GEgypt may be due to the fact that the tractate has borrowed from Barbelo-Gnosticism yet does not belong to it but wants to go beyond it.

3. The position of the third being in the order of the recipients of the presentations of praise varies. Only in one of the four occurrences does the Doxomedon-aeon appear in the third place.<sup>5</sup> In the other cases he is preceded by the thrice-male child, Youel and Esephech.<sup>6</sup> However, since the Doxomedon-aeon appears upon the scene first<sup>7</sup> and proves to be the resting place of the thrice-male child,<sup>8</sup> he ought to be discussed third even if he is last in the original sequence.

The alternate name of this being is *Δομέδων Δοξομέδων*. This double designation is rare.<sup>9</sup> Probably the first part is the more original one, meaning "Lord of the House",<sup>10</sup> which then was reformulated to "Lord of Glory" in a light-realm theology. Except for the first two instances, where the double designation Domedon Doxomedon

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ApocAd V 64,6ff.; 1 ApocJas V 41,16ff.; GPh II 68,23-26; 70,9-17 (logia 71 and 78); 2 Clem. 12,2; CLEM. *Strom.* III 9,63 (from the apocryphal Gospel of the Egyptians). Furthermore it should be remembered that Philo considered the change from female to male necessary. Cf. R. A. BAER, *Philo's Use of the Categories Male and Female* (Leiden 1970).

<sup>2</sup> III 42,16ff. = IV 52,8-12.

<sup>3</sup> *Adv. Haer.* I, 29.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. H. LEISEGANG, *Die Gnosis* (4 ed. Stuttgart 1955), p. 186.

<sup>5</sup> III 53,19f. = IV 65,13f.

<sup>6</sup> III 50,4f. = IV 62,4; III 56,1 (IV is lost); III 62,8f. = IV 73,19f.

<sup>7</sup> III 41,13ff. = IV 51,2-5.

<sup>8</sup> III 43,15f. = IV 53,13ff.

<sup>9</sup> III 41,14f. = IV 51,2f.; III 43,9f. (the parallel in IV 53,5 reads only ΔΟΞΟΜΕΔΩΝ).

<sup>10</sup> The name Domiel found in Jewish literature must be closely related to this meaning, and was probably judaized by means of the "-el" which gives the being its heavenly character. Cf. G. SCHOLEM, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York 1960), p. 33.

is found, the title "the great Doxomedon-aeon" is used.<sup>1</sup> Several occurrences of this title are in the plural, i.e. the great Doxomedon-aeons.<sup>2</sup> Once IV translates Doxomedon into Coptic as ϩⲉⲩⲓⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛ.<sup>3</sup> This being is further described as "the aeon of the aeons".<sup>4</sup>

The question remains who this being is and what he signifies. The fluctuation between singular and plural would indicate a collective being. Also the fact that he is described as a spacial entity points in this direction. He is pictured as a throne surrounded by powers. The relation with the trinity of Father, Mother and Son<sup>5</sup> on the one hand, and with the thrice-male child on the other, make him a manifestation of the Father of light who rests in secrecy and suddenly appears with his light. For this he needs an aeon in which he presents himself as a second god or as a being who encompasses the heavenly realm. He is the great throne room of the god who appeared in the realm of light. This description reminds one of the Jewish concept of the *מעשה מרכבה*. On the other hand, the presentation in terms of an aeon also comes into play. In Hermeticism the aeon has the position of a second god just as it does here.<sup>6</sup> Here too he could be the totality of the revealed god. The Doxomedon-aeon would be meaningless and inconceivable if he were not filled. That is why he should not be pictured as a personal being, which is supported by the fact that he does not speak. It is also insufficient to see him as ruler surrounded by hosts of ministering angels, for he is filled by the child of light and the light beings who belong to him.

It is uncertain whether the name placed on the throne refers to Doxomedon or to the male child.<sup>7</sup> Grammatically both are possible. The spacial description of the Doxomedon-aeon explains why he is listed once before the male child and the other times after Esephech. The male child, the male virgin and Esephech are closely connected with Doxomedon. Perhaps it stems from this trinitarian notion that the

<sup>1</sup> III 43,15 = IV 53,12f.; III 44,20 = IV 55,8f.; III 50,4f. = IV 62,4; III 53,19f. = IV 65,13f.; III 56,1 (IV is lost); III 62,8f. = IV 73,19f. The two exceptions are III 41,14f. = IV 51,2f. and III 43,9f. = IV 53,5. These also happen to be the two instances where III has the double name ΔΟΜΕΔΩΝ ΔΟΞΟΜΕΔΩΝ.

<sup>2</sup> IV 62,4 (III 50,5f. has the singular); IV 65,13f. (III 53,19f. has the singular but the following pronoun refers to him in the plural); III 56,1 (IV is lost).

<sup>3</sup> IV 73,19f.

<sup>4</sup> III 41,15 = IV 51,4; III 43,10 = IV 53,5f.

<sup>5</sup> III 41,17ff. = IV 51,7-10.

<sup>6</sup> This agrees with Melch (IX 6,1; 16,30) where Doxomedon is called the first born Aeon.

<sup>7</sup> III 43,17-20 = IV 53,15-19.

trinity of Father, Mother and Son are added to him.<sup>1</sup> In that case the first three beings are the content of the Doxomedon, the fourth is the Son, the fifth the Mother and the sixth the Father.

It is tempting to identify Yeu (ΙΕΟΥ) of PS and the Books of Yeu with Doxomedon. However, two difficulties arise which run counter to this suggestion. First, Yeu does not occur in any of the texts from Nag Hammadi. Secondly, the spelling ΙΕΟΥ found in PS does not correspond with ΙΗΟΥ in III, 2 and IV, 2. The second objection is not very strong, because Η and Ε are interchangeable, e.g. ΗΛΗΛΗΘ along side of ΗΛΕΛΗΘ. The first argument has more weight, although to be sure, precisely the transformation of Yeu into Doxomedon could have been the basis for the lack of any other reference to his name.

Yeu is closely connected with the light, and since he himself brings forth a plurality of Yeu's, he too becomes a collective entity. In the First Book of Yeu he is designated as the god of truth who has emanated from the highest god and appears in manifold form. In the Second Book of Yeu he is described as belonging to the external treasures.<sup>2</sup> He is the external form of the unapproachable God. In PS he is said to be the overseer of the light.<sup>3</sup> His origin is traced back to the pure light of the first tree. His primacy comes from his function as the emissary of the light<sup>4</sup> and as the primal man.<sup>5</sup> He also has duties with respect to the realm of the angels and the archons. Yeu has a wide range of responsibilities. He is the second god who orders the cosmic world. His tasks exceed those of the Doxomedon while at the same time including them. It is important for the event of salvation that the souls go to their rest inside of him.<sup>6</sup>

4. In response to the request of the three powers which form the trinity, the thrice-male child comes into being.<sup>7</sup> The expression ΠΨΟΜΝΤ ΝΖΟΥΤ ΝΑΛΟΥ in III or ΠΨΜΤ ΖΟΥΤ ΝΑΛΟΥ in IV is open to two interpretations. The question is whether the ΨΟΜΝΤ modifies ΑΛΟΥ or ΖΟΥΤ, i.e. "three male children" or "thrice-male child". The first interpretation is supported by the

<sup>1</sup> III 41,13-19 = IV 51,2-10.

<sup>2</sup> II J 307,30 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>3</sup> PS 15,30; 20,38 etc. transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>4</sup> PS 125,23f.; 208,25 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>5</sup> PS 185,4; 208,25; 215,29.30 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>6</sup> II J 307,32ff. transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>7</sup> III 44,18f. = IV 55,3ff. The passage is seriously obscured by lacunae in both versions.

occurrence of the plural  $\overline{\text{ΝΙΩΜΤ}} \overline{\text{ΖΟΟΥΤ}} [\overline{\text{ΝΙΩΜ}} \overline{\text{Τ ΓΕ}}] \overline{\text{ΝΟC}}$ <sup>1</sup> which is an exception to the rule that in Coptic numerals take a singular article.<sup>2</sup> III, 2 in one place has the accompanying verb in the plural.<sup>3</sup> The second interpretation is supported by the predominant use of the singular with the verbs, and the occurrence of adjectives formed with  $\overline{\text{τρι(σ)-}}$  for intensification, especially in Gnostic and Hermetic literature, e.g.  $\overline{\text{τρισμέργιστος}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{τριδύναμος}}$ ,<sup>4</sup>  $\overline{\text{τριπνεύματος}}$ . Also  $\overline{\text{τρισάρσης}}$  occurs: "But ( $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ) the tenth Father has a thrice-male ( $\overline{\text{τρισάρσης}}$ ) face, an Adamas face and a pure ( $\overline{\text{εὐλικρινής}}$ ) face".<sup>5</sup> In other Coptic-Gnostic tractates  $\overline{\text{τρισάρσης}}$  is found in translation. In 3StSeth (VII, 5) the  $\overline{\text{ΓΕΡΑΔΑΜΑC}}$ , the father of Seth, is called thrice-male.<sup>6</sup> In ApocryJn it is said of the Barbelo that "she became a first man, which is the virginal Spirit, the thrice-male, the one with the three powers, the three names, the three creatures, the ageless aeon".<sup>7</sup> The version in Codex II also describes her as the  $\overline{\text{μητροπάτωρ}}$  of everything, yet with the same characteristic description. In SJC the spirit of Sophia, who is the female complement of the perfect Man, is called "thrice-male".<sup>8</sup> Although 3StSeth and SJC show that intensification is the primary meaning of the expression, yet ApocryJn offers at the same time a strong emphasis on three aspects so that trinity and unity do not exclude each other.<sup>9</sup>

The question remains whether the occurrences in GEgypt present a sufficient basis to establish the meaning of the expression. Most of the instances in the lists of the members of the pantheon are of no further help.<sup>10</sup> However, one instance reads  $\overline{\text{πιζοΟΥΤ}} \overline{\text{ΝΑΛΟΥ}}$ <sup>11</sup> against  $\overline{\text{πσωΜΝΤ}} \overline{\text{ΝΖΟΟΥΤ}} \overline{\text{ΝΑΛΟΥ}}$ .<sup>12</sup> This is possibly, though not

<sup>1</sup> IV 55,3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WALTER C. TILL, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 162.

<sup>3</sup> III 54,13f. The parallel in IV 66,2f. is of no help since the verbal prefix precedes the noun. In III the noun stands in extraposition, and the verbal prefix is in the plural as is the rule when the subject is a numeral. Cf. L. STERN, *Koptische Grammatik*, § 486.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Pistis Sophia (PS), the Books of Yeu (J) and the untitled treatise from Codex Brucianus (U). Indices are available in the editions of SCHMIDT-TILL and C. BAYNES.

<sup>5</sup> U 341,8 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>6</sup> VII 120,29; 121,8.

<sup>7</sup> BG 27,17 - 28,3 = III 7,23-8,4. The parallel passage in II 5,5-11 is considerably different.

<sup>8</sup> BG 96,3 = III 102,12f. It is lacking in Eug (III, 3) due to homoioteleuton.

<sup>9</sup> BG 27,19ff. = III 7,23ff.; cf. II 5,6ff.

<sup>10</sup> III 49,26 = IV 61,28; III 53,23f. = IV 65,17f.; III 55,(21) = IV 67,8

<sup>11</sup> IV 73,12f.

<sup>12</sup> III 62,2.

necessarily, an error. In another place preserved only in IV ΠΑΛΟΥ ΝΝΑ[Τ]Χ[ΩΖΜ] occurs.<sup>1</sup> In both cases the expression introduces the name Telmael Telmachael Eli Eli Machar Machar Seth. The thrice-male child offered praise and prayed.<sup>2</sup> He came forth because of the first ogdoad, the one of the Father.<sup>3</sup> He rests himself in the Doxomedon-aeon.<sup>4</sup> Four times he is linked to the great Christ to whom he apparently belongs.<sup>5</sup> His appearance is related in time to the appearance of Christ: "When the thrice-male child came from above down to ... there came forth the great one who possesses all greatnesses of the great Christ".<sup>6</sup> The parallel passage in III reads: "Then the three male children came forth from above to the below ... (and) there came forth the greatness, the whole greatness of the great Christ".<sup>7</sup> Just before this passage the Father has been called the fourth,<sup>8</sup> perhaps by adding one to a trinity to form a tetrad. This tetrad may also be involved in the name which is given to the thrice-male child, ΤΕΛΜΑΗΛ ΤΕΛΜΑΧΑΗΛ ΗΛΙ ΗΛΙ ΜΑΧΑΡ ΜΑΧΑΡ ΣΗΘ.<sup>9</sup> Seth is added to the names of the thrice-male child, because the race of God is also his race.<sup>10</sup> The presence of the name Seth could indicate that the trinity of the child combined with Seth has become a divine tetrad.<sup>11</sup> That we are dealing here with a trinity, or a tetrad, in a unity is clear from IV 59, 17f. Although the expression is in the singular, the threefold child together with Seth must be meant since the names follow. The same expression is found in III 56, 16f.<sup>12</sup> without the names. Here Seth acknowledges the creation of his seed as a gift granted him by "the incorruptible child".

This seemingly confusing mythology is nonetheless meaningful throughout. It is meant to make plausible the light-origin of the

<sup>1</sup> IV 59,18f.

<sup>2</sup> IV 56,6-9.

<sup>3</sup> III 42,5ff. = IV 51,22ff.

<sup>4</sup> III 43,15ff. = IV 53,12-15.

<sup>5</sup> IV [55,6]; III 44,22f. = IV 55,11f.; IV 59,16-21; III 54,13-20 = IV 66,2-8.

<sup>6</sup> IV 66,2-8.

<sup>7</sup> III 54,13-20.

<sup>8</sup> III 54,7f. IV 65,26f. is obscured by lacunae.

<sup>9</sup> IV 59,18-21 (III is lost); III 62,2ff. = IV 73,12ff.; III 65,8f. = IV 77,2ff. (See also the commentary p. 190).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. III 54,6f. = IV 65,25ff.

<sup>11</sup> It is possible that the *topos* of the three young men in the fiery oven and their angel (3 + 1) did play a role in the formation of this formulation.

<sup>12</sup> IV is lost.

seed of Seth. The thrice-male child originates from the supreme God. This explains his connection with the first ogdoad-Father. The child forms a tetrad with Seth who is also a light-being. Even during the time that Seth is not yet a historical being he is customarily mentioned together with the names of the child. The passages in which the child is connected with the great Christ appear to be secondary. The tendency would be to identify Christ with the child and thus the separate mentioning of Christ appears to be evidence of a mythologumenon which was already present beforehand. The identification of Jesus with a child or youth is known from Christian-Gnostic texts. While in the Actus Vercellenses<sup>1</sup> and the Acts of John<sup>2</sup> he has a manifold appearance, in ApocPaul he is a youth<sup>3</sup>, and in ApocryJn he states unambiguously that he is at the same time father, mother and son.<sup>4</sup> Earlier in ApocryJn it was mentioned that he revealed himself as a child, an old man and a servant.<sup>5</sup> Yet this connection between Jesus and the child appears to be a secondary development. Also in Manichaeism the child appears alone<sup>6</sup> and together with Jesus.<sup>7</sup> The child is also known from the untitled work from Codex Brucianus.<sup>8</sup> In the latter case he is an ἐπίσκοπος and presides over a place which does not belong to the true depth but forms a more accessible entity. In Zost (VIII, 1) the child possesses a special aspect of perfection and he is a transcendent being.<sup>9</sup> He is also called "the perfect child who is higher than God".<sup>10</sup> Thus the concept of the child indicates a being which evolved from the light. He occupies a special position depending on the form of the myth and the penetration into Gnosticism of the person of Jesus or Christ with whom he was connected. His threefold character is explained by the fact that he is one being which contains three persons.

5. In response to the prayer of the thrice-male child "the male virgin Youel" appears.<sup>11</sup> She follows him in the order of the presen-

<sup>1</sup> HENNECKE-SCHNEEMELCHER, *The New Testament Apocrypha* II, p. 304 [209].

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 225 [151].

<sup>3</sup> V 18,7.

<sup>4</sup> BG 21,19ff. = II 2,13ff.

<sup>5</sup> BG 21,3ff. = II 2,2ff.

<sup>6</sup> See the index to the Manichaean Psalmbook.

<sup>7</sup> *Keph.* 35,27 and *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan* III, ed. ANDREAS-HENNING (Berlin 1934), pp. 38ff. [878].

<sup>8</sup> U 338,39; 339,12 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>9</sup> VIII 2,9.

<sup>10</sup> VIII 13,4f.

<sup>11</sup> IV 56,11-20. The text is obscured by lacunae.

tations of praise.<sup>1</sup> The name Youel is already known from the untitled treatise from Codex Brucianus.<sup>2</sup> The meaning of the name given there, "God forever",<sup>3</sup> has no philological basis. The name refers to the *παμμήτωρ*. This leads to a difficulty which is also found in GEgypt. For in one place the Barbelo, who is in our text the universal mother, is called *ΪΩΗΛ*,<sup>4</sup> probably a variant of *ΪΟΥΗΛ*. Considering their characteristics, an interchange of Barbelo and Youel can easily be understood. Thus just as Valentinianism has two Sophia figures, so GEgypt has two virgins, the second of which has not been relegated to an inferior status, however. In Zost she is also designated as virginal<sup>5</sup> and as "mother of glory".<sup>6</sup> At the same time she is viewed as a female *δοξοκράτωρ* (*†ΡΕϞΑ[ΜΑΖΤΕ] ΜΠΕΟΟΥ*),<sup>7</sup> "the (f.) male and virginal possessor of glories" (*ΤΑ [ΝΙΕΟ]ΟΥ ΝΖΟΟΥΤ ΑΥΩ Μ[ΠΑΡΘ]ΕΝΙΚΟΝ*)<sup>8</sup> and "she who possesses all the glories" (*ΤΑ ΝΕΟ[ΟΥ] ΤΗΡΟΥ*).<sup>9</sup> That means that she has the character of the being who follows her in the presentations of praise in GEgypt. She also possesses *δοξοκρατία* which in the untitled treatise from Codex Brucianus is attributed to the *παμμήτωρ* among others.<sup>10</sup>

Thus in the second series of light-beings in our text there is a correspondence of the second person to the second person of the first trinity. The character of the light-virgin can also be illustrated from other Gnostic texts. Well-known is the characterization of the light-virgin in PS as a judge who resides in the intermediate region.<sup>11</sup> In Manichaeism she is with Jesus in the ship of the moon and her function is that of purification.<sup>12</sup> In II, 5 she forms a trinity with Sabaoth and Jesus.<sup>13</sup> Jesus sits to the right of Sabaoth and she, carrying the name

<sup>1</sup> *ΤΑΡΣΕΝΙΚΗ ΝΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΪΟΥΗΛ* in III, *†ΖΟΟΥΤ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΪΟΥΗΛ* in IV. III 50,1f. = IV 61,29; III 53,24f. = IV 65,18f.; III 55,21f. = IV 67,9; III 62,5f. = IV 73,16.

<sup>2</sup> U 339,33; 355,2f. transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>3</sup> U 355,2f. transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>4</sup> III 44,27 = IV 55,18. This variant is also found in Zost (VIII 59,13 and 64,11).

<sup>5</sup> VIII 59,15.

<sup>6</sup> VIII 56,16.

<sup>7</sup> VIII 56,15.

<sup>8</sup> VIII 59,13.

<sup>9</sup> VIII 55,14; 64,11; 65,10.

<sup>10</sup> U 354,36 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>11</sup> PS 153f. transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>12</sup> For his role as *σοφία* see SCHMIDT-POLOTSKY, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten* (Berlin 1933), p. 68.

<sup>13</sup> II 105 (153),29f.

“virgin of the holy Spirit”, to the left. We are probably already here dealing with two concepts of the trinity, that of Father - Mother - Son, and that of Father - Son - Spirit. The connection between the two is that in certain systems the Mother is thought of as both virgin and spirit. The characterization as judge, which may have come from the Iranian concept of the *daēna*, is not present in GĒgypt.

6. Without a further request the appearance of Youel is followed by that of  $\text{HC}\eta\Phi\text{H}\chi$ .<sup>1</sup> He follows her in the order of the presentations of praise.<sup>2</sup> He is identified as  $\text{ΠΕΤΕΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΠΕΟΟΥ}$  (III,2) or  $\text{ΠΙΡΕΦΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΠΕΟΟΥ}$  (IV,2). This expression corresponds with the Manichaean term *φεγγοκάτοχος* or Splenditenens. This being in Manichaean mythology functions as the first son of the living Spirit.<sup>3</sup> The exact counterpart is *δοξοκράτωρ* which is found in the untitled treatise from Codex Brucianus.<sup>4</sup> The name is difficult to interpret. The designation “the child of the child” ( $\text{ΠΑΛΟΥ ΜΠΑΛΟΥ}$ ) has been added to the name.<sup>5</sup>

In PS “child of the child” refers to the twin-savior.<sup>6</sup> In the second Book of Yeu it refers to a being other than the twin-savior who is mentioned immediately following it.<sup>7</sup> In the same tractate it appears also without any reference to the twin-savior in the context.<sup>8</sup> The connection with the twin-savior is perhaps nothing more than an interpretation of the name and would indicate that the one child belongs to the other. Otherwise these instances tell us little about the origin and meaning of this mythologumenon. GĒgypt may have given us a starting point. For if it is legitimate to see a second trinity of father, mother and son in the thrice-male child, Youel and Esephech, then the child Esephech is the child of the thrice-male child.

The praise is also offered to “the crown of his glory”.<sup>9</sup> This could

<sup>1</sup> IV 56,20ff. The spelling in GĒgypt is consistently with an  $\chi$ . In Zost it differs between  $\chi$  (VIII 45,11) and  $\kappa$  (VIII 45,2).

<sup>2</sup> III 50,2ff. = IV 62,1ff.; III 53,25 - 54,3 = IV 65,19ff.; III 55,22ff. (IV is lost); III 62,6ff. = IV 73,17ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. F. CUMONT, *La cosmogonie manichéenne* (Bruxelles 1908), pp. 22ff., and the Coptic Manichaean texts.

<sup>4</sup> U 355,10 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>5</sup> IV [56,21f.] and 59,25 (III is lost); III 50,3 = IV 62,2f.; III 54,1f. (missing in IV 65,20); III 55,24 (IV is lost). In III 62,7 = IV 73,18 it is missing in both versions.

<sup>6</sup> PS 125,3; 147,38 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>7</sup> II J 316,1 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>8</sup> II J 306,11 transl. SCHMIDT-TILL.

<sup>9</sup> IV 59,26 (III is lost); III 50,4 = IV 62,3; III 54,2f. = IV 65,21; III 55,23f. where it precedes “the child of the child” (IV is lost); III 62,7f. = IV 73,18f.

be a cosmic reference to the stars. However, the more literal meaning would suffice. The Splenditenens is, of course, surrounded by light which adorns him like a crown.

7. Only once has the "ethereal earth" been added at the end (πκαρ̄ ν̄αεροδ̄ιος<sup>1</sup> = πκαρ̄ μ̄π̄ανηρ)<sup>2</sup>. The intention of the writer is to contrast the earth where mankind lives with a heavenly model because it is inhabited by the men of light, probably to be understood as the race of Seth. The author strongly asserts here his belief in the special nature of the Gnostics. That "ethereal earth" is a secondary addition to the presentation of praise is suggested by the fact that the pleroma is mentioned twice. The phrase "and the whole pleroma which I have mentioned before",<sup>3</sup> which really belongs at the end of the description of the Doxomedon-aeon, has been repeated with variations after the description of the ethereal earth.<sup>4</sup> The question arises whether, at least at a later point, the pleroma in its own right was taken up secondarily as part of the list of the presentations of praise. Especially those places where the Doxomedon-aeon stands at the end make a reference to the pleroma in the conclusion of the presentation of praise easy to understand. Just before mention is made of the place which embraces the realm of light, and it follows the final summary in the pleroma which includes everything that has been said about the realm of light, i.e. "which I have described before" or "which I have mentioned before".<sup>5</sup> It is, of course, also possible to relate this sentence to the pleroma of the Doxomedon-aeon. In that case it would refer back to his description in the beginning of the tractate. In the presentation of praise which has the Doxomedon-aeon before the thrice-male child,<sup>6</sup> the pleroma was not moved with it. We may take this as an indication that even if the pleroma is not a being in its own right, it is seen as the conclusion and summary of the presentation of praise. Perhaps after the transposition it was felt that the mentioning of the pleroma had become unconnected and therefore it was further elaborated. The fact that this time there is no reference to things which have been mentioned

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<sup>1</sup> III 50,10.

<sup>2</sup> IV 62,9.

<sup>3</sup> III 50,8ff. = IV 62,7f.

<sup>4</sup> III 50,16f. = IV 62,14ff.

<sup>5</sup> III 50,16f. = IV 62,14f; III 56,2f. (IV is lost); III 62,11f. = IV 73,23f.

<sup>6</sup> III 53,19-24 = IV 65,13-18.

before supports the assumption that it originally referred to the pleroma of the Doxomedon-aeon.

The discussion of the presentations of praise is not complete without a word about the form of the list in relation to the structure of the tractate as a whole. Most likely the list was originally a piece of traditional material which existed well before the composition and redaction of GEgypt. The problems discussed above which arose because of the change of the sequence and because of additions witness to this. Originally the list had another purpose than it has at present within the tractate. The sequence was most likely the following:

1. the great invisible Spirit,
2. Barbelo,
3. the thrice-male child,
4. Youel,
5. Esephech,
6. Doxomedon-aeon.

From this sequence the parallelism with the trinity of the so-called Barbelo-Gnostics is even more apparent. According to this list the trinity of Father, Mother and Son would correspond to the first three beings in the presentations of praise. However, this is not the case in GEgypt. There a special trinity of Father, Mother and Son comes into being from the great invisible Spirit, not through emanation but through evolution. The Father and the Son remain anonymous and only the Mother is identified, as Barbelo. The fact that the lists of beings who are praised retain the traditional form witnesses to their original character. As can be seen from the placing together of the trinity and the five seals,<sup>1</sup> GEgypt has regrouped them. Here a new and second trinity is formed which consists of five persons. When they — the thrice-male child, Youel and Esephech — are described as five seals, this is to express their character as the “image” of the first trinity. The Doxomedon-aeon forms the spacial framework, which is, as the embodiment of the emanations, indeed the second God.

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<sup>1</sup> IV 56,24f.

**THE GOSPEL OF THE EGYPTIANS**

**TEXT AND TRANSLATION**

*The Introduction: III 40,12-41,7*

- III 40,12 πχωωμε ν̄{τ}ζ[ιε]ρ[α ν̄τε ν̄ρμ̄ν̄κκημε]  
 ν̄τε πινοβ̄ νατναγ̄ ερ[οφ̄ μ̄π̄νᾱ πει]  
 14 ωτ̄ ν̄ατχω̄ μ̄πεφρα[ν̄ πενταφεῑ ε]  
 βολ̄ ζ̄ν̄ νετχοσε̄ ν̄τ[ε πιχωκ̄ πογ]  
 16 οειν̄ ν̄πογοειν̄ ν̄ν[ιαίων̄ νογο]  
 ειν̄ · πογοειν̄ ν̄τε τ[σιγη̄ ν̄τπρο]  
 18 νοιᾱ <μ>ν̄ πειωτ̄ ν̄τσιγη̄ η[ογοειν̄]  
 μ̄π̄ωαχε̄ μ̄<ν> τμηε̄ · πογο[ειν̄ ν̄νι]  
 41 [μα]  
 [αφθα]ρ̄φι[ᾱ πο]γοειν̄ ετε̄ μ̄ν̄ αρ̄η̄χ̄φ̄  
 2 [π]πειρε̄ εβολ̄ ζ̄ν̄ νιαίων̄ ν̄ογοειν̄  
 ν̄τε πειωτ̄ ν̄ατογων̄ εβολ̄ ν̄αση̄  
 4 μαντος̄ ν̄ατζαλλο̄ ν̄ατεγαίγελῑ μ̄μοφ̄  
 πα[ι]ων̄ ν̄νιαίων̄ ν̄αυτογενης̄ ν̄

40,12 See *supra*, p. 20 and 23.

41, 5 Perhaps emend to (Π)ΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ (IV 50,18).

The [holy (ἱερά)] book [of the Egyptians] / about the great invisible [Spirit (πνεῦμα), the] Father / whose name cannot be uttered [, he who came] / <sup>15</sup> forth from the heights of [the perfection, the] light / of the light of the [aeons (αἰών) of light], / the light of the [silence (σιγή) of the] providence (πρόνοια) / <and> the Father of the silence (σιγή), the [light] / of the word and the truth, the light [of the] // 41 [incorruptions (ἀφθαρσία), the] infinite light, / [the] radiance from the aeons (αἰών) of light / of the unrevealable, unmarked (ἀσήμαντος), / ageless, unproclaimable (-εὐαγγελίζεσθαι) Father, / <sup>5</sup> the aeon (αἰών) of the aeons (αἰών), autogenes (αὐτογενής), /

*The Introduction: IV 50,1-23*

- IV 50 [N̄]  
 [ΠΧΩΩΜΕ ΕΤΟΥΑ]ΑΒ ΝΤΕ ΝΙ  
 2 [Ρ̄Μ̄Ν̄ΚΗΜΕ Ν̄ΤΕ] ΠΙΝΟΒ̄ Ν̄ΝΑ  
 [ΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟQ Μ̄Π̄Ν̄Α] ΠΙΩΤ̄ Ν̄ΑΤ̄  
 4 [ΧΩ Μ̄ΠΕQΡΑΝ ΕΤΑ]Q̄Ρ̄ΨΟΡ̄Π̄ Ν̄  
 [ΕῙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΝΙ]ΧΙCΕ · ΠΟΥΟ  
 6 [ΕΙ]Ν̄ Ν̄ΤΕ [ΠΙ]ΧΩΚ · ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ  
 ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ̄ Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΙΕΝΕΖ̄ · ΠΟΥΟ  
 8 [Ε]ΙΝ̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥCΙΓΗ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ  
 Μ̄Ν̄ ΟΥCΙΓΗ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΙΩΤ̄ · ΠΟΥΟ  
 10 [ΕΙ]Ν̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΨΑΧΕ Μ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΜ̄Ν̄ΤΜΕ ·  
 [ΠΟ]ΥΟΕΙΝ̄ Ν̄ΝΑΤ̄ΧΩΖ̄Μ̄ ΠΟΥΟ  
 12 [ΕΙΝ]̄ Ν̄ΝΑΤ̄ΧΙΟQΡ̄ Μ̄ΜΟQ · ΠΟΥ  
 [ΟΕΙ]Ν̄ ΕΤΑQ̄Ρ̄ΨΟΡ̄Π̄ Ν̄ΕῙ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑ  
 14 [ΕΝΕΖ]̄ Ν̄ΤΕ ΝΙΕΝΕΖ̄ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΙΩΤ̄  
 [Ν̄Ν]ΑΤ̄ΨΑΧΕ Μ̄ΜΟQ ΑΓΩ Ν̄  
 16 [ΝΑΤ̄]† ΨΩΛ̄Ζ̄ ΕΡΟQ ΑΓΩ Ν̄ΝΑΤ̄  
 [ΤΑ]ΨΕ ΟΕΙΨ Μ̄ΜΟQ ΠΕΩΝ Ν̄  
 18 [ΤΕ] Ν̄ΞΩΝ · ΠΙΧΠΟ ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄ΜΟQ

50, 2 See *supra*, p. 20.

[The] holy [book] of the / [Egyptians about the] great / [invisible Spirit (*πνεῦμα*),] the Father whose / [name can]not [be uttered, he who] / <sup>5</sup> [came forth from the] heights, the light / of [the] perfection, the eternal light / of the eternities, the light / in silence (*σιγή*), in the providence (*πρόνοια*) / and silence (*σιγή*) of the Father, the light / <sup>10</sup> in word and truth, / [the] incorruptible light, the / inaccessible light, the / eternal [light] / of the eternities, which has come forth, of the / <sup>15</sup> ineffable and / [un]marked and / unproclaimable Father, the aeon (*αἰών*) / [of] the aeons (*αἰών*), he who begets /

50,8.10 "in" or "from" see commentary.

III 41, 6 [ΑΥ]ΤΟΓΕΝΙΟΣ Ν̄ΕΠΙΓΕΝΝΙΟΣ Ν̄ΑΛΛΟΓΕ  
[Ν]ΙΟΣ ΠΑΙΩΝ Ν̄ΜΕ ΑΛΗΘΩΣ

self-begotten (αὐτογένιος), self-producing (ἐπιγένιος), alien (ἀλλογένιος),  
/ the really (ἀληθῶς) true acon (αἰών).

*The appearance of the three powers: III 41,7 - 12*

αγπρο

8 [ΕΛΘ]Ε ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΖΗΤῶ · Ν̄ΒΙ ΨΟΜΤΕ Ν̄ΒΟΜ  
[ΕΝ]ΑΙ ΝΕ ΠΕΙΩΤ̄ ΤΜΑΑΥ ΠΩΗΡΕ Ε  
10 [ΒΟΛ] Ζ̄Ν ΤΣΙΓΗ ΕΤΟΝΖ Π̄ΠΙΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ  
[ΠΕΙ]ΩΤ̄ Ν̄ΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΣ ΝΑΪ Ν̄ΤΑΥΕΙ Ε  
12 [ΒΟΛ] Ζ̄Ν ΤΣΙΓΗ ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΙΔΔΗΛΟΣ Ν̄ΕΙΩΤ

Three / powers came forth (προελθεῖν) from him; / they are the  
Father, the Mother (and) the Son, / <sup>10</sup> from the living silence (σιγή),  
what came forth from / the incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) Father. These  
(+δέ) came / [forth from] the silence (σιγή) of the unknown (ἄδηλος)  
Father. /

- IV 50 [μαγα]αα · αγω πιπιρε εβολ  
 20 [ᾠμοα] μαγααα · αγω ᾠᾠ πι  
 [αλ]λογενης †βομ ᾠνατῖρε  
 22 [μ]ηνεγε ᾠμοα ᾠτε πιωτᾠ  
 [ᾠᾠ]ατῖραχε ᾠμοα ·

himself, and he who comes forth from / <sup>20</sup> himself, and the / alien one (ἀλλογενής), the uninterpretable (-ἐρμηνεύειν) power / of the ineffable / Father.

*The appearance of the three powers: IV 50,23 - 51,2*

- αγεῖ
- 24 [εβ]ολ ᾠμοα ᾠβι ωομτε ᾠβομ  
 [ε]τε ναῖ νε· πιωτᾠ τμα  
 26 [αγ] πωηρε νιπιρε εβολ ᾠ  
 [μο]ογ μαγααα εβολ ᾠᾠ ογ  
 28 [σιγ]η εσον[ᾠ] ᾠτε πιωτᾠ ᾠατᾠ  
 [χ]ωᾠᾠ · ναῖ [α]γῖρωρᾠ ᾠᾠ  
 51 [ᾠᾠ]  
 εβολ ᾠᾠ ογσι[γη ᾠτε πιωτᾠ ᾠνατᾠ]  
 2 ωαχε ᾠμοα

Three / powers came forth from him; / <sup>25</sup> they are the Father, the Mother / (and) the Son, they who came forth from / themselves, from the / living [silence (σιγή)] of the incorruptible Father. / These came // 51 forth from the silence (σιγή) [of the] ineffable / [Father.]







*The three ogdoads: IV 51,15 - 53,3*

*a) Their appearance: IV 51,15 - 22*

IV 51 εαγρ̄ωορ̄π̄ ἡ̄εῖ ε[βολ]  
 16 ἡ̄μοσ ἡ̄βι ωομτε ἡ̄β[ομ ·]  
 ετε ωομτε νε ἡ̄νο[δοασ]  
 18 ἡ̄αῖ ἡ̄ταπιωτ̄ ἡ̄το[γ εβολ]  
 ἡ̄ν κογῆ̄ ἡ̄ν ογσιγη [ἡ̄ν]  
 20 ογπρονοια · ετε ἡ̄αῖ νε]  
 πιωτ̄ τμααγ [πωη]  
 22 ρε ·

<sup>15</sup> There came [forth] / from him three [powers,] / which are three ogdoads (ὀγδοάς) / which the Father brought [forth] / from his bosom in silence (σιγή) [and] / <sup>20</sup> providence (πρόνοια), which [are] / the Father, the Mother (and) [the] / [Son].

*b) The first ogdoad: IV 51,22 - 52,2*

22 †ωορ̄π̄ ἡ̄νοδοασ τ[η]  
 εταπιωμ̄τ̄ ροογ̄τ̄ ἡ̄αλο[γ]  
 24 εῖ εβολ ετβηητ̄ς ε[τε ταῖ]  
 τε †εννοια ἡ̄ν πιωα[χε ἡ̄ν]  
 26 πιων̄ ἡ̄να[τ̄]χω̄τ̄μ̄ ψ[α ε]  
 νεζ · ογωψ̄ ογνογ[ς·]  
 52 [NB]  
 [ἡ̄ν ογβιν̄ωο]ρ̄π̄ ἡ̄κοογν  
 2 [πιω]τ̄ ἡ̄ζ[οογ̄τ̄ς]ῆμε

52, 2 Superlin. stroke on N is in the lacuna.

The first ogdoad (ὀγδοάς), the [one] / because of which the thrice-male child / came forth, [which] / <sup>25</sup> is the thought (ἐννοια), and the word, [and] / the eternal, incorruptible life, / will, mind (νοῦς), // 52 [and] foreknowledge, / [the] androgynous [Father].



c) *The second ogdoad: IV 52,2-14*

IV 52, 2

†ϐΟΜ

[̄Μ̄Μ]ΕΖ̄Σ̄Ν[ΤΕ ΕΥΟ]ΓΔΟΑΣ ΤΕ

4 [ΤΜΑ]ΑΥ †[ΒΑΡΒΗΛ]Ω ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ  
[̄Ν̄ΖΟ]ΟΥ[Τ . .] .ΚΑΒΑ · ΑΔΩΝΕ·6 [           ] ΠΗ ΕΤΚΗ Ζ̄ΙΧ̄Ν ΤΠΕ  
[           ] .[.] ΑΚΡΩΒΩΡΙΑΩΡ8 [...]. †ϐΟΜ ̄Ν̄ΝΑΤΡ̄Ζ̄ΕΡ̄ΜΗ  
[ΝΕΥΕ] ̄Μ̄ΜΟ[Σ ] ΑΥΩ ̄Ν̄ΝΑΤ10 [ΨΑΧΕ ̄Μ̄ΜΟΣ] ΤΑΓ̄ .̄Ρ̄Μ. [           ]  
[           ] Κ Α[ΣΠΙ]Ρ[Ε]12 [ΕΒΟΛ ̄Μ̄ΜΟΣ ΜΑ]ΥΑΑΣ ΕΑΣ  
[̄Ρ̄ΨΟΡ̄Π̄ ̄Ν̄Ε̄Ι Ε]ΒΟΛ · ΑΣ† ΜΕΤΕ

14 [̄Μ̄Ν] ΠΙΩΤ̄ [̄Ν̄]ΤΕ †ΣΙΓΗ ΕΤΟΝ̄Ζ̄

52, 5 Trace appears to be Η.

6 There is a faint Ε at the end of the line, perhaps erased.

11 There may be too little room for ΣΠΙ in the lacuna.

The / second power [which] is [an] ogdoad (ὀγδοάς), / [the] Mother, the [male] virgin (παρθένος) [Barbelo] / <sup>5</sup> [           ] .ΚΑΒΑ, ΑΔΩΝΕ / [           ] he who presides over the heaven / [           ] ΑΚΡΩΒΩΡΙΑΩΡ / [           ,           ] the uninterpretable (-έρμηνεύειν) / and in[effable] power, / <sup>10</sup> she ... / [           ] . She originated / [from] herself, and she / [came] forth. She agreed / [with] the Father of the living silence (σιγή). /



d) *The third ogdoad: IV 52,15-24*

- IV 52 [†(μεζ)ψ]ομτε δε ἄβομ εγογα[οας]  
 16 [τε] π[ι]ωηρε ἄτε †σιγη ἄν  
 [ογκαρ]ωφ · ἄν ογσοογν ἄ  
 18 [τε πιω]† ἄν ογαρετη ἄτε  
 [τμ]ααγ· παῖ εαφ̄ωορ̄π̄ ἄ  
 20 [εινε ε]βολ ἄν κογν̄ ἄνσαωφε  
 [ἄβ]ομ ἄτε πινοβ ἄνογοειν  
 22 [ἄ]τε †σαωφε ἄσμη ετ[εγ]  
 [εβ]ολ ἄμφοογ πε ψαχε  
 24 [ἄτε] πεγπληρωμα ·

52,15 There is not enough room for †μεζψ in the lacuna.

16 ι has flaked off. Perhaps homoioteleuton: †σιγη ἄν πικλομ ἄν ογκαρωφ, or a whole line dropped out: ογκαρωφ ἄν πικλομ ἄν.

