NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

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INTRODUCTION TO CODEX XI


I. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

Codex XI was part of one of the groups of codices acquired by the antiquities dealer Phocion J. Tano during 1946-48. It was put in safekeeping at the Department of Antiquities in 1949, transferred to the Coptic Museum on 9 June 1952, declared national property by court action in 1956, and given the inventory number 10547 in 1959. It had been numbered IV by Jean Doresse and Togo Mina in 1949, VI by Henri-Charles Puech in 1950, VIII by Doresse in 1958 and XI by Martin Krause in 1962 and James M. Robinson in 1968 (Robinson, “Introduction,” and Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, pp. VI-VII). In May and June 1961 it was conserved in 80 plexiglass containers by Victor Girgis in consultation with Pahor Labib and Martin Krause. It was photographed in part by R. Herzog for Krause at that time and again by photographers of the Center of Documentation for UNESCO in 1965. Under the supervision of the Technical Sub-Committee of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices of the Arab Republic of Egypt and UNESCO, fragments were placed and photographs made at its four work sessions during 1970-72 and at the work sessions funded by the Smithsonian Institution through the sponsorship of the American Research Center in Egypt in 1974-75.

Codex XI is one of the most poorly preserved among the Nag Hammadi Codices. Except for three leaves (59/60, 61/62, 63/64), which are reconstructed from two to four fragments apiece, no relatively complete leaves survive. In most cases, only the lower fourth to three-fourths survive intact, which means that the page numeration to be expected at the top of the pages is lacking, except for one fragment from a first hand having page numbers 19-20 at the center of the top margin. The pages written in a second hand
bear no evidence of numeration in this position. The numeration by
the second hand, not now extant, is assumed to have been at the
outside top corner, since the same scribe wrote Codex VII and put
the numeration in this position in that codex. Several leaves are
represented only by fragments whose exact position is sometimes
difficult to identify with certainty. The maximum surviving
dimensions of the leaves are 28.2 cm. in height, and 14.5 cm. in
width (pp. 61/62).

Codex XI consists of two scribal hands; a first scribe, who wrote
in Subachmimic (1–44), also penned the second hand of Codex I
(4:43,25–50,18 Treat. Res.); a second scribe, who wrote in Sahidic
(45–72), also penned Codex VII (Krause, “Zum koptischen
Handschriftenfund,” 111). This division of Codex XI into two
scribal hands allowed an initial sorting of pages and fragments into
the two parts of the codex. As early as 1949, transparent tape had
been applied to hold together the two conjugate leaves of a given
sheet. Because the tape remained until 1974, even though the sheets
had been cut in two at the spine, the following leaves from the first
half of the codex could be correlated with their conjugate leaves in
the second half to reconstruct most of the sheets in the codex (listed
here in terms of the side with horizontal fibers): 8 + 63, 10 + 61,
12 + 59, 14 + 57, 20 + 53, 22 + 51, 24 + 49, 26 + 47, and 32 +
41. The proper correlation of the intervening sheets can then be
established with relative probability on the basis of horizontal fibers
across the two conjugate leaves of the sheet and the congruence of
the leaves’ contour with that of the preceding and succeeding leaves:
18 + 55, 28 + 45, 30 + 43, 34 + 39, and 36 + 37. Pages 56 and 57
were separated by a stub, now lost. This makes it possible to
identify the codex as consisting of a single quire with its center at
36–37.

When in 1961 the individual leaves were conserved at the Coptic
Museum between plexiglass panes in the sequence in which they
were found, these containers were numbered seriatim. Thus a rela-
tive sequence was preserved. The plexiglass numeration can be
correlated to the original pagination as follows: plexiglass con-
tainers 1–18, 21–64 contained pages 7–68. The plexiglass container
numbered 19–20 was used for fragments of hand one, perhaps in
recognition that the page numbers 19–20 survived on a fragment.
The front flyleaf A–B and pages 1–6, 69–72 were too fragmentary
to have been kept in order or put in distinct plexiglass containers. Hence they had to be reassembled in order to complete the reconstruction of the codex.

The following summary of the codex reconstruction includes only physical considerations, which can be recognized by consultation with the Facsimile Edition: XI, XII, XIII; "inner" or "inside" refers to proximity to the spine of the codex. Support for the reconstruction is provided by the transcription and translation; even when fragments are too distant for continuity of text to be established, the content of the fragment fits well the context in the tractate.

Two fragments of the front flyleaf are initially identifiable from the absence of writing on the recto; the color and the texture of the vertical fibers also match. The larger fragment (actually consisting of two fragments that join) is, on its verso, covered with ink blots which migrated from a large fragment with a bottom margin, which thus is identified as leaf 1/2; this identification also indicates the position of the larger fragment of the flyleaf. A smaller fragment of the flyleaf has on its verso a few letters of the title of the first tractate, "The Interpretation of Knowledge" (cf. a similar phenomenon in Codex III); its position higher on the leaf is determined by the congruence of its inner edges with the upper fragment of leaf 1/2.

The location of the fragments comprising leaves 3/4, 5/6 and 7/8 can be determined by working backwards from leaf 9/10, the lower half of which is fairly well preserved, thus serving to position the fragments of the preceding leaves when superimposed on it.

The inner margin of 9/10 and of the large fragment of 7/8 (actually two fragments that join) are congruent. With regard to the small fragment of 7/8, its edges as well as those of the corresponding fragment on 9/10 are generally congruent with the corresponding edges on 13/14; its color, texture and vertical fibers match those of the lower part of 7/8.

The three fragments of 5/6 are placed by approximate congruence with 9/10 and the continuity of color, texture and fibers among themselves. The bottom corners of the lower inside fragments on 5/6 and 7/8 are congruent, as are portions along their inner edges. The lower inside fragment of 5/6 actually consists of two fragments that join.
The large outside fragment of 3/4 (including a small thin fragment that joins its lower inner side) can be placed in precise congruence with that of 5/6. The upper inside fragment of 3/4 (published in the addenda et corrigenda in Facsimile Edition: Introduction) is placed by the approximate congruency of its upper contour with that of the upper outside contour of the upper fragment of 5/6 and by the congruency of a portion of its outer center edge with the inner edge of the upper enclosed hole in the upper fragment of 1/2.

The outer edge of the upper inside portion of the upper fragment of 1/2 (consisting of two fragments that join) is approximately congruent with the outer edge of the upper outside portion of the upper fragment of 5/6. The lower fragment of 1/2 and of the front flyleaf are congruent with the upper inner fragment of 3/4 at all but its outer edge, thus completing the reconstruction of the leaves between the front flyleaf and the first relatively complete leaf 9/10.

The sequence of the leaves 3/4, 5/6, and 7/8 is confirmed by the continuity of color, texture, and horizontal fibers with the respective conjugate leaves in the second half of the codex: 68/67, 66/65, and 64/63. The restoration of 69/70 and 71/72 is based in part upon the congruence of their fragments with 67/68 and with each other, in part upon continuity of color, texture, and horizontal fibers with 1/2 and the front flyleaf A/B respectively.

Once the leaves comprising the codex have been thus determined and the sequence of leaves that join into sheets reconstructed, continuity of horizontal fibers from one sheet to the next make it possible even to reconstruct to some extent the rolls from which the sheets were cut. Apparently the stationer cut from left to right two rolls whose horizontal fibers faced up, stacking each sheet successively on the others as he progressed, then he rotated the stack of sheets 180°, since the kolleseis present the unusual situation of the right kollema overlapping the left kollema. The end of the first roll was not long enough to produce a complete sheet. But such a piece could still be used if it extended through the center, where the quire was to be folded, far enough to provide the inner margin of the conjugate leaf. Such a stub, extant in the cases of Codices VII and VIII, may be conjectured to have lain between 55/56 and 57/58. For they joined to 17/18 and 13/14 respectively, thus leaving for 15/16 no surviving conjugate. Since a stain on 56 matches
one on 57, a full leaf could not have intervened. Furthermore the loss of an uninscribed stub is more probable than the loss of an inscribed leaf. After being cut and hypothetically rotated by 180°, the first roll can be reconstructed from left to right as follows, with leaves designated in terms of the codex pagination on the horizontal side; a hyphen (−) connects the two conjugate leaves of a sheet and a slash (/) connects two adjoining sheets, replaced by a question mark (?) when fiber continuity is not ascertainable: 71–front flyleaf B?69–2?67–4/65–6?63–8/61–10/59–12/57–14/stub (protruding between 56 and 57, now lost)–16.


The leaves from 9/10 to 67/68 are sufficiently intact, at least toward the bottom, that their relative sequence had been conserved and thus their original pagination could be determined. However, numerous fragments have been added to them, in connection with the preparation of this edition and under the auspices of the Technical Subcommittee of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices.

There remain thirty-one unidentified inscribed fragments of hand one: from pl. 79–80 of the Facsimile Edition: XI, XII, XIII numbers 1, 8–10, 14–16/21, 19, 23, 25–26, 28–29 and 31–35; to these have been added thirteen inscribed fragments as numbers 36–48 (see Facsimile Edition: Introduction, 127–28). There are seven unidentified inscribed fragments of hand two, numbered 1–4, 7–9, reproduced on pl. 81–82 of the Facsimile Edition: XI, XII, XIII. Fragment 5 is uninscribed. The larger of these fragments are transcribed at the conclusion of Codex XI below: fragments 1, 8–10, 15–16/21, 19, 23, 25–26, 28, 31 of hand one and 1, 2, and 4 of hand two. Fragments 1 and 4 of hand two may belong to 69/70 or 71/72; fragment 2 of hand two may belong to 55/56.

II. THE SCRIBAL HANDS

One scribe (hand one), writing in Subachmimic, copied the first two tractates on XI,1–44; he also penned Treat. Res. I,4:43,25–50,18. Another scribe (hand two) copied the last two tractates on
XI, 45–72; he also was the scribe of Codex VII (Krause, “Zum koptischen Handschriftenfund,” 111). Codices I, VII, and XI must have been produced roughly contemporaneously and perhaps in geographical proximity to one another. From inscribed cartonnage in the cover of Codex VII a terminus a quo of around 350 C.E. and a location in the region of Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt have been established (cf. the Facsimile Edition: Introduction). For a description of the leather cover of Codex XI see the Preface to the Facsimile Edition: XI, XII, XIII, p. ix and pl. 1–4.