<sup>15</sup> And (δέ) the third power which [is] an ogdoad (ὀγδοάς), / the Son of the silence (σιγή) and / <silence, and the crown of the> silence, and the knowledge / [of the Father], and the virtue (ἀρετή) of / [the] Mother, who [brought] / <sup>20</sup> [forth] from his bosom seven / powers of the great light / of the seven voices from / which is the word / [of] their completion (πλήρωμα).

e) *The summary: IV 52,24 - 53,3*

- 24 ετε  
 [ναῖ] νε ψομτε ἄβομ · ετε  
 26 [ψο]μτε ἄο[γ]δοας νε να[ῖ]

These / <sup>26</sup> are three powers, i.e. / three ogdoads (ὀγδοάς), these //



IV 53

[NΓ]

N̄TAPIW̄T̄ [N̄TOȲ EBOLĀ Z̄N̄ KOȲ]

2 N̄Q̄ Z̄N̄ OYCI[ΓH̄ M̄N̄ O]ȲP̄P̄[ONOĪA]

N̄T̄Aq̄ M̄PI[MĀ ET̄MM̄]Aγ̄ ·

53 the Father [brought forth from] his [bosom] / through silence (σιγή) [and] his providence (πρόνοια) / at that [place].

*The description of the Doxomedon-aeon: IV 53,3 - 54,13*

π[ΙΜΑ]

4 εT̄Aq̄ P̄W̄OP̄[P̄] N̄[OȲ]W̄N̄Z̄ E[BOA]

M̄MAγ̄ N̄BĪ ΔOΞ[OM̄]EΔ[ΩN̄ ΠIE]

6 ΩN̄ N̄TĒ NIEΩN̄ [M̄N̄ NIEP̄ONOC]

ET̄N̄Z̄PAĪ N̄ZH̄T̄Q̄ [M̄N̄ NIBOM̄ ET̄]

8 [K]W̄TĒ EP̄OOȲ M̄[N̄ OYEOOȲ]

[M̄]N̄ OȲM̄N̄T̄ĀT̄[X̄W̄Z̄M̄ · ΠIW̄T̄]

10 [N̄T̄]Ē ΠINOΘ̄ [N̄OȲOIEIN̄ Aq̄ĒI]

[EBOLĀ] Z̄N̄ OȲM̄[

12 [ ] . . . . . ΠINOΘ̄ N̄ΔO]

[ΞO]MEΔΩN̄ [N̄NEΩN̄ ET̄Q̄MOT̄N̄]

14 [M̄]MOq̄ N̄ZH̄T̄Q̄ N̄[B̄Ī ΠIΩM̄T̄ Z̄O]

[O]ȲT̄ N̄AΛOȲ [Aγ̄W̄ Aq̄T̄Aq̄PO]

53,11 Perhaps OȲM̄[N̄TP̄EQ̄K̄AP̄W̄Q̄.

[At that place] / Doxomedon appeared, / <sup>5</sup> [the] aeon (αἰών) / of the aeons (αἰών) [and the thrones (θρόνος)] / that are in him, [and the powers which] / surround them, [and glory,] / [and] in[corruption. The Father] / <sup>10</sup> [of] the great [light came] / [forth] from [ ] / [ the great Doxo]medon / [-aeon (αἰών)] in [which] / [the thrice-male] child [rests]. / <sup>15</sup> [And the throne (θρόνος)] /







- IV 54 [ΥΥΥΥΥ]ΥΥΥΥΥΥ[Υ]  
 8 [ΥΥΥΥΥ]Υ εεεεε[εε]  
 [εεεεεεε]εεεεεε[εε]  
 10 [ααααααααα]αααα[αα]  
 [αααααα α ω] ω [ω ω]  
 12 [ω ω ω ω ω ω] ω ω ω ω[ω]  
 [ω ω ω ω ω ω]

[ΥΥΥΥΥ]ΥΥΥΥΥΥ[Υ] / [ΥΥΥΥΥΥ]Υεεεεε  
 [εε] / [εεεεεεεε]εεεεεε[εε] / <sup>10</sup> [ααααα  
 αααα]αααα[αα] / [ααααααααωω]ω[ωω] /  
 [ωωωωωω]ωωωω[ω] / [ωωωωωω.]

*The presentation of praise and request of the ogdoads: IV 54,13 - 55,11*

- αγω  $\bar{n}$ †ζε
- 14 [†ψομτ]ε  $\bar{n}$ βομ αγειν[ε]  
 [εζραϊ  $\bar{n}$ ογ]ςμογ  $\bar{m}$ πινοβ  $\bar{n}$   
 16 [νατναγ ερ]ογ αγω  $\bar{n}$ ατχ[αζ]  
 [μ̄  $\bar{n}$ νατ† ρα]ν ερογ πι[πα]  
 18 [ρθενικον  $\bar{m}$ ]π̄να  $\bar{n}$ τε πι[ωτ]  
 [αγω †ζοογ†]  $\bar{m}$ παρθεν[ος]  
 20 [†βαρβηλω] α<γ>̄ραιτι  $\bar{n}$ [ψο]

54,14 Imperfection in the papyrus may have caused unusual spacing.

16f. Perhaps ατχαζμεγ (77,5), ατχωζμ (60,11) or ατχοογ. Cf. also 65,10; 67,5; 73,8f.

20 MS. αςραιτι.

And in this way / [the three] powers brought / <sup>15</sup> praise to the great, / [invisible], and [incorruptible] / [unnameable] one, the [virginal (παρθενικόν)] / Spirit (πνεῦμα) of the [Father] / [and the male] virgin (παρθένοσ) / <sup>20</sup> [Barbelo]. <They> asked (αἰτεῖν) /

54,19f. MS. reads: [And the male] virgin [Barbelo] asked etc.





*The presentation of praise of the thrice-male child: III 44,22 - ?*

III 44,22    ΤΟΤΕ ΠΩΟΜΝΤ̄ Ν̄ΖΟΟΥ[Τ̄ Ν̄ΑΛΟΥ Μ̄ΠΝΟΒ]  
               Ν̄ΧΡ̄C Ν̄ΤΑϞΤΑΖCϞ Ν̄ΒΙ Π[ΝΟΒ Ν̄ΑΖΟ]  
 24            ΡΑΤΟΝ Μ̄ΠΝΑ ΠΑΪ Ν̄Τ[ΛΥ† ΡΑΝ ΕΤΕϞ]  
               ΒΟΜ ΧΕ ΔΙΝΟΝ ΔϞ† [Ν̄Ο]Υ[CΜΟΥ Μ̄]  
 26            ΠΝΟΒ Ν̄ΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ Μ̄ΠΝΑ [Μ̄Ν ΤΕϞ]  
               ΑΡCΕΝΙΚΗ Μ̄ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΪΩ[ΗΛ Μ̄Ν]  
 28            ΤCΙΓΗ Ν̄CΙΓΗ Ν̄CΙΓΗ Μ̄Ν ΤΜ̄ΝΤ̄[ΝΟΒ]

44,24 Corr. N in ΠΝΑ over ΕΙ. It seems the scribe began to write ΠΕΙΩΤ.  
 45,1ff. are missing.

Then (τότε) the thrice-male [child of the great] / Christ (χριστός) whom the [great] invisible (ἀόρατον) / Spirit (πνεῦμα) had anointed -- he [whose] / <sup>25</sup> power [was called] Aionon — gave [praise to] / the great invisible (ἀόρατον) Spirit (πνεῦμα) [and his] / male (ἀρσενική) virgin (παρθένος) Yoel, [and] / the silence (σιγή) of silent (σιγή) silence (σιγή), and the [greatness] //



Pages 45-48 are missing.



Pages 45-48 are missing.



Pages 45-48 are missing.



Pages 45-48 are missing

- IV 57 [N]OC ZEN.[ ] AΓW .[  
 24 [ΠO]ΓA ΠOΓA [ ] .[.]ON[  
 [A]ΓKW[T]E EP[OO]Γ N̄BI ZE[N]  
 26 [A]NTBA N̄[BO]M N̄NA]T† HP[E]  
 58 [N̄H]  
 [EP]OOΓ ZE[NEO]OΓ M̄N ZE[N]  
 2 [A]T[X]ΩZ̄M [ ] AΓW EY  
 [ ] ΓE[ ] N̄T]E ΠIΩT  
 4 [M̄N] TMA[AΓ M̄N] ΠWHP E M̄N  
 [ΠIΠΛHPΩMA] THP̄Q ENTAĪP̄ΩP̄[Π]  
 6 [N̄XOOQ M̄N †]†E N̄CFPA[ΓIC]  
 [M̄N ΠIMYCTHP]ION N̄TE ZE[N]  
 8 [MYCTHP]ION · AΓOΓΩ[NZ̄]  
 [EBOL ] .[  
 10 [ ] .OΛΘA[  
 [ ] OΓON .[  
 12 [ ] .N .[. .] .[  
 [ ] ET]KH EZPAĪ E  
 14 [X̄N ] M̄N NIEΩN N̄  
 [ ] Z̄N O]YM̄NTM[E]

57,23 Trace at the end of the line may be superlin. stroke.

24 Trace appears to be E.

[ ] and / each one [ ] / <sup>25</sup> myriads of [powers] / without number surround [them,] // 58 [glories] and / [in]corruptions [ ] and they / [ ] of] the Father, / [and] the [Mother, and] the Son, and / <sup>5</sup> [the] whole [pleroma (πλήρωμα)] which I [mentioned] / before, [and the] five seals (σφραγίς) / [and the mystery (μυστήριον)] of / [mysteries (μυστήριον).] They [appeared] / (lines 9-12) / [ ] who] presides [over] / [ ] and the aeons (αἰών) [of] / <sup>15</sup> [ ] really] /

Pages 45-48 are missing.



Pages 45-48 are missing.

- IV 59      ΘΡΟΝΟΣ  $\bar{n}$ ΝΕΟ[Ο]Υ [ $\bar{m}$ ] $\bar{n}$  ΖΕΝ[Α]Ν  
 6      [ΤΒ]Α  $\bar{n}$ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ [ $\bar{n}$ ΝΑΤ']† ΗΠΕ  
          [ΕΤΑ]ΥΚΩΤΕ Ε[ΡΟΟ]Υ ΖΕΝ[ΒΟ]Μ  
 8      [ $\bar{m}$ Ν ΖΕ]ΝΕΟΟΥ  $\bar{n}$ [ΝΑΤ'Χ]Ω[Ζ $\bar{m}$ ] ΕΥ  
          [ΖΩC Α]ΥΩ ΕΥ† ΕΟΟΥ Ε[ΥC]ΜΟΥ  
 10      [ $\bar{n}$ ΤΟΟΥ] ΤΗ[Ρ]ΟΥ  $\bar{z}$ Ν ΟΥ[CΜ]Η  
          [ $\bar{n}$ ΟΥΩ]ΤΕ  $\bar{z}$ Ν [Ο]ΥΖΙ $\bar{c}$ ΚΩΝ [Ζ $\bar{n}$ ]  
 12      [ΟΥΖΡΟ]ΟΥ  $\bar{n}$ ΑΤΚΑΡΩC [   
          [ . . .  $\bar{m}$ ]ΠΙ[Ω]Τ'  $\bar{m}$ [ $\bar{n}$ ] Τ[ΜΑΑ]Υ  
 14      [ $\bar{m}$ Ν ΠΩ]ΗΡΕ .[. .] . [ . . ] . [ $\bar{m}$ Ν]  
          [ΝΙΠΛΗ]ΡΩΜ[Α ΤΗΡΟ]Υ Ε[ΤΑΙ]Ρ  
 16      [ΩΡΠ̄  $\bar{n}$ ]ΧΟΟ[Υ ΕΤΕ] ΠΑΙ ΠΕ [ΠΙ  
          [ΝΟΒ  $\bar{n}$ ]ΧC ΠΙ[Ε]ΒΟΛ  $\bar{z}$ Ν ΟΥ[CΙΓΗ]  
 18      [ΕΤΕ ΠΑ]Ι ΠΕ ΠΑΛΟΥ  $\bar{n}$ ΝΑ[Τ']Χ  
          [ΩΖ $\bar{m}$ ] ΤΕΛΜΑΗΛ ΤΕΛΜΑΧ[Α]ΗΛ  
 20      [ΗΛΙ ΗΛ]Ι ΜΑΧΑΡ ΜΑΧΑΡ  
          [CΗΘ †]ΒΟΜ [ΕΤ]ΟΝ $\bar{z}$   $\bar{z}$ Ν ΟΥ $\bar{m}$ Ν  
 22      [ΤΜΕ ΝΑ]ΜΕ  $\bar{m}$ [ $\bar{n}$  †ΖΟ]ΟΥΤ'  $\bar{m}$   
          [ΠΑΡΘΕΝ]ΟC ΕΤΝΜ[Μ]Α[Ϟ]  $\bar{t}$ ΟΥΗΛ

59,14 Trace after ΩΗΡΕ may be Ε, the next trace may be Λ.

20 Corr. C after ΗΛ]Ι crossed out.

<sup>5</sup> thrones (*θρόνος*) of glory [and myriads] / of angels (*ἄγγελος*) [without] number / [who] surrounded them, [powers] / [and incorruptible] glories, who / [sing] and give glory, all giving / <sup>10</sup> praise with [a single voice,] / with one accord (*εἰκὼν*), [with] / [one] never silent [voice ]/[ to] the Father, and the [Mother], / [and the] Son [ and] / <sup>15</sup> [all the] pleromas (*πλήρωμα*) [that I] / mentioned [before,] who is [the] / [great] Christ (*χριστός*), who is from [silence (*σιγή*),] / [who] is the [incorruptible] child / Telmael Telmachael / <sup>20</sup> [Eli Eli] Machar Machar / [Seth, the] power which really truly lives, / [and the ] male / [virgin (*παρθένος*)] who is with [him,] Youel, /

Pages 45-48 are missing.

- IV 59,24 [M̄N HC]HΦHX ΠIPEQ[λ]MAZTE  
 [M̄ΠEPOO]Y Π[λλO]Y N̄TE ΠAΛO[Y]  
 26 [M̄N ΠIKΛ]OM N̄[T]E ΠEPEOOU  
 [        ].N[        ] N̄TE ††[E]  
 28 [N̄CΦPA]ΓIC [ΠIΠΛH]PΩMA E[N]  
 [TAĪPΩP]Π̄ N̄X[OOQ]

[and] Esephech, [the] splendentenens, / <sup>25</sup> the [child] of the child /  
 [and the crown of] his glory / [        ] of the five / seals  
 (σφραγίς), [the] pleroma (πλήρωμα) [that] / [I mentioned before].

*The appearance of the Logos: IV 59,29 - 60,22*

- EΛQ̄PΩ[OP̄Π̄]
- 60 [Ξ]  
 [N̄EĪ EB]OΛ M̄MAγ N̄B̄I ΠINOB̄ N̄  
 2 [ΩAΔE] N̄AγTCΓEHHHC ETON̄Z  
 [ΠNOY]TE Z̄N OYMN̄TME: †ΦY  
 4 [CIC N̄]NAγMICE ΠAĪ E†NAΔΩ  
 [M̄]ΠECPAN EĪXΩ M̄MOC XE  
 6 [... ]AĪA[....]ΘAΩΘΩCΘ[. .]  
 [E]TE ΠAĪ Π[E Π]ΩHPE M̄ΠI[NOB̄ N̄]  
 8 X̄C̄ ETE [ΠAĪ] ΠE ΠΩHPE [N̄TE †]  
 CIG[H N̄]N[Aγ]ΩAΔE M̄MO[C E]  
 10 AqE[Ī EB]OΛ Z̄M ΠINOΘ̄ N̄A[THAY]  
 EP[OQ A]γΩ N̄AγXΩZ[M̄ M̄ΠNA]

There // 60 the great self-begotten (αὐτογενής) / living [Word came  
 forth,] / [the] true [god], the / unborn physis (φύσις), he whose / <sup>5</sup>  
 name I shall tell saying: / [        ]AĪA[        ]ΘAΩΘΩCΘ[        ], /  
 who [is the] son of the [great] / Christ, who is the son [of]  
 / [the in]effable silence (σιγή)[, who] / <sup>10</sup> came forth from  
 the great [invisible] / and incorruptible [Spirit (πνεῦμα).] /

Pages 45-48 are missing

- IV 60,12 π[ωη]ρε̄ ν̄τε †σιγη̄ μ̄ν [ουσι]  
 γη̄ [αφ]ογω̄ν̄ ε[β]ολ̄ ν̄[  
 14 [            ]. †[. .] τη[  
 [..]. [.. ατν]αγ̄ ερ[ο  
 16 [.. ζ]ηπ [.. πρω]με̄ ετ[  
 [μ̄ν ν]ιαζωρ̄ [ν̄τε π]εφεο[ογ · το]  
 18 [τε α]φογω̄ν̄ εβολ̄ ζ̄μ̄ π[  
 [. .] ετογον̄ · [α]γω̄ αφ[ταζο]  
 20 ε[ρ]ατογ̄ μ̄πιφ[τ]οογ̄ ν̄[νεων]  
 ζ̄[ν] ογωαχε̄ αφ[ταζοφ]γ̄ ερα  
 22 τογ̄

60,14 Trace before † appears to be N.

16 Perhaps [ΟΥΑΑΒ], see 62,11.27.

The [son] of the silence (σιγή) and [silence (σιγή)] / appeared [            ] / [            ] / <sup>15</sup> [            in]visible [            ] / [            man] / [and the] treasures [of] his glory. [Then (τότε)] / he appeared in the revealed [            ]. / And he [established] / <sup>20</sup> the four [aeons (αἰών).] / With a word [he] established / them.

*The presentation of praise of the Logos: IV 60,22-30*

- 22                    αφεινε̄ [εζρ]αί̄ ν̄[ουσμογ]  
 μ̄πινοβ̄ ν̄[ατ]ναγ̄ [εροφ̄ μ̄]  
 24 παρθεν[ικ]ον̄ μ̄π̄να[†σιγη]  
 ν̄τε π[ιω]†̄ ζ̄ν̄ ογσι[γη̄ ν̄τε †]  
 26 σιγη̄ ε[τ]ον̄ ζ̄ ν̄[νογκ]αρωφ̄  
 [πι]μᾱ ετ̄φ̄μο[τ̄ν] μ[μοφ̄ ν̄ζητ̄φ]

He brought [praise] / to the great, [in]visible, / virginal (παρθενικόν) Spirit (πνεῦμα), [the silence (σιγή)] / <sup>25</sup> of the [Father] in a silence (σιγή) [of the] / living silence (σιγή) [of silence,] / [the] place where the man rests. /

*The creation of Adamas: III 48 last line - 49,7*

III 49

[ΜΘ]

[ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΜΑ Ε]Τ̄ΜΜΑΥ Ν̄ΒΙ Τ̄ΒΗ

2 [ΠΕ Μ̄Π]ΝΟΒ̄ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΤΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ

[Ε]Τ̄ΟΝΖ̄ · ΤΜΑΛΥ Ν̄ΝΙΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΣ ΕΤΟΥ

4 [Λ]ΑΒ̄ · ΤΝΟΒ̄ ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΤΜΙΡΟΘΟΗ

ΑΥΩ ΔΣΧΠΟ Μ̄ΠΕΕΙ ΕΤ̄ΟΝΟΜΑΖΕ

6 Μ̄ΠΕΥΡΑΝ · ΕΕΙΧΩ Μ̄ΜΟΣ ΧΕ ῙΕΝ̄

[Ῑ]ΕΝ̄ ΕᾹ ΕᾹ ΕᾹ ΕᾹ ΝΨΟΜΝΤ̄ Ν̄ΣΟΠ̄

] // 49 [appeared at (or: from)] that [place] the cloud / [of the] great light, the living / power (*δύναμις*), the mother of the holy, incorruptible (*ἄφθαρτος*) ones, / the great power (*δύναμις*), the Mirothoe. / <sup>5</sup> And she gave birth to him whose name / I name (*ὀνομάζειν*) saying: ῙΕΝ̄ / ῙΕΝ̄ ΕᾹ ΕᾹ ΕᾹ three times. /



*The origin of Adamas: III 49,8-16*

- III 49, 8 [πα]ῖ γαρ ἀδάμας ποῦοειν ἐτ̄ρογο  
 [ε]ῖν πετεβολ ῶμ̄ πρωμε περοῦ  
 10 [εἰ]τ̄ ἡρωμε πενταῖκα νιμ ψω  
 πε εβολ ἡρητ̄ · ἡκα νιμ εροῦν  
 12 εροῦ ετε ἀρητ̄ ἡπελααῦ ψωπε  
 ἀπροελεε εβολ ἡβι πιωτ̄ ἡατ  
 14 νοει ἡμοῦ ἡναπερινοητος · ἀφ  
 εἰ εβο[λ] ἡν ἡπσαρηε ψα περητ  
 16 ψα προῦνκ ἡψωωτ̄

49, 9 If one reads ΠΕ <Ε>ΤΕΒΟΛ the meaning will be similar to IV 61,8f.

For (γάρ) it is [this one], Adamas, the shining light, / who is from the Man, the first / <sup>10</sup> Man, he through whom / and to whom everything became, / (and) without whom nothing became. / The unknowable (-νοεῖν), / incomprehensible (ἀπεριωότητος) Father came forth (προελεεῖν). He / <sup>15</sup> came down from above / for the annullment of the deficiency.

*The union of Adamas and the Logos: III 49,16-22*

- 16 ΤΟΤΕ  
 ΠΝΟΒ ἡλογοσ παῦτογενησ ἡ  
 18 ΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΠΑΦΘΑΡΤΟσ ἡρωμε  
 ἀδάμασ ἀμοῦχτ̄ ἡνεγερη  
 20 Οῦ ἀψωωπε ἡβι οῦλογοσ ἡτε

49,20 Corr. Ϙ over Υ. The singular is demanded by the subject.

Then (τότε) / the great Logos (λόγοσ), the divine Autogenes (αὐτογενής), / and the incorruptible (ἀφθαρητοσ) man / Adamas mingled with each other. / <sup>20</sup> A Logos (λόγοσ) of man came into being. /





IV 61 [ΠΡΩΜ]Ε ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ ΟΥΩΑ[ΧΕ·

into being through a word.

*The presentation of praise of the Logos and Adamas: IV 61,23 - 62,16*

αϞ]

- 24 [ΕΙΝΕ Ε]ΖΡΑΪ ΝΟΥΣΜΟΥ [ΜΠΙΝΟΒ]  
[ΝΑΤΝ]ΑΥ ΕΡΟϞ ΑΥΩ Ν[ΑΤΤΑΖΟϞ]  
26 [ΑΥΩ ΜΠ]ΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟ[Ν ΜΠΝΑ ΜΝ]  
[†ΖΟΟΥ]Τ ΜΠΑΡΘΕ[ΝΟΣ †ΒΑΡΒΗ]  
28 [ΛΩ ΜΝ ΠΙ]ΩΜΤ ΖΟΟΥ[Τ ΝΑΛΟΥ]  
[ΜΝ †ΖΟΟΥ]ΥΤ ΜΠΑ[ΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΙΟΥΗΛ]  
62 [ΞΒ]  
[ΜΝ ΠΑΛ]ΟΥ ΗΣΗΦΗΧ ΠΙΡΕϞΑΜΑΖ  
2 [ΤΕ ΜΠ]ΕΟΟΥ ΜΝ <ΠΑΛΟΥ> ΝΤΕ ΠΙ  
[ΑΛΟΥ] ΜΝ ΠΙΚΛΟΜ ΝΤΕ ΠΕϞΕΟΟΥ·  
4 [ΜΝ Ν]ΙΝΟΒ ΝΝΕΩΝ ΝΔΟΞΟΜΕΔΩΝ  
[ΜΝ ΝΙ]ΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΕΤΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΜΝ  
6 [ΝΙΒΟ]Μ Ε[ΤΚ]ΨΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ· ΖΕ[ΝΕ]  
[ΟΟΥ] ΜΝ ΖΕ[ΝΑ]ΤΧΩΖΜ ΜΝ [ΠΙΠΛΗ]

62, 2 MS. reads ΠΕΟΟΥ (influence of preceding ΕΟΟΥ).

[He] / [brought] praise [to the great,] / <sup>25</sup> [invisible,] and [incomprehensible,] / [and] virginal (παρθενικόν) [Spirit (πνεῦμα), and] / [the male] virgin (παρθένος) [Barbelo], / [and the] thrice-male [child,] / [and the] male [virgin (παρθένος) Youel,] // 62 [and the child] Esephech, the splendentens, / and the <child> of the / [child] and the crown of his glory, / [and the] great Doxomedon-aeons (αἰών), / <sup>5</sup> [and the] thrones (θρόνος) that are in them, and / [the powers that] surround them, / [glories] and incorruptions, and [the whole] /



- IV 62, 8 [ΡΩΜΑ] ΤΗ[ΡΩ] ΕΤΑΙ[ΡΩ]ΡΗ [ΝΧΟΟΩ]  
 [ΜΝ ΠΚ]ΑΖ [ΜΠ]ΑΗΡ · ΠΙ[Ρ]ΕΩ[ΩΕΠ]  
 10 [ΝΟΥΤΕ] ΕΡΟΩ ΠΙΜΑ [ΕΤΟΥΧΙ ΖΙ]  
 [ΚΩΝ Ν]Θ[Ι] ΝΙΡΩΜΕ Ε[ΤΟΥΛΑΒ Ν]  
 12 [ΤΕ Π]ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΩ[Τ ΝΤΕ †]  
 [ΣΙΓΗ] ΜΝ †ΠΗΓΗ ΕΤΩΝ[Ζ ΝΣΙΓΗ]  
 14 [ΠΙ]ΩΤ ΜΝ ΠΙΠΛΗΡ[ΩΜΑ ΤΗΡΩ]  
 [ΕΤΝ]Τ[ΩΥ Ν]ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΙ[ΡΩ]ΡΗ Ν  
 16 [ΧΟ]ΟΩ

62,11 I has flaked off.

15 ΕΤΝΤΩΥ see 64,25; or ΕΤΝΤΑΥ see 66,24.

[pleroma (πλήρωμα)] that I [mentioned] before, / [and the] earth [of the] air (ἀήρ), the [receiver] / <sup>10</sup> [of God,] where the [holy] men / [receive shape (εἰκὼν),] (those) / [of the] light of the Father [of the] / [silence (σιγή)] and the living [silent (σιγή)] spring (πηγή), / [the] Father and [their whole] pleroma (πλήρωμα) / <sup>15</sup> as I mentioned / [before.]

*The request of the Logos and Adamas: IV 62,16 - 63.8*

- 16 [ΑΦΕΙΝ]Ε ΕΖΡΑΙ [ΝΟΥΣΜΟΥ]  
 [ΝΒΙ Π]ΙΝΟΘ ΝΨΑΧΕ ΝΑ[ΥΤΟΓΕ]  
 18 [ΝΗ]Ψ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ [Π]Ι[ΑΤΧΩΖΜ]  
 [Ν]ΡΩΜΕ ΑΔΑΜΑΣ ΑΥ[Ω ΑΥΡΑΙ]  
 20 [ΤΙ] ΝΟΥΘΟΜ ΜΝ ΟΥΧ[ΡΟ ΨΑ Ε]  
 [Ν]ΕΖ ΜΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΧ[ΩΖΜ Μ]  
 22 [Π]ΙΟΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΕΥ[ΠΛΗΡΩ]

[The] great, / [self-begotten (αὐτογενής),] divine Word / and [the incorruptible] / man Adamas [brought praise] and [they] / <sup>20</sup> [asked (αἰτεῖν)] for a power and [eternal] / [strength] and in[corruption for] / [the] Autogenes (αὐτογενής), for [completion (πλήρωμα)] /

- III 50,24 ϩΤΟΟΥ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΕΦΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ
- 51 [ΝΑ]  
 [... .. Ν]Θ[Ι] ΠΕΟΟΥ 'Μ'Ν' ΤΑΥ  
 2 [ΝΑΜ]ΙC ΜΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟC ΝΕΙΩΤ' Ν  
 ΝΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ · ΜΠΝΟΒ ΝΟΥ  
 4 ΟΕΙΝ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΗΝΟΥ ΕΠΚΟCΜΟC  
 ΕΦΟ ΜΠΙΝΕ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ ΠΑΦΘΑΡ  
 6 [Τ]ΟC ΝΡΩΜΕ ΑΔΑΜΑC ΑΦΑΙΤΙ ΝΑΥ  
 ΝΟΥΩΗΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΨ · ΧΕΚΑ  
 8 ΑC ΕΦΕΨΩΠΕ ΝΕΙΩΤ' ΝΤΡΕΝΕΑ  
 ΕΤΕΜΕCΚΙΜ ΝΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΝ ΧΕ  
 10 ΚΑΑC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤC · ΕCΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ ΤCΙΓΗ ΜΝ ΤΕΦΩΝΗ  
 12 ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤC ΕΦΕΤΟΥΝΨ  
 ΝΒΙ ΠΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΜΟΟΥΤ' ΧΕΚΑΑC  
 14 ΕΦΕΚ[Α]ΤΑΥ ·

51, 8 Corr. Ω over Ν ?

four aeons (αἰών), in order that, / <sup>25</sup> through them, there may appear // 51 [ ] the glory and the power (δύναμις) / of the invisible (ἀόρατος) Father of / the holy men of the great light / which will come to the world (κόσμος) / <sup>5</sup> which is the image of the night. The incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) / man Adamas asked (αἰτεῖν) for them / a son out of himself, in order / that he (i.e. the son) may become father of the / immovable, incorruptible (ἄφθαρτον) race (γενεά), so / <sup>10</sup> that, through it (i.e. the race), the silence (σιγή) / and the voice (φωνή) may appear, / and, through it, / the dead aeon (αἰών) may raise itself, so that / it may dissolve (καταλύειν).

- IV 62 [ΜΑ] ΝΤΕ ΠΙΦΤΟΟΥ Ν[ΝΕΩΝ]  
 24 [ΖΙΝ]Α ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟ[Υ ΝΤΕΦ]  
 [ΟΥ]ΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ Π[ΕΟΟΥ ΜΝ]  
 26 [†ΒΟ]Μ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΩ† Ν. [... ΝΝ]  
 [ΡΩΜΕ Ε]ΤΟΥΛΛΑΒ ΝΤΕ Π[ΙΝΟΒ Ν]  
 28 [ΟΥΟΕΙ]Ν ΠΗ ΕΤΝΑΕ[Ι ΕΠΕCΗ†]  
 [ΨΑ ΠΙΚΟ]CΜΟC ΝΕΙ[ΝΕ ΝΟΥΨΗ]  
 30 [ΤΟΤΕ] ΠΙΑΤΧΩΖΜ [ΝΝΟΒ Ν]  
 [ΡΩΜΕ ΛΛΑΜ]ΑC ΑΦΡΑ[ΙΤΙ Ν]  
 63 [37]  
 ΟΥΨΗΡΕ ΝΑΦ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΦ[Φ ΖΙΝΑ]  
 2 ΝΤΟΦ ΝΤΕΦΨΩΠΕ ΝΕΙΩ[† Ν†]  
 ΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΤΚΙΜ ΑΥΩ Ν[ΑΤΧΩ]  
 4 ΖΜ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΗΤC ΝΤ<Ε>CΡ[ΨΟΡΠ]  
 ΝΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ν[ΒΙ †C]!ΓΗ [ΜΝ †]  
 6 [C]ΜΗ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΗΗΤC Ν[ΦΤΩ]  
 [ΩΝΦ Ν]ΒΙ ΠΙΕΩΝ ΕΤΜΦ[ΟΥ†]  
 8 [ΧΕΚΑ]ΑΦ ΕΦΝΑΒΩΛ ΕΒ[ΟΛ]

62,26 The remnant after Ν is not Τ.

31 The line is about 3 letters shorter than the preceding ones. Perhaps the scribe did not want to split up ΟΥΨΗΡΕ between 2 pages.

63, 4 MS. reads ΝΤΑC.

6 Ν[ΤΕΦΤΩ] is possible but rather long.

of the four [aeons (αἰών)], / [in order that (ἵνα)], through them, / <sup>25</sup> there may appear the [glory and] / [the power] of the [ ] Father [of the] / holy [men] of the [great] / [light] that will come [down] / [to the night-like] world (κόσμος). / <sup>30</sup> [Then (τότε)] the incorruptible, [great] / [man Adam] as [asked (αἰτεῖν)] // 63 for himself a son out of himself, [in order that (ἵνα)] / he (i.e. the son) may become Father [of the] / immovable and [in]corruptible race (γενεά), / and that because of it (i.e. the race) / <sup>5</sup> [the] silence (σιγή) [and the] voice may appear, / and that because of it the / [dead] aeon (αἰών) [may raise itself,] / [so that] it may dissolve.



*The creation of the four lights and Seth: IV 63,8-17*

IV 63, 8

αγω]

[ $\bar{N}$ †ζε ας $\bar{P}$ ]ψορπ̄  $\bar{N}$ ε̄ι ε[βολ  $\bar{N}$ σα]10 [ζραϊ  $\bar{N}$ βι †]βομ †νοβ̄ [ $\bar{N}$ βομ][ $\bar{N}$ τε π]ινοβ̄  $\bar{N}$ ογοειν <π>πρ[ειωογ]12 [αγω ας]απο  $\bar{M}$ πιϛτοογ  $\bar{M}$ [φως]

[τηρ αρ]μοζηλ · ο[ρ]οϊαηλ

14 [ $\bar{\Delta}$ αγ̄ειθ̄ε̄·] ηληλη[θ̄]  $\bar{M}$ η̄ π[ινοβ̄][ $\bar{N}$ ατ̄χω]ζ̄μ̄  $\bar{C}$ η̄θ̄ πιψηρ[ε  $\bar{N}$ τε]16 [πινοβ̄  $\bar{N}$ α]τ̄χωζ̄μ̄  $\bar{N}$ ρωμε

[αδαμας

[And] / [thus the] power came [forth] / <sup>10</sup> [from above,] the great [power] / [of the] great light, <the> [Manifestation.] / [And it] begat the four [lights (*φωστήρ*)] / : [Ar]mozal, Oroiael, / [Davithe,] Eleleth, and the [great,] / <sup>15</sup> [incorruptible] Seth, the son [of] / [the great,] incorruptible man / [Adamas.]

*The completion of the hebdomad: IV 63,17-24*α]γω  $\bar{N}$ †ζε αγχωκ18 [εβολ  $\bar{N}$ †]ζεβλομας ετ̄χηκ

[εβολ τη ετ̄]ψοοπ̄ ζ̄η̄ ογμ̄γ

20 [στηριον]  $\bar{N}$ τε̄ ζενμ̄στηριον[εγ̄ζηπ̄] τη ετας̄χι  $\bar{M}$ περ[ογ]22 [...]α εας̄ωωπε  $\bar{N}$ ο[γ̄ζεν][δεκας]  $\bar{N}$ ογδοας̄ ζ̄ινα [ $\bar{N}$ τες̄]24 [χωκ ζ̄]η̄ ϛτο  $\bar{N}$ ογδοας̄

63,24 The superlin. stroke is in the lacuna.

And thus [the] / perfect hebdomad (*ἑβδομάς*) was completed / [which] exists in a mystery (*μυστήριον*) / <sup>20</sup> of [hidden] mysteries (*μυστήριον*), / she who received the [glory] / [ ] and who became [eleven (*ένδεκάς*)] / ogdoads (*ὀγδοάς*), in order that (*ἵνα*) [she may] / [be completed by] four ogdoads (*ὀγδοάς*).

*The consorts of the lights: III 52,3-16*

- III 52                    αγω ακατανευε  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{I}}$   
 4    πειωτ̄ αqcyneυδοκει  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{I}}$   
      πεπληρωμα τηρ̄q̄  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}$   
 6    φωστηρ̄ αγει εβολ  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\text{I}}$  νευ<cy>  
      ζυγος επχωκ  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{D}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{C}}$   $\bar{\text{M}}$   
 8    παυτογενηc  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}$  τε  
      χαριc  $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{I}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{N}}$  ·  
 10    αρμοζηλ̄ τεcθηcic  $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Z}}$   
      ναῡ  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{N}}$  οροϊαηλ̄ · τcyn̄  
 12    ζεcic  $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}$  < $\bar{\text{N}}$ >οyοειν̄  
       $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}$  · τεφρονηcic  $\bar{\text{N}}$ < $\bar{\text{P}}$ >μεz̄  
 14    qτοoȳ  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{N}}$  ηληληθ̄ . ταϊ̄  
      τε τεzοyειτε  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{G}}\bar{\text{D}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{C}}$   $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\gamma}$   
 16    τογενηc  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}$  ·

52, 5    Corr.  $\bar{\text{M}}$  crossed out before  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}$ .

12    MS. reads  $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{N}}$ .

13    MS. reads  $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Z}}$ .

And the Father nodded approval (*κατανεύειν*); / the whole pleroma (*πλήρωμα*) of the /<sup>5</sup> lights (*φωστήρ*) was well pleased (*συνευδοκεῖν*). / Their consorts (*σύζυγος*) came forth / for the completion of the ogdoad (*ὀγδοάς*) of / the divine Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*): the / Grace (*χάρις*) of the first light /<sup>10</sup> Harmozel, the Perception (*αἴσθησις*) of the second / light Oroiael, the Understanding (*σύνεισις*) / of the third light / Davithe, the Prudence (*φρόνησις*) of the / fourth light Eleleth. This /<sup>15</sup> is the first ogdoad (*ὀγδοάς*) of the / divine Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*).



*The ministers of the lights and their consorts: III 52,16 - 53,12*

III 52,16

αγω ακατα

νεγε̄ ν̄βῑ πειω̄τ̄ ᾱς̄ϣ̄νε̄ῡδαο

18 κεῑ ν̄βῑ πεπληρωμᾱ τη̄ρ̄ϣ̄ ν̄

ν̄ο̄ῡο̄ειν̄ ᾱῡπρο̄ε̄λ̄θε̄ ε̄βολ̄ ν̄

20 ο̄ῑ ν̄<διᾱκονος>̄ πε̄ρο̄ῡεῑτ̄ π̄νο̄β̄

ν̄γᾱμᾱλῑηλ̄ · πε̄ρο̄ῡεῑτ̄ π̄νο̄β̄

22 ν̄ο̄ῡο̄ειν̄ ρ̄αρ̄μο̄ζη̄λ̄ · ᾱγω̄ π̄νο̄β̄

γᾱβ̄ρῑηλ̄ · π̄με̄ρ̄ς̄νᾱῡ ν̄νο̄β̄ ν̄

24 ο̄ῡο̄ειν̄ ο̄ρο̄ϊ̄ᾱηλ̄ · ᾱγω̄ π̄νο̄β̄

σᾱμ̄λω̄ · μ̄π̄νο̄β̄ ν̄ο̄ῡο̄ειν̄ ᾱᾱῡ

26 εῑθε̄ · ᾱγω̄ π̄νο̄β̄ ᾱβ̄ρᾱσᾱξ̄ · ν̄

53

[nr]

[π̄νο̄β̄ ν̄ο̄ῡο̄ειν̄] η̄λε̄λη̄θε̄ · ᾱγω̄

2 [ᾱν̄ς̄ῡ]ν̄ζ̄ῡγος̄ ν̄νᾱϊ̄ προ̄ε̄λ̄θε̄ ε̄

βο̄λ̄ ρ̄μ̄ πο̄ῡω̄ϣ̄ ν̄τε̄ῡδᾱο̄κ̄ιᾱ

4 μ̄πεῑω̄τ̄ τε̄μ̄νη̄μη̄ μ̄π̄νο̄β̄

πε̄ρο̄ῡεῑτ̄ γᾱμᾱλῑηλ̄ · τᾱγᾱπη̄

52,20 Or emend ΔΙΑΚΩΝ. MS. reads CΥΝΖΥΓΟΣ.

21 ΝΝΟΒ?