A. Hand One

The script of hand one is a formal mixed hand of a sloping kind (see E. G. Turner, Greek Manuscripts, 26 and pl. 49). It averages 19 to 25 letters per line, though the fluctuation becomes less pronounced toward the end of tractate two; at the end of a line ε, ι, c, and λ are often elongated, but no real effort is made by the scribe to produce a regular right margin. The scribe averages about 38 lines per page. This count has been established by comparison with the only complete pages that survive (59–64), which are from the second hand. The figure is calculated by comparing the average line density of the two scribes in a proportionate ratio for each page, since some are more dense than others, and some pages have one or two more lines than others. Thus, the line numeration of the transcription for the fragmentary pages is at best a careful estimate of the line count of the original pages.

The left margins are quite straight and even, with a slight tendency to slant towards the left as one goes down the page; the right margins are uneven, with some lines extending as many as five letters beyond the end of other lines.

Punctuation is rare, and when it occurs, it is only the raised dot, which sometimes marks a sense unit, and sometimes indicates the end of a closed syllable. One may also find a diaeresis at 5, 16. To mark the end of a tractate, hand one completes the last line with a diple obelismene (>—<); in the left margin a coronis (冶) occurs with a series of chevrons above and below in the margin (see the bottom of pp. 21 and 39). In the liturgical supplements to tractate two, both of these paragraphing devices are used (see the bottom of pp. 41 and 44, and perhaps at 43, 20), though a simple linear para-
graphus may at times have sufficed (this may have been the case after 40,29), or even no decoration (cf. the bottom of 43). These brief units following the second tractate (i.e., 40–44) have not been numbered as separate tractates in previous scholarship, and hence are not so classified in this edition; they are called supplements, in view of some affinity in point of view with tractate two, but a precise assessment of their degree of autonomy or dependence awaits further study. The only title that occurs in Codex XI (21,35) has horizontal lines above and below it.

The most striking feature of hand one is the use of the form † for Ψ. The supralinear stroke is, for the most part, used fairly consistently. When it occurs over a single letter it is rather well-centered, not running off to the right of the letter; one should note the unusual and inconsistent stroking of the third masculine singular pronoun q. Strokes bridging two letters to form a closed syllable are carefully formed and extend from the left edge of the left letter to the right edge of the second, e.g., MN, 2N, AQ (construct of eipe), THpq, etc. Strokes bridging three letters appear to be hastily formed, but in the main extend from the center of the first letter to the center of the third, (though one finds ΩPΝΕΩΤ, ΗC, ΗC, etc.). Unlike hand two, the first hand employs no serifs on letters for purposes of syllable demarcation.

The scribe usually makes corrections by a combination of dots above and below the letter to be emended (cf. 19,24); occasionally he employs only supralinear dots (cf. 12,28); rarely does he simply cross out a mistaken letter (cf. 4,28) or make an erasure (cf. 33,34). In each case, corrections appear to be those of the scribe himself. Infrequently one also observes the scribe inserting omitted letters by writing them directly above the line at the point they were intended to occupy. For further examples of corrections see the footnotes to the text.

Three times the scribe left one-third to one-half of a given line blank (6,30; 14,27; 19,15). Since the papyrus at these points seems to be in good condition, and no sense-unit is demarcated thereby, these blanks remain unexplained.

B. Hand Two

The script of hand two is a formal round majuscule, more rounded than the biblical majuscule. It averages 18 to 20 letters per
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The language of Codex XI consists of three separate dialectal types. XI,1 and 2, produced by the same scribal hand, are written in a subdialect of Subachmimic which seems to be typical of the region around Lycopolis. XI,3, produced by the second scribal hand in the codex, is written in a Sahidic dialect which betrays many features of a syntax typical of Bohairic. XI,4, written also by hand two, exhibits a standard Sahidic dialect, but is too brief and frag-
mentary to enable any survey of its linguistic features. In the following description, one may consult the Coptic index for the location of words whose references are not cited.

A. The Language of XI,1 and 2

The following analysis will confine itself to major features and peculiarities only. Comparison indicates that the linguistic features of XI,1 and 2 are so similar that one may assume that they were translated from the Greek by the same translator, and can therefore be treated both together as a single linguistic product.

1. Dialect

The dialect of these two treatises is a highly neutralized Upper Egyptian dialect for which the name “Lycopolitan” has been proposed; it is very close to the dialect of the Subachmimic Gospel of John edited by H. Thompson, the Heidelberg Acts of Paul edited by C. Schmidt, and the first three tractates of the Jung Codex (NHC I,1-3). Assuming that the orthography of XI,1 and 2 is a reliable guide to the phonology of their dialect, the following inventory of the lexical stock of these treatises, with the Sahidic equivalent indicated in parentheses, will illustrate the distinctiveness of this dialect.

Word-initial (e) before e: e1rene- (εωξε-); word-final atomic syllable, kekei (κακε), labi (λιβε), nabe(e)i (νοβε), penei (πενε), xaci (ξοσε).

Word-final oy after spirants: ybcoby, zycoby (ζβκω), xoy (ξοω).

Word-final ey after y: imey (ιμαγ), meey (μαγ, “mother”), cnemey (κναγ).

Word-final atomic syllable: kwe (κω) and after 'aleph, 'ayin and semi-consonants: lage (λαγγ), h2abe (μας), cayne (κογγ), oglei (ογοι), ogaleine (ογοειν), xekace (ξεκας).

Doubling of vowels: cwwnt (cωντ), caant- (καντ-), lwnt (λωντ), zeei (ζαι), xaant (ξαντ).

Assimilation of vowels: bebe (βεβε), etbnt- (ετβαντ-), meye (μεεγε), cepe (κεπε).

Word-final ei(e) after a vowel: oei (ο, “be”), maeie (με,

αγ for 0ογ: in open syllable: εαγ (εοογ), καγε (κοογε), ηνηναγ (ηνοογ), 2αγ (2οογ, “evil”); in closed syllable: ιαγτ (ιοογ).

Other typical Subachmimic-like forms include: 2αβαλ (εβολ), εμα2τε (αμα2τε), αρα- (εφο-), ανη2ε (ενε2), με (με, “truth”), ιμε (ιμε), 2αζε (μοοωε), νεγ (ναγ, “see”), πνηγ- (πεγ-, possessive adjective), τεει- (ταα-, “give”), τεκο (τακο), τε2ο (τα2ο), and ουριτε (ουριτε).

2. Orthography

The orthography of XI, 2 and 2 is very consistent. Irregularities include: (a) itacism, mainly in εισωτ/ίσωτ and in the juncture of the relative particle ετ with infinitives beginning with ει, e.g., ιετειε in 9,32 and ετειε in 19,30; (b) occasional departure from the internal juncture of ε + ογ to form εγ (εγντεογ- in 21,27; νεογντεογ in 22,35; cf. τεγο in 19,30) and of α + ογ to form αγ (μαογ, “water” in 4,31); and (c) inconsistent internal juncture of τ + 2 to form θ and of π + 2 to form φ.

3. Phonology

The Greek postpositives γαρ, δέ, and μέν are mostly nasalized, ιμεν always, while ιναπ and ιναε predominate over γαρ and ιαε. The spiritus asper on Graeco-Coptic words is mostly rendered by ι (cf. 2ικων alongside εδον 21,30), although once by ιω in ιειρικω (i.e., τυειρικω for η ιείρικω; cf. also ιε for Greek χι in χειρογραφον apparently for χειρόγραφον in 14,21 [although it may represent τυειρογραφον erroneously for ιερόγραφον]). Bilabials appear to have had a slight fricative quality either before another consonant or in word–final position, as in ωυς (for ωςβ, 23,25); 2ως (for 2ωςβ, 1,33; 11,33; 18,18; and 35,16); υειε (for υειε, s.v. υειε, 18,16; 39,38.39); υειογ (for υειογ, 11,38); 6ωκς (for 6ωκς, 16,20); and even in 2ωτς (for 2ωττι, 17,30; 18,37). Mutatis mutandis 2 also becomes β, as in <ετ>νογε (for <2ετ>νογε, 25,39); ογαλλ (for ογαλλ, 25,36; 40,23.24); βιτ (for ιιετ, 10,34); and finally ουντες (for ουντες, 14,24; 22,35). η is apparently doubled in ηινεί (for ιινεί, “descent,” 26,25). ι is assimilated to λ in βλαλλ (for βλαλλ,
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9,16; 42,41), and M to N in ὑμτὐες (for ὑμτὐες, 23,27; 30,36). In general, the assimilation of N to M before N is very inconsistent. Finally, x becomes 6 in δόξατ (an unattested qualitative for δόξατ, 2,25).

4. Morphology

Among unusual forms one finds the feminine singular nomen agentis prefix ps- (usually ps-; 26,32.33,[34]; 27,30.31.32.32.36.37) and the unusual plural form of γραφαί, γραφαγείε (28,32 for γραφαί, 26,27 for γραφαί). A transitive form of λο, “cease,” is apparently attested in the form λοτ- (“to stop,” 34,12.17.22).

The system of conjugation bases in XI,1 and 2 is as follows: First Present: q-, qa- (pret. neq-, nepe-; circ. eq-, epe-; rel. etq-). First Future: qna-, qa- (pret. neqa-; irrealis eneqa-; rel. etna-, etqa-). First Perfect: affirmative q-, q-, qa-, q2a-, qa- (perhaps q2a- is the affirmative counterpart to the “not yet” conjugation base; circ. eqa-; rel. Ntaq-, Nta-, Ntacq-, Ntcq-, Ntaq2-, etaq2-); negative ππq-, ππe-. Habitude: affirmative ώαρογ-, ώαρε- (circ. and rel. ewag-, ewapog-, ewape-); negative mape-. Third Future: affirmative (none; the Second Future is used in final clauses); negative Nney-. “Not Yet”: (circ. emπατq). Second Present: eq-, epe-. Second Future: eqna-, eqa-, epe...na-. Second Perfect: Ntaq-, Ntcq2-. Second Habitude: apparently none. Temporalis: Ntaq-, Ntcq-. Conditionalis: ewaman-, epeωα(n)-. “Until”: ωαντε-. Causative Infinitive: affirmative τρq-, τρε-; negative (none). Imperative: affirmative επι- (of επε); causative ἅπαν-; negative Νπωρ λ-., Νπωρ-, Νπρ-, Νη-.

5. Lexicography

The following items are unattested in Crum’s A Coptic Dictionary: An apparent feminine collective ἄβω, “nets,” 6,29, of ἄβω, “net.” An apparent transitive use of λο, “cease,” in the pronominal form λοτ-, 34,12.17.22, perhaps meaning “to stop.” The feminine nomen agentis prefix ps- (26,32.33.[34]; 27,30.31.32.32.[36].37) occurs alongside the usual psq- A possible instance of a noun ω, “garden,” depending on the state of the text (see note to 36,33–34). The feminine abstract ωρτε, 6,28, perhaps meaning “portion,”

6. Syntax

In the absence of a systematic analysis, there are still some syntactic features that deserve notice. Infinitives are used as substantives with (cf. 36,16) and without (cf. 36,34) the article. The Conjunctive is used to continue Imperatives, Futures, complementary infinitives, the “Until” conjugation, and after the phrase πωκ εν πε, “it is not your affair that you should...” (cf. 10,18). Final clauses consist of three general types: usually σκακε with the Second Future; τωε with the Causative Infinitive (cf. 30,32,36) and τωκτε with the Conjunctive (cf. 38,36–37). Construction involving ωε, “it is fitting that...,” ογακαίον πε, “it is necessary that...,” and (ω)δηναμ, μνηναμ introduce their complements in the form of complementary infinitives, either simple or causative. Real conditions are introduced either with a Conditionalis in the protasis (the apodosis may contain a First Present, First or Second Future, or the Habitude), or by ειςπε with the First Present in the protasis and any basic tense in the apodosis. ειςπε is also used in the rhetorical question: ΜΗ ΕΝΕ ειςπε <ξεναφει, “would we not recognize...” (i.e., “surely we would recognize...,” 26,35).

B. The Language of XI,3.

1. Dialectal Affinities.

Just as Allogenes bears a striking similarity to Three Steles of Seth (VII,5) and to Zostrianos (VIII,1) in metaphysical nomenclature and in the depiction of ontological structures, so also the language of these tractates is strikingly similar. While the orthography, phonology and most of the morphology of these three documents is standard Sahidic with some slight traces of Subachmimic
features, their syntax has strong affinities with Bohairic. This sug­
gests that these tractates were translated from Greek near the
northern border of the Sahidic dialectal domain. Some form of
Allogenes and Zostrianos probably in Greek dress, was known to
Plotinus’ circle in Rome in the period 244–265 C.E. (Porph. Vit.
Plot. 16). The present version of Allogenes was written by the same
hand as that of Codex VII; dated documents in the cartonnage of
that codex yield a terminus a quo of circa 350 C.E., which agrees
with the date of the uncial hand in which these tractates were
written. These observations suggest that these tractates may witness
either to (a) an early form of Bohairic whose orthography is much
like that of Sahidic, or (b) a Sahidic translation of a Bohairic text,
or (c) perhaps a Coptic dialect underlying the later standard ex­
pression of these two dialects.

The following brief profile of the language of Allogenes will
concentrate mostly on its inconsistencies and distinctiveness com­
pared with standard Sahidic.

2. Orthography

The most inconsistent feature of Allogenes is itacism, the fre­
quent interchange of e1 and i in such forms as e1me and e1ne and
in constructions involving the first-person singular pronouns. In
Graeco-Coptic words such as e1nepre1, pe1pa1e1w and te1le1wos, the
spelling with i is preferred to e1. All Graeco-Coptic infinitives in
-e1w are rendered with final i except one instance (51,29) of
e1nepre1 and all instances of noe1. Internal juncture of τ + 2 to
form θ occurs in 2aθh and θe1e; similar juncture of τ + 2 to
form φ is not witnessed. The spiritus asper of Graeco-Coptic words
(including 21KWN for el«êv) is represented by 2, although there is
some variation in the name 2ap1h1cn (54,12; cf. 2ap1h1cn, 58,17). Abbreviation occurs twice: φ 200γτ (45,37) for <9MN"l'-
200γτ, used elsewhere, and MN"l'XC (58,11) for MN"l'XfHCTOC,
“auspiciousness.”

3. Phonology

Irregularities are probably due to dialectal influence except for
the following: 21me1c (53,12) for ω1νεν (“submerge”); the frequent
doubling of the genitive preposition 薷 and of the negative pre­
formative 薷—... an before the singular indefinite article; the erratic
variation of \( \text{ne}^- \) and \( \text{ne}^- \) for the negative Third Future conjugation base; and the variation of \( \text{mn}^- \) ("not be": 53,21; 58,32; 62,10; 63,13,39; 64,27) with \( \text{mn}^- \) (47,35; 59,16; 65,35). \( n \) is consistently assimilated to \( m \) before \( n \). Irregularities caused by (mostly Subachmimic) dialectal influences include: variation between \( \delta \alpha \text{om} \) (\( \text{S} \)) and \( \delta \text{am} \) (\( \text{AA}^2 \)). The singular instances of \( \text{oi} \alpha \text{et}- \) ("alone, self," 67,36 for \( \text{A}^2 \text{oi} \alpha \text{et}- \)), elsewhere \( \text{oi} \alpha \text{eT}- \), and of \( \text{AA}^2 \text{ma} \text{e}^2- \) (ordinal prefix, 48,38), elsewhere \( \text{me}^2- \). The AF qualitative \( e \) of \( \text{eipe} \) is almost always used, except for two instances of \( S \), \( O \), 45,38; 47,10. The consistent use of \( \text{ne}^e- \) ("be great") for \( \text{na}^e^- \) is also a Subachmimicism. Finally, the consistent use of \( \text{eun} \) for \( \text{aiw} \) does not seem to be due to dialectal influence.

4. Morphology

Most striking is the system of demonstratives. There is a distinct preference for \( \text{ni} \), \( \text{th} \), \( \text{nh} \) (as in Bohairic), especially in relative substantives, (e.g., \( \text{ni} \text{et(e)} \)), but \( \pi \text{et}^- \) occurs only in \( \pi \text{et} \text{woon} \), 49,27,35; 54,32), while \( \text{na} \text{i}, \text{tai}, \text{nai} \) is much less frequent. The semantic distinction, if any, between these forms is not so much the deictic one of distance ("that") versus proximity ("this") as it is an "affective" distinction (e.g., \( \text{ni} \text{et} \text{woon} \) "that (awesome) one who is"; cf. Polotsky's review of Till, *Koptische Grammatik, OLZ 52*(1957) cols. 229-30). The same distinction seems to play a role in the preference for the \( \text{ni}^- \), \( \text{ni}^- \) form of the definite article (usually prefixed to the names of hypostases) to the forms \( \pi \text{e}^- \), \( \text{te}^- \), \( \pi \text{e}^- \). The possessive adjective is as in standard Sahidic, except for the Bohairicizing possessive construction \( \text{te} \text{te} \text{te} \text{nc} \), 46,12, and in the frequent use of the genitive in possessive constructions with \( \text{ni}^- \), \( \text{ni}^- \) + \text{noun} + \text{nta}^- \). The possessive prefix occurs only once, 60,26, and is elsewhere rendered by \( \text{nh} \text{nta}^- \). A final form of interest is the BF qualitative \( \text{bbhoy}^t \), 57,23.

*Allogenes* employs the following system of conjugation bases: First Present: \( \text{q}^- \) (pret. \( \text{neq}^- \), \( \text{nepe}^- \); circ. \( \text{eq}^- \); rel. \( \text{ete} \), \( \text{et}^- \), \( \text{etq}^- \)). First Future: \( \text{qna}^- \) (pret. \( \text{neqna}^- \); rel. \( \text{etna}^- \)). First Perfect: affirmative \( \text{aq}^- \), \( \text{a}^- \) (circ. \( \text{ea}q^- \); rel. \( \text{etaq}^- \)); negative \( \text{neq}^- \) (circ. \( \text{empeq}^- \)). Habitude: affirmative \( \text{wa}q^- \) (circ. and rel. \( \text{ewa}q^- \)); negative \( \text{me}q^- \), \( \text{ma}q^- \), \( \text{mer}^- \) (circ. \( \text{emeq}^- \); rel. \( \text{ete} \text{meq}^- \) [\( \text{ma}q^- \)]). Third Future: affirmative \( \text{eqe}^- \) (rel. \( \text{eteqe}^- \),
48, 18); negative ṄNEQ-, NEQ-. Second Present: eq- (rel. eteq-).
Second Habitude: ewaq- (negatived in 62,13 as ṇNEWaq...AN).
“Not Yet”: (circ. empatq-). Conjunctive: ṇq-. Future Conjunctive:
no instances. Temporalis: ṇTepaq-, ṇTaepaq-, etaq-, ṇTa- (for
ṇTaq<pe>q-?; see textual note on 45,22-24). “Until”: no instances.
Conditionalis: eqwaη- (mostly with eqwne). Causative Infin­
tive: no instances. Imperative forms: negative ṇIp, and special
forms apro- (from eipe), emoy (68,23 for amoy, “come”), enay
(59,10, unattested from NAY, “see”), and moxe nak (67,24, at­
tested in Crum 544b as ma- yε na-, perhaps here harmonized
with moxe).

5. Lexicography

Allogenes witnesses to an unattested infinitive ωωξξω, ωακκω,  
ωακκω, ατωακκω (62,7.26.27; 63,25.26.27; 67,32), whose
meaning, “to diminish,” can be established from context. Because
of the use of the “affective” article mp- in moyato (“crowd,”
50,[2].32), the form listed s.v. ato in Crum 19a should be listed
s.v. oyato, since this text shows that the initial oy- is not the
indefinite article or the suffix pronoun of a possessive adjective.
Allogenes also offers some peculiar locutions: the neologism
ΤΝΟΗΤΗΣ, 49,30.34, as an abstract substantive “mentality” instead
of the expected NOOTHS; the locutions ΝΙΠΘΡΗ, “the universals,”
59,3; 62,20, also found in Zostrianos and in the Bruce Codex; and
ΝΙΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΑ, passim, “the individuals.”