And / the Father nodded approval (*κατανεύειν*); the whole pleroma (*πλήρωμα*) / of the lights was well pleased (*συνευδοκεῖν*). / The <ministers (*διάκονος*)> / came forth (*προελθεῖν*): / <sup>20</sup> the first one, the great / Gamaliel (of) the first great / light Harmozel, and the great / Gabriel (of) the second great / light Oroiael, and the great / <sup>25</sup> Samlo of the great light Davithe, / and the great Abrasax of // 53 [the great light] Eleleth. And / [the] consorts (*σύζυγος*) of these came forth (*προελθεῖν*) / by the will of the good pleasure (*εὐδοκία*) / of the Father: the Memory (*μνήμη*) of the great one, / <sup>5</sup> the first Gamaliel, the Love (*ἀγάπη*) /

*The ministers of the lights and their consorts: IV 64,10 - 65,5*

- IV 64,10             $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{M}$ [ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{N}$   $\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}$ ]  
                       [ $\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\alpha}$ ]  $\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\psi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{N}$   $\bar{\tau}$  [ $\bar{M}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ ]  
 12            [ $\bar{N}$   $\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}$ ]  $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\pi}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\gamma}$  [ $\bar{N}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ ]  
                       [ $\bar{N}\bar{\iota}\bar{\phi}$ ]  $\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}$  [ $\bar{R}\bar{\pi}$   $\bar{N}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}$ ]  
 14            [ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}$ ]  $\bar{\omega}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{N}$   $\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{N}$   $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omega}$  [ $\bar{N}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}$ ]  
                       [ $\bar{R}\bar{\pi}$ ]  $\bar{N}$   $\bar{N}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\beta}$   $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{M}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\iota}\bar{H}$  [ $\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{N}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}$ ]  
 16            [ $\bar{N}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\beta}$ ]  $\bar{M}$   $\bar{\phi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$  [ $\bar{\alpha}\bar{R}\bar{M}\bar{\omega}\bar{Z}\bar{H}\bar{\lambda}$ ]  
                        $\bar{M}$  [ $\bar{N}$ ]  $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{N}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\beta}$   $\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{R}\bar{\iota}\bar{H}$  [ $\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{N}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{N}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\beta}$ ]  
 18             $\bar{M}$   $\bar{M}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}\bar{C}\bar{N}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}$   $\bar{M}$   $\bar{\phi}\bar{\omega}$  [ $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$   $\bar{\omega}\bar{R}\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\bar{H}\bar{\lambda}$ ]  
                        $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{N}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\beta}$   $\bar{C}\bar{\alpha}\bar{M}\bar{B}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{N}$  [ $\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{N}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\beta}$ ]  
 20             $\bar{M}$   $\bar{M}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\omega}\bar{M}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{M}$   $\bar{\phi}\bar{\omega}$  [ $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$ ]  
                        $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}$  ·  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{B}\bar{R}\bar{\alpha}\bar{C}\bar{\alpha}\bar{Z}$   $\bar{M}$  [ $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{N}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\beta}$ ]  
 22            [ $\bar{M}$ ]  $\bar{M}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{M}$   $\bar{\phi}\bar{\omega}$  [ $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$ ]  
                       [ $\bar{H}\bar{\lambda}$ ]  $\bar{H}\bar{\lambda}\bar{H}\bar{\theta}$  ·  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}$  [ $\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{N}$   $\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}$ ]  
 24            [ $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{N}$ ]  $\bar{C}\bar{\gamma}\bar{N}\bar{Z}\bar{\gamma}\bar{G}\bar{\omega}\bar{C}$   $\bar{Z}$   $\bar{N}$   $\bar{\omega}$  [ $\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}$ ]  
                       [ $\bar{M}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$ ]  $\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{N}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{N}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\pi}$  [ $\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}$ ]  
 26            [ $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{M}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\gamma}$ ]  $\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{M}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omega}\bar{R}$  [ $\bar{\pi}$   $\bar{N}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\beta}$ ]  
                       [ $\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{M}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\iota}$ ]  $\bar{H}\bar{\lambda}$  ·  $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\Gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\pi}$  [ $\bar{H}$   $\bar{M}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{M}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}$ ]

64,16 Superlin. stroke on  $\bar{M}$  is in the lacuna.

18 The line must have been unusually long.

21 Superlin. stroke on  $\bar{M}$  is in the lacuna.

26 Superlin. stroke on  $\bar{M}$  is in the lacuna.

And [the Father] approved, / and the whole pleroma ( $\bar{\pi}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$ ) / [of the] lights ( $\bar{\phi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$ ) joined in / [approval.] Ministers ( $\bar{\delta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$ ) / [came] forth: [the first] / <sup>15</sup> great Gamaliel [of the] / [great] light ( $\bar{\phi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$ ) [Armozel,] / and the great Gabriel [of the great] / second light ( $\bar{\phi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$ ) [Oroiael,] / the great Samblo of [the great] / <sup>20</sup> third light ( $\bar{\phi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$ ) / Davithe, Abrasax of [the great] / fourth light ( $\bar{\phi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}$ ) / [E]leleth. And consorts ( $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\nu}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ ) / came [forth] through [the] / <sup>25</sup> [good pleasure] (shone) to them by the [Father]: / [the Memory] of the first [great one] / [Gamali]el, the Love ( $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta}$ ) [of the second] /

III 53, 6  $\bar{M}$ ΠΝΟΒ ΠΜΕΖCΝΑΥ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ  
 †ΡΗΝΗ  $\bar{M}$ ΠΜΕΖΨΟΜ̄ΝΤ̄ ΠΝΟΒ  
 8  $\bar{N}$ CΑΜΒΛΩ · ΠΩΝΖ  $\bar{N}$ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ·  
 $\bar{M}$ ΠΝΟΒ { $\bar{M}$ }ΠΜΕΖϚΤΟΟΥ ΑΒΡΑ  
 10 CΑΞ ·  $\bar{N}$ ΤΕΕΙΖΕ ΑΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ  $\bar{N}$   
 ΒΙ'Τ'†Ε  $\bar{N}$ ΖΟΓΔΟΑΣ ΟΥΖΜ'Ε' ΕCΧΗΚ Ε  
 12 ΒΟΛ  $\bar{N}$ ΟΥΒΟΜ  $\bar{N}$ ΑΤΟΥΑΖΜΕC

53,11 Corr. ΟΥΖΜ over erasure.

12 Corr. Ζ over Ι ?

of the great one, the second Gabriel, / the Peace (εἰρήνη) of the third  
 one, the great / Samblo, the eternal Life / of the great one, the  
 fourth, Abrasax. / <sup>10</sup> Thus were the five ogdoads (ὀγδοάς) completed,  
 / a total of forty, / as an uninterpretable power.

*The request of the Logos and the pleroma: III 53,12 - 54,11*

12 ΤΟ  
 ΤΕ ΠΝΟΒ  $\bar{N}$ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ  
 14 < $\bar{M}$ Ν> ΠΨΑΧΕ  $\bar{M}$ ΠΕΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ  
 $\bar{M}$ ΠΕϚΤΟΟΥ  $\bar{N}$ ΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΑΥ†  $\bar{N}$   
 16 ΟΥCΜΟΥ  $\bar{N}$ ΠΝΟΒ  $\bar{N}$ ΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ  
 $\bar{N}$ ΠΝΑ  $\bar{N}$ ΑΚΛΗΤΟΝ  $\bar{N}$ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙ  
 18 ΚΟΝ  $\bar{M}$ Ν ΤΑΡCΕΝΙΚΗ  $\bar{N}$ ΠΑΡΘΕ  
 ΝΟΣ  $\bar{M}$ Ν ΠΝΟΒ  $\bar{N}$ ΔΟΞΟΜΕΔΩΝ

53,14 MS. ΜΕΝ. Cf. CRUM, *Dict.* 169b.

Then (τότε) / the great Logos (λόγος), the Autogenes (αὐτογενής), /  
 and the word of the pleroma (πλήρωμα) / <sup>15</sup> of the four lights gave /  
 praise to the great, invisible (ἀόρατον), / uncalled (ἄκλητον), virginal  
 (παρθενικόν) Spirit (πνεῦμα), / and the male (ἀρσενική) virgin  
 (παρθένος), / and the great Doxomedon- /

- IV 64,28 [CNAΥ]  $\bar{N}$ NOB  $\bar{G}$ ABPH[Λ· †PHNH]  
 [MΠI]NOB  $\bar{M}$ MEZΩ[OM† CAMBΛΩ]  
 65 [ΞΕ]  
 ΠΩΝΖ  $\bar{N}$ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ  $\bar{M}$ ΠΝΟ[Β  $\bar{M}$ MEZ]  
 2 QTOOY  $\bar{A}$ BPA CAX · AYΩ  $\bar{N}$ †Z[Ε AY]  
 XΩK EBOL  $\bar{N}$ BI ††E  $\bar{N}$ OGA[OAC]  
 4 †ANZME ETXHK EBOL · †[BOM]  
 $\bar{N}$ NA TPZEPMHN[ΕΥ]Ε  $\bar{M}$ M[OC·

great one Gabriel, [the Peace (εἰρήνη)] / [of the] great [third] one [Samblo,] // 65 the eternal Life of the [great] / fourth one Abrasax. And thus / the five ogdoads (ὀγδοάς) were completed, / a total of forty, the / <sup>5</sup> uninterpretable (-έρμηνεύειν) [power.]

*The request of the Logos and the pleroma: IV 65,5-30*

- TO]  
 6 [Τ]Ε ΠΙΝΟΒ  $\bar{N}$ ΨΑΧΕ  $\bar{N}$ AYT[OΓENHC]  
 [M]N ΠIΠΛHPΩMA THPQ  $\bar{N}$ [TE ΠI]  
 8 [QTOO]Y  $\bar{M}$ ΦΩCTHP · AY[EINE]  
 [EZP]AI  $\bar{N}$ OYCMOY  $\bar{M}$ ΠIN[OB  $\bar{N}$ ]  
 10 [ATNAΥ] EP[OQ] AYΩ  $\bar{N}$ A†[XAZMQ]  
 [ $\bar{N}$ A††] PA[N] EPQ  $\bar{M}$ PA P[ΘENIKON]  
 12 [ $\bar{M}$ ΠN]A  $\bar{M}$ N †ZOY†  $\bar{M}$ Π[APΘE]  
 [NOC]  $\bar{M}$ N  $\bar{N}$ INOB  $\bar{N}$ NEΩN  $\bar{N}$ A[OΞO]

65, 6 Superlin. stroke on  $\bar{N}$ AYT is in the lacuna.

7 Superlin. stroke on  $\bar{N}$  is in the lacuna.

10 For [XAZMQ] or [XWZM] see *supra* 54,16f. note.

[Then (τότε)] / the great, self-[begotten (αὐτογενής)] Word / [and] the whole pleroma (πλήρωμα) [of the] / [four] lights (φωστήρ) [brought] / praise to the [great,] / <sup>10</sup> [invisible,] and in[corruptible,] / [unnameable,] virginal (παρθενικόν) / [Spirit (πνεῦμα),] and the male [virgin (παρθένος),] / and the great [Doxomedon] -/

III 53,20  $\bar{\eta}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\theta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   
 ΤΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΒΟΜ ΕΤΚΩΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ  
 22  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   
 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   
 24  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   
 ΘΕΝΟΣ  $\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   
 54  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$   
 ΠΕΤΕΜΑΖΤΕ  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   
 2  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   
 ΟΟΥ ΠΕΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΤΗΡ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$  ·  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   
 4 ΕΟΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΜΜΑΖ ΝΙΠΛΗ  
 ΡΩΜΑ ΕΤΕ  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   
 6 ΩΝ  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   
 ΚΑΑΣ ΕΥΝΑ† ΡΑΝ ΕΠΕΙΩΤΊ ΧΕ  
 8 ΠΜΑΖ'  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$  ΠΕ ΜΝ ΤΓΕΝ(Ε)Λ  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   
 ΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΣ ΕΥΕΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΕΣΠΟ  
 10 ΡΑ  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$  ΧΕ ΤΕΣΠΟΡΑ  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$   
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$  ·

53,23 Corr. Τ in ΜΝΤ over Ν.

54, 8 Corr.  $\Psi\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$  crossed out.  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$  written above the line. ΤΕ changed to ΠΕ, but probably to be deleted.

<sup>20</sup> aeon (*αἰών*), and the thrones (*θρόνος*) which are in / them, and the powers which surround them, / glories, authorities (*ἐξουσία*), / and the powers, <and> the thrice-male / child, and the male (*ἀρσενική*) virgin (*παρθένος*) / <sup>25</sup> Youel, and Esephech, // 54 the splenditenens, [the child] / of the child and the crown of [his] / glory, the whole pleroma (*πλήρωμα*), and / all the glories which are there, the / <sup>5</sup> infinite pleromas (*πλήρωμα*) <and> the / unnameable (*-ὀνομάζειν*) aeons (*αἰών*), in / order that they may name the Father / the fourth with the incorruptible (*ἄφθαρτος*) / race (*γενεά*), (and) that they may call the seed (*σπορά*) / <sup>10</sup> of the Father the seed (*σπορά*) of the great / Seth.

- IV 65,14 [ΜΕΔΩΝ] Μ̄Ν ΝΙΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΕΤ[Ν̄]  
 [ΖΡΑΪ Ν̄ΖΗΤ]ΟΥ Μ̄Ν ΝΙΒΟΜ ΕΤΚ[Ω]  
 16 [ΤΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ]Υ Μ̄Ν ΖΕΝΕΟΟΥ Μ̄[Ν ΖΕΝ]  
 [ΒΟΜ Μ̄]Ν Ζ[ΕΝ]ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ Μ̄Ν Π̄ΩΜ[Τ̄]  
 18 [ΖΟΟΥΤ̄ Ν̄ΑΛ]ΟΥ Μ̄Ν †ΖΟΟΥΤ̄ Μ̄  
 [ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ] †ΟΥΗΛ Μ̄Ν Η̄ΣΗΦΗΧ̄  
 20 [ΠΙΡΕΦΑΜΑΖ]ΤΕ Μ̄ΠΕΟΟΥ Μ̄Ν  
 [ΠΙΚΛΟΜ Ν̄ΤΕ] ΠΕΦΕΟΟΥ Μ̄Ν  
 22 [ΠΙΠΛΗΡ]ΦΜΑ ΤΗΡ̄Ϟ Μ̄Ν ΝΙΕΟΟΥ[Υ]  
 [ΤΗΡΟΥ] ΕΤ̄ΝΖΡΑΪ Ζ̄Ν ΝΙΠΛΗΡΦ[ΜΑ]  
 24 [Ν̄ΝΑΤ̄ΧΙ]ΟΟΡ Μ̄ΜΟ[ΟΥ] Μ̄[Ν ΝΙ]  
 [ΕΩΝ Ν̄Ν]ΑΤ̄† ΡΑΝ ΕΡ[ΟΟΥ Ζ̄ΙΝΑ]  
 26 [Ν̄ΤΟΟΥ] Ν̄ΣΕΜΟΥΤΕ [ΕΠΙΩΤ̄ ΧΕ]  
 [ΠΙΜΕΖ̄Δ] Μ̄Ν †ΓΕΝΕΑ [Ν̄ΑΤ̄ΚΙΜ]  
 28 [Ν̄ΑΤ̄ΧΩΖ]Μ Ν̄ΤΕ Π[Ι]Ω[Τ̄ ΑΥΩ]  
 [Ν̄ΤΟ]ΟΥ Ν̄ΣΕΜΟΥΤΕ [ΕΡΟΣ ΧΕ]  
 30 [†Σ]ΠΟΡΑ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΙΝΟΒ̄ Σ[ΗΘ̄]

65,20 ΠΑΛΟΥ Μ̄ΠΑΛΟΥ is omitted.

24 Or Ζ[Ν ΝΙ].

27 For [ΠΙΜΕΖ̄Δ] see *supra* 61,7 note.

29 Superlin. stroke on Ν is in the lacuna.

aeons (αἰών), and the thrones (θρόνος) that [are] / <sup>15</sup> [in] them, and the powers which [surround] / [them], glories, / [powers, and] authorities (ἐξουσία), and the thrice-/ [male child,] and the male / [virgin (παρθένος)] Youel, and Esephech, / <sup>20</sup> [the] splendi[tenens,] and / [the crown of] his glory, and / [the] whole [pleroma (πλήρωμα),] and [all] the / glories that are in the [in]accessable / pleromas (πλήρωμα), [and the] / <sup>25</sup> unnameable [aeons (αἰών), in order that (ἵνα)] / [they] may name [the Father] / [the fourth] with the [immovable, incorruptible] / race (γενεά) of the [Father, and] / [that they] may call [it] / <sup>30</sup> [the] seed (σπορά) of the great [Seth.]



*The response to the request: IV 65,30 - 66,14*

IV 65,30

το]

[τε ἀγκι]μ̄ ν̄βι ναϊ τηρ[ογ̄]

66

[ἄς]

[αγω ογψ]τρ̄τρ̄ ἀφταρο ν̄νιατ̄

2 [αωζ]μ̄ ζοταν̄ εταπιψμ̄τ̄ ζοογτ̄

[ν̄αλο]γ̄ εἰ̄ εβολ̄ ν̄σαρραἰ̄ ψαρραἰ̄

4 [ενιατ̄]μισε̄ μ̄ν̄ νιχπο̄ εβολ̄ μ̄μο̄

[ογ μ]αγα[αγ] μ̄ν̄ ερραἰ̄ ενη̄ ετ[αγ]

6 [αποο]γ̄ ερραἰ̄ επιχπο̄ · ἀφ̄εἰ̄ ε[βολ]

[ν̄βι πι]νοβ̄ πᾱ νιμ̄ν̄τνο[δ̄ τηρογ]

8 [ν̄τε] πινοβ̄ ν̄χ̄ς̄ · αγω̄ ἀφταχ[ρο]

[ν̄ζεν]θρονος̄ ν̄τε̄ πεοογ̄ [ζμ̄]

10 [πιφτοογ̄] ν̄νεων̄ [αγω̄ ν̄ταγ]

[κωτ]ε̄ [ε]ροογ̄ ν̄βῑ ζεναν[τβᾱ ν̄]

12 [βομ] ν̄ατ̄†̄ ηπε̄ εροογ̄ · [ζεν]

[εο]ογ̄ μ̄ν̄ ζ[ε]νατ̄αωζμ̄ [αγω̄ ν̄†]

14 [ζε] ἀφ̄εἰ̄ εβολ̄

Then (τότε) / all of them [shook,] // 66 [and a] disturbance seized the in[corruptible] / ones. When (ὅταν) the thrice-male / [child] came forth from above down to / [the un]born ones, and the self-begotten / <sup>5</sup> ones, and to those who [were] / [begotten] into what is begotten, there came [forth] / [the] great one who possesses [all] greatnesses / [of] the great Christ (χριστός). And he established / thrones (θρόνος) of the glory [in] / <sup>10</sup> [the four] aeons (αἰών), [and] / [myriads of powers] / without number [surround] them, / [glories] and incorruptions. [And thus] / he came forth.

66, 6 Or: into the begotten one.



*The emergence of the heavenly church: IV 66,14 - 67,1*

- IV 66,14                    αγω αςχ[ICE N̄BI †]  
 [ατ]χωζ̄M̄· †π̄N̄ατ[IKH N̄EK]  
 16 [κΛΗ]ϚΙΑ N̄ZPAĪ Z̄M̄ ΠIQT[OOY M̄]  
 ΦΩC̄T̄HP̄ N̄TE ΠI[NOB̄ N̄ΨAΧE]  
 18 N̄AYTOΓEHHC̄ ET[ON̄Z̄ ΠINOYTE]  
 N̄TE T̄M̄NTMĒ· EY[CMOȲ AȲW]  
 20 EYZ̄WC̄ EY† EΦ[OȲ Z̄N̄ OYCMH]  
 T̄HP̄OȲ Z̄N̄ OȲZ̄IKW̄[N̄ N̄OȲWTE]  
 22 Z̄N̄ OȲZ̄POOȲ N̄ATKAPW̄[q̄ M̄ΠIOWT]  
 M̄N̄ TMAAȲ M̄N̄ ΠΩHP̄[Ē M̄N̄ ΠI]  
 24 [XW]K [EBO]λ ET̄N̄TAΥ· [N̄ΘĒ EN]  
 [TAĪP̄ΩOP̄I] N̄XOOȲ Ē. . . ††Ē N̄]  
 26 [CΦPAΓIC] ET̄KH̄ EZPAĪ [EX̄N̄ NI]  
 [ANTBA] M̄N̄ NH̄ ET̄[P̄APXĪ EZPAĪ]  
 28 [EX̄N̄ NIE]ΩN̄ M̄N̄ NIC̄[α]†ΓO[C̄ NH]  
 [ET̄P̄ΦO]PĪ M̄ΠEOOȲ EAY†

66,14 Reconstruction X[ICE corresponds to αωαι in III 55,2 = *αὐξάνεσθαι*;  
 cf. CRUM, *Dict.* 788b.

25 Perhaps EB.[

27 M̄N̄ very uncertain.

And [the] / <sup>15</sup> [in]corruptible, spiritual (*πνευματική*) / [church (*ἐκκλησία*) increased] in the [four] / lights (*φωστήρ*) of the [great] / self-begotten (*αὐτογενής*), [living Word, the god] / of truth, all [praising and] / <sup>20</sup> singing, giving [glory with one voice,] / with [one] accord (*εἰκών*), / with a never silent voice, [to the Father,] / and the Mother, and the Son, [and] / their [pleroma, just as] / <sup>25</sup> [I] mentioned [before. . . the five] / [seals (*σφραγίς*)] which preside [over the] / [myriads, and] they who [rule (*ἄρχειν*)] / [over the] aeons (*αἰών*), and the leaders (*στρατηγός*) / [who bear (*φορεῖν*)] the glory were given /



IV 66,30 [ΝΑΥ Μ]ΠΟΥΑΖ ΣΑΖΝΕ [ΕΟΥΩΝΜ̄]

67

[ΣΖ]

ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΗ ΕΤΜΠΩ[Α] Ζ[ΑΜΗΝ:]

<sup>30</sup> the command [to reveal] // 67 to those who are worthy. [Amen (ἀμήν).] /

*The presentation of praise of Seth and the request for his seed: IV 67,2 - ?*

- 2 ΤΟΤΕ ΠΙΝΟΒ̄ ΣΗΘ̄ ΠΨΗΡΕ [ΝΤΕ ΠΙ]  
 ΑΤΧΩΖ̄Μ̄ ΝΡΩΜΕ Α[Δ]ΑΜ[ΑΣ ΑΦΕΙ]  
 4 ΝΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ̄ ΝΟΥΣ[ΜΟΥ] ΜΠ[ΙΝΟΒ̄ Ν]  
 ΝΑΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟ[Φ] ΑΥΩ̄ ΝΑΤΧΑΖ̄Μ̄[Φ]  
 6 [ΑΥ]Ω̄ Ν[Α]Τ̄Τ̄ ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟΦ [ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΙ]  
 [ΚΟΝ Μ]ΠΝᾹ ΜΝ̄ †ΖΟΟΥ[Τ ΜΠΑΡ]  
 8 [ΘΕΝΟ]Σ̄ ΜΝ̄ ΠΙΨΜ̄Τ̄ ΖΟΦ[ΥΤ̄ ΝΑΛΟΥ]  
 [ΜΝ̄ †]ΖΟΟΥΤ̄ ΜΠΑΡΘ[ΕΝΟΣ ΙΟΥΗΛ]  
 10 [            ]..[  
 11 ff. are lost.

67, 5 For [ΧΑΖΜΦ] or [ΧΩΖΜ] see *supra* 54,16f. note.

Then (τότε) the great Seth, the son [of the] / incorruptible man Adama, brought / [praise] to the [great], / <sup>5</sup> invisible, [and incorruptible,] / [and] unnameable, [virginal (παρθενικόν)] / Spirit (πνεῦμα), and the male [virgin (παρθένος),] / and the thrice-male [child,] / [and the] male virgin (παρθένος) [Youel,] / (lines 10 - ?)

III 56, 2    Μ̄Ν ΠΕΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ Ν̄ΤΑΕΙΧΟΟϞ Ν̄  
 ΨΟΡΠ̄ Μ̄Ν ΤΕϞΣΠΟΡΑ ΑϞΑΙ'ΤΙ' Μ̄ΜΟΣ

and the pleroma (πλήρωμα) which I mentioned / before; and he asked (αἰτεῖν) for his seed (σπορά). /

*Plesithea and her work: III 56, 4-13*

4    ΤΟΤΕ ΑΣΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΜΑ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ  
 Ν̄ΒΙ ΤΝΟΒ Ν̄ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ Μ̄ΠΝΟΒ Ν̄  
 6    ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΠΛΗΣΙΘΕΑ ΤΜΕΕΥ Ν̄ΝΑΓ̄  
 ΓΕΛΟΣ ΤΜΕΕΥΕ Ν̄ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΤΜΕ  
 8    ΕΥΕ ΕΘΑΕΟΟΥ · ΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΤΑ ΤΕ  
 ϞΤΟ Ν̄ΚΙΒΕ ΕΣΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΠΚΑΡΠΟΣ Ε  
 10    ΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΓΟΜΟΡΡΑ Ν̄ΠΗΓΗ Μ̄Ν ΣΟ  
 ΔΟΜΑ ΕΤΕ ΠΚΑΡΠΟΣ Ν̄ΤΠΗΓΗ Ν̄  
 12    ΓΟΜΟΡΡΑ ΕΤ̄ΝΖΗΤ̄Σ · ΑΣΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΙΤΟΟΤϞ Μ̄ΠΝΟΒ Ν̄ΣΗΘ̄·

56, 9    Corr. B over erasure, perhaps M.

Then (τότε) there came forth from that place / <sup>5</sup> the great power (δύναμις) of the great / light Plesithea, the mother of the angels (ἄγγελος), / the mother of the lights, the / glorious mother, the virgin (παρθένος) with the / four breasts, bringing the fruit (καρπός) / <sup>10</sup> from Gomorrah as spring (πηγή) and Sodom, / which is the fruit (καρπός) of the spring (πηγή) of / Gomorrah which is in her. She came forth / through the great Seth.

*Plesithea and her work: IV 67, ?-27*

11-23 are lost.

IV 67,24 [            ]N[  
           [            ]TE MP[  
       26 [            ]ME ZHT .[    EBOΛ]  
           [Ϻ̄ĪTOOT̄Q] MPINO[Ō N̄CHΘ̄

67,24ff. The line numbers are based on an estimate.

(lines ?-24) / <sup>25</sup> [            ] the [            ] / [  
 through] / the great [Seth.]

*The rejoicing of Seth: III 56,13-22*

III 56

ΤΟΤΕ

- 14 ΠΝΟΒ̄ Ν̄ΣΗΘ̄ · ΑΓΤΕΛΗΛ̄ ΕΖΡΑΪ̄ ΕΧ̄Μ̄  
 ΠΕΖΜΟΤ̄ Ν̄ΤΑΥΧΑΡΙΖΕ̄ Μ̄ΜΟϞ̄ ΝΑϞ̄  
 16 ΕΒΟΛ̄ ΖΙΤΟΟΤ̄Ϟ̄ Μ̄ΠΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΣ̄ Ν̄  
 ΑΛΟῩ ΑϞΧῙ Ν̄ΤΕϞΣΠΟΡᾹ ΕΒΟΛ̄  
 18 ΖΙΤΟΟΤ̄Σ̄ Ν̄ΤᾹ ΤΕϞΤΟ̄ Ν̄ΚΙΒΕ̄ ΤΠΑΡ̄  
 ΘΕΝΟΣ̄ ΑΓΤΑΖΟ̄ Μ̄ΜΟΣ̄ ΕΡΑΤ̄<Σ>̄ Ν̄Μ̄  
 20 ΜΑϞ̄ Ν̄ΖΡΑΪ̄ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΠΜΕΖϞΤΟΟῩ Ν̄ΑῙ  
 ΩΝ̄ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΜΕΖΩΟΜ̄ΝΤ̄ Ν̄ΝΟΒ̄ Ν̄  
 22 ΟΥΟΕΙΝ̄ ΔΑΥΕΙΘΕ̄

56,19 MS. reads ΕΡΑΤ̄Ϟ̄.

Then (τότε) / the great Seth rejoiced about / <sup>15</sup> the gift which was granted (χαρίζεσθαι) him / by the incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) / child. He took his seed (σπορά) / from her with the four breasts, the virgin (παρθένος), / and he placed it with / <sup>20</sup> him in the fourth aeon (αἰών), / in the third great / light Davithe.

*The creation of the rulers of the world: III 56,22 - 58,22*

- 22 Μ̄Ν̄Ν̄ΣᾹ †ΟῩ  
 Ν̄ΩΟ̄ Ν̄ΡΟΜΠΕ̄ ΠΕΧΑϞ̄ Ν̄ΒῙ ΠΝΟΒ̄  
 24 Ν̄ΟΥΟΕΙΝ̄ ΗΛΕΛΗΘ̄ · ΧΕ̄ ΜΑΡΕΟΥᾹ Ρ̄  
 Ρ̄ΡΟ̄ ΕΧ̄Μ̄ ΠΕΧΑΟΣ̄ Μ̄Ν̄ ΑΜ̄ΝΤΕ̄ ·

56,22 Corr. Ο crossed out before ΟΥ (dittography).

After five / thousand years the great / light Eleleth spoke, "Let someone / <sup>25</sup> reign over the chaos (χάος) and Hades". /

*The rejoicing of Seth: IV 67,27 - 68,5*

- IV 67 αϭ]
- 28 [ΤΕΛΗΛ ΕΖΡ]ΑΙ [Ε]Χ̄Ν ΠΙΖ[ΜΟΤ̄ ΕΤ]  
[ΑΥ... ]Τ̄ ΜΜΟϭ Ν[Αϭ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ι]
- 30 [ΤΟΟΤϭ] ΜΠ[ΙΑ]Τ̄ΧΩΖ[Μ̄ Ν̄ΑΛΟΥ]  
[ΕΧΙ ΤΕϭ]CΠ[ΟΡΑ] Ζ̄Ν [
- 68 [ΞΗ]
- [ ] †ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΤΑ
- 2 [Ν̄ΚΙΒΕ Δ̄] ΕΤΑϭΤΑΖΟΣ ΕΡΑΤ̄C̄ Ν̄Μ  
[ΜΑϭ Ζ̄Μ] ΠΙϭΤΟΟΥ Ν̄ΝΕΩΝ Ζ̄Μ ΠΙ
- 4 [ΝΟΒ̄ Μ̄]ΜΕ[Ζ]Ω[Ο]ΜΕΤ̄ Μ̄ΦΩCΤΗΡ  
[ΔΑΥΕΙ]ΘΕ

67,27-31 The line numbers are based on an estimate.

68, 2 See *supra* 61,7 note.

[He] / [rejoiced] about the [gift which] / [ ] him [by] / <sup>30</sup> [the in]corruptible [child] / [to take his seed (σπορά)] from [ ] // 68 [ ] the virgin (παρθένος) with / [the four breasts,] which he placed with / [him in] the four aeons (αιών) in the / [great] third light (φωστήρ) / <sup>5</sup> [Davi]the.

*The creation of the rulers of the world: IV 68,5 - 70, ?*

- [ΑΛΛΑ] Μ̄Ν̄Ν̄CΑ †ΟΥ Ν̄
- 6 [ΩΟ Ν̄ΡΟΜΠΕ ΠΕΧ]Αϭ Ν̄Θ̄Ι ΠΙΝΟ[Β̄]  
[Μ̄ΦΩCΤΗ]Ρ̄ ΗΛΗΛΗΘ̄ ΧΕ Μ[Α]ΡΕ[ΟΥ]
- 8 [ΟΝ̄ Ρ̄ Ρ̄ΡΟ] ΕΖΡΑῙ ΕΧ̄Ν ΠΧΑϭ[C̄ Μ̄Ν̄]

[But (ἀλλά)] after five / [thousand years] the great / [light (φωστήρ)] Eleleth [spoke] “Let [someone] / [reign] over the chaos (χάος) [and] /

III 56,26 ἀγὼ ἀσοῦωνζ εβολ ἄβι οὐβηπε  
 57 [ΝΖ]  
 [ετεπεσαν π]ε ζγλικη σοφια  
 2 [ ἀς]βωψτ̄ εβολ ενμε  
 [ρος ἄπεχαος] ερεπεσζο ο ἄεε ἄ  
 4 [ ζ]ἄ πεσσοτ̄ νεφ  
 [ ς]νοφ · ἀγὼ πεχαφ  
 6 [ἄβι πνοβ ἄλ]ἱγγελοσ γαμαλιηλ ·  
 [ἄπνοβ γαβριηλ] · παιακων ἄ  
 8 [πνοβ ἄφωστ]ηρ · οροῖαηλ · πε  
 [χαφ χε μαρεγ]αἱγγελοσ ει εβολ  
 10 [χεκαασ εφερ ῤ]ρο εχἄ πεχαος  
 [ἄν ἄμντε · τ]ῶτε τβηπ̄ε̄ εσμα  
 12 [τωογ ἀσει εβολ]λ ζἄ τμονασ ἄντε  
 [εγἄντε τογει τ]ογει ἄνογοειν · ἄ  
 14 [ ἄρον]οσ πεντασταζοφ  
 [ερατφ ἄζραἱ] ζἄ τβηπε ἄπσα<ζ>  
 16 [ρε · τοτε ἀφν]αγ ἄβι σακλα πνοβ

57, 2 Perhaps ἀσπροελεε in the lacuna.

11 Corr. ε above the line is partly blotted (haplography).

14 Perhaps in the lacuna: [τοσ ἄν πεῶρον]οσ or . . . . . ἀγγελ]οσ.

15f. Perhaps ἄπσαρ[ζε is a misspelling of ἄπσαζρε.

And there appeared a cloud // 57 [whose name is] hylie (ὕλική) Sophia / [ She] looked out on the parts (μέρος) / [of the chaos (χάος)], her face being like / [ in] her form ... / <sup>5</sup> [ ] blood. And / [the great] angel (ἄγγελος) Gamaliel spoke / [to the great Gabriel], the minister (διάκων) of / [the great light (φωστήρ)] Oroiael; / [he said, “Let an] angel (ἄγγελος) come forth / <sup>10</sup> [in order that he may] reign over the chaos (χάος) / [and Hades”.] Then (τότε) the cloud being / [agreeable came forth] in the two monads (μονάς), / each one [of which had] light. / [ the throne (θρόνος)], which she had placed / <sup>15</sup> in the cloud [above.] / [Then (τότε)] Sakla, the great /

IV 68 [ἀμ̄ντε· ἀ]γ̄ω ἀϑ̄εῖ̄ ἐβολ̄ ἡ̄βι ο[γ]  
 10 [κλοολε . . . ]τ[  
 11-25 are lost.

26 [            ]ὄ ἀϑ̄χ.[  
       [            ]ϑ̄̄ν̄τε ἡ̄τ[  
 28 [            ] ἡ̄πικου[  
       [            ] ἡ̄ πη [ε]τα[σταροϑ ε]  
 30 [ρατ̄ϑ̄     ]εῖ̄ ἐβολ̄ [ε]βολ̄ [ῥ̄ἡ̄  
       [            ] ἐπι [ . . . . ] . . [

69

[ΞΘ]

ἡ̄βι σακλα πινοῦ [ἡ̄αγγελος ε]

68.26-31 The line numbers are based on an estimate.

[Hades'']. And [a cloud] came forth / (lines 10 - 25) / [            ] she  
 [            ] / [            ] two [            ] / [            ] the ... [            ] /  
 [            ] the one which [she had placed] / <sup>30</sup> [            ] came forth from  
 [            ] / [            ] the [            ] // 69 Sakla, the great [angel  
 (ἄγγελος), saw] /

- III 57 [̄Ν̄ᾹΓ̄Γ̄Ε̄Λ̄Ο̄Σ̄ Ε̄]Π̄Ν̄Ο̄Β̄ ̄Ν̄Δ̄ᾹῙΜ̄Ω̄Ν̄ Ε̄  
 18 [̄Τ̄Ν̄Μ̄Μ̄ᾹϞ̄ Ν̄Ε̄Β̄]Ρ̄ΟῩΗ̄Λ̄· ᾹῩΩ̄ ᾹῩΩ̄Ψ̄Π̄Ε̄  
 [̄Ν̄Μ̄Μ̄ᾹϞ̄ Ν̄ΟῩ]Π̄Ν̄Ᾱ ̄Ν̄Χ̄Π̄Ο̄ ̄Ν̄Τ̄Ε̄ Π̄Κ̄ᾹΖ̄  
 20 [ᾹῩΧ̄Π̄Ο̄ ̄Ν̄Ζ̄Ε̄Ν̄]ᾹΓ̄Γ̄Ε̄Λ̄Ο̄Σ̄ Ε̄ῩΠ̄ᾹΡ̄ᾹΣ̄  
 [Τ̄ᾹΤ̄Ε̄Ῑ· Π̄Ε̄Χ̄ᾹϞ̄] ̄Ν̄Β̄Ῑ Σ̄ᾹΚ̄Λ̄Ᾱ ̄Μ̄Π̄Ν̄Ο̄Β̄  
 22 [̄Ν̄Δ̄ᾹῙΜ̄Ω̄Ν̄ Ν̄Ε̄Β̄]Ρ̄ΟῩΗ̄Λ̄· Χ̄Ε̄ Μ̄ᾹΡ̄ΟῩΨ̄Ω̄  
 [Π̄Ε̄ ̄Ν̄Β̄Ῑ Π̄Μ̄Ν̄Τ̄Σ̄]Ν̄Ο̄ΟῩΣ̄ ̄Ν̄ᾹῙΩ̄Ν̄ ̄Ζ̄Μ̄  
 24 [Π̄ ]ᾹῙΩ̄Ν̄ ̄Ζ̄Ν̄Κ̄Ο̄Σ̄Μ̄Ο̄Σ̄ ̄Ν̄  
 [ ]Π̄Ε̄]Χ̄ᾹϞ̄ ̄Ν̄Β̄Ῑ Π̄Ν̄Ο̄Β̄ ̄Ν̄ᾹΓ̄  
 26 [Γ̄Ε̄Λ̄Ο̄Σ̄ Σ̄ᾹΚ̄Λ̄Ᾱ] ̄Ζ̄Μ̄ Π̄ΟῩΨ̄Ω̄ ̄Μ̄Π̄ᾹῩΤ̄Ο̄  
 58 [Ν̄Η̄]  
 Γ̄Ε̄Ν̄Η̄Σ̄ Χ̄Ε̄ Ε̄Ρ̄Ε̄Π̄Ε̄[  
 2 ̄Ν̄Τ̄Η̄Π̄Ε̄ ̄Ν̄Σ̄ᾹΨ̄Ϟ̄[  
 ᾹῩΩ̄ Π̄Ε̄Χ̄ᾹϞ̄ ̄Ν̄Η̄[ῙΝ̄Ο̄Β̄ ̄Ν̄ᾹΓ̄Γ̄Ε̄Λ̄Ο̄Σ̄]  
 4 Χ̄Ε̄ Μ̄ᾹΨ̄Ε̄ Ν̄Η̄Τ̄Ν̄ ̄Ν̄[Τ̄Ε̄Π̄ΟῩᾹ Π̄ΟῩᾹ]  
 ̄Μ̄Μ̄Ω̄Τ̄Ν̄ <̄Ρ̄>̄Ρ̄Ρ̄Ο̄ Ε̄Π̄Ε̄Ϟ̄[Κ̄Ο̄Σ̄Μ̄Ο̄Σ̄· ᾹῩ]  
 6 Ψ̄Ε̄ ̄Ν̄Β̄Ῑ Π̄ΟῩᾹ Π̄ΟῩ[Ᾱ Ε̄Β̄Ο̄Λ̄ ̄Ζ̄Ν̄ Π̄Ε̄Ε̄Ῑ]  
 ̄Μ̄Ν̄Τ̄Σ̄Ν̄Ο̄ΟῩΣ̄ ̄Ν̄[ᾹΓ̄Γ̄Ε̄Λ̄Ο̄Σ̄· Π̄Ψ̄Ο̄Ρ̄Τ̄]  
 8 ̄Ν̄ᾹΓ̄Γ̄Ε̄Λ̄Ο̄Σ̄ Π̄Ε̄ ᾹΘ̄[Ω̄Θ̄ Π̄ᾹῙ ̄Ζ̄Ω̄Ω̄Ϟ̄]

57,25 Corr. 6 in ̄Ν̄Β̄Ῑ over Ν (dittography).

58, 8 Π̄ᾹῙ ̄Ζ̄Ω̄Ω̄Ϟ̄ uncertain.

[angel (ἄγγελος), saw] the great demon (δαίμων) / [who is with him, Neb]rue[el. And they became / [together a] begetting spirit (πνεῦμα) of the earth. / <sup>20</sup> [They begot] assisting (παραστατεῖν) angels (ἄγγελος). / Sakla [said] to the great / [demon (δαίμων) Neb]rue[el, “Let / [the] twelve aeons (αἰών) come into being in / [the ] aeon (αἰών), worlds (κόσμος) / <sup>25</sup> [” ] the great angel (ἄγγελος) / [Sakla] said by the will of the Autogenes (αὐτογενής), // 58 “There shall [be] the [ ] / of the number of seven [ ]”. / And he said to the [great angels (ἄγγελος)], / “Go and [let each] / <sup>5</sup> of you reign over his [world (κόσμος)].” / Each one [of these] / twelve [angels (ἄγγελος)] went [forth. The first] / angel (ἄγγελος) is Ath[oth. He is the one] /

- IV 69, 2 ΠΗ ΕΤΝΜΜΑϞ ΝΕΒΡ[ΟΥΗΛ ΠΙΝΟΒ Ν̄]  
 ΔΕΜΩΝ· ΑΓΩ Α[ΥΨΩΠΕ Ν̄ΜΜΑΥ Ν̄]  
 4 ΟΥΠΝΑ Ν̄ΧΠϞ [Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΚΑΖ· ΠΙΜ̄Ν̄Τ̄ΣΝΟ]  
 ΟΥϞ Ν̄Α[Γ]Γ[ΕΛΟϞ  
 6 ff. are lost.

him who is with him, Nebr[uel, the great] / demon (δαίμων). And  
 [they became together] / a begetting spirit (πνεῦμα) [of the earth.  
 The twelve] / <sup>5</sup> [angels (ἄγγελος) ] /

- III 58     ΠΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡ[ΟΦ Ν̄ΒΙ Ν̄ΝΟΒ Ν̄ΓΕ]  
 10     ΝΕΑ Ν̄ΝΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ [                   · ΠΜΕΖ]  
           CNAΥ ΠΕ ΖΑΡΜΑΣ [ΕΤΕ ΠΒΑΛ Μ̄ΠΚΩΖΤ̄]  
 12     ΠΕ ΠΜΕΖΩΟΜΝ̄[Τ ΠΕ ΓΑΛΙΛΑ ΠΜΕΖ]  
           ΦΤΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΪΩΒΗΛ [ΠΜΕΖ†ΟΥ ΠΕ Δ]  
 14     ΔΩΝΑΙΟΣ ΠΕΤΟΥΜ[ΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ ΧΕ CΑ]  
           ΒΑΩΘ· ΠΜΕΖCΟΟΥ [ΠΕ ΚΑΪΝ ΠΕΤΟΥ]  
 16     ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΦ Ν̄ΒΙ Ν̄[ΝΟΒ Ν̄ΓΕΝΕΑ Ν̄]  
           Ρ̄ΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ ΠΡΗ Π[ΜΕΖCΑΩ̄] ΠΕ ΑΒΕΛ ·]  
 18     ΠΜΕΖΩΗ̄ ΑΚΙΡΕCΣΙΝΑ Π[ΜΕΖΨΙC ΪΟΥΒΗΛ ·]  
           ΠΜΕΖΜΗΤ̄ ΠΕ ΖΑΡΜ[ΟΥΠΙΑΗΛ · ΠΜΕΖ]  
 20     Μ̄ΝΤΟΥΗΕ ΠΕ ΑΡΧ[ΕΙΡ ΑΔΩΝΕΙΝ]  
           ΠΜΕΖΜ̄ΝΤ̄CΝΟΟΥ[C ΠΕ ΒΕΛΙΑC ΝΕ]  
 22     ΕΙ ΝΕΤΖΙΧ̄Ν ΑΜ̄ΝΤ[Ε ΜΝ ΠΕΧΑΟC ·]

58,11 Or Μ̄ΠΚΩΖ, see ApocryJn II 10,31.