6. Syntax

There are numerous features reminiscent of Bohairic syntax,
especially in the combinations of demonstratives with relatives: the
possessive forms τετε τως ῥηγαρξις, 46,12, and πη ετητηq
αγω πη αν ετητηq, “his attribute(s) and non-attribute(s),”
63,20–21, and the relative substantive locutions πη ετ- and παι
ετ-. The preference for the “affective” form of the article (πη-, τ-,  
νη-) necessitates frequent use of the genitive preposition plus
relative (ετητηq-) to indicate possession (e.g., τηνηρια ετητηq,
54,13, instead of τηκηνηρια). Most intriguing are the Coptic
translations of technical terms from Greek metaphysics, e.g.,
πετωοοπ and πη ετε παι πε for τδ δη; πετωοοπ οντως,
INTRODUCTION TO CODEX XI

Greek nouns with the genitive -α are often used for the corresponding Greek adjectives: "ανονομία for "ανονομία, "απαραρενίκος for "απαραρενίκος, etc.; yet one finds also "αγάπη "αμερικόν (sic. 51,24-25). "αγαπή, ("α)μνήμον, and "αμήνα take complements with the prepositions ε- or ἐ- plus the infinitive, and once with the bare infinitive ("αμήνα πιστεύει, 59,8). The protasis of conditional clauses is usually επιστάμε ευθανα-, while an affirmative or negative Habituate or even a Second Present introduces the apodosis.

This inventory of striking grammatical features peculiar to Allogenes could be greatly extended. They deserve full treatment in a separate monograph, primarily because their elucidation is crucial to the understanding of this document with its later Platonic metaphysical terminology.

IV. TITLES AND SUBDIVISIONS

Since the titles of the tractates are discussed in their respective introductions, it is sufficient here only to point out that there are subscript titles for the first (Interpretation of Knowledge) and third (Allogenes) tractates, a superscript title for the fourth (Hypsiphrone), and apparently no title for the second (A Valentinian Exposition).

As the subscript title of Allogenes and the superscript title of Hypsiphrone follow one another (69,20 and 21), Doresse took the superscript title to Hypsiphrone as part of the subscript title to Allogenes. Since all that is visible is "ψιθήριον, which could be read "ψιθήριον τος, Doresse named Allogenes "The Supreme Allogenes ("αλλογενῆς ὑψιστός)" see Secret Books, 144, 157-58. The appearance of the name "Allogenes" in the explicit (69,19) just before the title makes it clear that the first line of the title (69,20, "The Allogenes") is the subscript title to the preceding tractate. But "supreme" ("ψιθήριον) does not occur in the extant parts of the preceding tractate, nor in Porphyry's list of gnostic apocalypses (Vit. Plot. 16). Porphyry included in his list, just after Allogenes,
one named Messos. Doresse, noting a reference to Messos (XI, 68,28), assumed both works to be in Codex XI, and hence placed the fragment with the conclusion of Allogenes and the commencement of the last tractate somewhere prior to 67/68, rather than in its correct position on the leaf immediately following 67/68, thus bringing the reference to Messos into the last tractate, which he identified as the Apocalypse of Messos. The result is that Hypsiphrone was completely overlooked. However, the fact that “Hypsiphrone” is the title of the fourth tractate is confirmed by the reappearance of that name in 69,22–72,37 (69,23; 70,22; 72,21), and its absence in the extant parts of 45,1–69,19, as well as by the fact that Hypsiphrone, written in standard Sahidic, shows no traces of the very distinctive dialect of Allogenes.

The situation is more complex in the case of the second tractate A Valentinian Exposition, since there are no extant titles, but only a series of decorations, usually found between tractates, on pp. 39–44 (see section II above). Although the leaves were still in correct sequence, Doresse apparently took the subscript title to XI,1 (21,35) to come after p. 44 at the conclusion of hand one. Once one has recognized its position to be on p. 21, a second tractate by hand one, unrecognized by Doresse, becomes evident. The tractate itself (22,1–39,39) narrates a Valentinian cosmogony, the fall and redemption of Sophia, and the restoration of the psychic seed by separating (as Demiurge) their passions derived from Sophia. The tractate ends with the eschatological vision of the reunification within the Pleroma. It is followed by five untitled supplements, each no more than two pages in length, and separated from one another usually by the diple obelismene (>-) that elsewhere separates tractates. The tractate A Valentinian Exposition and these five supplements may be meaningfully related. One may understand the long exposition of XI,2 as catechism preceding XI,2a–e, which are short liturgical expositions of the Valentinian redemptive sacraments of anointing, baptism and eucharist.

The first tractate (Interpretation of Knowledge) not only has an obvious subscript title (21,35); it probably had also a “superscript” title, not written above the incipit on p. 1, but rather on the upper part of the verso of the front flyleaf B (as in Codex III), approximately where lines 10 and 11 would have appeared had the verso of the front flyleaf been a fully inscribed page. Since the letters are
very faint, and only five of them are visible, their reconstruction is uncertain. The transcription is as follows:

\[
\text{έρ[MHNIA]}
\]
\[\text{ΝΤ}[NOCIC]\]

We thus arrive at the following table of contents for Codex XI, the titles of the second tractate and supplements being supplied by the translator:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>The Interpretation of Knowledge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,1-21,35</td>
<td>A Valentinian Exposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>22,1-39,39</td>
<td>On the Anointing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>40,1-29</td>
<td>On Baptism A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>40,30-41,38</td>
<td>On Baptism B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>42,1-43,19</td>
<td>On the Eucharist A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>43,20-38</td>
<td>On the Eucharist B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2e</td>
<td>44,1-44,37</td>
<td>Allogenes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>45,1-69,20</td>
<td>Hypsiphrone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

NHC XI, I: THE INTERPRETATION OF KNOWLEDGE,
1,1–22,34


I. LANGUAGE

For a discussion of the dialect of XI, I, the reader is referred above to the introduction to Codex XI and Kasser, “La variété subdialectale lycopolitaine.”

II. TITLE AND IDENTIFICATION

Of the two tractates copied by the first scribal hand of Codex XI, only this first tractate bears a title, “The Interpretation (ἐρμηνεία) of Knowledge (γνῶσις)”; the full title appears at the end of the tractate (21,35) but is only partially preserved on the back of the front flyleaf. Owing to the fragmentary condition of the first page, one cannot tell whether or not the partially preserved title reflected the incipit. The phrase does not recur anywhere else in the extant text. One may surmise that the title denotes the intention of the tractate, namely, to interpret what the Savior’s teachings and his passion mean for the life of the church (as the body of Christ), specifically, for the relationship between its members.

References to a document by this title do not appear in patristic and other ancient literature, nor do there appear to be other documents of identical content. Therefore it must be interpreted on its own merits, with the aid of the numerous parallels it sustains with other literature, in particular, the Gospel of Truth and the Excerpta ex Theodoto.

III. FORM, STYLE AND STRUCTURE

Codex XI, I offers an exegesis of major elements of Christian tradition interpreted according to knowledge (γνῶσις). One section
and context; for ὑμνή ἱδρυτικά, cf. 40,38; 41,10-11.21. For the theme of movement from the world into the Pleroma, cf. Exc. Theod. 63-65 (esp. with 42.13-16) and Exc. Theod. 21.3; 22.1-2; 26.1-2 with 42.16-19.

42,18-21 The fragment preserving the right margin should be moved inward 0.2 cm. toward the spine of the codex.

42,35 "brought us forth" (apparently "from the world"—41,37) = entering the Pleroma; cf. Exc. Theod. 21.3; 26.3; 42.1-3; 61.5; 67.4; 80.2.

42,38 Having accepted the invitation to come from the cosmos into the Aeon, the "souls" apparently have come to realize "the things granted to (them) by the first baptism," cf. Gos. Phil. II,3;73,1-8; 77,7-15.


43,21-22 As the psychic "first baptism" relates the baptized to the Demiurge, the pneumatic "second baptism" relates him to the Father (Iren. Haer. I.21.1-5). This sacrament, called in Valentinian sources the "redemption" (ἀπολύτρωσις, Iren. Haer. I.13.6; 21.5), is enacted in various ways (Iren. Haer. I.21.1); by some it is enacted as a eucharist (Iren. Haer. I.13.2; IV.18.4-5).

43,31-34 "will": cf. Gos. Truth I,3;33,30-32; the elect are told that "you should do the will of your Father, because you are of Him."

43,34 "complete": cf. Iren. Haer. I.13.6; through the sacrament, the participants become "perfect" (τελειωμένοι), having attained perfection (τελείωσις) in gnosis through the pneumatic Aeon, Grace (χάρις, cf. Iren. Haer. I.13.1-2). In Gos. Truth I,3;36,19-20 those who receive the chrism are made "perfect."


44,19-21 "food" (τρόφιμον): cf. Iren. Haer. IV.18.4-5, where Irenaeus relates that the Valentinians offer eucharistic bread and wine as symbols of the "body" and "blood" of the Word (λόγος; see Massuet on this passage; Harvey reads "through" the Word); cf. Interp. Know. XI,1:12,29-38.

44,24 The supralinear stroke is visible above Ν₂ of πνεύματος.

44,31 "Lord": cf. Iren. Haer. IV.18.4-5; the Valentinians acknowledge the Word as their "Lord"; cf. Exc. Theod. 77.1 where Christ "is Lord" (κυριεύει) of the pneumatic life.

44,32 Exc. Theod. 77.1: "baptism is called death and an end to the old life," that is, to the psychic life. The Valentinians consistently deny the reference of this sacramental "death and rebirth" to bodily resurrection, insisting instead on a symbolic interpretation (Exc. Theod. 77.2; Iren. Haer. IV.18.4-5; V.2.1-2).
INTRODUCTION

NHC XI,3: ALLOGENES, 45,1–69,20


I. LANGUAGE

A brief analysis of the language of Allogenes is provided above in the Introduction to Codex XI, Section III. The occasional Bohairic features in its Sahidic dialect, found also in Zostrianos (VIII,1) and Three Steles of Seth (VII,5), suggest that Allogenes was translated from Greek in or near the Boharic dialectal domain perhaps even in Alexandria, around 300 C.E.

II. TITLE

As in most Nag Hammadi tractates, the title of Allogenes appears as a subscript (69,20) after the closing lines of the tractate (69,16–19) which are also inset and decorated. Puech and Doresse (see the Introduction to Codex XI, Section IV) read this title as “The Supreme Allogenes” by a conflation of the subscript title of Allogenes with the opening title of Hypsiphrone, the following short tractate.