14 Corr. Ω over Δ.

20 Corr. Χ over Μ.

whom [the great] generations (γενεά) / <sup>10</sup> of men call [                   . The]  
 / second is Harmas, [who] is [the eye of the fire.] / The third [is  
 Galila. The] / fourth is Yobel. [The fifth is] / Adonaïos, who is [called]  
 / <sup>15</sup> Sabaoth. The sixth [is Cain, whom] / the [great generations  
 (γενεά) of] / men call the sun. The [seventh is Abel;] / the eighth  
 Akiressina; the [ninth Yubel.] / The tenth is Harm[upiael. The]  
 / <sup>20</sup> eleventh is Arch[ir-Adonin.] / The twelfth [is Belias. These] / [are]  
 the ones who preside over Hades [and the chaos (χάος).] /





IV 70, 6 — end is lost.



*The redeeming activity of Metanoia: IV 70, ? - 71, 11*

IV 71

ο̄ᾱ

- ΠΗ ΕΤΑϞϞΟΤϞ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΝΙΕΩΝ ΝΧΠΟ  
 2 ΝΚΑΖ Ζ̄ΙΝΑ ΕΤΒΗΗΤϞ Ν̄ϞΕΧΩΚ Ν̄Β[Ι]  
 ΝΙΖΑΕΟΥ ΤΗ [ΓΑ]Ρ ΕΤΑϞΕ̄Ι ΕΠΕϞΗΤ  
 4 ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΧΙϞΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΚΟϞΜ[ΟϞ]  
 Ν̄ΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΟΥΨΗ ΕΑ..[.]ΑϞ ΑϞΕ̄[Ι] ΕΕ]  
 6 [Ρ]ΗΤ· ΑΥΩ Μ̄Ν Ν̄ϞΑ ΤϞΠΟΡΑ Ν̄[ΤΕ]  
 [Π]ΑΡΧΩΝ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΕΪΑΙΩΝ [Α]ΥΩ ΝΙ[ΕΒΟΛ]  
 8 [ΜΜ]ΟϞ [Τ]Η ΕΤϞΟΟϞ ΑΥΩ [Ε]Τ[ΤΑΚ]  
 [ΗΥ]Τ̄ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΙΝΟΥΤΕ Ν̄Β.[

71, 5 Perhaps ΕΑΥϞ[Α]ΑϞ.

7 The line is unusually long.

(lines 70, ?-end) // 71 who sowed it in the earth-born aeons (*αἰών*), / so that (*ἵνα*), because of her, the deficiencies / may be filled up. For (*γάρ*) she who came down / from the height to the night-like / <sup>5</sup> world (*κόσμος*), [having been appointed (?) came to] / [pray] for (the repentance of) both the seed (*σπορά*) [of] / [the] archon (*ἄρχων*) of this aeon (*αἰών*) and those [who] / [are from] him, [which (i.e. the seed)] is defiled and [perishable] / of the [ ] god, /

III 60

ⲫ

ⲣⲁ ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲙ ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉ ⲛⲡⲣⲏ ⲙⲛ ⲡ

2 ⲛⲐⲔ ⲛⲤⲏⲮ ⲉ

60, 1 Corr. ⲗ in ⲣⲗ over Ⲑ.

60 of Adam and the great Seth, / which is like the sun.

*The work of Hormos: III 60,2-8*

2 ⲧⲐⲧⲉ ⲗⲣⲉⲓ ⲛⲔⲃⲓ ⲡⲛⲐⲔ  
 ⲛⲁⲗⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲗⲐⲣⲙⲐⲥ ⲉⲥⲁⲃⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ  
 4 ⲗⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲐⲥ ⲙⲡⲉ  
 ⲧⲡⲐⲐ ⲉⲧⲡⲗⲗⲙ ⲉ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲉⲓⲁⲓⲟⲩⲛ ⲗⲛ  
 6 ⲟⲩⲥⲕⲉⲩⲟⲥ ⲛⲗⲟⲑⲟⲑⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲉⲤⲟⲩⲗⲁ  
 ⲁⲃ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲗⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲡⲛⲁ ⲛⲗⲁ  
 8 ⲑⲓⲐⲛ Ⲥⲉⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲙⲡⲛⲐⲔ ⲛⲤⲏⲮ ⲉ

60, 6 MS. reads ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲗⲁ.

Then (*τότε*) the great / angel (*ἄγγελος*) Hormos came to prepare, / through the virgins (*παρθένος*) of the / <sup>5</sup> corrupted sowing of this aeon (*αἰών*), in / a Logos-begotten (*λογογενής*), holy vessel (*σκεῦος*), / through the holy (*ἅγιον*) Spirit (*πνεῦμα*), / the seed (*σπορά*) of the great Seth. /

*The placing of the seed of Seth: III 60,9-18*

ⲧⲐⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲐⲔ ⲥⲏⲮ ⲉ ⲗⲣⲉⲓ ⲗⲣⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲩ  
 10 ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲗⲩⲱ ⲗⲩⲡⲐⲥ ⲙⲙⲐⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩⲛ  
 ⲛⲧⲗⲩⲡⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲉⲩⲛⲡⲉ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲱⲓ ⲛ  
 12 ⲥⲐⲔⲐⲙⲏⲛ ⲗⲐⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲩⲡⲱ ⲙⲙⲐⲥ

Then (*τότε*) the great Seth came and brought his / <sup>10</sup> seed (*σπορά*). And it was sown in the aeons (*αἰών*) / which had been brought forth, their number being the amount of / Sodom. Some say /



- III 60      χε σοδομην πε πμα ἄνωμε  
 14      ἄνωμο ἄνωμο · ετε γομορρα πε  
           ροειν δε χε ἀνωμο ἄνωμο ρι ἄνωμο  
 16      περτωβε εβολ ἄνωμο γομορρα ἀνωμο  
           ἀνωμοβε ἄνωμο ἄνωμο πμερ τοπος  
 18      σναγ παῖ ἄνωμο† ἄνωμο χε σοδομα

60,13    Corr. ΝΕ over ρ and ?

16      Corr. ρ in ΓΟΜΟΡΡΑ over ρ.

that Sodom is the place of pasture / of the great Seth, which is Gomorrah. / <sup>15</sup> But (δέ) others (say) that the great Seth took / his plant out of Gomorrah and / planted it in the second place (τόπος) / which he gave the name Sodom. /

*The race of Edokla: III 60,19 - 61,1*

- ταῖ τε γενεα ἄνωμο εβολ ριτο  
 20      οτς ἄνωμοκλα · ἀνωμο γαρ ἄνωμο ψα  
           χε ἄνωμοθεια <ἄνωμο> ἄνωμο θε{ἄνωμο}μισσα ταρ  
 22      χη ἄνωμοπορα ἄνωμοψα ἀνωμο  
           νηρε ετψοοπί ἄνωμο νετναργπο

60,21    MS. reads ἄνωμο ἄνωμομισσα; see 62,20.

This is the race (γενεά) which came forth through / <sup>20</sup> Edokla. For (γάρ) she gave birth through the word / to Truth (ἀλήθεια) and Justice (θέμισσα), the origin (ἀρχή) / of the seed (σπορά) of the eternal life / which is with those who will persevere (ὑπομένειν) /

- IV 71 [ΜΟΥΤΕ] ΕΡΟΥΧ ΧΕ C[ΟΔΟΜ]Η Ν̄  
 24 [ΤΕ ΠΙΝΟ]Θ̄ C[ΗΘ̄] ΕΤΕ [ΤΑΪ ΤΕ] ΓΟΜΟ  
 [ΖΡΑ ΑΦΤΩΟΥ]Ν̄ Ν̄ΒΙ ΠΙ[ΝΟΒ C[Η]Θ̄  
 26 [ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν †]ΠΗΓΗ Ν̄ΤΕ [ΓΟΜΟΖ]  
 [ΡΑ Ν̄ΤCΠΟΡΑ] ΑΥΩ ΑΦ[ΤΟΒC]  
 28 [Ζ̄Μ ΠΙΜΕΖΜΑ] CΝΑΥ Ζ̄Ν Ο[ΥΜΑ]  
 [Μ̄ΜΟΟΝΕ] ΖΩΩΦ ΑΥΜ[ΟΥΤΕ]  
 30 [ΕΡΟΥΧ ΧΕ C]Ο[Δ]ΟΜΑ·

[called] them [Sodom] of / [the great] Seth, which [is] Gomorrah. / <sup>25</sup> The [great Seth carried] / [the seed (*σπορά*) from the] spring (*πηγή*) of / [Gomorrah] and [planted it] / [in the] second [place], even in [a place] / [of pasture;] they [called] / <sup>30</sup> [it] Sodom.

*The race of Edokla: IV 71,30 - 72,10*

- 30 ΤΑΪ [ΤΕ]  
 [†ΓΕΝΕΑ Ν̄ΤΑC]ΟΥΩΝ̄Ζ̄ Ε[ΒΟΛ]  
 72 ΟΒ  
 Ζ̄ΙΤΟΟΤC Ν̄ΝΕΔΩΚΛΑ·  
 2 ΑCΧΠΟ ΓΑΡ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΨΑΧΕ Ν̄ΑΛ<Η>ΘΕΑ  
 Μ̄Ν ΘΕΜΙCCA· ΕΤΕ ΤΑΡΧΗ ΤΕ Ν̄ΤΕ  
 4 ΟΥCΠΟΡΑ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΙΩΝ̄Ζ̄ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ  
 Μ̄Ν ΟΥΟ[Ν] Ν̄[Ι]Μ ΕΤΝΑΡ̄ΖΥΠΟΜΙΝ[Ε]

72, 1 The line is extra short due to some large cursive writing in the top right corner of the page.

2 MS. omits Η. Ελ for Ιλ.

This [is] / [the race (*γενεά*) that] appeared // 72 through Edokla. / For (*γάρ*) she gave birth through a word to Truth (*ἀλήθεια*) / and Justice (*θέμισσα*), which is the origin (*ἀρχή*) of / the seed (*σπορά*) of the eternal life, / <sup>5</sup> and everyone who will persevere (*ὑπομένειν*) /



IV 72, 6 [Ε]ΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΣ ΝΤΓΝΩΣ[ΙC] ΝΤ[Ε]  
 ΤΟΥΑΠ[Ο]ΡΟΙΑ · ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΝΘΒ Ν[ΓΕ]  
 8 [ΝΕ]Α Δ[Υ]Ω ΝΑΤΧΩΖΜ· ΤΗ ΕΤ[ΑC]  
 [ΟΥΩΝ]Ζ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΨΟΜΤ ΝΚ[ΟC]  
 10 [ΜΟC·]

72, 9 Trace appears to be M rather than Ζ.

because of the knowledge (γνώσις) of / their emanation (ἀπόρροια). This is the great / and incorruptible [race (γενεά)] that [has] / [appeared] in three / <sup>10</sup> [worlds (κόσμος).]

*The perils facing the seed of Seth: IV 72,10-27*

10            ΔΥΩ ΚΝΑΨ[ΩΠΕ ΝΒΙ ΠΙ]  
 Κ[ΑΤΑ]ΚΛΥCΜΟC ΕΥ[ΤΥΠΟC ΨΑ]  
 12 [ΤC]ΥΝΤΕΛΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΕΨ[Ν ΝΓΕΙ]  
 ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΠΚΟCΜΟC [ΕΤΒΕ ΤΕΙ]  
 14 ΓΕΝΕΑ CΕΝΑΨΩΠ[Ε ΝΒΙ ΖΕΝ]  
 ΡΩΚΖ ΖΙΧΝ ΠΚΑΖ [  
 16 .Ν[.]ΝΗ ΝΤΕ ΤΜ[            ΚΝΑΨΩ]  
 ΠΕ Ν[ΒΙ] ΠΙΖΜΟΤ Ε[ΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ]  
 18 Ν[ΝΙΠΡ]ΟΦΗΤΗC Μ[Ν ΝΙΖΟΥΡΙΤ]  
 ΝΤ[Ε ΤΓ]ΕΝΕΑ ΕΤ[ΟΝΖ · ΕΤΒΕ]  
 20 ΤΕ[ΥΓΕΝΕ]Α CΕΝΑΨ[ΩΠΕ ΝΒΙ]  
 ΖΕ[ΝΜΟ]Υ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΖΕΒΩ[ΩΝ·]

72,16 The first letter is C or Β.

18 Or Μ[Ν ΝΙΡΕΚΑΡΕΖ].

And [the] flood (κατακλυσμός) will / [come] as an [example (τύπος) for] / [the] consummation (συντέλεια) of the aeon (αἰών), [and it will come] / into the world (κόσμος) [because of this] / race (γενεά). Conflagrations will come / <sup>15</sup> upon the earth [            ] / [            ] of the [            ] / grace [will come to be through] / [the] prophets (προφήτης) [and the guardians] / of [the living] race (γενεά). [Because of] / <sup>20</sup> [this race (γενεά) plagues] / will [occur] and famines. /

III 61,12 ΜΟC ΝΑΪ ΔΕ ΕΥΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΤΒΕ †  
 ΝΟΒ̄ Ν̄ΓΕΝΕΑ Ν̄ΑΦΘΑΡΤΟC · ΕΤΒΕ  
 14 ΤΕΕΙΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΡΕΖ̄Ν̄ΠΙΡΑΣΜΟC ΨΩ  
 ΠΕ ΟΥΠΛΑΝΗ Ν̄ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC Ν̄ΝΟΥΧ

61,15 Corr. Ν in ΠΛΑΝΗ over ?

But (δέ) these things will happen because of the / great, incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) race (γενεά). Because of / this race (γενεά) temptations (πειρασμός) will come, / <sup>15</sup> a falsehood (πλάνη) of false prophets (προφήτης). /

*Seth recognizes the devil's schemes: III 61,16-23*

16 ΤΟΤΕ ΠΝΟΒ̄ Ν̄CΗΘ · ΑΓΝΑΥ ΕΤΕΝΕΡ  
 ΓΙΑ Μ̄ΠΑΔΙΑΒΟΛΟC Μ̄Ν ΠΕΡΑΤΟ Ν̄  
 18 CΜΟΤ̄ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΦΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΤΝΑΨΩΠΕ  
 ΕΧ̄Ν ΤΕΦΓΕΝΕΑ Ν̄ΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΝ ΕΤΕ  
 20 ΜΕCΚΙΜ̄ Μ̄Ν Ν̄ΔΙΩΓΜΟC Ν̄ΝΕΦ  
 ΒΟΜ̄ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΦΑΓΓΕΛΟC Μ̄Ν ΤΕΥ  
 22 ΠΛΑΝΗ ΧΕ ΑΥΤΟΛΜΑ ΕΡΟΟΥ Μ̄ΜΙΝ  
 Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ ·

61,20 Corr. ΝΟΒ̄ crossed out at end of line.

Then (τότε) the great Seth saw the activity (ἐνέργεια) / of the devil (διάβολος), and his many / guises, and his schemes which will come / upon his incorruptible (ἄφθαρτον), immovable race (γενεά), / <sup>20</sup> and the persecutions (διωγμός) of his / powers and his angels (ἄγγελος), and their / error (πλάνη), that they acted (τολμᾶν) against them/selves.





*Seth requests guardians for his race: IV 73,7-26*

- IV 73 [ΤΟ]ΤΕ ΠΙΝΟΒ ΣΗΘ ΑΦΕΙΝ[Ε ΕΖΡΑΪ]  
 8 [ΝΟΥ]ΣΜΟΥ ΜΠΙΝΟΒ Ν[ΝΑΤΧΑ]  
 [ΖΜΦ] ΝΝΑΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΦ Ν[ΑΤΤ ΡΑΝ]  
 10 [ΕΡΟΦ] ΜΠΑ[Ρ]ΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ Μ[ΠΝΑ] Ν  
 [ΤΕ ΠΙΩ]Τ ΝΜ †ΖΟΟΥΤ ΜΠΑΡΘΕ  
 12 [ΝΟΣ †Β]ΑΡΒΗΛΩ ΜΝ ΠΙΖΟΟΥΤ  
 [Ν]ΑΛΟΥ ΤΕΛΜΑΗΛ ΤΕΛΜΑΧΑΗΛ  
 14 [Η]ΛΙ ΗΛΙ ΜΑΧΑΡ ΜΑΧΑΡ ΣΗΘ  
 [†]ΒΟΜ ΕΤΟΝΖ · Ζ<sup>Ν</sup> ΟΥΜΝ[Τ]ΜΕ ΝΑ  
 16 [Μ]Ε †ΖΟΟΥΤ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟ[Σ] ΙΟΥ[ΗΛ]  
 [ΜΝ Η]ΣΗΦΗΧ ΠΙΡΕΦΑΜΑΖΤΕ Μ  
 18 [ΠΕΟΟΥ]Υ ΜΝ ΠΚΛΟΜ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΦΕΟ  
 [ΟΥ] ΜΝ ΠΙΝΟΒ ΝΝΕΩΝ ΝΡΕΦ  
 20 [† Ε]ΡΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΙΘΡΟΝΟΣ ΕΤΝΖΡΑΪ  
 [ΝΖ]ΗΤΦ ΜΝ ΝΙΝΟΒ ΕΤΚΩΤΕ  
 22 [ΕΡ]ΟΥ ΜΝ ΖΕΝΕΦ[ΟΥ] ΜΝ  
 [ΖΕ]ΝΑΤΧΩΖΜ ΜΝ [ΠΙ]ΠΛΗΡΩ  
 24 [ΜΑ] ΤΗΡΦ ΕΤΑΪΡΩΡΠ ΝΧΟΟΦ

73, 8f. For [ΧΑΖΜΦ] or [ΧΩΖΜ] see *supra* 54,16f. note.

9 Superlin. stroke on ΝΝ is in the lacuna.

[Then (τότε)] the great Seth brought / praise to the great, [incorruptible,] / invisible, [unnameable,] / <sup>10</sup> virginal (παρθενικόν) [Spirit (πνεῦμα)] / [of the Father,] and the male virgin (παρθένος) / Barbelo, and the male / child Telmael Telmachael / Eli Eli Machar Machar Seth, / <sup>15</sup> [the] power which really truly / lives, the male virgin (παρθένος) Youel, / [and] Esephech, the [splendī]tenens, / and the crown of his glory, / and the great glory-[giving] / <sup>20</sup> aeon (αἰών), and the thrones (θρόνος) that are / in him, and the great ones who surround / them, glories and / incorruptions, and [the] whole / pleroma (πλήρωμα) which I mentioned before. /

III 62,12 ος αγω αφαιτι ν̄ζενρεφαρεζ ετεφ  
σπορα

And he asked (*αίτειν*) for guards over his / seed (*σπορά*).

*The arrival of the guardians: III 62,13-24*

ΤΟΤΕ ΑΓΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄Ν Ν̄ΝΟΒ Ν̄  
14 ΑΙΩΝ Ν̄ΒΙ ΦΤΟΥΨΕ Ν̄ΝΑΕΡΟΣΙΟΣ Ν̄  
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΦΝΜΜΑΥ Ν̄ΒΙ ΠΝΟΒ Ν̄  
16 ΑΕΡΟΣΙΝΛ Μ̄Ν ΠΝΟΒ ΣΕΛΜΕΧΕΛ Ε  
ΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΤΝΟΒ Ν̄ΓΕΝΕΑ Ν̄ΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΣ  
18 ΠΕΣΚΑΡΠΟΣ Μ̄Ν Ν̄ΝΟΒ Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ  
Μ̄ΠΝΟΒ ΣΗΘ ΧΙΝ Μ̄ΠΕΟΓΟΕΙΨ Μ̄Ν  
20 ΠΚΕΡΟΣ Ν̄ΤΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ Μ̄Ν ΘΕΜΙΣΣΑ  
ΨΑ ΤΣΥΝΤΕΛΙΑ Μ̄ΠΑΙΩΝ Μ̄Ν ΝΕΦ  
22 ΑΡΧΩΝ · ΝΑΪ Ν̄ΤΑΥΚΡΙΝΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ  
Ν̄ΒΙ Ν̄ΝΟΒ Ν̄ΚΡΙΤΗΣ ΨΑΖΡΑΪ Ε  
24 ΠΜΟΥ ·

62,13 Corr. Υ over φ.

14 C for Δ in ΑΕΡΟΣΙΟΣ, see SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik* I, p. 208.

15 Corr. ΕΦΝΜ over erasure.

23 Corr. Τ over Ν in ΚΡΙΤΗΣ.

Then (*τότε*) there came forth from the great / aeons (*αίων*) four hundred ethereal (*ἀερόδιος*) / <sup>15</sup> angels (*ἄγγελος*), accompanied by the great / Aerosiel and the great Selmechel, to / guard the great, incorruptible (*ἄφθαρτος*) race (*γενεά*), / its fruit (*καρπός*), and the great men / of the great Seth, from the time and / <sup>20</sup> the moment (*καιρός*) of Truth (*ἀλήθεια*) and Justice (*θέμισσα*) / until the consummation (*συντέλεια*) of the aeon (*αίων*) and its / archons (*ἄρχων*), those whom the great judges (*κριτής*) / have condemned (*κρίνειν*) to / death.







- III 63     να ριτμ πρωτῆ μ̄γκοςμος μ̄ν  
 10     πβαπτισμα ριτ̄ν ογλογογενης μ̄  
        σωμα ν̄ταρσβτωτ̄ρ ναρ̄ ν̄βι πνοβ  
 12     ν̄σθ̄ · ρ̄ν ογμγστηριον εβολ ριτο  
        οτ̄ς ν̄τπαρθενος ετρογχο ν̄νε  
 14     τογααβ ριτ̄ν πεπ̄να ετογααβ · ριτ̄ν  
        ρ̄ενσυμβολον ν̄αρορατον εγρηπ  
 16     ρ̄ν ογρωτ̄π μ̄γκοςμος επκος  
        μος ριτ̄ν παποτασσε μ̄γκοςμος  
 18     μ̄ν πνογτε μ̄πμ̄ντ̄ωομτε ν̄αιων  
        μ̄ν νεπικλητος ν̄νετογααβ μ̄ν  
 20     νιαρητος μ̄ν νιαφθαρτος ν̄κολ  
        πος μ̄ν πνοβ νογοειν μ̄πειωτ̄

63,16 Corr. final C over ?

19 Corr. T over P.

20 Corr. ρ over P.

through the reconciliation of the world (κόσμος), and / <sup>10</sup> the baptism (βάπτισμα) through a Logos-begotten (λογογενής) / body (σώμα) which the great Seth / prepared for himself, / secretly (μυστήριον) through the virgin (παρθένος), in order that the / saints may be begotten by the holy Spirit (πνεῦμα), through / <sup>15</sup> invisible (ἀόρατον), secret symbols (σύμβολον), / through a reconciliation of the world (κόσμος) with the world (κόσμος), / through the renouncing (ἀποτάσσεσθαι) of the world (κόσμος) / and the god of the thirteen aeons (αἰών), / and (through) the convocations (ἐπίκλητος) of the saints, and / <sup>20</sup> the ineffable ones (ἄρρητος), and the incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) bosom (κόλπος), / and (through) the great light of the Father /

- IV 74  $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}\bar{\rho}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$   
 24  $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega}$   
 $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\bar{\omega}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}$   
 26  $\bar{\chi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$   
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\beta}$   $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\gamma}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}$   
 28  $\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\theta}$   $\bar{\epsilon}$   
 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\chi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$   
 30  $\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\beta}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}$   
 75  $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\epsilon}$   
 $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\beta}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\beta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$   
 2  $\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$   $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omega}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$   
 $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$   
 4  $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omicron}$   
 $\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$   
 6  $\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\psi}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\mu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$   
 $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}$   $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\epsilon}$   
 8  $\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\beta}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\psi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\epsilon}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$   
 $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}$   
 10  $\bar{\pi}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\rho}\bar{\psi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}$

74,24 Or  $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$ ; see *infra* 75,3.

75, 3  $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$  sound spelling for  $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\iota}$ ; see also *infra* p. 192. Superlin. stroke on  $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}$  is in the lacuna.

her (i.e. the race) who went astray, through / cosmic ( $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ ) reconciliation, and the [baptism] / <sup>25</sup> of the body ( $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\omega}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$ ), through [the] / Logos-begotten one, which the great / Seth secretly ( $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$ ) prepared / through the virgin ( $\bar{\pi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ ), / to beget again the [saints] / <sup>30</sup> through the holy [Spirit ( $\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$ ),] // 75 and invisible / and secret symbols ( $\bar{\sigma}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\mu}\bar{\beta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\nu}$ ), / through the reconciliation of world ( $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ ) / with world ( $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ ), through the / <sup>5</sup> renunciation ( $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\pi}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\eta}$ ) of the world ( $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ ) and the god / of the thirteen aeons ( $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$ ), / through convocation by the / saints, the ineffable ones / and the incorruptible bosom [of] / <sup>10</sup> the great light which [pre-]exists /

III 63,22 εταρ̄ϣ̄ρ̄π̄ ν̄ω̄ω̄πε̄ μ̄ν̄ τε̄ρ̄π̄ρο  
 νο̄ϊᾱ ᾱγ̄ω̄ ᾱρ̄κ̄γ̄ρο̄ῡ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ρ̄ῑτο̄ο̄τ̄ς̄  
 24 ν̄π̄βᾱπ̄τῑς̄μᾱ ε̄το̄ῡᾱᾱβ̄ · ε̄το̄ῡᾱτ̄β̄ ·  
 ε̄τ̄πε̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ρ̄ῑτο̄ο̄τ̄ϣ̄ μ̄π̄ιᾱφ̄θᾱρ̄το̄ς̄  
 64 ζ̄δ̄  
 ν̄λο̄γο̄γε̄νη̄ς̄ μ̄ν̄ ῑη̄ς̄ πε̄το̄ν̄ζ̄ μ̄ν̄  
 2 πε̄ν̄τᾱρ̄τ̄ μ̄μο̄ο̄ ρ̄ῑω̄ω̄ϣ̄ ν̄β̄ῑ π̄νο̄β̄  
 ν̄ς̄η̄θ̄ · ᾱγ̄ω̄ ᾱρ̄ω̄ᾱτ̄ ν̄ν̄δ̄ῡνᾱμῑς̄  
 4 μ̄π̄μ̄ν̄τ̄ϣ̄ο̄μ̄τε̄ ν̄αῑων̄ ᾱγ̄ω̄ ᾱρ̄  
 κ̄γ̄ρο̄ῡ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ρ̄ῑτο̄ο̄τ̄ϣ̄ · ν̄νε̄τᾱγε̄ μ̄ν̄  
 6 νε̄τᾱπᾱγε̄ ᾱρ̄ζ̄ο̄π̄λῑζε̄ μ̄μο̄ο̄ῡ  
 ρ̄ῑν̄ ο̄ϣ̄ζ̄ο̄π̄λο̄ν̄ ν̄ς̄ο̄ο̄ῡγ̄ν̄ ν̄τε̄ϊ̄ᾱλη̄  
 8 θ̄εῑᾱ ρ̄ῑν̄ ο̄ϣ̄δ̄ῡνᾱμῑς̄ ν̄ᾱτ̄ῑχ̄ρο̄ ε̄ρο̄ς̄  
 ν̄τε̄ τᾱφ̄θᾱρ̄ς̄ιᾱ

63,22 Corr. ϣ in ΕΤΑϣ over Ρ.

24 Corr. Τ in ΟΥΑΤΒ over λ (dittography).

64, 3 Corr. Υ in ΑΥΩ over ?, Μ over Τ.

who pre-existed with his Providence (*πρόνοια*) / and established (*κυροῦν*) through her / the holy baptism (*βάπτισμα*) that surpasses / <sup>25</sup> the heaven, through the incorruptible (*ἄφθαρτος*), // 64 Logos-begotten (*λογογενής*) one, even Jesus the living one, even / he whom the great Seth has / put on. And through him he nailed the powers (*δύναμις*) / of the thirteen aeons (*αἰών*), and / <sup>5</sup> established (*κυροῦν*) those who are brought forth (*ἄγειν*) and / taken away (*ἀπάγειν*). He armed (*οπλίζειν*) them / with an armor (*ὄπλον*) of knowledge of this truth (*ἀλήθεια*), / with an unconquerable power (*δύναμις*) / of incorruptibility (*ἀφθαρσία*).

- IV 75     $\bar{\eta}\psi[\omicron]\omicron\pi\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\ \omicron\gamma\pi\rho\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \alpha\gamma$   
 12     $\tau\alpha\chi\rho\omicron\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\varsigma}$   
       $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\ \pi\omega\mu\bar{\varsigma}\ \epsilon\tau\bar{\varsigma}\alpha\bar{\zeta}\rho\alpha\bar{\iota}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$   
 14     $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\varsigma}\ \bar{\mu}\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\alpha\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$   
       $\pi[\iota]\alpha\tau\chi\omega\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}\cdot\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\ \pi\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\chi\pi\omicron\gamma$   
 16     $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\ \omicron\gamma\psi\alpha\chi\epsilon\ [\epsilon]\psi\omicron\bar{\eta}\bar{\zeta}\cdot\ \pi\bar{\eta}\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\tau\alpha$   
       $\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\omega\omega\psi\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\beta}\bar{\iota}\ \pi\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\omicron\bar{\beta}\ \bar{\varsigma}\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}\ \alpha[\gamma]\psi$   
 18     $\alpha\gamma\uparrow\ \epsilon\bar{\iota}\bar{\psi}\bar{\tau}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\beta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\mu}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\ \pi\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}$   
       $\psi\omicron\mu\bar{\tau}\epsilon\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\epsilon\omega\bar{\eta}\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \alpha\psi\omicron\gamma\omicron\bar{\varsigma}\psi\omicron\gamma$   
 20     $\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\lambda\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\bar{\varsigma}\cdot\ \psi\alpha\gamma\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\gamma\ \alpha\gamma[\omega]$   
       $\psi\alpha\gamma\chi\bar{\iota}\tau\omicron\gamma\cdot\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \psi\alpha\gamma\bar{\zeta}\omicron\kappa\omicron\gamma$   
 22     $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\ \omicron\gamma\bar{\zeta}\omicron\pi\lambda\omicron\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\epsilon\ \pi\bar{\varsigma}\omicron\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\mu}\epsilon$   
       $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\ \omicron\gamma\bar{\beta}\omicron\bar{\mu}\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\tau\chi[\omega]\bar{\zeta}\bar{\mu}\ \bar{\eta}\alpha\tau\chi\rho\omicron$   
 24     $\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\cdot$

in Providence (*πρόνοια*) and established / through her the holy one / and the baptism that surpasses the heavens, / through the holy one, and / <sup>15</sup> the incorruptible one, even Jesus who has been begotten / by a living word, he whom / the great Seth has put on. And / through him he nailed down the powers of the / thirteen aeons (*αιών*), and rendered them / <sup>20</sup> motionless. They are brought (forth) and / taken back, and are armed / with an armor (*ὄπλον*) of the knowledge of the truth, / with an incorruptible, unconquerable / power.

*The list of the bringers of salvation: III 64,9 - 65,26*

III 64

ΑΦΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΑΥ Ε

- 10 ΒΟΛ ΝΒΙ ΠΝΟΒ ΝΠΑΡΕΣΤΑΤΗΣ ΊΕΣΣΕΑ  
ΜΑΖΑΡΕΑ ΊΕΣΣΕΔΕΚΕΑ · ΠΜΟΟΥ
- 12 ΕΤΟΝΖ · ΜΝ ΝΙΝΟΒ ΝΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ  
ΊΑΚΩΒΟΣ ΠΝΟΒ ΜΝ ΘΕΟΠΕΜ
- 14 ΠΤΟΣ ΜΝ ΊΣΑΟΥΗΛ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΖΙΧΝ  
ΤΠΗΓΗ ΜΜΗΕ ΜΙΧΕΑ ΜΝ ΜΙΧΑΡ
- 16 ΜΝ ΜΝΗΣΙΝΟΥΣ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΖΙΧΜ  
ΠΧΩΚΜ ΝΝΕΤΟΝΖ · ΜΝ ΝΙΡΕΦ
- 18 ΤΟΥΒΟ ΜΝ ΣΕΣΕΓΓΕΝΦΑΡΑΓΓΗΝ  
ΜΝ ΝΕΤΖΙΧΝ ΜΠΥΛΗ ΝΜΜΟΥΓΕΙΟ
- 20 ΟΥΕ ΜΙΧΕΥΣ ΜΝ ΜΙΧΑΡ ΜΝ ΝΕΤ  
ΖΙΧΜ ΠΤΟΟΥ ΝΣΕΛΔΑΩ ΜΝ ΝΕΛΑΪ
- 22 ΝΟΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΝΠΑΡΑΛΗΜΠΤΩΡ Ν

There appeared to them / <sup>10</sup> the great attendant (*παραστάτης*) Yesseus / Mazareus Yessedekus, the living / water, and the great leaders (*στρατηγός*), / *Ίάκωβος* the great and Theopemptos / and Isavel, and they who preside over / <sup>15</sup> the spring (*πηγή*) of truth, Micheus and Michar / and Mnesinous, and he who presides over / the baptism of the living, and the / purifiers, and Sesengenpharanges, / and they who preside over the gates (*πύλη*) of the waters, / <sup>20</sup> Micheus and Michar, and they who / preside over the mountain Seldao and Elainos, / and the receivers (*παραλήμπτωρ*) of /



III 64 ΤΝΟΒ ΝΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΝ Ν{Ι}ΡΩ  
 24 ΜΕ ΝΧΩΡΕ <Μ>ΠΝΟΒ ΝΣΗΘ · ΝΔΙΑ  
 ΚΟΝΟC ΜΠΕΦΤΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ  
 26 ΠΝΟΒ ΝΓΑΜΑΛΙΗΛ · ΠΝΟΒ ΝΓΑΒΡΙ  
 ΗΛ · ΠΝΟΒ ΣΑΜΒΛΩ ΜΝ ΠΝΟΒ  
 65 Ξ[Ε]  
 ΝΑΒΡΑΣΑΞ · ΜΝ ΝΕΤΖΙΧΜ ΠΡΗ ΤΕΦΖΙ  
 2 Η ΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΛΣΗΣ ΜΝ ΖΥΠΝΕΥC ΜΝ  
 ΖΕΥΡΥΜΑΙΟΥC ΜΝ ΝΕΤΖΙΧΝ ΤΕΖΙΗ  
 4 ΝΨΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΑΝΑ{Υ}ΠΑΥCΙC ΜΠΩΝΖ  
 ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ · ΝΙΠΡΥΤΑΝΙC ΜΙΞΑΝΘΗΡ  
 6 ΜΝ ΜΙΧΑΝΟΡΑ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕ  
 ΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ ΝΝCΩΤΨ ΑΚΡΑΜΑΝ ΜΝ  
 8 CΤΡΕΜΨΟΥΧΟC ΜΝ ΤΝΟΒ ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙC

64,23 MS. has I squeezed between Ν and Ρ, probably a correction.

65, 5 Corr. Ν in ΝΙ over Π.

8 Between lines 8 and 9 ΤΕΛΜΑΗΛ (bis) has inadvertently been left out.

the great race (γενεά), the incorruptible (ἀφθαρτον), / mighty men  
 <of> the great Seth, the / <sup>25</sup> ministers (διάκονος) of the four lights,  
 / the great Gamaliel, the great Gabriel, / the great Samblo, and the  
 great // 65 Abrasax, and they who preside over the sun, its / rising,  
 Olses and Hypneus and / Heurumaious, and they who preside over  
 the / entrance into the rest (ἀνάπαυσις) of eternal / <sup>5</sup> life, the rulers  
 (πρύτανις) Mixanther / and Michanor, and they who guard the /  
 souls (ψυχῆ) of the elect, Akramas and / Strempsouchos, and the  
 great power (δύναμις) /



- III 65     ΖΗΛΙ ΖΗΛΙ ΜΑΧΑΡ ΜΑΧΑΡ ΣΗΘ ΜΝ  
 10     ΠΝΟΒ ΝΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΣ ΝΑΚΛΗΤΟΝ ΝΑΤΟ  
       ΝΟΜΑΖΕ ΜΜΟQ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ Μ  
 12     ΠΝΑ ΜΝ ΤΣΙΓΗ ΜΝ ΠΝΟΒ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ  
       ΖΑΡΜΟΖΗΛ · ΠΜΑ ΜΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ Ε  
 14     ΤΟΝΖ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΜΗΕ ΜΝ <Π>ΕΤ{Ν}ΝΜ  
       ΜΑQ ΠΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΣ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΑΔΑΜΑΣ ·  
 16     ΠΜΕΖCΝΑΥ ΟΡΟΪΑΗΛ ΠΜΑ ΜΠΝΟΒ  
       ΝCΗΘ · ΜΝ ΙC ΠΑ ΠΩΝΖ · ΜΝ ΠΕΝΤΑQ  
 18     ΕΙ ΑQCΤΑΥΡΟΥ ΜΠΕΤΖΜ ΠΝΟΜΟΣ  
       ΠΜΕΖΩΜΝΤ ΔΑΥΕΙΘΕ ΠΜΑ ΝΝ  
 20     ΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΒ ΝCΗΘ · ΠΜΕΖQΤΟΥ  
       ΗΛΕΛΗΘ · ΠΜΑ ΕΤΕΡΕΝΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ  
 22     ΝΝΩΗΡΕ ΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΖΗΤQ ·  
       ΠΜΕΖΤΟΥ ΙΩΗΛ ΠΕΤΖΙΧΜ ΠΡΑΝ  
 24     ΜΠΕΤΟΥΝΑΤΑΑΣ ΝΑQ ΕΧΩΚΜ ΖΜ  
       ΠΒΑΠΤΙCΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΤΟΥΑΤΒ ΕΠΕ  
 26     ΠΙΑΦΘΑΡΤΟΣ

65, 14 MS. reads N.

26 Corr. O over I.

Heli Heli Machar Machar Seth, and / <sup>10</sup> the great, invisible (ἀόρατος), uncallable (ἄκλητον), / unnameable (-ὀνομάζειν), virginal (παρθενικόν) / Spirit (πνεῦμα), and the silence (σιγή), and the great light / Harmozel, the place of the living Autogenes (αὐτογενής), / the God of the truth, and <he> who is with / <sup>15</sup> him, the incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) man Adamas, / the second, Oroiael, the place of the great / Seth, and Jesus, who possesses the life and who came / and crucified (σταυροῦν) that which is in the law (νόμος), / the third, Davithe, the place of the / <sup>20</sup> sons of the great Seth, the fourth, / Eleleth, the place where the souls (ψυχή) / of the sons are resting, / the fifth, Yoel, who presides over the name / of him to whom it will be granted to baptize with / <sup>25</sup> the holy baptism (βάπτισμα) that surpasses the heaven, / the incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) one.