No other gnostic tractate is extant with the name “Allogenes,” nor is there another copy of this text. We can assume that a number of texts with this title have been lost, in view of Epi-
phanius' references to "the books called Allogeneis" (*Pan. XL.2.2; XXXIX.5.1; cf. *Allogenes* XI,3:69,18–19) written in the name of Seth's seven sons, themselves called "Strangers" (*Pan. XL.7.4–5), as is their father Seth (*Pan. XL.7.2; cf. *Treat. Seth*, VII,2:52,8–10). Epiphanius states that the books of Allogeneis were composed by the Archontics and Sethians whom he is refuting (*Pan. XXXIX.5.1; XL.7.4), but elsewhere he implies that the Archontics have these books from tradition: "They are already using texts called Allogeneis too, for there are books identified in this way" (*Pan. XL.2.2*). But *Allogenes* gives no clear sign of membership in a series, or of having been written by or about Seth or his sons. Since Hippolytus and Irenaeus do not mention Seth's sons or any books called "Allogeneis," the Allogenes traditions may have developed after 200 C. E., or if earlier, they circulated in non-Western quarters such as Syria or Egypt.

Porphyry writes in his biography of Plotinus that Plotinus attacked certain gnostics who "produced revelations by Zoroaster and Zostrianos and Nicotheos and Allogenes and Messos and other such people" (*Vit. Plot. 16*). Scholars have therefore been hopeful that the Nag Hammadi tractates *Allogenes* (XI,3) and *Zostrianos* (VIII,1) might shed light on the relation of the gnostics to Plotinus and Neoplatonism (Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques," 126–34, and "Plotin et les gnostiques," 161–74; "Discussion," 175–90; Doresse, *Secret Books*, 144, 156–59, 250). There is widespread acceptance that *Allogenes* and *Zostrianos* can be identified as the revelations mentioned by Porphyry (Sieber, "Introduction to Zostrianos," 233–40; Bazán, "Gnóstica," 463–78). Since *Allogenes* is addressed to Messos, and *Zostrianos* bears the cryptogram subtitle "Words of Zoroaster," it is possible that Porphyry's phrase cited above could be referring to these two tractates by the pair of legendary names mentioned in each. But Porphyry goes on to speak of separate refutations of the Book of Zostrianos and the Book of Zoroaster, showing that he is probably referring to separate revelations by each figure named. Whether *Allogenes* is Porphyry's "revelation by Allogenes" cannot be determined from the name alone, since Epiphanius speaks of multiple such titles. It is the striking relation between the thought and terminology of *Allogenes* and of the Neoplatonic writers which suggests that this tractate in an earlier Greek form is indeed one of those known to Plotinus in Rome between 244 and 269.
III. FORM AND COMPOSITION

In this text “Allogenes” is the name of the one who receives divine revelations and records them for “my son Messos.” Allogenes’ search for self-knowledge is not expressed directly in a dialogue with the revealers Youel and the Luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo, but the search is evident within the revelations which encourage and instruct Allogenes and in Allogenes’ intervening reports on his experience to Messos.

The revelations themselves are the core of the text, but its form is the broader one of the revelation discourse in which a revelation is recounted as an edifying discourse for a patron or disciple (Festugière, La révélation, 1.309-54). Characteristic of this genre are the speaker’s self-introduction, reference to the person addressed, narrative of events including the appearance of a divine being, a record of the divine pronouncements, an account of the speaker’s reaction, and closing instructions on the preservation of the document. The first eight lines of Allogenes that may have contained the self-introduction, addressee and the appearance of a divine being are largely missing, yet all the characteristics of this genre can be documented elsewhere in the text.

The revelation discourse is complicated by its pseudonymous nature. The fact would be more obvious in this case if the authorship were attributed to James or Thomas or Zoroaster, but Allogenes, meaning “stranger, foreigner,” or “one of another race,” is a common name in texts of this era for legendary, semi-divine figures. It is used as a title for Seth and for Seth’s seven sons (Pan. XL.7.2-5), for the Great Invisible Spirit (Gos. Eg. IV.2:50,21; ἀλλογένεως in Gos Eg. III.2:41,6-7), and in the Second Treatise of the Great Seth for its nameless descending revealer (Treat. Seth VII.2:52,8-10). The generic sense of the name is brought out in the Three Steles of Seth where Emmacha Seth (118,28) addresses his father, “Thou art from another race, for thou art not similar” (120,5-6), and then speaking of his own descendants, “they are from other races, for they are not similar” (120,11-13). The divine figure “Allogenes” thus may represent an entire spiritual race, and can be called Seth of the Sethians. The name “Messos” also may have a generic origin as “Middle One” between the divine and lower spheres (Puech, “Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques,” 132). By speaking for Allogenes and to Messos, the writer of Allogenes
evokes spiritual progenitors and gives divine authority to the tractate. Its archetypical past setting has a similar function. Allogenes is described as instructing Messos to write the book “for the sake of those who will be worthy after you” and to leave it on a mountain protected by a magical invocation (68,16–23). Thus the book is to be traced to its discovery on a mountain, not to its contemporary author, since we can assume the readers’ ready cooperation in this literary fiction.

Although Allogenes presents itself as a single revelation discourse of Allogenes to Messos, it can be divided into two parts. In Part I (45,1(?)-58,6) Allogenes recounts to Messos five revelations he has received from Youel: 45,6(?)-49,38; 50,17–52,6(?); 52,13–55,11(?); 55,17–30; 55,33–57,24. After each quotation of Youel, he comments to Messos on what he has learned and his reactions. The last four revelations are introduced with words close to the formula: “Again the All-glorious One, Youel, said.” This indicates that the tractate’s missing introduction probably included a similar formula before the first revelation, and before it an opening address to Messos. Turner (“The Gnostic Threefold Path,” 328–29) takes the first four pages of the tractate to be Part I (45,1–49,38), the Youel revelations as Part II and the remainder as Part III. The male virgin Youel is mentioned a number of times in the Gospel of the Egyptians and Zostrianos (see name index) and is described once in more detail: “The Hidden One really exists, and with him is located she who belongs to all the glories, Youel, the male-virgin glory, through whom they saw all the all-perfect things (Zost. VIII,1:125,11–17). In Allogenes Youel is not the ultimate self-revealing divine reality, but her words bring a first awareness of or an entry way into that which is higher than perfect (53,15–22). Her revelations are complex mythological descriptions and invocations of the divine powers, particularly the Aeon of Barbelo.

At the end of Part I (57,27–58,6) Allogenes deliberates with himself for one hundred years concerning the revelations already received. Part II begins when the waiting time is complete and Allogenes sees what he has come to know and is taken out of his garment (of flesh?) to a holy place (58,7–59,4). There the holy powers instruct him through the Luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo on the steps he must take to receive a “primary revelation of the Unknowable One” (59,4–60,12). An account of his ascent by these steps follows (60,12–37). He then receives the revelation of
the Unknowable (60,37–67,20). This revelation is a negative theology of divine transcendence, lacking the reference to the mythological divine names characteristic of Part I. In the brief closing (67,20–69,19), Allogenes hears that the revelation is sufficient for him. He is instructed on how it is to be preserved and he, in turn, instructs Messos.

The author seems to be combining two kinds of material, myth and philosophy, within the framework of a single revelation discourse. The final ascent and philosophical revelation in Part II is a unified and fluent piece of writing with no evident signs of rough seams binding older traditions. It might, for that reason, be considered the author's own composition. This would suggest a philosophically-inclined writer to whom also could be attributed the philosophical editing of the mythological revelations of Part I. But it is not possible to be certain.

At least three factors indicate that the traditions in Part II may also precede the author. First, unless the widespread *Apocryphon of John* is dependent on *Allogenes* for the extended parallel passage (62,27–63,25=Ap. John BG 8502,2:24,9–25,7), Part II contains at least one borrowed section, and perhaps others. Second, the account of the one hundred years reflection and the translation to a holy place at the juncture of Parts I and II, as well as the tractate's closing, must certainly be attributed to the author and do not reflect the peculiar vocabulary or philosophical interest of the revelation of the Unknowable. This further calls into question the thesis that the final ascent and revelation are an original composition of the author. And third, the fact that an ascent narrative is integral to the final revelation suggests that this revelation may have developed out of a community rite of initiation or worship. The three levels of ascent, from Knowledge to Vitality to Existence (59,9–26), reappear in the revelation as the three aspects of the divine (61,32–39).

A communal tradition behind this tractate is already indicated by the close parallels between its prayer of praise in 54,6(?)-37 and prayers in the *Three Steles of Seth*, which use the first person freely (123,30–124,21; 126,17–33; cf. Robinson, “The Three Steles of Seth and the Gnostics of Plotinus”). The instruction to Allogenes to write these revelations for “those who will be worthy after you” (68,16–20; cf. 52,18–28) may be a community signature. Although a single step from a mythological community liturgy to this author's philosophical revelation is possible, it is more likely that there was
some intermediate articulation of ascent mysteries in a philosophically-oriented cult or school.

If Part II is seen to have evolved through increasing abstraction in a cultic tradition, the Youel revelations in Part I may be the older myths and prayers now revised and relegated to the task of cosmological introduction before the “primary revelation of the Unknowable One” (59,28–30). The author may be seeking to harmonize old and new by this ordering of materials, perhaps also by philosophical additions to Part I on the privative divine in its tripartite being (47,7–49,38; 53,10–32) and by mythological motifs in the opening of Part II, such as the vision of Barbelo, the translation to a holy place and the Luminaries giving instructions for a journey (58,7–60,12).

IV. CONTENT

The main issue at stake in interpreting *Allogenes* is the origin of its unusual combination of gnostic motifs and philosophical triadic monism. Did this philosophy develop within a gnostic community as greater philosophical sophistication forced it toward new affirmations, possibly resulting in some influence on Plotinus and Porphyry? Or is the Neoplatonism a conceptual veneer, adopted without roots in gnostic mythology? The answer must lie somewhere between these alternatives. The new sophistication must have been triggered by some kind of active philosophical interchange, although the dominant motivation continues to be religious and the forms of speech remain those of initiation and revelation. In order to avoid an oversimplified interpretation of the text as the “natural” development of Gnosticism or as a superficial Neoplatonism, we will look first strictly at the affirmations of the text and only then consider major gnostic and philosophical parallels and their significance for its interpretation.