IV 77

ΤΕΛΜΑΧΑΗΛ ΗΛΙ ΗΛΙ ΜΑΧΑΡ

4 ΜΑΧΑΡ ΣΗΘ ΜΝ ΠΙΝΟΒ ΝΝΑ[Τ]

ΝΑΥ ΕΡ[Ο]Υ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΤΧΑΖΜ[Ε]Υ Ν

6 ΑΤΤ ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟΥ· ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΖΝ ΟΥ

Π[Ν]Α ΜΝ ΟΥΣΙΓΗ ΜΝ ΠΙΝΟΒ [Ν]

8 ΦΩΣΤΗΡ ΑΡΜΟΖΗΛ Π[Ι]ΜΑ ΕΤ[Υ]Μ

ΜΟΥ ΝΒΙ ΠΙΑΥΤΟΥ[Ε]Ν[Η]Σ ΕΤΟΝ[Ζ]

10 ΠΝ[Ο]ΥΤΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤΜΕ ΕΥ[Ν]Μ

ΜΑΥ ΝΒΙ ΠΙΑΤΧΩΖΜ ΝΡΩΜΕ

12 ΑΔΑΜΑΣ ΜΝ ΟΡΟΙΑΗΛ ΠΙΜΑ [ΕΤΥ]

ΜΜΑΥ ΝΒΙ ΠΙΝΟΒ ΣΗΘ ΜΝ Ι[Σ]

14 ΝΤΕ ΠΩΝΖ· ΠΗ ΕΤΑΥΕΙ ΑΥΩ Α[Υ]

ΕΙΨΕ ΜΠΗ ΕΤΖΑ Π[Ν]ΟΜΟΣ

16 ΠΙΜΕΖΨΟΜΕΤ Δ[ΑΥΕΙΘΕ ΠΙΜΑ]

ΕΤΟΥΜΟΤΝ ΜΜΟΥ[Υ] ΝΖΗΤ[Υ] ΝΒΙ

18 ΝΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΙΝΟ[Β] ΣΗΘ· ΠΙΜ[Ε]Ζ

ΥΤΟΥΥ ΗΛΗΛΗΘ [ΠΙ]ΜΑ Ε[

20 ..[.] ... Υ[

21 ff. are lost.

Telmachael Eli Eli Machar / Machar Seth, and the great, / <sup>5</sup> invisible and incorruptible, / unnameable one, who is in / spirit (*πνεῦμα*) and silence (*σιγή*), and the great / light (*φωστήρ*) Armozel, the [place] where / the living Autogenes (*αὐτογενής*) is, / <sup>10</sup> the God in truth, with whom is / the incorruptible man / Adamas, and Oroiael, the place [where] / the great Seth is, and [Jesus] / of the life, he who came and / <sup>15</sup> crucified that which is under the law (*νόμος*), / the third, [Davithe, the place] / where the sons of the / great Seth rest, the / fourth, Eleleth, [the] place [where] / (lines 20- ?)



*The certainty of salvation in the present: IV 77, ? - 78,10*

- IV 78 [O]H  
 [...]N ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΟΟΤΩ ΜΠΗ ΕΤ  
 2 [ΟΥ]ΑΑΒ Α[ΥΩ ΝΑ]ΤΧΩΖΜ ΠΙΜΑΗΛ  
 [ΜΝ] ΝΗ ΕΤΝΠΩΑ ΝΝΙΧΩΚΜ  
 4 [ΝΤ]Ε ΤΑΠΟΤΑΓΗ ΜΝ ΝΙΣΦΡΑ  
 [ΓΙC Ν]ΝΑΤΩΑΧΕ ΜΜΟ[ΟΥ]Υ ΝΤΕ  
 6 [ΠΕ]ΥΧΩΚΜ· [Ν]ΑΙ ΑΥCΟΥΩΝ  
 [ΝΕ]ΥΠΑΡΑΛΗΜΔΩΡΟC ΖΩC  
 8 [ΑΥ]ΤC[ΒΟΟ]Υ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΛΥΕΙΜΕ  
 [ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤ]ΟΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΝ[Ε]Υ  
 10 [ΧΙ] ΤΠΕ ΜΠΜΟΥ :

78,1-10 Part of the text has become illegible due to flaking.

[ ] // 78 [ ] through him who / [is holy and in]corruptible, Poimael, / [and] those who are worthy of the baptisms / [of] the renunciation (*ἀποταγή*) and the / <sup>5</sup> ineffable seals (*σφραγίς*) of / [their] baptism, these have known / [their] receivers (*παραλήμπτωρ*) as (*ὥς*) / they [have learned] about them, having known / [through] them, and they shall not / <sup>10</sup> taste death.

*Hymnic section (part I): IV 78,10 - 79,3*

- 10 ΊΕCCEOC  
 [OH]Ω ΗΟΥΩ ΩΓΑ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝ  
 12 [ΤΜ]Ε ΝΑΜΕ ΊΕCCEOC ΜΑCΑΡΕOC  
 [ΊΕC]ΕΔΕΚΕOC ΠΙΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΟΝΖ  
 14 [Π]ΑΛ[ΟΥ] ΝΤΕ ΠΑΛΟΥ· Π[ΙΡ]ΑΝ

Yesseus / [· Η]Ω ΗΟΥΩ ΩΓΑ, really / truly, O Yesseus Mazareus / [Yess]edekeus, O living water, / [O child] of the child, [O] name /

III 66,12 ΠΡΑΝ ΕΘΑΕΟΟΥ ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΑΛΗΘΩΣ  
 ΑΙΩΝΟΩΝ ΙΙΙΙ ΗΗΗΗ ΕΕΕΕ ΟΟ  
 14 ΟΟ ΥΥΥΥ ΩΩΩΩ ΑΑΑΑ{Α} Α  
 ΑΛΗΘΕΣ ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΗΙ ΑΑΑΑ ΩΩ  
 16 ΩΩ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠΙ ΕΤΝΑΥ ΕΝΑΙΩΝ  
 ΑΛΗΘΕΣ ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΑΕΕ ΗΗΗ ΙΙΙΙ  
 18 ΥΥΥΥΥΥ Ω Ω Ω Ω Ω Ω Ω Ω  
 ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠΙ ΝΨΑ ΑΝΗΖΕ ΝΕΝΕΖ  
 20 ΑΛΗΘΕΣ ΑΛΗΘΩΣ ΙΗΑ ΑΙΩ ΖΜ  
 ΦΗΤ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠΙ ΥΑΕΙ ΕΙΣΑΕΙ  
 22 ΕΙΟΕΙ ΕΙΟΕΙ

66,14 The scribe probably wrote one Α too many.

O glorious name, really truly (ἀληθῶς ἀληθῶς), / αἰών ὁ ὢν, ΙΙΙΙ ΗΗ  
 ΗΗ ΕΕΕΕ ΟΟ/ΟΟ ΥΥΥΥ ΩΩΩΩ ΑΑΑΑ{Α}, really (ἀληθές) /  
 15 truly (ἀληθῶς), ΗΙ ΑΑΑΑ ΩΩ/ΩΩ, O existing one who sees  
 the aeons (αἰών)! / Really truly (ἀληθές ἀληθῶς), ΑΕΕ ΗΗΗ ΙΙΙΙ  
 / ΥΥΥΥΥΥ ΩΩΩΩΩΩΩΩ, / who is eternally eternal, / 20 really  
 truly (ἀληθές ἀληθῶς), ΙΗΑ ΑΙΩ in / the heart, who exists, Υ ἀεὶ εἶς  
 ἀεὶ, εἶ ὁ εἶ, εἶ ὁς εἶ!

*Hymnic section (part II): III 66,22 - 68,1*

22 ΠΕΕΙΝΑΒ ΝΡΑΝ  
 ΕΤΝΤΑΚ ΖΙΧΩΕΙ ΠΙΑΤΨΩΩΤ  
 24 ΝΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΜΠΑΒΟΛ ΑΝ  
 ΕΕΙΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΚ ΠΙΑΤΨΑΥ ΕΡΟΚ Ν

66,23 Corr. first Ω written above crossed out O.

24 Corr. Ε in ΕΤΜ over Ν.

This great name / of thine is upon me, O self-begotten (αὐτογενής) Perfect  
 one, who art not outside me. / 25 I see thee, O thou who art invisible /

66,24f. Or: Thou who art not outside me, I see thee.

- IV 78 [̄ΝΤΕ ΝΙ]Ε[̄ΟΟΥ] ΤΗΡΟΥ ̄Ζ̄Ν ΟῩΜ̄Ν  
 16 [ΤΜ]Ε ΝΑ[ΜΕ] ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄ ΨΑ Ε  
 [Ν]ΕΖ̄ !!!!! [Η]Η̄Η̄Η̄ Ε̄Ε̄Ε̄Ε̄ Ο̄Ο̄Ο̄Ο̄  
 18 [ΥΥ]Υ[Υ] ΨΩΩΩ ΑΑΑΑ ̄Ζ̄[Ν]  
 [ΟΥΜΝΤΜΕ ΝΑ]Μ[Ε] ΟΗ[Ι ΑΑΑΑ]  
 20 ff. are lost.

- 79 [̄ΟΘ̄]  
 ΕΝΕΖ̄ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ̄ ̄Ζ̄Ν [ΠΙΖΗΤ̄]  
 2 ΠΙΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ̄ · ̄Υ[ΑΕΙ ΕΙΣΑΕΙ]  
 ̄Ε[ΙΟ] ΕΙΕΙ ΟΣΕ[Ι·

79, 1 ΠΙΖΗΤ̄ is too short. ΤΚΑΡΔΙΑ fits well but is not attested in Coptic.

<sup>15</sup> [of] all [the glories], really / [truly], who exists eternally, / [!!!! ΗΗΗ]Η  
 Ε̄Ε̄Ε̄Ε̄ Ο̄Ο̄Ο̄Ο̄ / [ΥΥΥΥ] ΩΩΩΩ ΑΑΑΑ, / [really truly, ΟΗΙ  
 ΑΑΑΑ,] / (lines 20-end) // 79 eternal who is in [the heart,] / O  
 Eternal one, Υ [ἀεί εις ἀεί,] / εἰ [ὄ] εἰ, εἰ ὄs εἰ.

*Hymnic section (part II): IV 79,3 - 80,15*

- ΠΕΪΝΟΒ̄ Ν̄ΡΑΝ]  
 4 ΟΥ[... Ο]ΥΜΕΡΟ[Σ  
 ΤΜΗ[...] Δ̄ΙΟΥ[ ΠΙΑ]  
 6 Τ̄Ρ̄Ζ̄ΑΕ· ΕΥΧΠΟ Ε[ΒΟΛ̄ Μ̄ΜΟQ ΜΑΥ]  
 ΑΑQ ΠΕ ΕΥΕΞ[ΟΥCΙΑ ΕΒΟΛ̄ Μ̄]  
 8 ΜΟQ ΜΑΥΑΑQ ΠΕ Π[Η ΕΤΕ Ν̄ΝΑΤ]  
 ΝΑΥ Ε[Ρ]ΟQ CΑΒΟΛ̄ Μ̄Μ[ΟΙ ΠΗ ΕΤΕ]

[This great name] / [ ] a part (μέρος) [ ] / <sup>5</sup> the [ , O] / Perfect one who art [self-] begotten / (and) autonomous (ἐξουσία), / [who art in]visible / except to [me, who art] /



- IV 79,10  $\bar{n}$ natnaγ eroq  $\bar{n}$ n[oyon nim']  
 oy gar pet'ψ(ω)η [m̄moky z̄n oy]  
 12 cmh m̄n oycmoy [eaicoγwn̄k]  
 anok †noy aī moy[χ̄t' m̄n pek]  
 14 tωbe· ayw [a]i[rzowk m̄moī]  
 aīψowηe [z̄n] o[γzoplanon n̄te pi]  
 16 zmot' m̄n pioy[oein aīroγoein]  
 ayw eβol z̄itoφ[τq̄ aīpōrw̄ n̄]  
 18 nabix [eb]ol e[γkhev· ayw aīxi]  
 morphē[. .]. n[  
 20  $\bar{n}$ noykalay[mma n̄te †m̄nt̄rm]  
 maō eckōt[ε  
 22  $\bar{n}$ oymh[tra  
 z̄n oyein[ε  
 24 [  
 z̄n oy m̄nt[me xe aīr̄xwri m̄]  
 26 moy ic̄ n̄te ph et[  
 hee aīee oic [ω

79,11 MS. reads ψοοπ.

25 Superlin. stroke on MN is in the lacuna.

<sup>10</sup> invisible to [everyone]. / For (γάρ) who comprehends [thee in] / voice and praise? [Having known thee] / I now have mixed [with thy] / steadfastness, and [I have armed myself;] / <sup>15</sup> I have come to be in [an armor (ὄπλον) of] / grace and the [light; I have become light.] / And because of [it I have stretched] / out my hands [while they were folded. And I was] / shaped (μορφή) [ ] / <sup>20</sup> a veil (κάλυμμα) [of the] richness / which surround [ ] / a [womb (μήτρα) ] / in a likeness [ ] / [ ] / <sup>25</sup> truly, [because I have comprehended (χωρεῖν)] / thee, Jesus of the one who [ ] / hee aīee oic [ω ] //

79,17f. Or: spread out my hands which were folded.



- IV 80 [π̄]  
 [ ε]ΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 2 [ἄ̄ΝΤΕ †CIGH ...]... [ἄ̄ΝΤ]ΟΚ ΠΕ  
 [ ἄ̄ΝΜ̄ΤΟΝ ἄ̄ΝΤ[ε Π]ΩΗ  
 4 [ΡΕ ]ΕΤΨΟ[ΟΠ] ἄ̄Ν  
 [ ΠΙΜΑ[εΙ]Ν ΠΙΜΑ  
 6 [ ] ἄ̄ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΑΚΤ[Β]  
 [ΒΟ Μ̄ΜΟΪ ἄ̄ΝΖΗΤ̄Ϛ] ἄ̄Μ ΠΕΚΩΝ̄Ζ  
 8 [ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΚΡΑΝ ἄ̄Ν]ΝΑΤ̄ϚΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
 [ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ϚΨΟ]ΟΠ̄ ἄ̄ΝΖΗΤ̄Ϛ ἄ̄ΝΒΙ ΟΥ  
 10 [CΤΟΕΙ ἄ̄ΝΤΕ ΠΩ]ἄ̄Ν̄Ζ · ΕΛϚΘ̄ΩΡ̄Ϛ ἄ̄Ν  
 [ΟΥΜΟΟΥ ἄ̄Ν.Χ]ΩΚ̄Μ ἄ̄Ν[ΤΕ] ΝΙΑΡΧΩΝ  
 12 [ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΡΑΩ]ἄ̄Ν̄Ζ ΖΑΤΟΟΤ̄Κ ἄ̄Ν ΟΥ  
 [ΙΡΗΝΗ ἄ̄ΝΤΕ ΝΕΤΟΥ]ΛΑΒ [ΠΙ]ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ  
 14 [ΠΗ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ] ἄ̄Ν̄ [ΟΥ]Μ̄ΝΤΜΕ ΝΑ  
 [ΜΕ·

80,14 See III 68,1 note.

80 [O] holy [ ], O God / [of silence (σιγή) ] Thou art / [ of rest of [the] son / [ ] who exists in / <sup>5</sup> [ ] the [mark], the place(?) / [ ] a man, thou hast / [purified me in him] in thy life, / [according to (κατά) thine] imperishable [name.] / [Therefore, there is] in him / <sup>10</sup> [incense of life] that has mixed with / baptismal [water] of [all] the / archons (ἄρχων), [in order that I may] live with thee in the / [peace (εἰρήνη) of the saints. O] eternal one / [who exists] really / <sup>15</sup> truly.

*The first conclusion: III 68,1-9*

III 68

ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΤΒΙΒΛΟΣ

- 2  $\bar{\eta}$ ταϋσαϋς  $\bar{\eta}$ βι πνοβ  $\bar{\eta}$ σ $\bar{\eta}$ θ̄ αϋκω  
 $\bar{\mu}$ μος  $\bar{\zeta}$  $\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\zeta}$ εντοοϋ εϋχοσε ε $\bar{\mu}$
- 4 πεπρη ψα εχωοϋ οϋδε ε $\bar{\mu}$  $\bar{\eta}$   
 βομ · αϋω χιν νεϋοοϋ  $\bar{\eta}$ νεπρο
- 6 φητης  $\bar{\mu}$  $\bar{\eta}$  ναποστολος  $\bar{\mu}$  $\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\eta}$   
 κηρυξ̄  $\bar{\mu}$ πεπρε'ν' ϋολως ταλο
- 8 ε $\bar{\chi}$  $\bar{\eta}$  νεϋζητ̄ οϋτε  $\bar{\mu}$  $\bar{\eta}$  ψβομ  
 αϋω  $\bar{\mu}$ πεπεϋμαχε σωτ $\bar{\mu}$  εροϋ

68, 4 Corr. χωο over εωϋ.

7 Corr. ε in ϐε over η ? See 68,4.

This is the book (*βίβλος*) / which the great Seth wrote, and placed / in high mountains on which / the sun has not risen, nor (*οὐδέ*) is it / <sup>5</sup> possible. And since the days of the prophets (*προφήτης*), / and the apostles (*ἀπόστολος*), and the / preachers (*κηρυξ̄*), the name has not at all (*ὄλως*) risen / upon their hearts, nor (*οὐτε*) is it possible. / And their ear has not heard it. /

*The second conclusion: III 68,10-69,5*

- 10 τ̄εειβιβλος αϋσαϋς  $\bar{\eta}$ βι πνοβ  
 $\bar{\eta}$ σ $\bar{\eta}$ θ̄ ·  $\bar{\zeta}$  $\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\zeta}$ ενσϋαΐ  $\bar{\eta}$ ψεμααβ
- 12  $\bar{\eta}$ ρομπε αϋκω  $\bar{\mu}$ μος  $\bar{\zeta}$  $\bar{\mu}$  πτο  
 {ο}οϋ εψαϋμοϋτε εροϋ χε χα
- 14 ϐαξιω χεκαας  $\bar{\zeta}$  $\bar{\eta}$   $\bar{\eta}$ ϋαε  $\bar{\eta}$ νε

<sup>10</sup> The great Seth wrote this book (*βίβλος*) / with letters in one hundred and thirty / years. He placed it in the mountain / that is called Charaxio, / in order that, at the end of the /





IV 81, 3 — end is lost.



Only a blank top fragment of IV 82 survives.  
The colophon was probably absent (see pp. 8f.).

## COMMENTARY

*The Introduction:* III 40,12 - 41,7 = IV 50,1-23.

III 40,12f.: See the chapter on the title, *supra*, pp. 20ff.

The holy book is linked with the Spirit, which is at first characterized in three ways expressing its nature and origin. Then follow a series of seven more appositives which describe the Spirit as light. After these come three other appositives: the Father, the Aeon of the aeons, and the uninterpretable Power. To each of the first two of these appositives, three attributes are added. The third attribute is different in the two versions. Since some of the differences between III, 2 and IV, 2 can be explained in terms of mistranslations from the Greek, the *Vorlage* has been reconstructed as follows:

ἡ βίβλος ἡ ἱερά τῶν Αἰγυπτίων  
τοῦ μεγάλου ἀοράτου πνεύματος,  
τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκλήτου,  
τοῦ προελθόντος ἐκ τῶν ὑψίστων,  
τοῦ τελείου τοῦ φωτός,  
τοῦ φωτὸς εἰς αἰῶνα τῶν αἰώνων,  
τοῦ φωτὸς (ἐκ) σιγῆς προνοίας καὶ σιγῆς τοῦ πατρὸς,  
τοῦ φωτὸς (ἐκ) λόγου καὶ ἀληθείας,  
τοῦ φωτὸς ἀφθαρσιῶν,  
τοῦ φωτὸς ἀπεράντου,  
τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ προελθόντος εἰς αἰῶνα τῶν αἰώνων,  
τοῦ πατρὸς  
τοῦ ἀδήλου  
τοῦ ἀσημάντου  
(τοῦ ἀγηράτου)  
τοῦ ἀνευαγγελιζομένου,  
τοῦ αἰῶος τῶν αἰώνων,  
(τοῦ ἀυτογενοῦς)  
τοῦ ἀυτογενείου  
τοῦ ἐπιγενείου  
τοῦ ἀλλογενείου  
τῆς ἀνερμηνεύτου δυνάμεως τοῦ ἀρρήτου πατρὸς

III 40,15f.: III mistakenly read τοῦ τελείου "perfection" (LAMPRE, p. 1381a) with the preceding rather than the following noun. This led to

the merging of the first two "light clauses". III 40,16f.: it is not clear why III translated *εἰς αἰῶνα τῶν αἰώνων* by **ΝΙΑΙΩΝ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ** (cf. 41,2). 40,17f.: III usually supplied a definite article where the Greek must have been indefinite. The varying translations, **ΠΕΙΩΤ ΝΤΣΙΓΗ** in III 40,18 over against **ΟΥΣΙΓΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΙΩΤ** in IV 50,9, presuppose the same Greek Vorlage, *σιγῆς τοῦ πατρός*. Since *σιγῆ* lacked an article in Greek, III mistakenly assumed that it depended on *τοῦ πατρός*. Thus the intended parallel between Pronoia and the Father was lost (cf. III 42,1f.; 43,5f.; 63,21f.). The genitive constructions in III 40,17.19 correspond to the phrases with **Ḳ̅N-** in IV 50,8.10. It is likely that both the genitive constructions in III 40,17.19 and the phrases with **Ḳ̅N-** in IV 50,8.10 go back to the same text. The intention of the text is to qualify the term "light" by specifying its origin. Therefore the genitive in III can be seen as the translation of the original Greek text (genitive of origin). On the other hand, IV perhaps interpreted the Greek genitive as *ἐκ* plus the genitive (**Ḳ̅N-** often equals **ΕΒΟΛ Ḳ̅N-**; cf. CRUM, *Dict.* p. 684a). Here the genitive of origin comes very close to a partitive genitive. The striking rendering of (*ἐκ*) *σιγῆς προνοίας* as **Ḳ̅N ΟΥΣΙΓΗ Ḳ̅N ΟΥΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ** shows that IV interpreted *σιγῆς* and *προνοίας* as coordinate nouns. On the other hand, *ἐκ* could have occurred before the first genitive as IV suggests and III has simplified it. The same applies to the subsequent expression in III 40,18f. = IV 50,9f. III 41,1: The same conflict between III and IV is found in III 41,22f. par.; 42,8 par.; 64,9 par.; IV 59,8. In III 41,2 **ΠΕΙΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ** "come forth" includes the concept "light" (cf. CRUM, *Dict.* p. 267a). III 41,3f.: Most likely both III and IV mistakenly connected this clause to the preceding with **ΝΤΕ**, forgetting that it stands in apposition to the great invisible Spirit. IV normally connects a series of adjectives with **ΛΩ**. The **ΑΤ† ΨΩΛΖ (ΑΣΗΜΑΝΤΟΣ)** may mean that the supreme God cannot be expressed in writing. **ΝΑΤΖΑΛΟ** (*τοῦ ἀγῆρατου*) is missing in IV 50,16. "The aeon of aeons" expresses primacy of origin. One could consider **ΝΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ** in III 41,5 as a comment in the margin, that was included in the text by a later scribe, or that **ΝΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ** needs to be emended to **ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ**. In the latter case the translator of III, 2 did not recognize that *τοῦ αὐτογενοῦς* in the Greek Vorlage stands in apposition to the great invisible Spirit. Then IV translated *τοῦ αὐτογενοῦς τοῦ αὐτογενίου* by means of a single expression, since otherwise it would become an overly redundant construction in Coptic translation. IV turned the

attributive adjectives τοῦ ἐπιγενίου and τοῦ ἀλλογενίου into substantives parallel to τοῦ αὐτογενοῦς. The forms ending in -ιος are unattested and must have been designed for stylistic effect (cf. Zost VIII 18,14 ΝΙΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΙΟΝ [ἸΝΝ]ΕΩΝ). The difference between αὐτογένιος and ἐπιγένιος may lie in that the former indicates that the Spirit had his origin in himself while the latter stresses that he appeared out of himself (cf. III 41,2 = IV 50,13). III 41,7 differs greatly from IV 50,21f. Perhaps IV is closest to the original while III restates 41,5. Ending with the ineffable Father would appropriately round off this section which spoke of the metaphysical and mysterious domain of the great invisible Spirit.

*The appearance of the three powers:* III 41,7-12 = IV 50,23 - 51,2.

The trinity of Father, Mother and Son does not originate through emanation, as in ApocryJn, but through evolution, a self-unfolding of the supreme God. ΠΙΡΕ is a typical expression for the coming forth of light (*supra*, p. 169). In IV ΝΙΠΙΡΕ is an appositive to Father, Mother, Son (in 50,26f.). The *Vorlage* may have been ἐπιγένιοι ἐκ σιγῆς ζώσης τοῦ πατρὸς ἀφθάρτου. III, however, saw τοῦ πατρὸς as an appositive to σιγῆς ζώσης, and thus introduced both with ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ-. If one considers III to be correct, then ΠΠΙΡΕ would be either an appositive to CΙΓΗ or to Father, Mother, Son seen collectively as the offspring of the primal Father. In the former case, the Greek may have been ἐκ σιγῆς ζώσης τοῦ ἐπιγενίου (ἐκ) τοῦ πατρὸς ἀφθάρτου. For the latter possibility, ὁ ἐπιγένιος may have been in the *Vorlage* instead of τοῦ ἐπιγενίου. This last reconstruction could have led to the translations of both III and IV. The δέ in III 41,12 is no longer postpositive, perhaps due to a transposition of the verb by the Coptic translator.

*The composition of the realm of Light:* III 41,13-23 = IV 51,2-15.

(Cf. *supra*, pp. 41ff.) IV cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Apparently the sentence in Greek began with ἐξ αὐτοῦ Δοξομέδων which III interpreted to refer to a place (cf. III 41,23 par., III 43,8 par.). The designation "aeon of the aeons" has also been attributed to the great invisible Spirit. However, here it appears not to refer to primacy of origin but to the all-comprehensive character of his being, in which the light, i.e. the supreme God, presents himself. Some text has dropped out in III 41,16 (cf. IV 51,4-6). "Their powers" refers to the Doxomedon as a collective entity. According to this

section he contains a trinity (41,22f.; cf. 41,1 comm.), which is supplemented by a second trinity.

*The three ogdoads:* III 41,23 - 43,8 = IV 51,15 - 53,3.

a) Their appearance: III 41,23 - 42,4 = IV 51,15-22.

The ogdoads come forth from the Doxomedon (see 41,13 comm.). This is a speculative description of the trinity. The "from him" in IV could refer both to Doxomedon and the great invisible Spirit. In IV ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ is parallel to ΣΙΓΗ and a characteristic of the Father. In III ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ appears to be a mythological figure as is suggested by 40,17f. and par., 43,6 and par. Thus III has "his Pronoia", i.e. his female complement. This is in agreement with the origin of the ogdoads pictured as a birth. In Gnosticism "ogdoad" refers first of all to the firmament of fixed stars which stands above the hebdomad of the planets. Secondly, and probably originally, it was a numerical grouping, a unit of eight, which was, especially in Valentinianism, used as a description of the intelligible world. For the Egyptian ogdoad concept see KURT SETHE, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (Abh. Preuss. Akademie d. Wiss., Berlin 1929, No. 4). GEgypt employs the ogdoads as a stylistic device for the arrangement of the heavenly world. Thus the heavenly lights form together with their consorts one such ogdoad (*infra*, p. 179f.), as do their ministers with their consorts (*infra*, p. 180). Together with the three ogdoads of the trinity they form five ogdoads, a total of forty heavenly beings referred to in Coptic idiom as "a forty" (III 53,11 = IV 65,3f.). The trinity and five seals also add up to eight.

b) The first ogdoad: III 42,5-11 = IV 51,22 - 52,2.

The first ogdoad belongs to the Father. Since the ogdoad contains the person which brought it into being, the ogdoad remains a part of the trinity. The Father's unity and originality is attested by the fact that he is androgenous. See *supra*, pp. 43ff. on the thrice-male child. III and IV differ in the list of the parts of the first ogdoad. Surprising is the translation of ἀφθαρσία by ΝΑΤΧΩΖΜ in IV 50,11; 51,26; 59,8; and 75,23 (see III 41,1 comm.). Thus IV collapsed "incorruption and eternal life" into "eternal, incorruptible life". III is supported by ApocryJn BG 28,15 - 29,4, where ἔννοια, πρόγνωσις, ἀφθαρσία and αἰωνία ζωή come forth at the request of the Barbelo, while νοῦς, θέλημα and λόγος come forth through Christ, i.e. the Son (BG 31,6-16). Since Father, Mother and Son are identified with the three ogdoads (IV 51,16ff.), the question arises whether the

naming of the androgenous Father indicates that he alone is equated with the entire ogdoad or that he, together with seven other beings, forms the ogdoad. The latter corresponds fully with gnostic thought patterns.

c) The second ogdoad: III 42,11-21 = IV 52,2-14.

For Barbelo and her role in this writing, see *supra*, pp. 40f. The lacunae in both versions preclude the possibility of knowing the secret names used in this section. The text in the lacuna in IV 52,10f. is missing in III unless it was in the lacuna in 42,18. The **πειρε** in 42,17f. must here too mean "originate" (cf. *supra*, p. 169). The **εὐδοκεῖν** in III 42,19 par. testifies to the legitimacy of Barbelo.

d) The third ogdoad: III 42,21 - 43,4 = IV 52,15-24.

The Son is described in terms of his origin. He is the offspring of the primal Power and as such he is the "Son of silence". III 42,23 is missing in IV. He is called the **δόξα** of the Father and **ἀρετή** of the Mother which recalls the use of both attributes in 2 Pet 1: 3, although here they are distributed between two divine beings. **COOYN** in IV 52,17 is a misinterpretation of **δόξα**. The Son completes himself. Most likely the planets are meant, and the voices would refer to the harmony of spheres which is based on Pythagorean number mysticism. For the use of the plural **κόλποι** see LAMPE, p. 766a. IV 52,22f. should be preferred. The Logos is the product of the hebdomad. III has simply placed hebdomad and Logos beside each other without explaining their relationship.

e) The summary: III 43,4-8 = IV 52,24 - 53,3.

The relative particle in IV 52,24 and in other places probably corresponds to a relative construction in the Greek. (For the relationship between the Father and Pronoia cf. III 42,1 f. comm.) The section on the trinity of ogdoads ends as it started with a reference to the place where they came into being. This is the same place where the Doxomedon-aeon originated and thus it must refer to the all-encompassing realm of light.

*The description of the Doxomedon-aeon:* III 43,8 - 44,9 = IV 53,3 - 54,13.

In IV 53,3f., in contrast to III 43,8f., the coming of the Doxomedon is closely linked to the preceding event. The reconstruction **πΗ** or **ΠΑΙ** in IV 53,3 is too short. **ΠΑΙ ΠΕ** or **ΠΑΙ Π** (cleft sentence) is possible although this construction is not used elsewhere in IV. The **ΜΜΑΥ** in IV 53,5 leaves no doubt that the **ΠΙΜΑ** in the pre-

ceding section is meant. The transition to this section is made by means of the relative clause (ΠΙΜΑ = ὅπου) the antecedent of which is ΠΙΜΑ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ. (For the Doxomedon-aeon cf. *supra*, pp. 41ff.). The plural with ΕΡΟΝΟΣ in IV 53,6 is supported by the ΕΡΟΟΥ in IV 53,8 and shows that IV consistently understood the Doxomedon-aeon to be a collective being. The singular ΠΕΡΟΝΟΣ in III 43,10f. may go back to a variant in the Greek text but more likely, since all the parallel occurrences are plural, III made the change to fit the throne in 43,18 and par. ΝΙΕΟΥ Μ̄Ν ΝΙΑΦΘΑΡΣΙΑ (III 43,12) stands in apposition to ΝΑΔΥΝΑΜΙC just as in IV 53,8f., where Μ̄Ν ... Μ̄Ν = καὶ ... καί, "both ... and", occurs. The alien God made his appearance in the Doxomedon-aeon. The lacuna in IV 53,11f. has no corresponding text in III. III 43,15ff. and par. gives a further description of the Doxomedon-aeon. Whether the throne belongs to the thrice-male child (*supra*, p. 42) or the Doxomedon is not clear. The name of the one who possesses the throne is written on a tablet made of boxwood (cf. LIDDELL-SCOTT, p. 1554b, and Zost VIII 130,2) which is attached to the throne. III 43,21ff. differs from IV. The text in IV 53,22 second half and 23 is missing in III. There is also no equivalent in III for the unreconstructed text in IV 54,1. The ineffable name is made up of the Greek vowels written twenty two times each — the number of letters in the Semitic alphabet. The order is ΙΗΟΥΕΑΩ which might possibly mean Ἰήου ἐ(στίν) Α (καὶ) Ω. In that case the personified Doxomedon could be identified with Yeou since he is a kind of second god (cf. *supra*, p. 43).

*The presentation of praise and request of the ogloads:* III 44,9-21 = IV 54,13 - 55,11.

(For the form of the presentations of praise cf. *supra*, pp. 39f.) IV 54,18 Ν̄ΤΕ Π[ΙΩΤ] (cf. IV 73,10f.) is lacking in III. Some text must be missing before the Ν̄ΒΙ in III 44,15, the equivalent of Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΒΟΜ in IV 54,23 (Ν̄ΒΙ is unusual here). The parallel to IV 54,25-55,2 must have been different and shorter. IV 55,4b-7a are missing in III due to homoioteleuton. The reconstruction Ν̄ΧC in 55,6 is suggested by the occurrence in III 44,23 and par. The reconstruction CΗΘ is also possible since there is a close connection between the thrice-male child and Seth (cf. *supra*, p. 45), but it is very unlikely since Seth has not yet appeared. The scene describes the filling of the Doxomedon-aeon with light-beings. The three males described in IV 55,3-7 are most likely the same as the thrice-male child. The reference to the word (= λόγος)

of the pleroma of light means that the powers build a realm of light through the rational ordering power of the Logos (cf. *TDNT* IV, pp. 84ff. [76 ff.]).

*The presentation of praise of the thrice-male child:* III 44,22-? = IV 55,11 - 56,11.

This section is largely missing in III and poorly preserved in IV. The first part, IV 55,11 - 56,6, contains an expanded presentation of praise. Then the presentation of praise is repeated and a request is uttered. (For the relationship between the child and Christ cf. *supra*, p. 46. For  $\text{ΙΩΗΛ}$  cf. *supra*, p. 47). The presentation of praise is addressed to the great invisible Spirit and his female counterpart. The name Ainon may be the accusative of  $\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  which means praise — in the sense of  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ . Also  $\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma = \delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$  is possible as a description of the alien God.

*The appearance of Youel and Esephech:* IV 56,11-22.

(For Youel cf. *supra*, pp. 46ff.). Since in the preceding section the appearance of the thrice-male child is reported, and the appearance of Esephech comes in IV 56,20-22, it is to be expected that in IV 56,11-20 the appearance of Youel is mentioned. Unfortunately the lacunae make an unambiguous interpretation of this section exceedingly difficult. Nevertheless, the restoration of Youel in line 20 is made certain by line 19. The difficulty with this interpretation is that the being in 56,11ff. is masculine. Perhaps we can read  $[\text{ΠΙΦΩ}]C$  here. This radiant figure appears to be identified with Youel in lines 19f. In Allog XI 50, 52, 55 and 59 she is called  $\text{ΤΑ ΝΙΕΘΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ}$ , "she who has all the glories". For Esephech see *supra*, pp. 48f.

*The summary (?):* IV 56,23 - 58,22.

This section is so poorly preserved that it is difficult to decide whether it forms a unit. An ogdoad has now been completed made up of the Father, the Mother, the Son, and the five seals which must be the three male virgins, Youel and Esephech. (For the five seals cf. *supra*, p. 50). They are the seal imprint of the first trinity. These seals are not the five sacraments as one might assume from GPh (cf. H.-G. GAFFRON, *Studien zum koptischen Philippusevangelium unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sakramente*, Bonn 1969). The references to the five seals in III 55,12 and 66,3 appear to be secondary since they are lacking in IV. In both cases the sacraments are meant,

and the number five must come from a cultic situation similar to GPh. The poor state of pages 57-58 obscure the argument until 58,23.

*The appearance of Pronoia:* IV 58,23 - 59,29.

IV 58,23f.: Various reconstructions are possible here: [ΠΡΟΝ]ΟΙΑ, [ΑΠΟΡΡ]ΟΙΑ, "emanation", or [ΕΝΝ]ΟΙΑ. By introducing Pronoia the author reaches back to the beginning. This fits well in light of the derivation of the Logos from the Father which follows. If this interpretation is correct, the reconstruction of Pronoia is better than ΑΠΟΡΡΟΙΑ, since ΑΠΟΡΡΟΙΑ lacks a definite character. Pronoia and the Logos come forth directly out of the supreme God. Pronoia creates an entourage for the light-being mentioned at the end of the section. The mentioning of Christ is surprising and, perhaps, secondary. He is associated with the thrice-male child. The close connection between them is also evident in III 44,22f. = IV 55,11f. and III 54,13-20 = IV 66,2-8.

*The appearance of the Logos:* IV 59,29 - 60,22.

The Logos does not appear as a response to the usual presentation of praise and request. The partially preserved name in 60,6 is typical for Gnostic literature, and similar to the unintelligible secret names of magical literature. The reading **XC** in 60,8 is as good as certain. «The son of silence» in 60,8 and 12 refers to the Logos. The reference to him as the son of the great Christ is best understood as an interpolation. That Christ is connected with the coming of the Logos is known from other Gnostic sources, but to refer to the Logos as the Son of Christ is unprecedented. The relative clauses in 60,7 and 8 are parallel. The descent from the primal Father nicely explains the missing request. Thus the passage attests to the direct emanation of the Logos from the primal Father. 60,17-22 may be a different unit of tradition (τότε!) which presents the Logos as the creator of the heavenly world.

*The presentation of praise of the Logos:* IV 60,22-30.

The fact that the presentation of praise of the Logos is addressed only to the great invisible Spirit could be due to an especially close relationship between the Father and the Logos. This section does not belong to the presentations of praise addressed to the pantheon.

*The creation of Adamas:* III 48 end-49,7 = IV 60,30-61,8.

In contrast to the Logos, the being next in order is not an *ἀπογενής*. The Adamas, the heavenly prototype of the earthly man, is created. This is indicated by *ἄπο*, the typical word for such an act (cf. III 51,17; 54,17; 60,11.20; 63,13; 67,11. IV 63,12; 66,6; 72,2; 75,15). To accomplish this a creator-deity is needed. In III 49,4 *ΜΙΡΘΘΘΗ* plays this role. The end of the parallel line in IV 61,4 is lost. There is not enough room for the name although it could have been crowded in and have extended into the margin. The name refers to a mother deity also known from Zost VIII 6,30; 30,14 where the name is spelled *ΜΙΡΘΘΕΑ*. The meaning would be “the goddess *μοῖρα*”. In GEGYPT the name has the Ionic feminine ending. Due to stress on the ultima the vowels of the penult and antepenult have been assimilated. The reference to *μοῖρα* as creator of the primal Adam appears to come from ancient mythology, since Zeus made the *Μοῖραι*, the goddesses of fate, especially significant for man (cf. HES. *Theog.* 903ff.). Yet her mythological role can vary. The most basic is her general character as “mother of the holy, incorruptible ones”. This special role as mother can also be transferred to a male deity. For that reason the *ΡΕΡΑΔΑΜΑΣ*, the primal Adam, in the 3StSeth is praised by Seth as the *ΜΙΡΩΘΕΑΣ* (VII 119,12). (For Greek name ending in *-ās* cf. BLASS-DEBRUNNER § 125). Finally, this form is changed to *ΜΙΡΩΘΕΟΣ* (VII 119,12f.; 120,15). The name given to Adamas in III 49,6f. is made up of groups of letters, while in IV 61,6f. a meaning is given. Unfortunately the passage in IV is obscured by lacunae. It reads at first (IV 61,6f.) three times “thou art one”. The same is said in Zost VIII 53,24f. of the Splenditenens and again in 54,6 where the context is lost. In the hymn to the supreme God in 3StSeth we find the phrase “thou art one” twice in a row (VII 125,23). Thus *ΙΕΝ* in III may be *εἰ ἔν*, which the author of III mistook for nonsense syllables but which in IV are correctly translated. (Cf. III 66,13 and IV 78,16f. for a similar situation). IV 61,8 has [*εα εα*] *εα*. What was at the end of the preceding line, however, remains a question. To take *εα* as an abbreviation for *εἰ ἔν* is problematic when one considers that previously *εἰ* was rendered by *ι*. If one sees in *ΙΕΝ* and *εα* the same meaning, then one must take *ΙΕΝ* as a Greek phrase that was not understood, and *εα* as a cryptogram consisting of the first letter of the written word *εἰ* and the alpha as the number 1. The chief problem remains, however, whether in the Greek *Vorlage* *ΙΕΝ* or *ΕΙΕΝ* occurred. If *ΕΙΕΝ* were not there, one could hypothesize

that IV interpreted the text capriciously. Perhaps one could see these letters as the initial letters of the following words: Ἰ(ήου) ἐ(στι) ν(έος), ἐ(στίν) Ἀ(δάμας). The meaning would then be that Ἰήου renews himself and appears in the Light-Adam. (Cf. *ΙΗΟΥΕΛΩ* *supra*, p. 173). Of course, this remains only a purely hypothetical possibility.

*The origin of Adamas*: III 49,8-16 = IV 61,8-18.

επιδε in IV 61,8 corresponds to γαρ in III 49,8. For the spelling ἐπειδέ see E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik* II, pp. 658f. One could also read ἐπεὶ δέ, see ThCont II 138,7. IV 61,8-11 and III 49,8-10 differ considerably. The shorter text in III as well as the version in IV have Adamas originate from "Man" (meaning God). The longer text in IV is obscured by lacunae, but Adamas is called "the eye". Whose eye he is can be reconstructed from SJC (BG) 100,12ff. and 108,8-11 where Adamas is called "the eye of the light". From IV 61,11ff. it is clear that the light is identical with the first Man, while in III 49,8 the light is connected with Adamas (cf. φῶς "light" and φῶς "man" in CLEM. *Paed.* I 6). The quotation from the New Testament (Col 1:16; John 1:3) and the identification of the Father with the first man in IV make it clear that the "Man" from whom Adamas originates is God. God has come down in Adamas to remove the ὑστέρημα. In ApocryJn the statement about the God-man is part of a presentation of praise to the invisible Spirit by Adamas after his creation (BG 35,13ff. = III 13,11ff. = II 9,5ff.).