At the apex of *Allogenes* is the revelation of the Unknowable One, the vision of the Invisible. It is inaccurate to define this one as high god in a pantheon, although the Unknowable One can be called the Unknowable God (61,14–16) and receive worship (54,6–37). Nor should it be defined as first principle of cosmic explanation, although it is said to account for all reality by existing in all parts or containing all (47,11–21; 66,25–38). Its direct predication
is strictly privative (unfathomably unfathomable 65,25-26), hyperbolic (superior to [all] superiors 63,19), negative (not existing 63,9-10.17-18) and paradoxical (non-being existence 62,23-24), that is, lacking in either religious or philosophical function. The two names associated most closely with this unnameable (47,19) Unknowable One are Invisible Spirit and Triple Powered One. The two often seem to be synonymous, as in the phrase “the invisible spiritual (πνεύμα) Triple Powered One” (51,8-9). Yet, whereas the Invisible Spirit remains undifferentiated, the Triple Powered One is said to be the “traverser of the boundlessness of the Invisible Spirit” (49,8-10) and is differentiated into three aspects: 1) Existence (ὑπαρξία) or Being (οὐσία) or That-Which-Is (πέτυμον=τὸ ὄν), 2) Life (ω ὑπὸ=ζωή) or Vitality (ΜΝΤΩΝΩ) and 3) Knowledge (ΜΝΣΕΙΜΕ) or Mentality (ΝΟΗΘΧ[ΝΟΗΤΗΣ]) or Blessedness (ΜΝΣ- ΜΑΧΑΡΙΟΣ [μαχάριος]) (49,26-38; 59,9-26; 60,14-37). The reader is assured that this is not a generation taking place beyond the Triple Powered One nor a separation within it but a way of describing its eternal and integrated reality (49,21-38).

The relationship of Barbelo to the above triad is unclear in the text. As the “first Thought,” (53,27-28) she “knows [that] she knows that One” (45,29-30), and is apparently the “undivided incorporeal [eternal] knowledge outside of the Triple Powered One (51,8-14) by which the One “knows itself” (49,20-21). As well as reflecting the Triple Powered One to itself, Barbelo also functions as a kind of three-runged ladder for those who would know her— as the Hidden One, Protophanes and Autogenes. It is said that Barbelo becomes “Kalyptos [who] acted in those whom she knows” (45,31-33), or elsewhere that she is “endowed with the types and forms of those who truly exist, the image of the Kalyptos” (51,12-17). Kalyptos (Hidden One) is then endowed with the “intellectual Word” under the image of the male Protophanes (First Appearing One) who works to realize skills and natural abilities (51,17-25). Protophanes is then given the image of the divine Autogenes (Self Born One) who works in each one individually to rectify failures (51,25-32). There are hints of a fourth emanation of Barbelo, the divine Triple Male or Perfect Youth (51,32-38), but more often these names are associated with Protophanes (45,36-38; 58,12-26).

These successive images in Allogenes Part I are not shaped into a clear triad or made equivalent to the Existence, Vitality and Knowledge of the Triple Powered One which dominate Allogenes
Part II (cf. the equivalency in Zost. VIII, r:15,2–12). The Triple Powered One does appear as a triad once in Part I in order to affirm the interdependence of Existence, Vitality and Knowledge in the One (49,26–38). But it is the multiple mythological images which are told and retold, apparently because they offer access to that Triple Powered One for individuals and evoke a step by step process by which individuals can join in the Triple Powered One. First Autogenes “saw them [all] existing individually as [they] are” (46,9–17), then Protophanes becomes “[the] procession [of those who are] together” (46,22–30), and finally Kalyptos has the “forms of those who truly exist” (51,12–17). These may represent three different levels of the human ascent.

The revelations of Part II, given to Allogenes through the Luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo, focus on the Triple Power of Existence, Vitality and Knowledge. It is both the divine reality to be revealed and the means of access to that reality. The instructions Allogenes receives as Part II opens (59,9–60,12) indicate that, because of the Youel revelations in Part I, he already stands on the level of Knowledge or Blessedness and is expected to withdraw up to the level of Vitality and then to that of Existence in order to receive a “primary revelation of the Unknowable One.” This suggests that the writer sees the mythological process in Part I as having taken place within the Knowledge aspect of the Triple Powered One, thus integrating the two parts of the tractate. The positive function of self-knowledge in the Aeon of Barbelo for the ultimate revelation of the Unknowable is thus confirmed. Yet by the same move the religious experiences of divinization and ecstasy involved in Part I (52,7–12; 53,32–54,37) are relegated to a preparatory stage in the more philosophical final revelation. And the rich confusion of mythological divine images in Part I is subsumed as primitive self-revelation of what turns out to be the one known as unknowable.

The initial Knowledge level of the Triple Powered One is characterized by possession of the forms of whatever truly exits, by blessedness, goodness, and becoming divine (52,10–33). It is at once self-knowledge and knowledge of the Triple Power of the Unknowable One (59,9–16; 60,14–18). Although Allogenes is afraid that he is not fit to know this, he is told that a great power that is fit to know has been put on him (50,15–36; 57,32–39). The second level of the Triple Power, Life or Vitality, is an “eternal, intellectual,
undivided motion that pertains to all the formless powers, (which is) unlimited by limitation" (60,24–28). When Allogenes withdraws upward and enters this Vitality he finds it difficult to stand firmly and withdraws further to Existence which stands firmly and is at rest (60,19–37). Here he is filled with the primary revelation of the Unknowable One, the knowledge of which is complete ignorance (61,17–19). The Coptic pronouns which here refer to the Unknowable One should be translated in the neuter rather than the masculine in light of its extreme privative characterization of the divine. The text of this revelation has no missing lines for four pages and needs no paraphrase.

V. GNOSTIC CONTEXT

At least three groups of gnostic texts share significant features with *Allogenes*. Until the dating of these materials is better established, the sequence of development remains open to question.

A. One group of gnostic texts with connection to *Allogenes* are the Hermetic initiation discourses, particularly *Corp. Herm.* I, XIII, and NHC VI,6. *Allogenes* shares neither their dialogue form nor their eight or nine level cosmology. The common element lies in their understanding of the divine revealer as instructor, preparing the initiate to undertake an ascent upwards by successive stages of withdrawal (see Festugière, *Personal Religion*, 53–67, 122–39). The Hermetic texts explain this withdrawal as a movement toward self-knowledge: “The one that reflects on oneself withdraws into oneself.... Let the self-aware person come to recognize him(her)self” (*Corp. Herm.* I,21; cf. NHC VI,6:60,27–61,1). This is at once participation in and a kind of identification with the divine: “This is the good end for all who have acquired knowledge, to be made divine” (*Corp. Herm.* I,26). In *Allogenes* the Youel revelations climax in a similar experience: “[I] saw the light that [surrounded] me and the Good that was in me and I became divine (NHC XI,3:52,10–13). Then follows a further ascent: “O Allogenes, behold your Blessedness how it silently abides, by which you know your proper self, and, seeking yourself, withdraw” (58,12–59,16). The ultimate goal is to withdraw beyond Knowledge to the levels of Life and Existence through a revelation of the
Unknowable One who is “united with the ignorance that sees it” (64,13–14). This paradoxical expression of transcendence and the simplicity of the triadic One in *Allogenes* are not paralleled in Hermetic Gnosticism, but the pattern of ascent in divine self-knowledge is so close as to suggest a literary or even communal conversation between the traditions.

B. *Allogenes* also has some close affinities with a second group of texts sharing its Barbeloite Gnosticism, texts such as the *Apocryphon of John* (BG 8502,2; NHC II,1; III,1; IV,1), Iren. *Haer.* I.29.1–4, *Trimorphic Protennoia* (XIII,1), and to a lesser extent also with Eugnostos (III,3; V,1), *Sophia of Jesus Christ* (BG 8502,3; NHC III,4) and *Gospel of the Egyptians* (III,2; IV,2). The Apocalypse of Allogenes quoted in the 8th Century by Theodore bar Konai also seems to come from this tradition (Puech, “Apocalypse d’Allogène,” 935–62).

The main outlines of Barbeloite Gnosticism in its relation to *Allogenes* can best be seen in the *Apocryphon of John* which shares with *Allogenes* a full page of negative theology in an almost literal parallel (BG 8502,2:24,9–25,7; NHC XI,3:62,27–63,25). In the *Apocryphon of John*, as in *Allogenes*, it is the privative divine, so described, who is then said to know its own image or thought, called Barbelo, the one “with the three powers.” She in turn is granted Foreknowledge, Incorruptibility and Eternal Life (BG 8502,2:27,1–29,8), in a possible parallel to a triad within Barbelo in *Allogenes*—Kalyptos, Protophanes, and Autogenes (NHC XI,3:45, 26–46,11; 51,12–32). In the *Apocryphon of John* these three given to Barbelo are also said to form a pentad with Barbelo and the divine thought, paralleling the shifting expressions of “many in one” found also in *Allogenes* (BG 8502,2:29,8–18; NHC XI,3:58,12–26).

In the next scene in the *Apocryphon of John* Barbelo is shown as the middle figure in a triad. Barbelo turns to the Father of the unbegotten Father and gives birth to a first-born Son, Christ, through whose Mind and Word the perfect human being comes to be. Then follows the generation of deficiency through Sophia. The purpose of this cosmology in the *Apocryphon of John* seems to be, as in *Allogenes*, double. On the one hand, it seeks to teach how that which is visible in miriad external forms is essentially a spiritual unity (“I am [the Father], I am the Mother, I [am the] Son,” BG 8502,2:21,5–22,2). Second, it gives the knowledge necessary for the human being to experience this unity. In *Allogenes* this knowledge
takes the form of a preparation and an ascent ritual. In the *Apocryphon of John* it is an account of the process by which deficiency entered into the cosmic scene and how it was divinely contained.

The absence of this Sophia theodicy and of all Christian terminology in *Allogenes* is its most crucial point of distinction from Barbeloite Gnosticism and suggests one of three ways in which *Allogenes* may be related to this tradition. It is probably too simple to suggest that either *Allogenes* or the *Apocryphon of John* represents the most primitive Barbeloite Gnosticism, as if the Sophia fall and its reversal in Christ were a late elaboration from the feminine aspect in a transcendent monism (cf. H.-M. Schenke, "Nag-Hamadi Studien III," 360), or as if transcendent monism were a late demythologizing of fall and redemption myths. More likely the *Apocryphon of John* and *Allogenes* take separate roads from a common heritage of the transcendent Aeon of Barbelo. The *Apocryphon of John* multiplies aeonic buffer zones between the divine and human through a fall of Sophia tradition, integrating some Christian elements into its divine solution. *Allogenes*, in conversation with Hermetic and Platonic thought, evokes the unity of all experience through ascent in the triadic Unknowable One.