*The union of Adamas and the Logos*: III 49, 16-22 = IV 61,18-23.

In III the Greek word λόγος appears twice (49,17.20) and ψαχε once (49,22) in this section. This may mean that the Coptic translator attempted to make a distinction between Logos as a mythological figure and the normal meaning "word" (cf. A. BÖHLIG, *Die griechischen Lehnwörter*, pp. 24f.). IV uses only ψαχε. Just as in Gnosticism the earthly man does not have life simply by virtue of his creation, so also Adamas must be joined with the Logos. The Logos and Adamas mingle with each other (III, 49,19f.) or become a "synthesis" or "mixture" (cf. CRUM, *Dict.* p. 831a σύνθεσις, κράμα) "which is man" (IV 61,21f.). κράμα refers to the union of soul and body in patristic texts (cf. LAMPE, p. 774b). III 49,20-22 is somewhat more detailed than IV and points out two aspects. On the one hand man possesses a logos, on the other hand he is created by a word. It appears

that III or his Greek *Vorlage* added an interpretive comment at this point.

*The presentation of praise of the Logos and Adamas:* III 49,22-50,17 = IV 61,23 - 62,16.

Cf. *supra*, p. 49 for this section. The mixing of the Logos and Adamas leads to joint action. For Esephech as "the child of the child" see Zost VIII 45,11; 58,25. For the plural with Doxomedon in IV 62,4 see *supra*, p. 42. For the ethereal earth see U 361,35, and  $\kappa\alpha\zeta \bar{\nu}\nu\alpha\eta\rho$  in Zost VIII 8,11; 9,2ff. It forms the lowest part of the heavenly world. According to Zost it came into being through a word. As such it is the counterpart of the cosmic earth. "It reveals the created and corruptible ones in incorruptibility" (Zost VIII 9,4ff.). Thus it is a place of transformation. The description "the receiver of God" (III 50,10f. = IV 62,9f.) must mean that the deification takes place there (cf. U 361,35ff). The  $\bar{\nu}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$  in III 50,14 appears to be a secondary addition. III 50,15 leaves out  $\pi\eta\rho\eta$ . IV has the better text as the parallelism suggests:

"[the] light of the Father [of the] silence  
and the living spring [of silence,]  
[the] Father and [their whole] pleroma".

*The request of the Logos and Adamas:* III 50,17-51,14 = IV 62,16 - 63,8.

After this presentation of praise has been completed, the text resumes with a summarizing reference to it, perhaps to place the emphasis on the ones who present the praise. Once again the Greek term *λόγος* is used in III. The petition is divided into two parts. In the first one the Logos and Adamas together ask for the creation of the lights. In the second part Adamas requests a son, i.e. Seth, to be the father of a new race. III probably left out inadvertently the  $\mu\eta\tau\alpha\tau\chi\omega\zeta\bar{\mu}$  present in IV 62,21. III 50,23 = IV 62,22 indicates that the requested power (the lights) will complete the four aeons. It will shine into the cosmos which exists in the darkness of night. In IV 62,31 - 63,1 in contrast to III 51,6, Adamas asks for a son "for himself", which shows that we are dealing with an independent tradition. This supports the reconstruction  $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$  in IV 62,30. III has harmonized it with the preceding part by translating "for them". III 51,7-14 = IV 63,1-8 presents the task of the race of Seth. Its appearance serves as the judgment of the dead aeon. The voice pre-

cedes the raising of the aeon and is indeed the prerequisite for the judgement (cf. 1 Cor 15:52). If IV 63,4  $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma$  is left unemended, it would have to be II Perfect. The gnostic reader then viewed the requested events not from the perspective of those who make the request (the Logos and Adamas), but from his own perspective since the creation of Seth and the race of Seth have already brought about the possibility of salvation. The race of Seth has the same function as the light elements or light spirits in Gnosticism (cf. BÖHLIG-LABIB II, 5, p. 101).

*The creation of the four lights and Seth:* III 51,14-22 = IV 63,8-17.

In III 51,19  $\epsilon\tau\eta\nu\alpha\omega\omega\upsilon$  meaning “great” has been added as an attribute of the four lights.  $\nu\omicron\delta$  is missing in III 51,21 in contrast to IV 63,16. As in the case of Adamas (*supra*, p. 176), an auxiliary power comes into being to create the four lights, Harmozel, Oroiael, Davithe and Eleleth, and Seth. III 51,17 takes  $\pi\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$  to be the name of this power.  $\pi\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$  is represented in IV 63,11 by  $\bar{\pi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\upsilon}$ . Other examples of the Qualitative functioning as a noun are  $\lambda\omega\omega\upsilon$  “hastiness”,  $\iota\eta\varsigma$  “speed”, and  $\mu\omicron\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$  “ease”. A detailed description of the creation of the four lights can be found in ApocryJn (BG 32,19ff. = III 11,15ff. = II 7,30ff.). For its place in the myth see *supra*, p. 33. The inhabitants of the four lights are mentioned in III 65,12ff. = IV 77,7ff. ApocryJn deals with this immediately following the creation of the lights. (BG 35,5ff. = III 13,3ff. = II 8,35ff.).

*The completion of the Hebdomad:* III 51,22 - 52,3 = IV 63,17-24.

The omission of  $\omicron\upsilon\mu\upsilon\varsigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  in III 51,24 may be due to homoioteleuton in the Greek text. IV 63,23f.  $\bar{\nu}\omicron\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\delta}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\varsigma}\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\iota}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\chi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\kappa}\ \bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\kappa}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}$  may also be missing in III due to homoioteleuton. This piece of traditional material is an arithmological speculation typical for Gnostic literature. The unit of seven — its content is not specified — becomes through the addition of the four a group of eleven. These eleven are themselves ogdoads. A different arithmological scheme lies behind III 53,10ff. = IV 65,2ff. which speaks of five ogdoads.

*The consorts of the lights:* III 52,3-16 = IV 63,24 - 64,10.

In this section GEgypt differs from ApocryJn where each light receives three aeons: Harmozel receives  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$  and  $\mu\omicron\rho\phi\acute{\eta}$ ; Oroiael receives  $\pi\rho\acute{\nu}\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$  and  $\mu\eta\acute{\nu}\mu\eta$ ; Davithe receives

σύνεσις, ἀγάπη and ἰδέα; Eleleth receives τελειότης, εἰρήνη and σοφία (BG 33,10ff. = III 12,2ff. = II 8,7ff.). However ApocryJn also knows the tradition that only four consorts, χάρις, αἴσθησις, σύνεσις and φρόνησις belong to the light (BG 33,6f. = III 11,22f. = II 8,3f.).

*The ministers of the lights and their consorts:* III 52,16 - 53,12 = IV 64,10 - 65,5.

The ogdoad formed by the four lights and their consorts is complemented by a second ogdoad which has a typical auxiliary function. Three of the ministers are also known from ApocAd V 75,22ff. where they rescue the people of Seth. The two ogdoads of the Autogenes are now added to the three of the Father, Mother and Son and so form together a total of forty beings. The designation "uninterpretable power" heightens their mysterious character. For forty as an unmixed "four" see fragment 16 of Heracleon (●RIGEN, in *Jo* 2:20 = ed. PREUSCHEN, pp. 214,30-215,1).

*The request of the Logos and the pleroma:* III 53,12-54,11 = IV 65,5 - 30.

The **πωαχε**  $\bar{m}$ - in III 53,14 is a secondary addition under the influence of the preceding expression. IV 65,13 has Doxomedon-aeon in the plural. It should be noted that "which are in them" in III 53,20f. also assumes a plural in spite of the singular article in 53,19. The expected **παλου**  $\bar{n}$ τε **παλου** is missing in IV 65,20. **πληρωμα** in III 54,3 stands in apposition. Perhaps the  $\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - $\bar{m}\bar{n}$  in IV 65,21f. means "both - and". **ετῆρῶν**  $\bar{z}$ n- in IV 65,23 should be preferred over **ετῆμα**γ in III. For the presentation of praise see *supra*, pp. 39f. The content of the petition presents difficulties due to the differences between III 54,6ff. and IV 65,25ff. The first request is that the Father may be called the fourth, the second that the race of the Father may be called the seed of Seth. This second request establishes the connection between the children of Seth on earth and the supreme God. ●nly because the great invisible Spirit is the father of the Gnostics can they be certain that they are a "divine race". That is why the Sethians as the seed of Seth need a mythological explanation for their relationship to the Father. The response to the request satisfies this need. The meaning of the first part of the petition is obscure (cf. *infra*, p. 181). Together with the incorruptible race the Father forms a unit of four. Four is a basic number. However, it is unclear who the three are

who, together with the Father, make a group of four. The following section, which speaks of the thrice-male child and Christ, may be involved here. One should also note III 42,5ff. = IV 51,22ff., which shows that the thrice-male child originated from the Father. In contrast with III, the version in IV mentions *σπορά* only once.

*The response to the request:* III 54,11 - 55,2 = IV 65,30 - 66,14.

The two-fold *ΖΕΝΤΒΑ ΕΜΝΤΟΥ ΗΠΕ* in III appears to be secondary. The shaking of heaven and earth here (cf. OnOrWld, II 102 (150),26ff.) is not a sign of insurrection but the work of heavenly beings. This agrees with the general character of the tractate, for the opposition of the evil powers is only briefly mentioned and the initiative lies essentially with the heavenly beings. The incorruptible ones who make up the heavenly world consist of several groups of differing quality. Some are unborn, some self-begotten, and the third group is begotten in the created part of the heavenly world. For *ΧΠΟ Ε-* with the meaning "created into" cf. CRUM, *Dict.* p. 779a. For *ΖΝ* with the meaning "into" cf. CRUM, *Dict.* pp. 683a and 684b. Into this world a unit of four descends which could be the heavenly model of Seth and his children. It affects the heavenly world and consists of the thrice-male child and Christ. For this combination see *supra*, p. 46. The plural form of the verbal prefix (III 54,14) stresses the number three. Both the child and Christ are beings which are not created but have come into being (*προελθεῖν*). Perhaps in the second part of the tractate Seth and his children correspond to this unit of four in the sense that the threefold creation through Plesithea, Hormos and Edokla together with the earthly Seth form such a group of four. The combination of three and one reminds one of the then widely known story of the three young men in the fiery furnace and the angel who joins them (Dan 3:24-25 MT = 3:91-92 LXX). Christ surrounds himself with a court, an act which already points to the following section, but undoubtedly belongs here as can be seen from the concluding sentence (III 55,1f. = IV 66,13f.). In III the unit of four is the subject of this sentence; in IV it seems to be Christ. The founding of the four aeons was described in IV 60,19ff.

*The emergence of the heavenly church:* III 55,2-16 = IV 66,14 - 67,1.

*Λόγος* or *ΨΑΧΕ* dropped out in III 55,5. The development of the heavenly world, which has occurred as a response to the petitions of the Logos and the pleroma of the lights, finally leads to the for-

mation of a heavenly church (*πνευματικὴ ἐκκλησία*), whose task it is to praise the trinity of Father, Mother and Son. The first main section ends with "Amen" (III 55,16 = IV 67,1). For the structure of the tractate as a whole see *supra*, pp. 26ff.

*The presentation of praise of Seth and the request for his seed:* III 55,16 - 56,3 = IV 67,2-?

For the presentation of praise see *supra*, pp. 39f.

*Plesithea and her work:* III 56,4-13 = IV 67,? -27.

As with the creation of Adamas, a female creation-deity must appear in order to fulfill Seth's request. Earlier it was Moirothea (III 49,4), this time it is Πλησιθεά which means "full goddess". She is called mother three times. The name seems to suggest extraordinary fertility such as is reported of the Ephesian goddess Artemis. But in contrast to her she does not have many breasts but only four. Perhaps this indicates her ability to give birth as a virgin (cf. BÖHLIG-LABIB, II, 5, pp. 74f.; Thund VI 13,19ff.). This conception is combined with a positive view of Sodom and Gomorrah (see *supra*, pp. 28f.). Each place is given a special function (cf. III 60,9-18 = IV 71,13-30). Gomorrah is the spring and Sodom the fruit. ΕΤΝΖΗΤC in III 56,12 could refer back to either Sodom or Plesithea. In the latter case Sodom and Gomorrah are seen as spring and fruit within the mother Plesithea.

*The rejoicing of Seth:* III 56,13-22 = IV 67,27 - 68,5.

This section forms an independent piece of traditional material along with the preceding section. This is evident from the reference to the child without mentioning its threefold nature. ΖΜΟΤ (= χάρις) in III 56,15 means "gift". The place where the creation takes place is, as in all previous cases, the heavenly world (III 56,4 ΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ). III 56,20 presents a typical misinterpretation. According to III Seth placed the seed "in the *fourth* aeon in the third great light Davithe". IV 68,3ff., on the other hand, reads correctly "in the *four* aeons in the third great light Davithe". These aeons were mentioned already in IV 60,19ff. The children of Seth are in them "with him" (Seth). III pictures Seth as dwelling in Davithe. This contradicts III 65,16ff. = IV 77,12f. which states that he lives in Oroiael. For the dwelling of the children of Seth "in the third aeon in the third great light Davithe" see ApocryJn BG 36,2ff. = III 13,19ff. = II 9,14ff.

*The creation of the rulers of the world: III 56,22 - 58,22 = IV 68,5-?*

In GEgypt the absolute rule of the heavenly world can be seen in the creation of the world ruler, who comes into being by its expressed wish rather than through a fall as in ApocryJn and in Valentinianism. The light Eleleth is closest to Chaos and Hades. That is why he utters the command. Why he does this "after 5000 years" remains unclear. Again GEgypt employs the now familiar creation scheme. The hylic Sophia comes forth in the form of a cloud. After this the minister of Harmozel communicates the creation order to the minister of Oroiael. Next the cloud appears in two monads of light. The two monads are possibly Sophia herself and her throne. Then  $\bar{\nu}$ [ $\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\bar{m}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\pi}\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ ]OC is to be read. Perhaps the throne represents the Demiurge. ApocryJn also speaks about a throne for the ruler of the world in a cloud of light (BG 38,6ff. = III 15,16ff. = II 10,14ff.). In this abbreviated form the Sophia-demiurge myth has been incorporated into the tractate. The ruler of the world is called Sakla, not Ialdabaoth. Nebruel is connected with him as in the Manichaean cosmogony, see F. CUMONT. *La cosmogonie manichéenne* (Recherches sur le Manichéisme I) Bruxelles 1908, p. 42 n. 3. Perhaps Nebruel is derived from *Nεβρωδ*, in Hebrew נְבִרֹד. He is indeed a primeval ruler according to Gen 10:8-12 = 1 Chron 1:10: "And Cush begot Nimrod; he was the first mighty one on the earth". If Nimrod in Mic 5:6 is a ruler of the Assyrians this would give the name a pejorative meaning. Names ending in -ΗΛ are common in the tractate, e.g.  $\Gamma\omega\eta\lambda$  III 65,23 and  $\Pi\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\eta\lambda$  III 66,1 = IV 78,2. The archangel Sakla and the great or chief demon join together to become a creator-spirit of the earth. Their products are the twelve assisting angels and the twelve aeons. Sakla gives each angel authority over an aeon. These twelve angels, who are listed by name, are also present in ApocryJn (BG 40,5ff. = III 16,20ff. = II 10,28ff.):

	GEgypt	BG	III, 1	II, 1
1	$\alpha\theta$ [ $\omega\theta$ ]	$\iota\alpha\omega\theta$	$\gamma\alpha\omega\theta$	$\lambda\theta\omega\theta$
2	$\gamma\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\varsigma$	$\gamma\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\varsigma$	$\gamma\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\varsigma$	$\gamma\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\varsigma$
3	[ $\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota\lambda\alpha$ ]	$\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota\lambda\alpha$	$\gamma\alpha\lambda\iota\lambda\alpha$	$\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\lambda\alpha$
				OYMBPI
4	$\Gamma\omega\beta\eta\lambda$	$\Gamma\omega\beta\eta\lambda$	$\Gamma\omega\beta\eta\lambda$	$\Gamma\alpha\beta\eta\lambda$
5	[ $\alpha$ ] $\Delta\omega\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$	$\lambda\Delta\omega\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$	$\lambda\Delta\omega\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$	$\lambda\Delta\omega\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\gamma$
6	[ $\kappa\alpha\iota\bar{\nu}$ ]	$\varsigma\alpha\beta\alpha\omega\theta$	$\varsigma\alpha\beta\alpha\omega\theta$	$\kappa\alpha\iota\bar{\nu}$
7	[ $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda$ ]	$\kappa\alpha\iota\bar{\nu}\alpha\nu$ and $\kappa\alpha\eta$	$\kappa\alpha\iota\bar{\nu}\alpha\nu$	$\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda$
			$\kappa\alpha\varsigma\iota\nu$	

8	ΑΚΙΡΕCCΙΝΑ	ΑΒΙΡΕCCΙΝΕ	ΑΒΙΡΕCCΙΑ	ΑΒΡΙCΕΝΕ
9	ΙΟΥΒΗΛ	ΙΩΒΗΛ	ΙΩΒΗΛ	ΙΩΒΗΛ
10	ΖΑΡΜ[ΟΥΠΙΑΗΛ]	ΖΑΡΜΟΥΠΙΑΗΛ	ΑΡΜΟΥΠΙΑΗΛ	ΑΡΜΟΥΠΙΗΗΛ
11	ΑΡΧ[ΕΙΡ ΑΔΩΝΕΙΝ]	ΑΔΩΝΙΝ	ΑΔΩΝΙΝ	ΜΕΛΧΕΙΡ ΑΔΩΝΕΙΝ
12	[ΒΕΛΙΑC]	ΒΕΛΙΑC	ΒΕΛΙΑC	ΒΕΛΙΑC

GEgypt in agreement with ApocryJn gives several of the angels a second name or defines them with a predicate. BG and III, 1 call ΖΑΡΜΑC “the eye of the fire”, II, 1 “the eye of jealousy”. All versions call ΚΑΙΝ “the sun”. ApocryJn II calls ΑΔΩΝΑΪΟΥ also CΑΒΑΩΘ. GEgypt agrees in each case with the Codex II version against BG and III, 1. The κ in ΑΚΙΡΕCCΙΝΑ must be a mistake for β. Such errors, which are common in the spelling of unfamiliar names, as well as the other orthographical variants are insignificant.

*The arrogance of Sakla:* III 58,23-59,1. IV is lost.

GEgypt gives the words of Sakla a somewhat different form from NatArch II 86(134),30f.; 94(142),21f.; OnOrWld II 103(151),11ff. and GrSeth VII 53,30f., which quote Is 46:9 (LXX). With ApocryJn (BG 44,14 = II 13,8f.) and IRENAEUS, *Adv. Haer.* I, 29.4 it adds the adjective “jealous” probably on the basis of Ex 20:5. Further GEgypt reads “and apart from (or: without) me nothing has come into being”. The first meaning would have gradually changed into the second. The reconstruction ΩΩΠΕ is necessary because of the preceding Perfect negative. Sakla’s hybris is seen in that he relies on his nature which does not have the quality he assumes. The parallel in ApocryJn at this point (BG 43,4f. = III 18,20ff.) states that he became disobedient to the nature (ὑπόστασις) from which he originated. However there is not enough room to negate ΠΙΘΕ in III 58,26.

*The rebuke of Sakla and the creation of man:* III 59,1-9. IV is lost.

Sakla is rebuked by an unidentified voice from on high. In contrast to OnOrWld II 103(151), 15ff. where Pistis addresses a lengthy rebuke to the chief archon, GEgypt and ApocryJn (BG 47,15f. = III 21,17f. = II 14,14f.) have simply the statement about the existence of Man and the Son of Man. The difference in ApocryJn is that the words are spoken to Sophia though heard by Ialdabaoth. The identity of the Man and the Son of Man is not clear. The different systems do not interpret these beings in the same way. Thus the Man can be the

supreme God (IRENÆUS, *Adv. Haer.* I, 30.6) as well as his first manifestation in his female complement (BG 27,19 = III 7,23 = II 5,7), or another secondary manifestation of the supreme God. Son of Man need not be Christ, as it appears to be in GPh where Christ plays an important role. It is used as the description of the savior in III 85,11f. (Eug), who is the consort of Pistis Sophia (III 81,23ff.; 82,7f.). Yet above him stands not the supreme God but an emanation, "the immortal man" (III 85,10f.). In OnOrWld II 103(151),19; 107(155),26 the "true man" could perhaps refer to the supreme God. In that case he should be distinguished from his manifestation in the world since it became contaminated by a deficiency during its stay on earth (II 111(159),29ff.). This manifestation can be compared to the primal Man of the Manichaeans. For further material on the Man and the Son of Man in Gnosticism see H.-M. SCHENKE, *Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis* (Berlin 1962). In GEgypt "Man" and "Son of Man" are part of traditional material and are not further integrated into the cosmogony of the tractate. Only in the section on the creation of Adamas can a possible reference to the god "Man" be discerned. As was mentioned before, the rebuke is followed by a voice from on high, the light-image, which, in Gnostic myths is seen by the archons and so becomes the occasion for the creation of man (cf. II 112(160),32ff. and BÖHLIG-LABIB II, 5, pp. 70f.). This is the Gnostic interpretation of the creation of man in the image of God in Gen 1 : 26. Since the story of creation is only of peripheral interest to the author it is summarized in one phrase. He states that the first creature (πλάσμα) was formed on account of the looking out of the image above. **δωϰτ** (**εβολ**) in III 59,6.7 can not be passive since it is used only intransitively (cf. CRUM, *Dict.* p. 837f.).

*The redeeming activity of Metanoia:* III 59,9 - 60,2 = IV 70, ? - 71,11.

Metanoia also appears quite unexpectedly. As a soteriological auxiliary being she follows upon the creation. **παῖ ετβηητ̄** could mean simply "therefore". However, it is more likely that the **παῖ** resumes **πλάσμα**. Just as Sophia needed Metanoia to return to the realm of light after the fall, so too the earthly creature stands in need of her. As a mythological entity she appears wholly within the framework of the divine economy. In GEgypt mankind as such is not the object of the saving activity, but rather the people of Seth, the chosen race, which also needs to be rescued from *ὑστέρημα*, "the deficiency", due to its stay on earth (cf. IV 71,1f. **νιεων** **ν̄χιπο**

$\bar{\eta}\kappa\lambda\alpha\zeta$ ; III 59,16 lacks  $\bar{\eta}\kappa\lambda\alpha\zeta$ ). It is this deficiency that Metanoia is to "fill up" (the  $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon$  in III 59,17 could also refer to the race of Seth).  $\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\mu\alpha$  in III 59,18 corresponds to  $\zeta\alpha\epsilon\omicron\gamma$  in IV 71,3. For the attribute "night-like" see III 51,5 = IV 62,29.  $\xi\zeta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$  in III 59,22 could be an explanatory addition. For  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\ \alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  see IGN. *Eph.* 17,1; 19,1; *Magn.* 1,3 etc. (see W. BAUER, *Lexicon* s.v.). III 59,25 "demon-begetting" is hard to fit in the lacuna in IV 71,9. The  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$  -  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$  in III 59,21 and 25 corresponds to  $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$  -  $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$  (=  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ - $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ ) in IV 71,6. [10].

As in St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei*, (cf. A. BÖHLIG, "Zu gnostischen Grundlagen der Civitas-Dei-Vorstellung bei Augustin" ZNW 60 (1969), 291-295) the world is divided into two groups, the seed of the demon-begetting God and the seed of Adam and Seth. The pristine element in Adam has, after his fall, been transferred to Seth (cf. ApocAd V 64,24ff.). The identification of Adam with the sun (IV 71,10), since it is more concrete, appears to have greater claim to being original than the identification of the seed of Adam with the sun. The most difficult to understand is the work of Metanoia.  $\tau\omega\epsilon\zeta$  (III 50,21) corresponds to  $\epsilon\rho\eta\tau$  (IV 71,5f.). In both cases the verb is linked to the object by  $\bar{\eta}\kappa\alpha$ . It probably means that Metanoia prayed for the repentance of both groups. The concern of the heavenly world for the children of the world rulers becomes understandable when one reads in ApocAd that repentance also occurs among the seed of Ham and Japheth (V 74,10f.; 76,11ff.).

*The work of Hormos:* III 60,2-8 = IV 71,11-18.

Hormos is also present in a list of angels in Zost where it is said that he is "over the [holy] seed" (VIII 47,9ff.). In this passage the birth of Seth in the world (III 63,10ff. = IV 74,25ff.) seems to have been transferred to the seed of Seth and projected back into pre-history. Just as Plesithea (see *supra*, p. 36) had created the seed of Seth in the realm of light, so Hormos gives the race its relationship with the perishable world. That is why the Hormos episode, in contrast with the Plesithea episode, comes after the story of creation. Yet the light elements of the children of Seth are dominant. Just as Seth prepared himself a "Logos-begotten body" through a virgin (III 63,10ff. = IV 74,25ff.), so Hormos creates the seed of Seth through mortal virgins — the plural is necessary because of the plurality of the children of Seth — in a "Logos-begotten vessel". The use of

σκεῦος instead of σῶμα is explained by the frequent use of σκεῦος for "body" (cf. W. BAUER, *Lexicon s.v.*).

*The placing of the seed of Seth:* III 60,9-18 = IV 71,18-30.

The basic difference between III and IV regarding the work of Seth is that in contrast to IV, III has divided the content of IV 71,22-30 into two alternative views each introduced by the phrase, "some say ..." IV is probably based on an earlier form of the text, from which the text underlying III was derived. This follows from the lack of "source" (πηγή) in III. For πηγή as Gomorrah, cf. III 56,10-11 (IV is lost.). The view proposed by the first group in III, that Sodom is the pasture of the great Seth, can also be found in IV. However, here it is set forth in the context of the view attributed to the second group in III. The main difference between III and IV lies in the introduction to the views concerning Sodom and Gomorrah. Both manuscripts report that Seth sowed his seed in the created aeons. Concerning the aeons III says that the number of the seed is the amount of Sodom, while IV, the text of which is considerably damaged, may permit the following reconstruction: [ΕΤΕ ΠΕΥΨΙ ΠΕ] ΟΥΑΤ† [ΗΠΕ Ε]ΡΟ[Ϛ ΝΤΕ] ΣΟΔΟΜΗ ["of which the amount is] an un-[countable (amount) of] Sodom". III has simplified the extravagant expression presented in IV. The decisive difference is found in IV 71,22f. over against III 60,12f. What is the antecedent of ΝΤΟΟΥ and ΕΡΟΟΥ in IV 71,22f.? Grammatically it must refer to the created aeons, since they are the place in which the seed of Seth is placed; cf. IV 68,2f. = III 56,19ff. On the other hand, as a result of the identification of Sodom and Gomorrah, Sodom can also be seen as the collective of the seed of Seth. Then the plural in IV 71,22f. must be taken as a *constructio ad sensum* referring to the seed (σπορά). The first meaning appears to be more probable in this case, although III 56,10f. designates the fruit as Sodom. Furthermore, this passage, which has not survived in IV, gives the impression of being textually less certain. The difference between the placing of the seed of Seth produced by Plesithea and the placing of the seed of Seth brought forth by Hormos is that the former are placed in aeons of the light-world while the latter are put in earth-produced aeons (IV 71,20 ΧΠΟ ΝΚΑΖ in contrast to III 60,10f. ΝΤΑΥΧΠΟΟΥ). The Greek word γηγενής may be involved here. "Earth" here perhaps expresses the incompleteness which is also mentioned in the section concerning the work of Hormos.

*The race of Edokla:* III 60,19 - 61,1 = IV 71,30 - 72,10.

The name **ΕΔΟΚΛΑ** is not attested elsewhere. Perhaps the ending is related to proper names ending in *-κλῆς* (m.) and *-κλα* (f.), e.g. Heracles and Thecla. If the first part of the name is related to *ἔδ-* "seat" then the meaning would be something like "goddess of origin", since *ἔδος* also means "base". Edokla gives birth to *ἀλήθεια* and *θέμισσα* through the word. The absence of the articles before *ἀλήθεια* and *θέμισσα* in IV 72,2f. could indicate that they are proper names. The usual supralinear strokes (see *supra*, pp. 3f.) are absent here but present in the parallel occurrence in IV 74,6. III did not understand the passage at all, as the scribal mistake indicates. The passage is of great interest for the history of religions since the expected connection between the two beings had not been attested before (cf. H. HOMMEL, "Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit", *Antike und Abendland* 15 [1969], 174). So apparently two goddesses, who are personifications of ethical concepts, form "the beginning" (*ἀρχή*) of the seed of eternal life. For *ἀρχή* "beginner" see Col 1:18 and Gen 49:3. This seed is further identified as Gnostics who know their emanation (*ἀπόρροια*). The **ΕΤΨΩΟΠ ΜΝ-** in III 60,23 appears to be a secondary interpretation. It must refer back to eternal life with the meaning that the Gnostics who know their origin possess eternal life. III 60,25ff. = IV 72,8ff. completes the myths about the creation of the seed of Seth. The meaning of "in" or "through three worlds" is puzzling. IV may have in mind the three "worlds" in which the children of Seth are situated, the heavenly world, the world of angels, and the earthly world. III may have changed the meaning. Keeping in mind that *κόσμος* can also mean "mankind" (see W. BAUER, *Lexicon s.v.*) III could perhaps have meant with "through three *κόσμοι*" that the race of Seth has come into the world through three groups of beings who make up the children of Seth. This would also do some justice to the **ΕΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ** in III 61,1.

*The perils facing the seed of Seth:* III 61,1-15 = IV 72,10-27.

The section consists of four parts, one dealing with the flood, the second with the conflagration, the third with famines and plagues, and the fourth with temptations by false prophets. IV projects all these events into the future. This must be the correct reading over against III which speaks of the flood in the past. Keeping in mind that Seth is the mythological author of the book and that he lived *before* the flood, it is apparent that III altered the text to fit the

viewpoint of the *reader*. To understand the flood as a type of the end of the world is similar to Celsus' idea that the flood in the course of history is followed by burning — he means the final conflagration. (ORIG. *c. Cels.* IV, 11).  $\psi\alpha$ - in III 61,3 and  $\epsilon$ - in IV 72,11 with  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\varsigma$  go back to the Greek  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  meaning "with reference to" (cf. W. BAUER, *Lexicon s.v.*). This meaning is not attested in Coptic for  $\psi\alpha$ -. The conflagration at the end must be distinguished from the fire from which the children of Seth are protected by the prophets and guardians (cf. ApocAd V 75,9ff.). The III Fut. here stresses certainty (cf. STERN, *Kopt. Gramm.* § 381).  $\lambda\omicron\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  and  $\lambda\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  (III 61,11 = IV 72,21) are typical signs of the end time in the N.T. (cf. W. BAUER, *Lexicon s.v.*). Here they belong to the perils which especially the children of Seth must face. The same is true for the  $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  and  $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$  of false prophets. For  $\mu\omicron\gamma$  with the meaning  $\lambda\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  see CRUM, *Dict.* p. 159b. It seems that something was left out after  $\pi\kappa\alpha\zeta$  in III 61,6. The parallel in IV 72,15f. is obscured by lacunae.

*Seth recognizes the devil's schemes:* III 61,16-23 = IV 72,27 - 73,6.

This section supplements the preceding one. Where earlier the perils were described which threaten the children of Seth, now it is made clear that the activity of the devil stands behind all of them.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$  means "mode of operation"; it is also found in other Gnostic texts (cf. II 107(155),2.15).  $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\bar{\kappa}\bar{\mu}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\varsigma}$  (IV 73,1) means "his tricks" (cf. CRUM, *Dict.* p. 127b and Eph 6:11  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\mu\epsilon\theta\omicron\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\delta\iota\alpha\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ ), while  $\pi\epsilon\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}$  (III 61,17f.) translates "his many guises". The difference may be due to divergent interpretations of  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\iota\alpha$ . For  $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\tau}\bar{\varsigma}$  =  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  see CRUM, *Dict.* p. 127b.  $\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\epsilon}$  must be plans or schemes. III 61,20ff. = IV 73,4ff. speaks about the devil's entourage. As in the case of the ruler of the world, the devil is an angel and a ruler of angels (see *supra*, p. 183; also "the devil and his angels" in Mt 25:41). It is a special trait of the demonic world, and of the devil himself, to act against itself. Again the Fut. in IV is the original reading against the Perf. in III (see *supra*, pp. 188f.). For internal strife as a typical characteristic of the demonic world see GTr I 29,15f. In the *Kephalaia* of Mani this trait is developed in terms of Mt 12:25 (Kephalaion 52).  $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$  in III corresponds to  $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}$  in IV. In III the subject is the demonic powers; in IV the devil himself is the subject. Probably III is a simplification.

*Seth requests guardians for his race:* III 61,23 - 62,13 = IV 73,7-26.

For the presentation of praise see *supra*, pp. 39f. III has left out two attributes of the great invisible Spirit (cf. IV 73,9). ΤΕΛΜΑΗΛ along side ΤΕΛΜΑΧΑΗΛ in IV 73,13 is not a scribal error but an accepted variant of the name, as 59,19 shows. Also III 62, 2f. has ΤΕΛΜΑΗΛ. For the absence of ΠΑΛΟΥ ΜΠΑΛΟΥ see *supra*, p. 48. Only here has IV translated ΔΟΞΟΜΕΔΩΝ as ΡΕΦ† ΕΘΟΥ. The “great ones” (IV 73,21) who surround the throne suggest the picture of a royal court. III 62,10 has the expected ΝΒΟΜ. III has left out “and glories and incorruptions” found in IV 73,22f. These and the earlier omissions in the presentation of praise in III give the impression of imprecision. Since ΡΑΙΤΙ ΝΨΟΡΠ equals προαιτείν in IV 73,25 and means “to ask beforehand”, the omission of ΝΨΟΡΠ in III 62,12 is easily explained as another instance of simplification in which the refinement of meaning indicated by προ- has been ignored (cf. *supra*, p. 12).

*The arrival of the guardians:* III 62,13-24 = IV 73,27 - 74,9.

The number of guards is given as 400. This number is often used in the Bible for groups of people, e.g. Gen 32:7; 1 Sam 22:2; 25:13; 30:10.17; 1 Kgs 18:19; 22:6; Acts 5:36. They are called ἀερόδιοι; cf. U 361,39; 362,11. For the spelling of the word in III see 62,14note. U 362,13 also mentions Selmelche, who in III is called “Selmechel” and in IV “Selmelchel”. ΑΕΡΟΣΙΗΛ may be a transformation of the evil ἀρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος of Eph 2:2 into a good assistant. The ΕΖΑΡΕΖ Ε- in III 62,16f. must be a free rendering of ΝΙΡΕΦΑΡΕΖ which in IV 74,2 stands in apposition. The guarding lasts for the duration of the stay on earth of the children of Seth. It is specified as beginning with the creation of Aletheia and Themissa, and lasts until the end of this world. The condemnation of the archons is being treated here because of their mistreatment of the race of Seth mentioned earlier.

*The mission of Seth:* III 62,24 - 63,4 = IV 74,9-17.

After the long segment which spoke about the creation, the abode and the guarding of the children of Seth, a specifically soteriological part follows. It deals with the sending of Seth into the world and his saving work. He is sent by the lights — in one of which he lives — according to the will of the Autogenes, i.e. the Logos, and the whole pleroma. But approval is also granted by the highest authority.

The statement is a good example of the Gnostic concept of the divine economy. The great invisible Spirit himself participates, through his approval, in this soteriological event together with his pantheon, the five seals and the pleroma. The pleroma in general and the pleroma of the lights probably should be distinguished (cf. III 52,5f. = IV 63,26f.). The  $\pi\text{NOYTE}$  in III 63,2 is incorrect. IV 74,14 has correctly translated  $\text{OY}\dagger \bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\alpha\text{Q}$ , "his (gracious) giving" (cf.  $\pi\dagger$  in III 68,17). Since III in contrast to IV often supplies the definite article the Coptic *Vorlage* of III must have read  $\pi\dagger$ . The version of ApocryJn in Codex III does not mistake  $\pi\dagger$  for  $\pi\text{NOYTE}$ , but it is found in BG 32,21 (= III 11,16); 34,12f. (= III 12,21); 34,20f. (= III 12,25). It may come from the abbreviation  $\bar{\text{N}}\dagger$  for  $\text{NOYTE}$  which is used in BG while III, I and II, I use the regular  $\text{NOYTE}$  (BG 31,19; 34,9; III 10,23; 12,17f.; II 7,11; 8,21; as well as in SJC in BG 112,13; cf. Eug III 87,15). The abbreviation reminds one of the BF  $\Phi\dagger$  (see TILL/SCHENKE, *BG 8502*, pp. 323ff. and 341). CRUM has found the form  $\bar{\text{N}}\dagger$  in a fragment of the letter to the Romans (see *JEA* 13 [1927] 19-26). The question raised by TILL how this Fayyumic spelling could have intruded into Sahidic MSS is hard to answer. It should be remembered that such Fayyumic forms are by no means unique in the Nag Ham-madi texts (cf.  $\text{NE-}$  for  $\text{NA-}$  in Fut.). In agreement with TILL's observation concerning Codex III this passage proves that we are not dealing with the first Coptic copy of this version of GEGYPT.

*The work of Seth:* III 63,4 - 64,9 = IV 74,17 - 75,24.

This section appears to be grammatically linked to the preceding one. III starts with a new main verb in 63,4, but IV 74,17 is connected with the preceding section whether emended to  $\text{EQCINE}$  or to  $\text{ECINE}$ . Also Seth passes through the three *παρουσίαι* experienced by his children; first the flood, secondly the conflagration, and thirdly the judgment of the archons. One can also interpret the structure of ApocAd in terms of this passage. The appositive to *παρουσία* in III 63,6f. is divided by  $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}} \dots \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}} \dots \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}} = \text{καὶ} \dots \text{καὶ} \dots \text{καὶ}$ , while in IV 74,19f. it is introduced by repeating the  $\text{ΕΒΟΛ} \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{N}}$ . For *κατακλυσιμός*, conflagration and the judgment of the archons see III 61,1f. = IV 72,11; III 61,5 = IV 72,15; III 62,22 = IV 74,7f. In III 63,8 = IV 74,22 Seth's task is more narrowly defined through a further infinitive  $\text{ΕΝΟΥ}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{M}}$ : "to save (the race) which goes astray" (cf. H.-M. SCHENKE in *NTS* 16 [1970] 205).

What follows are the means of salvation: 1) The reconciliation of

the world, i.e. the re-establishment of peace between God and man (for  $\zeta\omega\tau\pi$  see III 63,16f. = IV 75,3). 2) The physical baptism. Both are administrated by a  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ , which is brought forth mysteriously by a virgin. The birth of Seth in Jesus seems to be intended here (cf. III 64,1 = IV 75,15). The object of baptism is rebirth through the Holy Spirit. IV 74,29 in contrast to III 63,13 has translated literally "beget again". It is not certain whether the  $\acute{\sigma}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron$  refer to esoteric rites during baptism. 3) The reconciliation of the world with the world.  $\zeta\omega\tau\beta$  in IV 75,3 is best taken as a phonetic spelling of  $\zeta\omega\tau\pi$ . It translates  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota$  (cf. 2 Cor 5:19; Col 1:20). This reconciliation puts an end to the state of unrest in the world. 4) The  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\gamma\acute{\eta}$ . Just as 2) presented a personal happening after a cosmic happening in 1), so 4) could be a personal act following upon a cosmic one in 3). The special encratic character of the tractate becomes clear here, which is not unexpected in view of the separation of the children of Seth and their dissimilarity from the world. The renunciation is also in respect to a mythological being, the god of the thirteen aeons. For the negative character of the thirteen aeons see ApocAd V 77,27ff., where the thirteen kingdoms are valued less than the domain without a king. Over against this, in PS the thirteenth aeon is an aeon of righteousness. The difference between III 63,19 = IV 75,7 is due to varying interpretations of  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\kappa\lambda\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ .  $\text{ΝΕΠΙΚΛΗΤΟΣ Ν̄ΝΕΤΟΥΑΔΒ}$  (III 63,19) can be translated as "the called ones among the saints", or as "the convocations of the saints". IV took the genitive not as possession but as indicating the personal agent: "through a calling by the saints". Probably "calling" or "convocation" is correct. The plural suggests that III took it to be "called ones". Those who call, to be sure, are members of the heavenly world, especially the pre-existent Father — the word Father is missing in IV — and his Pronoia. As mentioned *supra*, p. 191 the divine economy is pictured as having its root in the great invisible Spirit. For the difference between  $\text{Μ̄Ν ΤΕΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ}$  (III) and  $\text{Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ}$  (IV) see *supra*, p. 171. If one takes the  $\text{ΑΚΥΡΟΥ} = \text{ΑΤΑΧΡΟ}$ , "he established", to refer to the Father, then the sentence receives its meaning *sub specie aeternitatis*. Then in IV, the supreme Light established "the holy one", i.e. Seth-Jesus, through Pronoia, and through him baptism. It seems something is missing in III, for only baptism is mentioned. In  $\text{Ρ̄ΩΡΠ̄ Ν̄ΩΩΠΕ}$  (III 63,22 = IV 75,10) the  $\text{Ρ̄ΩΡΠ̄}$  has only the character of a structural element corresponding to  $\pi\rho\omicron$ -. The actual infinitive is  $\omega\omega\pi\epsilon$ . Therefore in I Perfect

$\overline{\rho\omega\rho\pi} \overline{\eta\omega\omega\pi\epsilon}$  is used while in the Present and its satellites the qualitative  $\overline{\omega\omega\omega\pi}$  occurs.  $\overline{\rho\omega\rho\pi} \overline{\eta\omega\omega\omega\pi}$  is thus the qualitative of  $\overline{\rho\omega\rho\pi} \overline{\eta\omega\omega\pi\epsilon}$ . This would solve the problem raised by H. QUECKE in "Eine missbräuchliche Verwendung des Qualitativs im Koptischen", *Le Muséon* 75 (1962) 291-300, and P. NAGEL, "Die Einwirkung des Griechischen auf die Entstehung der Koptischen Literatursprache", *Christentum am Roten Meer* I, ed. Altheim/Stiehl, p. 353. III 63,25ff. = IV 75,14ff. reports that Seth appeared in the form of Jesus (cf. III 63,10ff. = IV 74,25ff.). On this matter see EPIPHANIUS, *Pan.* 39,1.2-3 (p. 72 ed. HOLL) who reports of the Sethians, whom he may have come to know personally in Egypt: ἀλλὰ καὶ Χριστὸν αὐτὸν (i.e. Seth) ὀνομάζουσι καὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν διαβεβαιούντα (39,1.3 = p. 72,11-12 ed. HOLL); cf. also ὁ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ὁ Σήθ ὁ τότε καὶ Χριστὸς νῦν ἐπιφοιτήσας τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων (39,3.5 = p. 74,19f. ed. HOLL); cf. further Ps.-TERTULL. *Adv. Omn. Haer.* 2. Keeping in mind the differences between III and IV, the following text could have been the *Vorlage* of both versions: "through the holy, incorruptible *λογογενής* Jesus, the living one, whom the great Seth has put on". The Greek can be reconstructed as follows: διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἀφθάρτου καὶ λογογενοῦς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐνδεδυμένου ὑπὸ Σήθ. III forgot ἁγίου. Probably the Coptic translators followed the Gnostic trend of developing more and more separate mythological beings, which led in the course of the Coptic transmission to a growing misunderstanding of this passage. For example, III could simply have transposed *λογογενής* and *καί*. IV can perhaps also be interpreted in the following way: "through the holy one (i.e. the whole person), as well as through the incorruptible one (i.e. Seth), as also through the living *λογογενής* Jesus (i.e. the bodily appearance)". Then  $\overline{m\eta} \dots \overline{m\eta}$  again has the meaning "both ... and" (cf. *supra*, p. 180). The close connection between Seth and Jesus is also brought out by the fact that both dwell in the light Oroiael (see III 65,16f. = IV 77,12f.). If the subject of the verbs in III 64,3 ( $\alpha\omega\omega\omega\tau$ ) = IV 75,18 ( $\alpha\omega\tau \epsilon\iota\omega\tau$ ) is Seth, then the  $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda \zeta\iota\tau\omega\omega\tau\omega$  refers to Jesus; if the pre-existent Father is the subject, then he works through Seth-Jesus. The question is whether this is a separate sentence or a continuation of the relative clause in III 63,22ff. = IV 75,10ff. The topic is the elimination of the powers of the aeons and the establishment of the firmament of fixed stars through the fastening of the thirteen aeons and the fixing in place of heavenly bodies.  $\alpha\omega\omega\omega\omega\omega$  in IV 75,19 corresponds to

αγκυροῦ in III 63,23. Here IV has a literal translation meaning “to be idle, motionless”, while III has retained the Greek word. The arming of the stars with knowledge could have been derived from astrology. They are in this case not evil powers. This may presuppose the redemption of the cosmos.

*The list of the bringers of salvation:* III 64,9 - 65,26 = IV 75,24 - 77, ?.

The two versions differ considerably in the beginning of the section. The list of the bringers of salvation gives the impression that it is only superficially related to the preceding context. It is probably an independent piece of traditional material or a summary of several pieces. This is especially evident from the “me” in IV 75,24. Seth as author normally does not refer to himself in the first person. In IV the section begins with “And they revealed to me the great attendants, Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekus”. The Greek *Vorlage* must also have had the third person plural to express the indefinite subject as is evident from the accusative forms of the names in both versions. It is not impossible that this plural was interpreted in terms of the preceding plural (the stars) which then made a revelation based on their knowledge of the truth. III, or its Greek *Vorlage*, made “the attendant” — here in the singular — the subject, and changed the “me” in IV to “them”. Here it is more obvious that the “them” refers to the stars. For the acc. Ἰεσσεα μαζαρεα Ἰεσσεδεκεα see ApocAd V 85,30f. which has the nom. Ἰεσσευς μαζαρευς Ἰεσσεδεκευς. The nom. does not occur in GEgypt except in the abbreviated form Ἰεϋς in III 66,8 for which IV 78,10 has Ἰεσσεοϋς. This shift from the third to the second declension can also be observed in IV 78,12ff. where III 66,10 has the vocative ending -εϋ. The threefold name is further defined by the appositive “the living water” (cf. ApocAd V 85,31). In Zost VIII 47,5f. he is one of the guardians of the immortal soul. For the title στρατηγοί with reference to heavenly beings see III 55,14 = IV 66,28; see also στρατηλάτης in U 353,41. Three such commanders are mentioned: 1) James the great (“the great Jacob” in IV, cf. *supra*, p. 16). In view of the great regard the Gnostics have for James it is no surprise that he is counted among the heavenly beings. 2) Theopemptos, according to Zost VIII 47,16f., belongs to “the guardians of the glories”. 3) Ἰσαοϋηλ is perhaps related to σαϋηλ in ApocAd V 79,2 who is an evil commander. The name could have been derived from Ἰεζάβελ, the wife of Ahab, which was re-interpreted to refer to a good person. The next figure whose

name is partially in a lacuna in the text (IV 76,1f.) is missing in III. He is followed by Micheus, Michar and Mnesinous (III 64,15f. = IV 76,4). This group of three presents a tradition different from the pair Micheus and Michar in III 64,20 = IV 76,9f., although their role is the same. For the trio in the context of the spring of truth — but as unfaithful guardians who baptize with water instead of *gnosis* — see ApocAd V 84,5f. For the pair with apparently positive meaning see U 362,7 and Zost VIII 6,10 (in connection with baptism). The form **ΜΙΧΕΑ** in III 64,15 = IV 76,4 is acc.; **ΜΙΧΕΥ** in ApocAd V 84,5 is voc.; **ΜΗΗCΙΝΟΥC** in III 64,16 is nom. (cf. ApocAd V 84,6); **ΜΗΗCΙΝΟΥ** in IV 76,4 is perhaps acc. like the preceding **ΜΙΧΕΑ**, if it is assumed that the line over the last letter to indicate a final **η** dropped out due to the long superlinear stroke over the proper name. Sesengenbarpharanges is known from other Gnostic literature and from Greek and Coptic magical texts. For the meaning see A. KROPP, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* III, § 211 and G. G. SCHOLEM, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, Appendix B, pp. 94ff. One would expect the name to be a phrase, especially since the first part is not always present. “Barpharanges” is either a hybrid meaning “son of the ravine” or, what is more likely, “the one from the Baara-ravine”. For his function as purifier see U 362,8 and Zost VIII 6,11f. The **CECERREN** is obscure. III misunderstood this passage. He separated the function from the name and placed it in the plural with the result that they become separate beings. Furthermore a misunderstanding can be seen in III 64,12f. IV reads correctly “they who preside over the rising, Seldao and Elenos”. That these are names is confirmed by U 362,13 where Seldao and Elainos exist in the place of Pistis Sophia. They follow also in Zost VIII 6,16 upon Micheus and Michar. For **ΝΕΝ-** in III 64,22 see *supra*, p. 3. That the *παράλημπτορες*, the receivers of the race of Seth, are the ministers of the four lights is also evident from ApocAd V 75,21ff., where Abrasax, Samblo and Gamaliel (Gabriel is missing) rescue the people of Seth from the fire. Gamaliel is in the list of the “guardians of the immortal soul” in Zost VIII 47,2. **ΟΛCΗC** and **ΕΥΡΥΜΑΙΟΥC** are found together also in Zost VIII 47,17f., where they belong to the guardians of the glories without a further description of their function. **ΖΥΠΝΕΥC** (III 65,2) or **ΨΜΝΕΟC** (IV 76,21) is not attested elsewhere. The form of the name in III seems improbable if it is taken to be derived from *ψπνος* since these beings preside over the rising rather than the

setting of the sun. It is also a question whether ὕμνεος is related to ὑμνέω. Since three beings preside over the rising of the sun the same number is expected in connection with the setting. Therefore, it is probable that ΝΙΠΡΥΤΑΝΙΣ in III 65,5 is a secondary interpretation which has changed the name to the function of the two following beings. For ΑΚΡΑΜΑΣ and ΣΤΡΕΜΨΟΥΧΟΣ as guardians of souls in III 65,7f. = IV 77,1 see Zost VIII 47,3. The difference between "slain souls" (IV) and "souls of the elects" may be due to an attempt by III to improve on a difficult reading. The difference could also be explained as variant understandings of ἐξαιρεθείσαι (ψυχαί) (cf. *supra*, p. 17). This participle can be both the passive form of ἐξαιρέω "destroy" and ἐξαιρέομαι "chose". The following being could be the thrice-male child with the names spelled out and combined with Seth. He is treated as a singular and is called "the great power" (III 65,8 = IV 77,2); see also *supra*, p. 45. The double ΤΕΛΜΑΧΑΗΛ has been inadvertently left out in III. The appearance of the great invisible Spirit next in the list is less surprising after one has seen a similar situation with the Father and the first ogdoad (see *supra*, pp. 171f). With this the climax has been reached and one would expect that the list has come to an end. This is not the case, however, for with another "and" a section is added which may originally have been independent. It interprets the four lights as the abodes of certain beings and ἸΩΗΛ as the divine archetype of John the Baptist. While "the first light" is added to the first name, this designation as a light is not continued, with the result that when the fifth name is reached it is no longer thought of as a light, but as a part of a general list. For Harmozel see ApocryJn BG 35,5ff. = III 13,3ff. = II 8,34ff. where it is the abode of Christ and Adamas while in GEgypt it is the place of the Logos and Adamas. In ApocryJn Christ has been identified with the Autogenes in contrast to GEgypt where the Logos has been identified with the Autogenes. In this passage only the designation "Autogenes" is used. III 65,14f. cannot be correct. IV 77,10f. has the correct reading. For Oroiael see ApocryJn BG 35,20ff. = III 13,17ff. = II 9,11ff., where it is the abode of Seth while in GEgypt it is also the dwelling place of "Jesus of the life" showing the close connection between Seth and Jesus in GEgypt (cf. *supra*, p. 37). For an antinomian attitude in conjunction with the idea that the world was crucified cf. Gal 6:14; Eph 2:15; Col 2:14. For Davithe see ApocryJn BG 36,2ff. = III 13,19ff. = II 9,14ff. For Eleleth see ApocryJn BG 36,7ff. = III 14,1ff. = II 9,18ff., where

the inhabitants are characterized differently from GEgypt. In GEgypt a distinction is made between the sons of Seth and their souls which dwell in Eleleth; in ApocryJn the contrast is between the degrees of perfection of the inhabitants, so that Eleleth becomes the abode of the souls which have repented late.

*The certainty of salvation in the present:* III 65,26 - 66,8=IV 77, ?-78,10.

After the description of Seth's saving work and the list of the assistants in salvation, the author of the tractate spells out the implications for the present. Now there is the possibility of salvation for the children of Seth. The mediator is called ΠΟΙΜΑΗΛ, which could be a modification or pendant of Ποιμάνδρης (cf. Domiel and Domedon *supra*, p. 41). This may indicate a relationship with Hermetic literature and support the idea that GEgypt originated in Egypt. If the preceding passage referred to John the Baptist, then we have here the same contrast as in Luke 16:16. There the contrast between John and the new age is expressed by ἀπὸ τότε, an expression which corresponds to the  $\bar{\chi}\bar{\nu}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}$   $\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\gamma}$  in III 65,26. Beside Poimael stand those who are worthy of baptism and who may be considered the core of the Gnostic congregation. In IV they are worthy of "the baptisms of the renunciation (ἀποταγή, cf. IV 75,4) and the ineffable seals of their baptism". III combined the parallel expressions "baptisms of renunciation" and "the ineffable seals of their baptism" into a single expression in which "ineffable" was left out and the genitival connection of baptism was changed into an adverbial phrase. III added the number five to the seals perhaps due to a familiarity with five sacraments in Gnosticism (cf. H.-G. GAFFRON, *Studien zum koptischen Philippusevangelium*). Likewise III further specified baptism as a baptism with running water by adding πηγῆ. The author also put the word ἐπίκλησις before ἀπόταξις. It must refer to a sacramental invocation by the believers which is part of the five sacraments, especially the spring-baptism. The subject of the sentence is "these", referring most likely to the Gnostics. We may be dealing with a separate piece of traditional material which was lifted out of its original context and thus no longer has a well-defined subject. III 66,4f. has the II Future against I Perfect in IV 78,6. Both tenses fit the context. IV views the Gnostics as having already basically received *gnosis*, while III looks upon this as an act which must continually be repeated in the future. IV says that the converted Gnostics recognize their παραλήμπτους as "they have

been instructed concerning them". In III  $\omega\varsigma$  is translated "as" ( $\bar{\nu}\theta\epsilon$ ). IV, where  $\omega\varsigma$  has been retained, appears to do greater justice to the context, since the causal nuance is also expressed (cf. BLASS-DEBRUNNER §453). The unusual passive construction in this subordinate clause is also found in ApocryJn III 33,17, cf. *supra*, p. 7.  $\bar{\nu}\text{C}\epsilon\text{-C}\omega\gamma\omega\nu\omicron\gamma$  (III 66,6f.) and  $\epsilon\lambda\gamma\epsilon\text{I}\mu\epsilon$  (IV 78,8) can be seen as the continuation of either the main clause or the subordinate clause. IV states that the Gnostics first recognized their *παράλημπτρες* and then arrived at *gnosis* by means of those whom they have known. III permits the same meaning except that the *παράλημπτρες* are given as the object of the verb which no longer is used absolutely. It may be possible to see in III the introduction of a new meaning, for  $\bar{\nu}\text{C}\epsilon\text{C}\omega\gamma\omega\nu\omicron\gamma$  can also have a passive meaning, "and they (the Gnostics) were known by them (the *παράλημπτρες*)". In this case III would have a Pauline sound; cf. 1 Cor 13:12; Gal 4:9. III, then, would have first the knowing of the *παράλημπτρες* by the Gnostics and then the reverse.

The result of receiving *gnosis* is freedom from death, which the Gnostic obtains already in this world. This is said in biblical language (cf. Mt 16:28 par.). Already John 8:52 does not intent a definite time, such as the coming of the Son of Man, but rather the  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  of Jesus gives eternal immortality. The step from this to the resurrection of the Gnostic is not a large one as, for example, GPh with its interpretations of the Gospel of John, shows. Whoever has *gnosis* will not die, as GTh 1 says: "He who finds the meaning of these words will not taste death". It is most appropriate that the hymnic section of GEgypt, which speaks of the union of the Gnostic with the Eternity and the heavenly world, follows directly after these promises.

*Hymnic Section (Part I):* III 66,8-22 = IV 78,10 - 79,3.

Before the first strophe there are groups of letters that either represent glossolalia, as is also found elsewhere in gnostic writings, or secret symbols or abbreviations. The latter possibility is more likely, since  $\bar{\iota}\epsilon\gamma\text{C}$  in III is given in IV as  $\bar{\iota}\epsilon\text{C}\text{C}\epsilon\text{C}\omega\text{C}$ . In III  $\text{I}\text{H}$  which recurs in the hymn, is placed at the beginning. Nevertheless the meaning of the remaining groups of letters remains a question, especially in view of the differences between the two manuscripts.

The first part of the hymnic section can be divided into five strophes, each of which begins with "really truly" ( $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ )! The arrangement within the strophes is more difficult,

especially since one cannot assume that the Coptic translation has preserved the meter of the Greek *Vorlage*. One expects that the strophes had the same length. Here too it must not be overlooked that each repeated vowel lengthens the line accordingly.

#### The First Strophe.

The first strophe begins with the invocation of Yesseus, Mazareus and Yessedekus. III has taken over the Greek vocative form, while IV has carried over the nominative of the vocalic declension. For this change from the consonantal to the vocalic declension, cf. A. BÖHLIG, *Griechische Lehnwörter*, pp. 117f. Three predications follow. The question is whether each predicate respectively belongs with the name to which it corresponds in the sequences. If so, one could form a strophe of two lines. One might well see in the three figures a three-fold entity which possesses both the character of unity and of plurality. For the plural cf. IV 75,25f., where III has the singular in the corresponding place. It is to be noted that in this passage as well as in this hymn the designation "the living water" is used for this trinity. Here two more designations are given so that one can correctly assume that in addition to the introductory formula there are four lines:

Really truly!

O Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekus!

O living water!

O child of the child!

O name of all the glories! (III: O glorious name!)

#### The Second Strophe.

The strophe begins in III with a Greek phrase, while in what follows the vowels of the Greek alphabet are each given four times, though, to be sure, not in the sequence of the alphabet. This raises the question of whether the vowels have a secret meaning. In IV the introductory phrase *αἰών ὁ ὢν* is translated with "He who exists eternally".

Really truly!

*αἰών ὁ ὢν* (IV: He who exists in eternity!)

IIII HHHH

EEEE OOOO YYYYY

ωωωω αααα

The meaning is very uncertain. Perhaps it is in fact a case of glossolalia. An interpretation can only be an attempt:

Really truly!

O existing aeon!

ΙΗ! (perhaps the name of the one invoked, cf. the initial ΙΗ in III 66,8)

ε(ι or στίυ) ό υ(ίός)

ω λ (End and beginning; one could also consider ω α(ιών) however.)

### The Third Strophe.

In III the strophe begins with ΗΙ; IV reads probably ΟΗ[Ι]. In light of the fact that the second and fifth strophes have the order of the vowels as ΙΗ, one could see in the ΗΙ of the third strophe a scrambled variant of ΙΗ. ΗΙ could then be the same name as in the second strophe. However, influence from the fourth strophe, where the normal sequence of the Greek alphabet is present, may also be involved here.

Really truly!

ΗΙ (for ΙΗ? cf. *infra*)

λω

Thou existing One,

(Thou) who sees the aeons.

If the ο in IV 78,19 is correct, then one can take it as the article: ό 'Ιη(σούς). Here the nominative could have stood for the vocative (cf. BLASS-DEBRUNNER § 147). The interpretation might be: "O Je(sus), A and O, Thou existing One who sees the aeons".

### The Fourth Strophe.

The fourth strophe survives only in III. It presents the vowels, without ο and ι in the sequence of the Greek alphabet, in such a way that the number of occurrences of each vowel increases. λ is given once, ε twice, Η three times, ι four times, γ six times, and ω eight times. This gives a total of twenty-four, exactly the number of letters in the Greek alphabet. To be sure, this does not coincide with III 44,3-9 = IV 54,3-13 where each vowel occurs twenty-two times in agreement with the number of letters in the Aramaic alphabet. This would confirm the idea that here traditions of different origin are involved. As indicated before, ΙΗ or ΗΙ (once read in Greek letter order, once read in Semitic letter order) could mean Jesus. Then Yessesus would have been reinterpreted as Jesus in a composition which already through the use of the number of the letters in the Greek alphabet gave evidence of a Hellenistic character.

Really truly!

α εε ΗΗΗ

ΙΙΙΙ ΥΥΥΥΥΥ

ωωωωωωωω

He who is eternally eternal!

An attempt to make this meaningful would be as follows: α(ἰὼν) ε(ὶ) Ἰη(σοῦς), υ(ιέ) (or υἰός), ὦ, Thou who art eternally eternal!" or Α ἐ(στίν) Ἰη(σοῦς), υ(ιός), Ω, etc.

The Fifth Strophe.

The fifth strophe is complete in III, and partly preserved in IV, so that certain conclusions are possible. It begins with the invocation of ΙΗ. The α which follows in III may have been secondarily attached because of the subsequent αΙΩ. That αΙΩ (III 66,20) is intended as αἰὼν follows from the parallel text (ΕΝΕΖ IV 79,1). The text of IV appears to presuppose a different *Vorlage* or a different understanding of the text than III.

III

Really truly!

ΙΗ{α} αἰώ(ν) in the heart,  
who existeth,

υ(ιέ) ἀεὶ εἰς ἀεί,

εἰ ὁ εἶ, εἶ ὁς εἶ.

IV

[Really truly,]

[ΙΗ] eternal who art in [the heart],  
Thou eternal one!

[υ(ιέ) ἀεὶ εἰς ἀεί,]

[εἰ ὁ]εἶ, εἶ ὁς εἶ.

The difference between III and IV may perhaps be explainable on the basis of a common *Vorlage*. ΙΗ αἰὼν ὁ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὦν, ὁ αἰώνιος "Je(sus), O aeon, Thou who art in the heart, Thou eternal one!" As with the rest of the hymn, we are dealing with an expression of a mystical piety. For "the aeon who is in the heart" cf. HERM. *Mand.* 12,4.3: ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἔχων τὸν κύριον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. That "in the heart" and "he who is" are switched in III depends upon a very literal translation whereby also "he who exists" and "the eternal one" were combined and the latter expression was dropped. For "eternal God" cf. Ps 44(45 MT):7; 47(48 MT):15 etc. The phrases of the last line are a variation of Ex 3: 14: ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν. An interpretation of the strophe would be as follows:

Jesus, O aeon who art in the heart,

Thou eternal One

Son forever,

Thou art what Thou art, Thou art who Thou art.

In these strophes an aeon-deity is glorified and his eternal existence

is the main object of praise. In mystical piety the Gnostic sees himself united with this being, who is the Son. Jesus who is clearly encountered in the second hymn, is probably the one who is invoked. Sethian reverence for Jesus is here coupled with the name of the three-fold *παραστάτης* (cf. III 64,10 = IV 75,25f.).

*Hymnic Section (Part II):* III 66,22 - 68,1 = IV 79,3 - 80,15.

The beginning of the second hymn points with "this great name" back to the end of the preceding section. This hymnic section may once again consist of five strophes of four lines each. Each of the first three lines has two stress-points and offers two phrases. In the fourth line the conclusion is drawn. The content of this prayer concerns the experience of salvation which has been granted to the one offering the prayer, and which will again and again be granted to him. He knows that the distant God is no longer distant from him and has even revealed his name to him. God — Father, Mother, Son — is praised here, as earlier in the tractate. Strophes two and three concern the transformation of the Gnostic, while the fifth strophe treats his union with God in the heavenly world. Unfortunately the text of IV is badly damaged. Nevertheless what remains shows that III and IV differ at many points and that one must reckon with changes based on reinterpretations. Perhaps the last copyist of III no longer considered the text rhythmic.

The following reconstruction of the strophes is based on a combination of III and IV. The third strophe is so badly damaged that the wording of IV could not be established. That is all the more regrettable since here the differences appear to be considerable. In most cases IV has been preferred when extant.

#### The First Strophe.

- a) This great name of yours is upon me  
[.....]
- b) O Perfect one who art self-begotten,  
who art autonomous,
- c) O Thou who art invisible except to me,  
who art invisible to everyone!
- d) For who can comprehend Thee  
with voice and praise?

The beginning of the strophe is badly damaged in IV. The second part of each of the first two lines appears to have been left out in III.

In the last line of III “and praise” has dropped out.

The Second Strophe.

- a) Having known Thee I now have merged myself  
with Thy steadfastness and armed myself.
- b) I was armed with grace and light  
(and) became light (or : enlightened).
- c) For the Mother was there  
because of the splendid beauty of grace.
- d) Therefore I stretched out my hands  
while they were folded.

The Greek participle *γνοῖς* probably began the strophe in the Greek *Vorlage*, where it occupied considerably less room than its translation as a subordinate clause in Coptic. For **τωδε** (IV 79,14) cf. CRUM, *Dict.* p. 464. It may be a form of **τωκ** “be firm” seeing that **τωκ** “throw” in BG 38,15 is spelled **τωδε**. The qualitative **τηθ** from **τωκ** “be firm” is attested, cf. WESTENDORF, *Kopt. Handwörterbuch* s.v. Such an interpretation of the word would correspond with the **πετεμερψιβε** in III. The end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 seems to have been combined in III. III 67,4-6 are missing in IV. The prayer rite makes good sense when it is referred to a person like the Mother. Having been concerned in the first strophe with the primal God from whom the Mother god came, the one who prays turns to the Mother in the second strophe.

The Third Strophe.

- a) I was shaped all around with the wealth  
of light that is in my bosom,
- b) That which gives shape to the many begotten ones  
in the light into which no complaint reaches.
- c) I will declare Thy splendor truly,  
for I have comprehended Thee, Jesus of [ ... ]
- d) Behold, **ἀεί ὦ(ν)**  
**ἀεί ἐ(στν) ὁ Ἰησοῦς ! (?)**

In IV the first words may correspond to III, but then the order appears to be completely different. IV 79,20 speaks of a “cover of riches” after which comes **εσκωτε**, that may be the translation of *κύκλω*, Coptic **ζμ πκυκλος** (III). **μητρα** corresponds to **κογογν**. Just as in the second strophe, the third strophe progresses to the next person, here Jesus, in the third line. In IV **ἱς** is qualified by a genitival attribute. He is the Son, who forms a trinity together

with the Autogenes and the Mother. The fourth line gives the content of the prayer spoken by him who has received Jesus. It is a confession of which the meaning is uncertain, if IV 79,27 has the correct order of letters **ΗΕΕ ΔΙΕΕ** (ι and ε could be reversed in the second group.).

The Fourth Strophe.

- a) O great(?) aeon,  
O holy aeon!
- b) O God of silence!  
I honor Thee completely.
- c) Thou art the resting place of the Son  
Es(ephech), Es(ephech), the fifth!
- d) Thou formless one,  
who existeth in the formless ones.

This strophe is likewise badly damaged in IV, and therefore the text is dependent primarily upon III. Still a significant difference can be seen. In III the deity invoked is designated as “my resting place, the (or “O”) Son”, while in IV the “resting place of the Son” is mentioned. Again in the third line a new deity may have been named, although by means of a code: **ΗC ΗC Ο Ε** (lost in IV). Can one risk seeing **ΗC** as an abbreviation of **ΗCΗΦΗΧ**? Then **Ο** could be **δ**, and **Ε** is the fifth letter of the alphabet and the sign for 5. Is **Ε** to be interpreted as **πέμπτος**? Esephech is fifth in the sequence of the thrice-male child, Youel, and then Esephech. Within the framework of the light-world he corresponds to the Son. IV 59,17 reports the relationship between the great Christ and these five beings. Thus the light-world with special emphasis upon Esephech can be invoked. At the same time the formless character of the light-aeon is stressed.

The Fifth strophe.

- a) Since he exists, raising a man,  
Thou hast purified me through him
- b) Into Thy Life (and)  
according to Thy imperishable name.
- c) Therefore the incense of life is in him  
mixed in the baptismal water of all the archons.
- d) So that I live with Thee in the peace of the saints,  
Thou eternal one who really truly exists.

Also in this strophe, which can largely be reconstructed in IV, there are differences between III and IV. Perhaps III 67,19 can be seen as a causative clause if IV 80,6 is correct in making **ΤΒΒΟ** the main

verb. The use of the third person could refer back to the person in the preceding strophe. III 67,20f.  $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon$ - and IV 80,7  $\zeta\mu$ - probably both go back to  $\epsilon\zeta$ . IV 80,9  $\bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau\gamma$  probably refers to "your name". III has the one who prays designate himself as the possessor of this incense which he himself mixed in the water; IV mentions here the "baptismal water of all the archons" over against III where there is a reference to the "water according to the type of all archons". The mentioning of the archons remains obscure. Perhaps the intention is to say that also false baptisms are undertaken. The meaning of the strophe as a whole is to express the certainty of salvation of which the faithful, who return to the really existing primal Father, are assured.

*The first conclusion:* III 68,1-9 = IV 80,15-25.

This section is very poorly preserved in IV. However, the end is still present and it suggests that we are dealing with a separate piece of tradition since there is a blank space after the colon in IV 80,25. The fact that the mountain in which the book was placed is in the plural in III 68,3 but in the singular in IV 80,17 suggests the meaning "mountain range". Prophets, apostles and preachers can readily refer to the distant past; cf. the prophets and apostles in Luke 11:49 and the title  $\kappa\eta\rho\nu\zeta$  for Noah in 2 Pet 2: 5 ( $\kappa\eta\rho\nu\zeta$   $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\varsigma$ ). The reference to these groups of people means something like "from time immemorial".  $\epsilon\mu\bar{\nu}$   $\delta\omicron\mu$  in III 68,4f. is an elliptic expression which expects a verb to follow. The  $\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  (fem.) in IV 80,25 could be a mistake due to the gender of the Greek  $\beta\acute{\iota}\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . Two facts are reported, the second of which is the natural consequence of the first: the placing of the book in the unreachable height, and the fact that the tractate has been hidden since time immemorial.

*The second conclusion:* III 68,10 - 69,5 = IV 80,26-?.

This ending, which gives the impression of being independent from the first ending, also emphasizes the authorship of Seth. This is done by giving the exact time which he needed for the composition of the work. For the 130 years see *supra*, p. 31. Also the mountain is this time specifically named. The purpose of placing it in the mountain is eschatological, for the second conclusion is specifically eschatologically orientated. It appears that Seth will come "at the end of time according to the will of the Logos, through the gift (see *supra*, p. 191) of the fatherly love". However, it makes far better sense if  $\beta\acute{\iota}\beta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,

in spite of the gender, is the antecedent of **εφειπροελευε** in III 68,19f, since **χωωμε** is masculine. Seth appears to function as a savior here (III 68,22). For “those who dwell with him”, cf. ApocAd V 74,23. The beings added on in III 68,23ff. by means of **MN** continue the list begun with the race of the great savior. In 68,20-69,5 an abbreviated table of contents is given. It is difficult to assess the precise meaning of **MN** in this list. The possibility must be taken into account that the beings should be separated from their appositives, which are connected with **MN**, to form an even larger number. One can group them more or less in the following way: 1) the great invisible Spirit; 2) his only begotten Son, the eternal light; 3) his great consort the incorruptible Sophia, the Barbelo; 4) the pleroma. Listed this way the trinity and the pleroma are the initiators of redemption. The unity of the heavenly world, also in its unified divine economy, is thus clearly visible. The concluding phrase “in eternity. Amen” is liturgical and an appropriate ending for the tractate.

*The colophon:* III 69,6-17.

See *supra*, pp. 8f. on the absence of the colophon in IV. There is no question that we are dealing with a colophon since it mentions the names of the scribe and his asking for **χαρις** etc. for himself and his fellow Gnostics. The name Eugnostos is interesting in that there is a tractate by that name in Codex III and V, “The Letter of Eugnostos”. It is noteworthy that in addition to the spiritual name, Eugnostos, the “fleshly” name Gongessos is given. For the title **πεγαγγελιον** **NRPMNKHME** see *supra*, pp. 18ff. The style of the colophon is that of an interlinear translation. **NCZAI NNOUTE** in 69,7 corresponds to **θεόγραφος** in 69,15. The benediction “Grace ... (be) with the ...” reflects the Greek since Coptic would normally require a verb. Jesus Christ is called upon to assure the fulfilment of the prayer. The definite article is used in Coptic to indicate the vocative, except for proper names, cf. STERN, *Kopt. Gramm.* § 488. The use of the complete title **Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ** (**υἱὸς** translated by **πωηρε**) is remarkable. The added monogram **IXΘYC** refers to the Greek text. The symbol of the fish was known at that time in Egyptian Christianity (cf. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Paid.* III 11,59.2 = p. 270,8 ed. STÄHLIN). **θεόγραφος** at the end of 69,15 can be a reference to the holy character of the monogram or a predicate of **ΤΒΙΒΛΟΣ**, since it is an adjective of two endings. If it is the latter then the character of the book given in 69,7 has been repeated once more at the end. It would

also mean that the title following the colophon is not a mere repetition of the one at the end of the colophon, but that the latter is part of a sentence which has been translated word for word from the Greek.

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## INDICES

### COPTIC WORDS <sup>1</sup>

- ΑΛΟΥ** m. child III 42,6; 43,16; [44,22]; 49,26; 50,3 (bis); 53, 24; 54,[1]. 2.14; 55,24 (bis); 56,17; 62,2; 66,11 (bis). IV 51,23; 53,15; 55,12; 56,7.[21.22]; 59,18.[25].25; [61,28]; 62,[1]. <2>. [3]; [65,18]; [66,3]; [67,8.30]; 73,13; 78,[14].14.
- ΑΜΝΤΕ** m. Hades III 56,25; [57,11]; 58,22. IV [68,9].
- ΑΜΑΖΤΕ : ΕΜΑΖΤΕ** possess III [50,2]; 54,1; 55,23.
- ΜΑΖΤΕ** III 62,6.
- ΡΕΦΑΜΑΖΤΕ** m. IV 59,24; 62,1; [65,20]; 73,17.
- ΑΝ** negative particle III 66,24. IV 51,13.
- ΑΝΟΚ** 1 p.s. pronoun III 58,24.25. IV 79,13.
- ΑΡΗΧ** end III 41,1; 54,5. IV 57,3.
- ΑΤΟ** many III 61,17; 67,10.
- ΑΥΩ** and III 41,[13].15.[17]; 43,3.17; 44,9; 49,5.21; 51,12.14.22; 52,3.16.22.24.26; 53,1; 54,12; 55,1.2; 56,26; 57,5.18; 58,3.23.26; 60,10.16; 61,1.6; 62,12; 63,23; 64,3.4; 68,5.9. IV 50,15.16.19.20; [51,7]; 52,9; 53,[15.21]. 23; 54,13.16.[19]; 55,23.26; 56,8.[23]; 57,23; 58,2; 59, 4.9; 60,11.19; 61,5. [13.15]. 22.25. [26]; [62,19]; 63, 3.4.6. [8.12].17.[24.25]; 64,10.11.23; 65,2.10.[28]; 66,[1]. 8. [10.13]. 14. [19]; [67,5.6]; 68,9; 69,3; 71,6.7.8. [10.19]. 27; 72,8.10.23; 73,1. [25]; 75,2.11.17.19.20.21.24; 76,14; 77,5. 14; 78,[2].9; 79,14.17.[18]; 80,[16].19.[24].
- ΑΨΑΪ : ΑΨΑΕΙ** multiply III 55,2.
- ΑΖΟ** : pl. **ΑΖΩΡ** treasures IV [56,15]; 60,17.
- ΑΧΝ-** : **ΑΧΝΤ** without III 49,12; 58,26. IV [61,13].
- ΒΑΛ** m. eye III [58,11]. IV 61,10.
- ΒΩΛ : ΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ** dissolve IV 63,8.
- ΒΟΛ : ΕΒΟΛ** N- out of, from IV 52,23; 63,1; [71,7].
- ΜΠΒΟΛ** prep. outside III 66,24.
- ΓΑΒΟΛ** N- except IV 79,9.
- ΕΚΙΒΕ : ΚΙΒΕ** f. breast III 56,9.18. IV [68,2].
- ΕΝΕΖ** m. eternity IV 50,7.14.
- ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ** eternal III 42,9; 53,8; 65,5; 67,26; 68,26. IV 50,7.13; 51,26; 58,18. [22]; [62,20]; 65,1; 72,4; 76,25; 78,16; 79,1.2; 80,13.
- ΨΑ ΑΝΗΖΕ** III 50,22; 60,22; 68,24.
- ΨΑ ΑΝΗΖΕ ΝΕΝΕΖ** III 66,19.
- ΜΝΤΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ** f. eternity III 69,4.
- ΕΡΗΤ** pray IV [71,5].
- ΕΡΗΥ : ΜΝ ΝΕΥΕΡΗΟΥ** with each other III 49,19.

<sup>1</sup> For practical reasons the word order of CRUM's *Coptic Dictionary* has been followed, although we find it unsatisfactory, since it is in places incorrect.

- ΕCHT** : **ΕΠΕCHT** down III 59,19. IV [62,28]; 71,3.  
**ΨΑ ΠΕCHT** III 49,15.  
**ΨΑ ΠΕCHTΕ** III 54,15.
- ΕΤΒΕ-** because of III 59,4; 60,24; 61,4.10.12.13; 67,5. IV 72,[13.19.22].24.  
**ΕΤΒΗHT** III 42,5; 59,9; IV 51, 24; 61,12; 63,6; 71,2.  
**ΕΤΒHT** IV 63,4.  
**ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ** therefore III 67,22. IV[80,9]. **ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΪ** III 67,6.
- ΕΟΟΥ** m. glory III 41,22; 42,24; 43,12.[18]; [44,15]; 50,3.4.7; 51,1; [52,1]; 53,22; 54,[1]. 2.4.21.25; 55,14.23.24; 62,7 (bis); 67,13. IV 51,14; 53,[8].17; [54,24]; 55,[5].6; [56,14]; [57,5]; [58,1]; 59,5.8.[25].26; [60,17]; 62,2 (bis).3.[6.25]; 63, [21]; 65,16.20.21.22; 66,9.[13].29; 73,[18].18.22; [78,15].  
**ΕΘΑ ΕΟΟΥ** glorious III 56,8; 66,12.  
**† ΕΟΟΥ** give glory III 55,7. IV 59,9; 66,20.  
**ΡΕϚ† ΕΟΟΥ** IV 73,20. See **ΔΟΞΟΜΕΔΩΝ**.
- ΕΙ** come III 56,12; 59,21; 60,2.9.19.26; 65,18. IV 71,[15].18.  
**ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ** III [40,14]; 41,11.17.[24]; [43,14.23]; 49,15; 51,15; 52,6; 57,9.[12]; 62,13; 65,2. IV 50,23; 51,8.24; [53,10]; 57,7; [58,23]; 60,10.30; 61,[14].16; [64,23]; 66,3.6.14; 68,9.30; [71,11]; 73,27; 76,20; 80,23.  
**ΡΨΟΡΠ ΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ** IV 50,4.13.29; 51,5.15; [52,13]; 53,24; 54,1; [60,1]; 63,9; [64,13].  
**ΒΙΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ** m. IV 51,6.  
**ΕΙ ΕΠΕCHT** IV [62,28]; 71,3.  
**ΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ** IV 76,23.  
**ΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ** IV [72,12].  
**ΕΙ ΖΙ-** III 59,2. **ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ-** III 59,19.
- ΕΙΜΕ** know IV 78,8.
- ΕΙΝΕ** bring III [42,2]; 43,1.6.7; 56,9; 60,9. IV [71,19].  
**ΝΤ** IV 51,18; [53,1]; [59,1]; 75,20.  
**ΡΨΟΡΠ ΝΕΙΝΕ** IV [52,19].  
**ΕΙΝΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ** IV 54,14; [55,15]; 56,7; 57,13; 60,22; [61,24]; [62,16]; [65,8]; 67,4; 73,7.  
**ΝΤ** **ΕΖΡΑΪ** IV 73,3.
- ΕΙΝΕ** be like IV [62,29]; 71,5. **ΙΝΕ** III 59,5; 60,1.  
m. likeness IV 79,23. **ΙΝΕ** III 51,5; 59,20.
- ΕΙΟΟΡ** : **ΑΤΧΙΟΟΡ ΜΜΟ** inaccessible IV 50,12; 65,24.  
**ΑΤΡΧΙΟΟΡ ΜΜΟ** IV 61,15.
- ΕΙΡΕ** : **Ρ-** make III 52,2; see : **ΡΡΟ** ; **ΟΥΘΕΙΝ** ; **ΖΑΕ**.  
**Ο†** be III 41,19; 51,5; 57,3; 59,20. **Ε†** IV 51,9.[10].13; [53, 27]; [79,8.9].
- ΕΙΩΤ** m. father III 40,13.18; 41,3.9.11.12. [19]; 42,[1]. 4.11.20.24; 43,5.13.[21]; 50,15; 51,2.8; 52,4.17; 53,4; 54,7; 55,9; 59,12; 63,21; 68,19. IV 63,2.  
**ΙΩΤ** III 49,13; 50,14; 54,10. IV 50,3.9.14.22.25.28; 51,[1]. 10.18.21; 52,[2].14.[18]; 53,1.[9].21; [54,18]; [55,5]; [56,24]; 58,3.26; [59,1.13]; [60,9.25]; [61,14]; 62,12. [14].26; [63,25]; [64,10.25]; [65,26.28]; [66,22]; [73,11].
- ΕΙΨΕ** crucify IV 77,15.
- ΚΕ-** other III 66,27.