C. The third gnostic text group includes *Allogenes* itself as well as *Zostrianos* (VIII,1), the *Three Steles of Seth* (VII,5), *Marsanes* (X) and the Untitled Text of the Bruce Codex (Schmidt, *Codex Brucianus*; Baynes, *Coptic Gnostic Treatise* and Schmidt-MacDermot, *Bruce Codex*). On this text group see Turner's discussion, "The Gnostic Threefold Path," 324-51. *Marsanes* is so badly preserved that it is little help in reconstructing this tradition. Yet its progression through thirteen seals from the cosmic and material to the privative Triple Powered and Silent One (2,12-4,23) clearly indicates its affinity. The Untitled Text of the Bruce Codex is closer to the *Apocryphon of John* than to *Allogenes* in its elaborate multiplication of levels of reality and its biblical allusions, but it is classified in this group because its focus of interest is not on the origin of deficiency through Sophia but on the Unknowable One who possesses the whole without being possessed (Untitled Text of the Bruce Codex: Schmidt, *Codex Brucianus*, 56,12-61,36; Schmidt-MacDermot, *Bruce Codex*, 270,2-277,8; cf. *Allogenes* XI, 3:66,25-32). Also the Triple Powered One appears here as do many other figurations of divine names parallel to *Allogenes*.

There is external evidence of this text group in Porphyry's state-
ment that Plotinus knew revelations by “Zostrianos and Nicotheos and Allogenes” (Vit. Plot. 16). In the Untitled Text of the Bruce Codex a prophecy or revelation of Nikotheos is quoted as an authority: “Nikotheos spoke concerning him; he saw that he was that one. He said: ‘The Father exists, surpassing every perfection. He has revealed the invisible, triple-powered, perfect one’” (Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex: Schmidt, Codex Brucianus, 12,24–13,1; Schmidt-MacDermot, Bruce Codex, 235,17-21). This short segment suggests a Nicotheos document similar to Allogenes. The Untitled Text of the Bruce Codex may then be a later, more elaborate Christianized cosmology within the same tradition, indicating that at least in some instances the praise of transcendent being precedes the complex cosmologies for which Gnosticism is known.

Zostrianos is another document in this group with a title that appears on Porphyry’s list. It is even closer to Allogenes than the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex; it lacks Christian names and allusions and shares an ascent through different heavenly levels reminiscent of the earlier, more mythological parts of Allogenes. There are signs of dualism in the introductory framework of Zostrianos which describe the human plight as somatic darkness, desire and mental bondage under the cosmocrator (NHC VIII,1:1,10–21). But this picture is immediately eclipsed by a search for the father of all things who is in thought, perception, species, race, part and whole, possession and possessed, corporality and incorporeality, essence and matter (2,10–20). The remainder of this 132-page, poorly-preserved tractate reads like a baroque variation on Part I of Allogenes in the form of long baptismal ascent revelations (13,7–22,1), ecstatic prayers (51,21–52,25; 118,15–22; 127,1–7) and instructions on heavenly realities by Ephesch, Youel and others. The cultic language points toward a communal setting for the development or preservation of this monistic Gnosticism.

Sharing in this liturgical interest is the document closest to Allogenes, the Three Steles of Seth. It is a non-Christian revelation to Dositheos from Seth consisting of Seth’s three prayers of praise—to the father Geradama(s), to Barbelo, and to the One—each successive prayer representing a higher ascent in worship. These prayers are called “three steles” in line with the closing instruction to inscribe them on steles. In this way the author impresses their antiquity and power upon the reader. In the first prayer Seth tells
the praises of his Father Geradama(s) who belongs to the divine race and is head of the human race (120,1–15), also called the good, the mind, the word of the divine command (119,1.15–16; 120,27–28). The second prayer praises Barbelo who enables life, multiplying power eternally so that all exist, and simultaneously uniting all multiplicity in herself (122,8–20; 123,3–4.11–14.30–31). The final prayer addresses the One to whom all divine names apply and yet who is beyond any name: “For Thou art the existence of them all. Thou art the life of them all. Thou art the mind of them all. [For] Thou [art the One in whom they all] rejoice.” (125,28–33). Here, in one final prayer of praise, most of the divine appellations found in Allogenes, including the triad of Existence, Life, and Mind, are affirmed.

The Three Steles of Seth demonstrates without doubt that we have in this text group a religious tradition, whether an individual mysticism or a communal cult is not fully clear, although the first-person plural implies the latter (NHC VII,5:123,30–124,21; 126, 17–34). The purpose of this worship is not to escape from physical bondage through myths of divine deficiency and its containment. This worship seeks to overcome disintegration of experience, to order chaos, by the progressive self-revelation of an unencompassable reality which encompasses and constitutes all mind, life and existence. The development of this idea in texts concerning Barbelo and Seth suggests that its three-in-one unity is a preservation or revival of the Father/Source, Mother/Thought, Son/Word triad of Barbelo Gnosticism, with Seth representing the primeval human belonging to that “other race.”

VI. PHILOSOPHICAL CONTEXT

One point of undeniable contact between gnostic thought and Platonic philosophy is Porphyry’s statement that Plotinus’ gnostic opponents “produced revelations by Zoroaster and Zostrianos and Nicotheos and Allogenes and Messos and other people of the kind” (Vit. Plot. 16). But is there sufficient evidence to prove that Porphyry was referring here to Allogenes (NHC XI,3; addressed to Messos) and to the text group just described including Zostrianos (also called “the words of Zoroaster,” NHC VIII,1:132,9), as well as to the revelation of Nicotheos quoted in the Untitled Text of the Bruce Codex, and even possibly also the Three Steles of Seth?
Carl Schmidt made the two basic studies in Plotinus’ relation to Gnosticism when he published the Bruce Codex (Codex Brucianus, 598–663; id. Plotins Stellung zum Gnosticismus). Proposing an identification of the Nicotheos quotation with the text in Porphyry’s list of revelations, Schmidt suggested that a Sethian gnostic group originating in Syria developed into a school in Egypt under Prodicus (Clem. Alex., Strom. III.4.30). It produced such texts as the Untitled text of the Bruce Codex and was represented by Aquilinus and Adelphius in Rome (Porph. Vit. Plot. 16) as a school rivaling Plotinus’ own. Because Schmidt assumed an irreconcilable conflict between Plotinus and the gnostics he was puzzled at the mildness of Plotinus’ attack on them (Codex Brucianus, 619), and in 1900 (Plotins Stellung zum Gnosticismus, 18–19) he reversed his earlier identification of this Aquilinus with a known author of the same name because he felt a gnostic could not have written the extant Neoplatonic text.

Research since Schmidt has begun to discover positive connections between Gnosticism and Plotinus. In 1907 W. Bousset suggested that Plotinus’ opponents held views closer to Hermetic philosophy than to Christian Gnosticism (Hauptprobleme der Gnosis 186–94). E. Bréhier proposed an “oriental” element in Plotinus’ own thought (The Philosophy of Plotinus, 106–31), and H. Jonas suggested that Plotinus was a philosophical gnostic (Gnosis, 2.1, 171–75), but neither one tested his thesis on specific gnostic and philosophical texts. In 1961 J. Zandee proposed in a textual study that both the gnostics and Plotinus saw reality as an eternal, universal organism, but the gnostics combined this view with the account of a fallen demiurge who created a defective humanity and introduced irreconcilable evil into the universe (The Terminology of Plotinus). Zandee’s conclusions reflect the fact that, when he wrote, the group of gnostic texts closest to Allogenes were not available, with the exception of the Untitled Text of the Bruce Codex. They present a type of Gnosticism in which can be found only the most peripheral trace of dualism. The relative affinity of the Allogenes text group to Neoplatonic thought cannot, of course, in itself demonstrate that these are the texts Porphyry lists as known to Plotinus. Yet their affinity strengthens this hypothesis rising from the fact that these texts have the specific names mentioned by Porphyry and cohere well with each other in style, content and terminology.
A second text with obvious importance for this issue is Plotinus’ argument against the gnostics in *Enn.* II.9. Is it conceivable that Plotinus is attacking monistic gnostics who wrote or preserved the *Allogenes* text group? Plotinus’ familiarity with dualistic elements in Gnosticism is clear from his ridicule of the Sophia myth. Why, he asks, would they want to ascend to the archetype of such a reality (*Enn.* II.9.5–11)? But because Plotinus chooses to accentuate the foolishness of these doctrines, it is hard to determine whether they were central to his opponents or peripheral in their texts. Plotinus’ writing against the gnostics does seem to have the heat of a family feud or school rivalry, rather than the detachment accorded to the remote fanatic. It is significant that his tractate against the gnostics concludes a series of four constructive lectures summarizing his triadic monism (in chronological order they are: *Enn.* III.8; V.8; V.5; II.9; see Harder, “Eine neue Schrift Plotins,” 303–13). Apparently Plotinus’ students were being attracted to certain gnostic teachers (*Enn.* II.9.10) and he responded by showing that his own monistic vision excelled theirs. The concluding lecture, which does play up gnostic absurdities, is itself interrupted because of a professed interest not to offend any of his long-standing gnostic friends (*Enn.* II.9.10). And there are a number of features present in the *Allogenes* text group that are attacked by Plotinus. He is suspicious of the cultic elements, particularly what he calls “incantations” (*Allogenes* XI,3:53,37–54,37; *Three Steles of Seth*, passim) and “magical hissings” (*Allogenes* XI,3:53,36–37; *Zost.* VIII,1:127, 1–5; *Marsanes* X:31,22–32,4). He ridicules their invention of new jargon including παροίκησις (transmigration), ἀντίτυποι (antitypes) and μετάνοια (repentence) (*Enn.* II.9.6; the only known gnostic occurrences of this triad are in *Zost.* VIII,1:8,10–18; 12,9–22; and in the Untitled text of the Bruce Codex, 51,7–10; Schmidt–MacDermot, *Bruce Codex*, 263,20–22). He is offended at the arrogance of people who think themselves superior to the powers and heavenly bodies (*Enn.* II.9.5 and 9; *Allogenes* XI,3:50,24–33; 52, 15–28). Above all, he will not tolerate their attributing to private revelations all their true doctrines which are clearly derived from Plato (*Enn.* II.9.6). This final question of the authority upon which one speaks—whether of Plato or of revelation—is probably a greater gulf between these opponents than the dualism they both reject.

Literal parallels between *Allogenes* and Neoplatonic texts cannot
be documented before the fifth century when Proclus wrote his *Elements of Theology*. Compare the following parallel, which in less exact form extends somewhat further:

**Procl. Theol. 103**

For in Being (δὲν) there is

Life (ζωή) and

Mind (νοῦς)

and in Life (ζωή)

Being (εἶναι) and

Mentality (νοῆσε)

and in Mind (νοῦς)

Being (εἶναι) and

Living (ζην).