**ΚΩ** place III 68,2.12.

**ΚΑΑ** = IV 81,2.

**ΚΑΑ** = **ΝΖΡΑΪ ΖΙΧΝ**- IV 80,16.

**ΚΗ† ΖΙΧΝ**- IV 52,6.

**ΚΗ† ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ**- preside over IV 55,1; 58,13; 66,26; 76,1.3.5.8.10.20.23.

**ΚΩΒ** : **ΚΗΒ†** fold III 67,8. IV [79,18].

**ΚΛΟΟΛΕ** f. cloud IV[61,1]; [68,10].

**ΚΛΟΜ** m. crown III 42,23; 50,4; 54,2; 55,24; 62,7. IV 59,26; 62,3; [65,21]; 73,18.

**ΚΙΜ** move III 51,9; 54,11; 59,14; 61,20. IV [65,31].

**ΑΤΚΙΜ** IV 63,3; [65,27]; 73,4.

**ΚΗΜΕ** : **ΡΜΝΚΗΜΕ** see Proper Names.

**ΚΟΥΝ** = bosom IV 51,19; 52,20; [53,1]; 59,2.

**ΚΟΥΟΥΝ** = III 42,3; 67,10, IV 75,9. **ΚΟΟΥΝ** = III 43,7.

**ΚΩΤΕ** surround III 43,12; 50,7; 53,21; 62,10. IV 53,8; 57,25; 59,7; 62,6; [65,15]; [66,11]; 73,21; [79,21].

**ΜΠΚΩΤΕ** prep. around III 54,24.

**ΚΟΤC** f. crooked trick IV 73,1.

**ΚΑΖ** m. earth III 50,10; 57,19; 61,6. IV 62,9; [69,4]; 71,2.20; 72,15.

**ΚΩΖ** : **ΡΕΦΚΩΖ** jealous III [58,25].

**ΚΩΖΤ** m. fire III [58,11].

**ΛΑΑΥ** anything III 49,12; 58,26. IV 61,14.

**ΜΑ** m. place III 41,13.23; 43,8; [49,1]; 50,11; 56,4; 60,13; 65,13.16.19.21; 67,5.17.

IV [53,3]; 56,[6].12; 60,27; 61,1; 62,10; [71,28 (bis)]; 77,[8].12.[16].19; 80,5.

**ΜΕ** f. truth III 41,7. IV 75,22; 76,3. **ΜΗΕ** III 40,19; 55,6; 64,15; 65,14.

**ΜΝΤΜΕ** f. IV 50,10; 58,15.22; 59,21; 60,3; 66,19; 73,15; 77,10; 78,11.15.[19]; 79,25; 80,14.

**ΝΑΜΕ** truly IV 58,[16.22]; 59,22; 73,15; 78,12.[16.19]; 80,14.

**ΜΟΥ** m. death, plague III 62,24; 66,8. IV [72,21]; 74,9; 78,10.

**ΜΟΥΥ†** III 51,13. IV 63,7.

**ΜΑΑΒ** thirty III 68,11.

**ΜΜΝ**- : **ΜΝ**- it is not III 41,1; 54,5; 67,11; 68,4.8. IV [61,14].

**ΜΝΤ** = not to have III 54,22.24.

**ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ** = self III 61,22.

**ΜΝ**- and, with III 40, <18>. <19> : 41,22; 42,2.7.8(bis).10.20.23.[23].24; 43,10.11.12; 44,12.15.[26.27].28; 49,18.19.25.26; 50,1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.10.16.19.21; 51,1.11.20; 53,18.19.20.21.22(bis).23. <23>.24.25; 54,2.3. <5>.8.16.17.25; 55,1.9.10(bis).12.13.21.22.23; 56,1.2.3.10.25; [57,11]; [58,22]; 59,3.11.12.21.22.25; 60,1. <21>.23; 61,7.9.11.17.18.20.21(bis).25; 62,2.5.6.7.8.9(bis).10.16.18.19.20.21; 63,1.2.3.4.6(bis).7(bis).8.9.18.19(bis).20.21.22; 64,1(bis).5.12.13.14(bis).15.16(bis).17.18.19.20(bis).21.22.27; 65,1.2(bis).3.6(bis).7.8.9.12(bis).14.17(bis); 66,2; 68,6(bis).15.17.22.23.25.26; 69,1.2.3(bis).9.12. IV 50,9.10.20; 51,[19].25.[25]; 52,[1.14].16.17.18; [53,2.6.7.8.9.]; 54,24; [55,4.6.17]; 57,4.[5.6.22]; 58,1.[4(bis)].4.[6.7].14.16.21.24.[25].26; [59,5.8.13.14(bis).22.24.26]; 60,12.[17]; [61,20.26.28.29]; 62,[1].2.3.[4.5].5.7(bis).[9].13.14.18.20.21.[25]; 63,[5].14; 64,17; 65,[7].12.13.14.15.16.[16.17].17.18.19.20.21.22.[24].27; 66,4.5.13.23(bis).[23.27].28; 67,7.8.[9]; [68,8]; 71,6.[10.11]; 72,3.5.[18].21.[26]; 73,1(bis).4.5.[5].12.[17].18.19.20.21.22(bis).23; 74,1.3(bis).5.6.7.[8.12].14.16(bis).20.[21].22.24; 75,1.

- 5.8.9.13.14.15.27.28; 76.1(bis).2.4(bis).5.7.[10].10.11.12.13.17.18.19(bis).21.22(bis).25.26(bis); 77,1.2.4.7(bis).12.13; 78,[3].4; 79,12.[13].16; [80,20,21].  
**ΜΕΝ**- III 53,14. **ΝΜ**- IV 73,11.  
**ΝΜΜΑ**≠ III 56,19; [57,18.19]; 62,15; 65,14. IV 59,23; 68, 2; 69,2.[3]; 73,29; 77,10.  
**ΜΑΕΙΝ** m. mark IV 51,13; 80,5.  
**ΑΤΜΑΕΙΝ** without mark IV 51,12.  
**ΜΟΟΝΕ** : **ΜΑ ΜΜΟΟΝΕ** place of pasture IV [71,29].  
**ΜΑ ΝΜΟΝΕ** III 60,13.  
**ΜΟΥΝΚ** m. annulment III 49,16.  
**ΜΠΩΑ** be worthy III 55,15; 66,2. IV 67,1; 78,3.  
**ΜΙΣΕ** : **ΑΤΜΙΣΕ** unborn IV 60,4; 66,4.  
**ΜΗΤ** : **ΜΕΖΜΗΤ** tenth III 58,19. IV [70,5].  
**ΜΟΕΙΤ** : **ΜΟΕΙΤ ΝΕΙ ΕΖΟΥΝ** m. entrance IV 76,23.  
**ΜΑΤΕ** : **ΜΑΤΩΟΥ†** be joyful III[57,11].  
**† ΜΕΤΕ** approve IV 52,13; [63,25]; 64,10.  
 m. good pleasure IV [64, 24]; 74, 14.  
**ΡΩΒΗΡ Ν† ΜΕΤΕ** join in approval IV 63, 26; [64,11].  
**ΜΟΥΤΕ** call III 54,9; 58,9,[14].16; 68,13. IV 65,26.29; 70,1; [71,23.29].  
**ΜΤΟΝ** rest III 43,16.23; 55,9; 65,22.  
**ΜΟΤΝ†** IV [53,13.25]; 60,27; 77,17.  
 m. IV 76,24; 80,3.  
**ΜΑ ΝΜΤΟΝ** m. place of rest III 67,17.  
**ΜΑΥ** : **ΜΜΑΥ** that, there III 41,13.23; 43,8; 49,1; 54,4; 56,4; 67,5. IV 53,[3].5; 56,6.[12]; 60,1; 61,1; 77,13.  
**ΜΑΑΥ** f. mother III 41,9.18; 42,4.12.17; [43,1]; 49,3; 55,10; 67,4. IV 50,25; 51,9.21; 52,[4].18; 56,24; 58,4; [59,13]; 61,3; 66,23.  
**ΜΕΕΥ** III 56,6. **ΜΕΕΥΕ** III 56,7(bis).  
**ΜΟΟΥ** m. water III 64,11; 66,11; 67,23. IV 75,26; 76,9; 78,13; [80,11].  
 pl. **ΜΟΥΕΙΟΟΥΕ** III 64,19.  
**ΜΑΥΑΑ**≠ alone IV 50,[19].20.27; 52,12; [66,5]; 79,[6].8.  
**ΜΕΕΥΕ** m. scheme, memory III 61,18. IV [64,26]; 73,2.  
**ΑΤΜΕΟΥΕ ΕΡΟ**≠ unthinkable III 68,19.  
**ΜΟΥΖ** fill IV 55,8.  
**ΜΕΖ-** III 44,20.  
**ΜΟΕΙΖΕ** : **ΜΟΙΖΕ** m. wonder IV 56,1.  
**ΜΑΑΧΕ** : **ΜΑΧΕ** m. ear III 68,9. IV [80,24].  
**ΜΟΥΧΤ Ε-** mix with III 67,1.  
**ΜΟΥΧΤ ΜΝ-** III 49,19. IV 79,13.  
  
**ΝΑ** m. grace IV 76,2.  
**ΝΑΑ** : **ΝΕΑ**≠ be great IV 74,4; 75,10.  
**ΝΗΥ†** : **ΝΗΟΥ† Ε-** come to III 51,4.  
**ΝΚΑ ΝΙΜ** everything III 49, 10.11; 54,11.  
**ΝΙΜ** who? III 66,26.  
**ΝΙΜ** every; see : **ΝΚΑ, ΟΥΟΝ**.  
**ΝΟΜΤΕ** : **ΝΑΜΤΕ** f. strength III 50,22.  
**ΝΕΣΕ-** : **ΝΕΣΩ**≠ be beautiful III 67,6.

- ΝΤΕ-** particle of genitive III 40,[12].13.15.17; 41,3,[15.16]; 49,20; 57,19; 59,24; 60,5; 64,9; 67,6; 68,22. IV 50,1,[2].6.7.9.14(bis).[17].22.28; 51,[1.4.6].7; 52,14.16.[17].18.21.22.[24]; 53,6.[10].17.[21.22]; 54,18; 55,[5].6.[9].10; 56,[5].18.[22].27; 58,[3].7.[25.26]; 59,25.[26].27; 60,[8].12.[17].25.[25]; 61,2.3.10.[18]; 62,2.3.[11].12.[12].23.26.27; 63,[11.15].20.[27].29; 64,[1].9.[12.15.17.19].25; 65,[7,21].28.30; 66,[8].9.17.19; [67,2]; [69,4]; 70,2; 71,[6].7.9.[14].14.17.[22.23].26; 72,3.4.6.12.16.19.[26]; 73,[4.10].18.26; 74.2.4.[7].12.[14].21; 75,3.5.6.[9].18.22; 76,3.6.[8].9.13.15.[16].21.24.27; 77,14; 78,[4].5.14.[15]; 79,[15.20].26; 80,[2].3.[10.11.13].
- ΝΤΑ-** III [41,16]; 66,23. IV 53,3; [62,15]; 64,25; 66,24; 73,1.2; 74,[13].14.
- ΝΟΥΤΕ** m. God III 49,18; 50,11.19; 52,8.16; 55,6; 58,25; 59,24; 63,2.18; 65,14; 67,15; 68,16; 69,7.14. IV [60,3]; [61,19]; 62,[10].18; 64,1.[10]; [66,18]; 71,9; 75,5; 77,10; 80,1.
- ΝΤΟΚ** you m. sg. III 67,16. IV [80,2].
- ΝΤΚ-** IV 61,[6].7(bis).
- ΝΤΟΟΥ** they III 42,3. IV [59,10]; [65,26.29]; [71,22].
- ΝΤΟϞ** he IV 63,2.
- ΝΔΥ** see III [57,16]; 61,16; 66,16.25. IV 56,14; [72,28].
- ΔΤΝΔΥ ΕΡΟ-** invisible III 40, 13; [44,2]; 66,25. IV [50,3]; 53,28; [54,16]; 55,14.17; [56,10.17]; 60,[10].15.23; 61,25; [65,10]; 67,5; 73,9; 74,15; 75,2; 77,5; 79,9.10.
- ΝΔΥΕ-** : **ΝΔΥΩ-** be great III 51,19.
- ΝΟΥΖΜ** save IV 74,22.
- ΝΟΥΖΜ-** III 63,8.
- ΝΟΥΧ** false III 61,15. IV [72,27].
- ΝΟΒ** great III 40,13; 43,2.13.[15]; 44,[10].20.[22.23].26; 49,2.4.17.23; 50,4.13.18; 51,3.16.20; 52,20.21.22.23.24.25.26; 53,[1].4.6.7.9.13.16.19; 54,10.20; 55,5.16.19; 56,1.5(bis).13.14.21.23; 57,[6.7.8].16.17.21.25; 58,[3.9].16; 59,13.14.15; 60,2(bis).8.9.14.15.25; 61,13.16.23.24; 62,8.13.15.16.17.18.19.23.24; 63,2.11.21; 64,2.10.12.13.23.24.26(bis).27(bis); 65,8.10.12.16.20; 68,2.10.22.24; 69,1.16.18. IV 50,2; 52,21; 53,10.[12]; 54,15; 55,6.8.12.[13.16]; 56,[9].27; [59,17]; 60,1.7.[10.23]; 61,[1].4.[18.24].62,4.17.[27.30]; 63,10.11.[14.16]; 64,15.[16].17.[17].19.[19.21.26].28.29; 65,[1].6.[9].13.30; 66,7.8.[17]; 67,2.[4].27; 68,[4].6; 69,1.[2]; 71,11.[12].17.18.[24.25]; 72,7.[23].28; 73,7.8.19.21.27; 74,1.2.4.8.[9].11.15.27; 75,17.25.27.28; 76,15.17(bis).18.19; 77,2.4.7.13.18; [79,3]; 80,[16].26. **ΝΑΒ** III 66,22.
- ΜΝΤΝΟΒ** f. greatness III [44,28]; 54,19(bis). IV [55,20]; 56,[3]4; 66,7.
- ΝΟΙ** III 41,8.[14].24; 43,9; 44,14.15.23; 49,1.13.20; 50,12.18; 51,[1].11.13.15.23; 52,3.4.6.17.18.19; 53,10; 54,11.19; 55,2; 56,5.23.26; 57,[6].16.21.[23].25; 58,6.[9].16; 59,3; 60,2; 62,14.15.23; 63,11; 64,2.10; 68,2.10. IV 50,24; 51,16; 53,5.[12.14].16; 54,[2].22; [55,13]; 56,[13].21.24; 57,25; 58,23; 60,1.28; 61,1.2.[22]; 62,[11.17].25; 63,[5]7.[10].25.26.28; 64,[10.12].14.[23]; 65,3.31; 66,[7].11.[14]; 68,6.9; 69,1; 70,1; 71,2.11.25; 72,[10.14.17.20].25; 73,28.[29]; 74,8.27; 75,17; 77,9.11.13.[17]; 80,9.15.26.
- ΟΕΙΩ** : **ΑΤΤΑΥΕ ΟΕΙΩ ΜΜΟ-** unproclaimable IV 50,17; [55,26].
- ΠΑ-** possessive art. III 65,17. IV 56,3; 66,7.
- ΤΑ-** III 56,8.18. IV 68,1.
- ΝΑ-** III 55,12.
- ΠΑΙ** this III [41,21]; 43,[1.19].24; 44,24; [49,8]; 51,4; [58,8]; 59,9; 60,18; 61,3; 66,24;

- 67,22. IV [51,5.12]; 52,19; 53,[20.22.23].25.26; [55,13.14]; [56,26]; 57,13; 59,16.[18]; 60,4.7.[8]; [61,5.11.21]; 77,6. **ΠΕΪ** III 67,7. **ΠΕΕΙ** III 49,5. **ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ** see **ΕΤΒΕ-**.  
**ΠΗ** IV 52,6; 55,1; 62,28; 68,29; 69,2; 71,1; 74,26; 75,10.15.16; 76,1.5; 77,14.15; 78,1; 79,[8.9].26; 80,[14].17.  
**ΤΑΪ** III 51,23; 52,14; 60,19.25; 68,1. IV [51,24]; 52,10; [56,19]; 64,8; 71,[24].30; 72,7.  
**ΤΗ** III 59,23; 63,8. IV 51,22; 63,[19].21; 71,3.[8]; 72,8; 74,23.  
**ΝΑΪ** III 41,9.11; 43,4; 53,2; 61,12; 62,22; 66,7. IV 50,25.29; 51,18.20; 52,[25].26; 53,22; [54,24]; 55,2; 61,12; 65,31; 72,22; 78,6. **ΝΕΕΙ** III [58,21]; 66,4.  
**ΝΗ** IV 59,1; 66,5.27.[28]; 67,1; 74,[8]; 76,2.[8].10.19.22; 78,3.  
**ΠΕ** f. heaven III 42,15; 63,25; 65,25. IV 52,6.  
**ΠΗΥΕ** pl. IV 75,13.  
**ΠΕ** copula III 41,21; 43,[4].14.21; 54,8; [57,1]; 58,8.11.12.[12].13.[13.15.17].19.20.[21]; 60,11. 13.14; 67,16; 69,12. IV 51,6.[12]; 52,23; [53,20]; [56,26]; 59,16.18; 60,[7].8; 61,9.[11.12.22]; 79,7.8; [80,2].  
**ΤΕ** III 42,7; 52,15; 60,19.25; 68,1. IV 51,25; 52,3.[16]; [56,19]; 64,8; [71,21.24.30]; 72,3.7.  
**ΝΕ** III 41,9; 43,4. IV 50,25; 51,17.[20]; 52,25.26; 54,24; [55,2]; 57,5; [61,12.13].  
**ΠΕΙΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ** come forth, radiate III [42,17].  
**ΠΡ[ΕΙΩΟΥ]**† m. manifestation IV 63,11.  
**ΠΕΙΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ** m. radiance III 41,2.  
**ΠΙΡΕ [ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗ-]** IV 61,9.  
 m. III 41,10. IV 50, 19.26; [52,11].  
**ΠΩΡΨ ΕΒΟΛ** spread out III 67,7. IV [79,17].  
**ΨΙC** : **ΜΕΖΨΙC** ninth III [58,18]. **ΜΕΖΨΕΙΤ** IV 70,4.  
**ΠΕΧΕ-** said III 58,24.  
**ΠΕΧΑ** = III 56,23; 57,5.[8.21].25; 58,3. IV [68,6].  
**ΡΗ** m. sun III 53,17; 60,1; 65,1; 68,4. IV [71,10]; 76,21; [80,18].  
**ΡΟ** : **ΚΑΡΩC** m. silence IV [52,17]; 55,19; 56,5; [58,24]; [60,26].  
**ΑΤΚΑΡΩ** = silent IV 59,12; 66,22.  
**ΡΩΚΖ** m. conflagration III 63,6. IV 72,15; [74,20].  
**ΡΩΧΖ** III 61,5.  
**ΡΩΜΕ** m. man III 49,9.10.18.21(bis); 50,13.14.20; 51,3.6.21; 55,18; 58,10.17; 59, 3(bis).15; 62,18; 64,23; 65,15; 66,1; 67,19. IV 60, [16.18].28; 61,[11].20. [22.23]; 62,11.19.[27.31]; 63,16; 67,3; 70,2; 74,3; 76,14; 77,11; 80,6.  
**ΜΝΤΡΜΜΑΟ** f. riches III 67,9. IV [79,20].  
**ΡΟΜΠΕ** f. year III 56,23; 68,12. IV [68,6].  
**ΡΑΝ** m. name III 40,14; 43,19; 44,1.[11]; 49,6; [57,1]; 65,23; 66,12.22; 67,21. IV [50,4]; [53.18.25]; 60,5; 61,6; 78,14; [79,3]; [80,8]. **ΡΕΝ** III 68,7; 69,12.  
 † **ΡΑΝ** name III [44,24]; 54,7. IV 55,15.  
 † **ΡΝ** = III 60,18.  
**ΑΤ† ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟ** = unnameable IV [54,17]; 65,[11].25; 67,6; [73,9]; 77,6.  
**ΡΡΟ** : **Ρ ΡΡΟ ΕΧΝ-** reign over III 56,24; 57,10.  
**Ρ ΡΡΟ Ε-** III 58,5.  
**Ρ ΡΡΟ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ-** IV [68,8].  
**ΡΑΤ** = : **ΑΤΝ ΡΑΤ** = untraceable III 68,18; see : **ΤΑΖΟ**, **ΩΖΕ**.

- CA** : **NCΑ-** see : **ΤΩΒΖ**.  
**MNNCA** after III 56,22; 58,23. IV 68,5.
- CA** : **MNTCAEIE** f. beauty III 67,5.
- CABE** : **CBΩ** f. teaching IV 57,8; 64,6.
- COBTE** prepare IV 71,12. **CABTE** III 60,3.  
**CBTΩT**≠ III 63,11. IV 74,26.  
**CABTE** m. founding III 58,23.
- CMH** f. voice III 43,3; 55,7; 59,1.5; 66,27. IV 52,22; [59,10]; [63,6]; [66,20]; 79, 12.
- CMOY** praise III 55,6. IV 59,9; [66,19].  
m. III [44,25]; 49,23; 50,18; 53,16; 55,18; 61,24. IV 54,15; 55,16; 56,8; [57,13]; [60,22]; 61,24; [62,16]; 65,9; [67,4]; 73,8; 79,12.  
† **CMOY E-** give praise to III 44,10. See p. 39.
- CMOT** m. form III 57,4; 61,18.  
**ATCMOT** formless III 67,18(bis).
- CINE EBOΛ ΖN-** pass through IV 59,2; [74,17].
- CNAΥ** : **CNTE** f. two III 57,13. IV [68,27].  
**MEZCNAΥ** second III 52,10.23; 53,6; 58,11; 60,17; 65,16. IV 64,[4].18.[28]; 71,28.  
**MEZCNTE** f. III 43,11. IV 52,3.  
**MNTCNOOYC** twelve III 57,23; 58,7. IV [69,4].  
**MEZMNTCNOOYC** twelfth III 58,21.
- CNOq** m. blood III 57,5.
- COΠ** m. time III 49,7.
- CΩPM** go astray IV 74,23.
- COEIT** : **AT† COEIT EPO**≠ unheralded III 41,20.
- CITE** : **COT**≠ **EZPAI E-** sow in IV 71,1.  
**CAT**≠ **EZPAI E-** IV 71,19.
- CTOEI** m. incense III 67,22. IV [80,10].
- CΩTM** hear III 68,9. IV [80,25].
- CΩTP** m. elect III 65,7.
- CTΩT** m. trembling III 54,12.
- COOY** : **MEZCOOY** sixth III 58,15. IV [51,10].  
**MEqCOOY** III 41,19.
- COOYN** m. knowledge III 60,24; 64,7. IV 52,17; [64,5]; 75,22.  
**COYΩN-** know IV 78,6. **COYN-** III 66,5.  
**COYΩN**≠ III 66,7; 67,1. IV [79,12].  
**δINPΩOPΠ NCOOYN** f. foreknowledge IV 52,1.
- CAΩq** : **CAΩqe** f. seven III 43,2.3; 58,2. IV 52,20.22.  
**MEZCAΩq** seventh III [58,17]. IV [70,3].
- Cωωq** : **COOq†** defile III 59,24. IV 71,8.
- CZAI** write IV [53,17].  
**CAZ**≠ III 68,2.10. IV 80,15.26. **CZHT**≠ III 69,10.  
**CHZ†** III [43,20].  
**CZAI** m. writing III 68,11; 69,7. IV 81,1.
- CZIME** f. female III [42,10]. IV 52,2.
- CAZNE** : **OYAZ CAZNE** m. command IV 66,30.
- † give III 44,25; 49,23; 50,17; 53,15; 55,15.18; 61,23. IV 66,29.  
**TAA**≠ III 65,24.

- † **ΖΙΩΩ** = put on III 64,2. **ΤΑΛ** = **ΖΙΩΩ** = IV 75,16.  
 † m. gift III 68,17. IV 74,14.  
 see : **ΕΟΟΥ**; **ΜΑΤΕ**; **ΡΑΝ**; **CMOY**; **COEIT**; **ΩΠ**; **ΩΦΤ**; **ΩΩΛΖ**;  
**ΖΑΠ**; *μορφή*.  
**ΤΒΑ** m. myriad III 44,17; 54,22.24; 55,12.  
**ΑΝΤΒΑ** IV [55,2]; 57,26; [59,5]; 66,11.[27].  
**ΤΒΒΟ** purify IV [80,6].  
**ΤΟΥΒΟ** = III 67,20.  
**ΡΕΦΤΒΒΟ** m. purifier IV 76,6. **ΡΕΦΤΟΥΒΟ** III 64,18.  
**ΤΩΒΖ ΝCΑ-** pray for III 59,21.  
**ΤΑΚΟ** destroy III 59,24.  
**ΤΑΚΗΥΤ†** IV [71,8].  
**ΤΑΛΟ ΕΧΝ-** rise upon III 68,7.  
**ΤΕΛΗΛ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ-** rejoice about III 56,14. IV [67,28].  
**ΤΝΝΟΟΥ** send III 62,24.  
**ΤΩΠΕ** : **ΧΙ †ΠΕ** taste III 66,8. IV 78,10.  
**ΤΑΠΡΟ** f. mouth III 55,8.  
**ΤΗΡ** = all, whole, every III 41,22; [44,21]; 50,9.16; 52,5.18; 54,3.4.20; 55,11; 62,11;  
 63,1.4; 67,16.24; 68,17; 69,4. IV 51,14; 53,22; 56,4; 57,1: 58,5; 59,3.[10.15];  
 61,12.13; [62,8.14]; 64,12; 65,7.22.[23].31; 66,[7].21; [70,2]; [72,22]; 73,24; 74,13.17;  
 78,15; [80,12].  
**ΠΤΗΡΦ** everything III 43,22.  
**ΤΩΡΕ** : **ΖΙΤΝ-** through III 49,22; 63,1.9.10.14(bis).17; 66,1; 68,17.  
**ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ-** III 50,24; 51,10.12; 56,12.16.17; 59,6.17; 60,3.7.19.26; 61,8;  
 62,25; 63,12.23.25; 64,5; 66,7. IV 56,9; 60,29; 61,23; 62,24; [67,26.29]; 71,[13].16;  
 72,1.6.[17]; 74,10.23.25,28.30; 75,2.4.7(bis).12.14.20; 78,1.[9]; 79,17.  
**ΤCΑΒΟ** instruct III 66,6.  
**ΤCΒΟ** = IV [78,8].  
 †**ΟΥ** five III 56,22. IV 68,5.  
 †**Ε** f. III 53,11; 55,12; 63,3; 66,3. IV [56,25]; 58,6.[27]; 59,27; 65,3; [66,25]; 74,16.  
**ΜΕΖ†ΟΥ** fifth III [58,13]; 65,23.  
**ΜΕΖ†Ε** f. III [41,18]. IV [51,9].  
**ΤΟΥ** m. mountain III 64,21; 68,3.12. IV [80,17].  
**ΤΑΥΟ** : **ΤΑΥΟ** = send IV 74,10.  
**ΤΩΟΥΝ** carry IV [71,25].  
**ΤΩΩΝ** = raise IV [63,6]. **ΤΟΥΝ** = III 51,12.  
**ΤΩΩΝΦ** m. rising IV 76,11.  
**ΤΟΥΝΟC** raise III 67,19.  
**ΤΑΖΟ** seize IV 66,1.  
**ΤΑΖΟ ΕΡΑΤ** = place III 56,19.  
**ΤΑΖΟ** = **ΕΡΑΤ** = III 57,14. IV 60,[19].21; 68,2.[29].  
**ΑΤΤΑΖΟ** = incomprehensible III 49,24. IV [61,25].  
**ΤΩΖΜ** m. convocation IV 75,7.  
**ΤΩΖC** : **ΤΑΖC** = anoint III 44,23. IV 55,13.  
**ΤΑΧΡΟ** establish III 43,17; 54,21. IV [53,15]; 66,8; 75,12.  
**ΤΑΧΡΕ-** IV 59,4.  
**ΤΩΒΕ** : plant III 60,17.  
**ΤΟΒ** = IV [71,27].

**ΤΩΒΕ** m. plant III 60,16. steadfastness IV 79,14.

**ΟΥ** who? IV 79,11.

**ΟΥΑ** one, someone III 43,21; 56,24. IV 61,[7],7(bis).

**ΜΕΖΜΝΤΟΥΗΕ** eleventh III 58,20.

**ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ** each one III 58,[4],6. IV 57,24.

**ΤΟΥΕΙ ΤΟΥΕΙ** III 41,16; [57,13]. IV [51,6].

**ΟΥΩ** : **ΑΤΡΟΥΩ ΖΑΡΩ** = unanswerable IV 55,23.

**ΟΥΟΕΙΝ** m. light III 40,15.16.[16].17.[18].19; 41,1.2.[15]; 43,3.13.22; 49,2.8; 50,14; 51,3.16; 52,9.11.12.14.19.22.24.25; 53,[1].15; 55,5; 56,6.7.22.24; 57,13; 62,26; 63,21; 64,25; 65,12; 67,3.9.11; 68,26. IV 50,5.6.7.9.11(bis).12; [51,4]; 52,21; [53,10.21]; 55,11; [58,26]; 61,2.[9.10(bis)]; 62,12.[28]; 63,11; 75,10; [79,16].

**Ρ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ** shine III 49,8; 67,4. IV [79,16].

**ΨΒΡΟΥΟΕΙΝ** m. fellow-light III 69,13.

**ΟΥΝ-** it is III 61,5.

**ΟΥΝΤΕ-** have III [57,13].

**ΟΥΟΝ** someone IV [68,7].

**ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ** everyone III 66,26. IV 72,5; [79,10].

**ΟΥΝΟΥ** : **†ΝΟΥ** now III 65,26. IV 79,13. **ΤΕΝΟΥ** III 66,27.

**ΟΥΩΝΖ** reveal III 68,20. **ΟΥΟΝΖ†** IV 60,19.

**ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ** III 50,25; 51,10; 55,15; 56,26; 64,9. IV [55,25]; [58,8]; 60,13.18; 62,25; [66,30]; 71,31; 75,24.

**ΡΨΟΡΠ ΝΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ** IV 53,4; [54,22]; 56,12.[21]; 63,5.[27].

**ΑΤΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ** unrevealable III 41,3; 43,19. IV 57,14.

**ΟΥΟΠ** : **ΟΥΑΑΒ†** be holy III 49,3; 50,13; 51,3; 60,6; 63,14(bis).19.24; 65,25; 67,26; 68,21. IV [50,1]; 57,2; 61,4; 62,[11].27; [71,16.17]; [74,29]; 75,1.8.12.14; 76,13; [78,2]; 80,1.[13].

**ΟΥΩCQ** : **ΟΥΟCQ** = render motionless IV 75,19.

**ΟΥΩΤ** single III 55,8.

**ΟΥΩΤΕ** f. IV [59,11]; [66,21].

**ΟΥΩΤΒ** pass through III 63,4.

**ΟΥΑΤΒ† Ε-** surpass III 63,24; 65,25.

**ΟΥΟΕΙΨ** m. time III 62,19. IV 74,5.

**ΟΥΩΨ** m. will, love III 53,3; 57,26. IV 51,27.

**ΟΥΩΨΕ** III 59,11; 68,18. IV 74,12.

**ΟΥΩΗ** f. night III 51,5; 59,20. IV [62,29]; 71,5.

**ΟΥΩΖΜ** : **ΟΥΕΖΜ-** do again IV 74,29. **ΟΥΟΖΜ†** III [44,17].

**ΑΤΟΥΑΖΜ** = uninterpretable III 53,12.

**ΩΜC** m. baptism IV 75,13.

**ΩΝΖ ΖΑΤΗ** = live with III 67,25.

**ΩΝΖ ΖΑΤΟΟΤ** = IV 80,12.

**ΟΝΖ†** III 41,10; 44,15; 49,3; 50,15; 55,6; 62,4; 64,1.12.17; 65,14; 66,11. IV 50,28; 52,14; [54,23]; [58,25]; 59,21; 60,2.26; 61,3; 62,13; [66,18]; [72,19]; 73,15; 75,16.27; 76,6; 77,9; 78,13.

m. life III [42,8]; 53,8; 60,22; 61,9; 65,4.17; 67,21.22. IV 51,26; 65,1; 72,4; 76,9. 24; 77,14; 80,7.[10].

**ΩΠ** : **ΗΠ† Ε-** belong to III 61,7.

**ΗΠΕ** f. number III 54,22.24; 58,2; 60,11.

ΑΤ† ΗΠΕ without number IV 59,6.

ΑΤ† ΗΠΕ ΕΡΟ = IV 57,26; 66,12; [71,21].

ΩΦΤ nail III 64,3.

† ΕΙΦΤ IV 75,18.

ΩΖΕ : ΑΖΕΡΑΤ = attend to IV 75,25.

ΩΧΝ perish III 67,22.

Ψ- be able III 66,26; see : ΒΟΜ.

ΨΑ- for, until III 49,16; 61,3; 62, 21. IV 61,17; [62,28]; [72,11]; 74,6.

see : ΕΝΕΖ; ΕΧΗΤ; ΖΡΑΪ.

ΨΑ ΕΧΝ- rise on III 68,4. IV [80,18].

ΨΕ ΕΒΟΛ go forth III 58,6.

ΨΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε- go in III 65,4.

ΜΑΨΕ ΝΑ = imper. III 58,4.

ΨΕ hundred III 62,14; 68,11. IV 73,28.

ΨΙ m. amount III 60,11. IV [71,21].

ΨΟ thousand III 56,23; IV [68,6].

ΨΙΒΕ change III 67,2.

ΨΒΗΡ see : ΜΑΤΕ; ΟΥΟΕΙΝ.

ΨΩΛΖ : ΑΤ† ΨΩΛΖ ΕΡΟ = unmarked IV 50,16.

ΨΜΟΥΝ : ΜΕΖΨΜΟΥΝ eighth IV 70,3.

ΜΕΖΨΗ III 58,18.

ΨΟΜΝΤ three III 42,6; [43,16]; 44,18.22; 49,7.26; 53,23; 54,13; 60,26; 62,2.

ΨΟΜΤ IV 72,9.

ΨΟΜΤΕ f. III 41,8.24; 42,1.5; 43,4.5; 44,10.[18]; 63,5. IV 50,24; 51,16.17; 52,15. 25.26; [54,14]; 74,18.

ΨΜΤ- IV 51,23; [53,14]; 55, 3(bis).[11]; 56,6; 61,28; 65,17; 66,2; 67,8.

ΜΕΖΨΟΜΝΤ third III 52,12; 53,7; 56,21; 58,12; 65,19.

ΜΕΖΨΟΜΤ IV 64,20.[29]. ΜΕΖΨΟΜΕΤ IV 64,5; 68,4; 77,16.

ΜΕΖΨΟΜΤΕ f. III 42,21. IV 52, <15>.

ΜΝΤΨΟΜΤΕ thirteen III 63,18; 64,4. IV 75,6.18.

ΨΩΠ comprehend IV 79, <11>.

ΨΑΠ- p.c. receive III 50,11.

ΡΕΦΨΕΠ- ΕΡΟ = IV [62,9].

ΨΩΠΕ become, come into being III 49,10.12.20.22; 51,8; 57,18.22; [58,26]; 59,10.

23; 61,2.6.7.11.12.14.18. IV 61,[21].22; 63,2.22; [69,3]; 72,[10].14.[16.20].22.25; 79,15.

ΨΟΟΠ† be, exist III 51,24; 59,2; 60,23; 66,16.19.21; 67,18.19.26. IV 63,19; 78,16; 79,1; [80,4.9.14].

ΡΨΡΠ ΝΨΩΠΕ pre-exist III 63,22.

ΡΨΡΠ ΝΨΟΟΠ† IV 75,11.

ΨΗΡΕ m. son III 41,9.17; 42,4.22; 51,7.20; 55,10.17; 59,3; 65,20.22; 67,17; 68,26;

69,14. IV 50,26; [51,7.21]; 52,16; [56,24]; 58,4; 59,14; 60,7.8.[12]; 63,1.15; 66,23;

67,2; 77,18; 80,3.

ΨΟΡΠ : ΨΟΡΠ first III [58,7]. IV 51,22; [55,25]; 61,11; 64,2.[8.14].26.

ΨΟΡΠΕ f. III 42, <5>.

ΝΨΟΡΠ before III 50,9.17; 56,3; 63,6. IV [54,20]; 73,25.

see : ΕΙ; ΕΙΝΕ; ΣΟΟΥΝ; ΟΥΩΝΖ; ΨΩΠΕ; ΧΩ.

ΨΩΩΤ m. deficiency III 49,16. IV 61,18.

ΑΤΨΩΩΤ perfect III 66,23.

ΨΤΟΡΤΡ : ΨΤΡΤΡ m. disturbance IV 66,1.

ΨΑΧΕ m. word III 40,19; 43,3.21; 44,21; 49,22; 53,14; 60,20. IV 50,10; 51,25; 52,23; [53,20]; 55,10; 58,26; 60,[2].21; 61,[19].23; 62,17; 65,6; [66,17]; 71,15; 72,2; 74,26; 75,16.

ΑΤΨΑΧΕ ΜΜΟ = ineffable III 42,17. IV 50,15.23; 51,2; [52,10]; 54,2; 55,22; [56,2]; 60,9; 75,8; 78,5.

ϞΙ take III 60,15.

ϞΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ m. destruction IV 61,17.

ΑΤϞΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ imperishable IV 80,8.

ϞΤΟΟΥ four III 50,24; 51,17; 53,15; 54,23; 55,4; 62,25; 64,25. IV 60,20; 62,23; 63,12; [65, 8]; 66,[10].16; 68,3; [74,11]; 76,16.

ϞΤΟ f. III 56,9.18. IV 63,24.

ϞΤΟΥ- III 62,14. IV 73, 28.

ΜΕΖϞΤΟΟΥ fourth III 41,18; 52,14; 53,9; 56,20; 58,13; 65,20. IV [51,8]; 64,7.22; 65,2; 77,19. ΜΑΖϞΤΟΟΥ III 54,8.

ϞΑ- under IV 77,15.

ϞΑΡΙϞΑΡΟ = III 42,18.

ϞΑΕ m. end III 68,14.

pl. ϞΑΕΟΥ deficiencies IV 71,3.

ΑΤΡ ϞΑΕ perfect IV 79,6.

ϞΕ : ΝΘΕ as III 50,16; 55,11; 57,3; 62,11; 66,5. IV 62,15; [66,24].

Ν†ϞΕ thus IV [51,7]; 54,13; [56,23]; 63,[9].17; 65,2; [66,13].

ΝΤΕΙϞΕ III 41,17; [44,9]; 51,14.22; 53,10. ΝΤΕΙϞΕ III 55,2.

ϞΗ : ϞΕΒΩΩΝ famine III 61,11. IV 72,21.

ϞΙ- see : ΕΙ; ϞΖΑΪ; †.

ϞΙΗ f. way III 65,1.3. IV 76,20.

ϞΟ m. face III 57,3.

ΝΝΑϞΡΝ- before III 66,25.

ϞΩΩ = even III 49,21; [58,8]; IV 71, 29.

ϞΩΩΚ arm IV [79,14].

ϞΟΚ = IV 75,21.

ϞΑΛΟ : ΑΤϞΑΛΟ ageless III 41,4.

ϞΜΕ fourty III 53,11.

ΑΝϞΜΕ IV 65,4.

ϞΜΟΤ m. grace III 56,15; 61,6; 67,6. IV [64,2]; [67,28]; 72,17; 79,16.

ϞΝ- in III 41,21; 42,2; 43,[6].11.20.24; 44,1.16; 50,6.12; 51,24; 53, 3.20; 54,18.21; 55,7.8(bis); 56,12.21; 57,[4].23.26; 59,5.11; 60,5.17.20; 62,9.26; 63,12; 64,7.8; 65,18.22.24; 66,3.20.27; 67,3.8.9.11.18.20.23(bis).25; 68,3.11.12.14.15.23; 69,4.11(bis).13. IV 50,8(bis).10; 51,[13].19; 53,2.14.19.[25.27]; 54,23; 56,15; 57,21; [58,15.22.24]; 59,10.11.[11].21; 60,3.21.25.[27]; 61,21; 62,5; 63,19.[24]; 64,24; 66,[9.20].21.22; 67,31; 68,3; 71,[15.28].28; 72,2; 73,15; 74,[11.13].27; 75,11.16.22.23; 77,6.10.17; 78,11.15.[18]; 79,1.[11.15].25; 80,4.[7].7.9.10.12.[14]; 81,1.

ΕΒΟΛ ϞΝ- from III 40,15; 41,2.8.9.10.[11].13.23; 42,3; 43,1.7.8.14.23; 49,[1].9.11; 51,7; 56,4.9; 57,12; [58,6]; 59,23; 60,16; [61,9]; 62,13. IV 50,[5].27; 51,1.19;

- 52,20; [53,1.11.22.24]; 59,2.[2].17; 60,10.18.[30]; [68,30]; 71,4.[26]; 72,9; 73,27; 74,17.  
 19. ΝΖΡΑΙ ΖΝ- III [43,17]; 54,15.22; 55,4; 56,20; 57,15. IV 53,7.16.18; 65,[15].  
 23; 66,16; 73,20.
- ΖΟΥΝ : ΕΖΟΥΝ ε- to III 49,11; 50,11; 65,4; 67,12.20. IV 76,23.
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