**Allogenes XI,3:49,28–36**

For (γάρ) then (τότε) That-Which-Is constantly possesses its Vitality and Mentality (νοηρης),

and Vitality possesses

Being (οὐσία) and

Mentality.

and Mentality (νοηρης) possesses

Life and

That-Which-Is.

There has been serious discussion among scholars of Neoplatonism about the origin of this being-life-mind triad which is central to Proclus' theology (*Procl. Theol. 101–3; Theol. Plat. IV.1–3; Dodds, Proclus: Theology, 252–54; Hadot, “Etre, Vie, Pensée chez Plotin,” 107–41; “Discussion,” 142–57). The above parallel promises that gnostic texts such as *Allogenes* will be quickly taken up within this study.

There is general agreement that the extensive Platonist school exegesis of Plato, *Soph. 248e*, including the occasional use of this triad without fixed order by Plotinus (*Enn. I.6.7; III.6.6; VI.6.8 and 18*), is not itself sufficient explanation for the fixed and interdependent triad seen in Proclus. The question arises, could the three-in-three triad have first been developed in this form by the gnostics of the *Allogenes* text group? Porphyry is widely held to have introduced the triad to Neoplatonic dogma, but it does not appear in Porphyry’s extant writings and is attributed to him in ancient times only by Proclus himself. Willy Theiler (*Porphyrios und Augustin, 4*) attributes the triad to Porphyry on the basis of Augustine’s (*De. Civ. X.23*) reference to Platonists who teach an obscure intermediate spirit between father and son (*de regressu animae* reconstructed by Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre, 36*–37*). Theiler operates here with a working hypothesis that every Neoplatonic
doctrine found in both Augustine and in a later Neoplatonist, if not
derived from Plotinus, comes from Porphyry. Using the same prin-
ciple, P. Hadot attributes the fourth-century Parmenides Commen-
tary, which displays this triad, to Porphyry, although Theiler and
Kroll consider it to be non-Porphyrian (Hadot, “La métaphysique
de Porphyre,” 127–57; “Discussion,” 158–63; id., Porphyre et Vic-
torinus, 1.102–43; Dodds, Proclus:Theology, 220). This Parmenides
Commentary may be read as evidence of the difficult process by
which this triad was integrated into Neoplatonism before Proclus,
due to Plotinus’ adamant rejection of all qualifications of the One.
Eventually, Existence, Life, and Thought were accepted as three
aspects of the divine Intellect, the second level of Plotinus’ One-
Intellect-Soul triad, with Existence also in a peculiar independent
association to the One (XIV, 16–26 in Kroll, “Ein neuplatonischer
Parménide,” 410–38). In any case the presence of the triad in
Allogenes XI,3:49,26–38 and Zost. VIII,1:15,2–12 (as well as Steles
Seth VII,5:125,28–33) brings into question the necessity of attrib-
uting the triad to Porphyry in order to account for its appearance
in later Neoplatonic thought. And Porphyry’s known anti-Gnos-
ticism does not make him a likely candidate for borrowing a triad
known to be prominent in a group of gnostic texts he mentions
(Vit. Plot. 16). Nor does it make sense to assume that the Neo-
platonists got this triad from the Chaldean Oracles, an eclectic text
of Platonic cosmology, angelology and fire theurgy whose extant
fragments attest no such triad (Theiler, Die chaldaischen Orakel,
5).

Another Neoplatonic concept with an uncertain origin appears in
Allogenes and its text group: the word ἕναξίς (existence) used to
refer to the highest divine reality and the first term in the Exis-
tence-Life-Thought triad. Again, it is not so used by Plotinus, it is
so used by Proclus, and, in order to explain its introduction into
Neoplatonism between these two figures, it is attributed to Por-
phyry by proposing that he is the author of the anonymous Par-
menides commentary which speaks of Existence at the head of the
divine triad.

A third parallel between Allogenes and the Platonic tradition is
more general, the pattern of threefold ascent. The ascent pattern in
Allogenes, also found in the first gnostic text group discussed above,
the Hermetic tractates, is a progressive withdrawal by a path of
privation into knowledge of the One that cannot be named. Turner's recent study on "The Gnostic Threefold Path" notes that this ascent does not characterize the texts in our second gnostic text group, including the *Apocryphon of John*. In these texts the bondage to evil is such that salvation can only take place by a threefold descent of the divine, a pattern that seems to derive from Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic literature (Turner, 325-28; 346-50). In contrast, he sees the threefold ascent in *Allogenes* and other texts in the third text group to be derived from the Platonic tradition, specifically from Neopythagorean speculation on the One beyond the dyad, and from middle Platonic exegesis of Plato's *Timaeus* 39E in terms of three levels of divine intelligence (Turner, 337).

No one can contest the presence in Platonism of various tripartite divisions of divine reality and particularly the view of knowledge of the divine as a kind of self-knowledge. But it may, nevertheless, not be accurate to say that the pattern of ascent in *Allogenes* derives from Platonism. From Plato's threefold vision of beauty mediated through the prophetess Diotima (*Symp.* 210a-12a) through Plutarch's contrast of Isis' many-colored robes to Osiris' robe which is the color of light and the mystic image of truth (*De Is. et Os.* 382cde), the stimulation to conceive philosophy as ascent seems to have come into Greek thought from oriental mythical sources. Therefore an oriental and mythical tradition such as Gnosticism may well not get its ascent triad initially from Platonism, though its formulation is doubtless shaped in time by philosophical debates with Platonists. Ascent is integral to the gnostic world view. Cosmology as the history of an imprisonment, and divine descent as a fissure in the prison wall, both point toward the need to escape, whether or not it is articulated in detail. In the third text group including *Allogenes* we seem to have an escape-oriented religious-sect-turned-school. The "hell-fire" sermons are gone and meditations on self-knowledge have taken their place. But the ascent out of hell is still worked out in the Aeon of Barbelo. And, as Turner himself suggests (338-39), the higher reaches of the ascent into the Triple Power of Being, Vitality and Mentality may be projected out of Barbelo's own traditional three powers to form a pathway to ultimate reunion with the Unknowable One.

The question remains concerning the relation to the Neoplatonists of the three elements in *Allogenes* noted above—the Existence-Life-Thought triad, the \( \nu \pi \alpha \rho \zeta \iota \varsigma \) (Existence) term as head of
a divine triad, and the religious threefold ascent. Each is a different expression of what can only be recognized as the core of Neoplatonic thought by the time of Proclus. Their presence in the Allogenes text group must be taken as proof that it was written under heavy Neoplatonic influence, unless there is sufficient reason to say that the gnostic texts are themselves the seed-bed of these particular ideas. Because the Nag Hammadi library was buried in the mid-fourth century C.E. (Robinson, “Introduction,” 4), Allogenes cannot be dependent on the very close parallel cited in the fifth-century Proclus. Allowing time for Coptic translation and the collecting of the library, the latest feasible date for Allogenes’ original composition is at the end of the third century C.E. At that time there is no Neoplatonic attestation of the triad headed by the term “Existence” unless we accept the literary hypothesis which attributes the Parmenides Commentary to Porphyry in order to explain where Proclus got the new ideas. And there is no sign at all of the triple-modulated triad that appears in Allogenes and Proclus. The simplest thesis is that these particular elements are gnostic contributions to Neoplatonism.

The most telling evidence of the gnostic origin of the ascending triad headed by the Existence term is its presence in a group of gnostic texts with common characteristics bearing the titles named by Porphyry as revelations available to Plotinus. Porphyry himself, if he was consistent in his anti-gnostic crusade, may have rejected the Existence term and this triad. But the gnostic texts could have remained on hand for increasingly receptive fourth-century Neoplatonists. This would locate Allogenes at latest by the mid-third century C.E. in Rome where Plotinus was writing against the gnostics, possibly already in Alexandria at the time of Plotinus’ studies with Ammonius from 232–243 C.E. Plotinus’ own sharp rejection of any division in the One shows that he held his own against multiplication in debate with gnostics. But his greater focus on divine emanation and human ascent than in previous Platonists may be witness to the gnostics’ persuasive powers. An Alexandrian origin of Allogenes would allow for whatever influence this text had on Platonists including Plotinus, the reverse influence in the demythologizing of gnostic thought in a Platonic direction, as well as the subsequent Bohairicized (upper Egyptian) Sahidic translation that we read.
[ME]

(Lines 1-5 lacking)

6 12± ἕγε ὑκ[ά]
[τά ο]γά ὑτε[λιος ἀ]γω εγκ


[Lines 1–5 lacking]

6 since they are

[perfect (τέλειος) individuals (-κατά) and dwell]

8 all [together, joined with] the

[mind (νοῦς)], the guardian [which I provided],

[who] taught you (sg.). [And] it is [the power that]

[exists] within you that often [extended itself]

[as word]

from the Triple Powered One, [that One]

[of] all [those] who [truly (ὁντός)] exist

with the [Immeasurable One], the

eternal [Light of] the Knowledge (γνώσις)

that appeared, the

male virginal (παρθένος) [Youth],

[the first] of the Aeons from

[a] unique triple-[powered Aeon],

[the] Triple Powered One who

[truly (ὁντός) exists], for when [he was stilled],

<he> [was extended] and

[when he was extended], he became [complete (τέλειος)]

[and] he received [power] from

all of [them]. He knows [himself]

[and the perfect (τέλειος)] Invisible (ἀδόρατον) [Spirit (πνεῦμα)].

24 And he [came to be]

[in an] Aeon who knows

[that] she knows That One.

[And] she became Kalyptos

[who] acted (ἐνεργεῖν) in those whom she

knows.

32 [who] he is a perfect (τέλειος)

invisible, noetic (νοῦς)

36 Protophanes-Harmidon. [And (δέ)] empowering

the individuals (-κατά), she is a Triple (γ) Male.

38 And (δέ) being individually (-κατά)
(Lines 1-5 lacking)

6 εγκά τα ογια μεν εις ογι

8 οις ἄνε ναι ἂν εκν [αγ] ἐν θηθ[ρ]ογ ογι <εγιωον> ὄντως ο[ν]

10 ουντα[c] ο[ν]μαν ονιαν[τογε] [ν]ηε ονογε: έτας[ιε]

12 έτετε τως ονιανε[πε] άνο ονιαναε[πε]

14 ναι εαναγ εν θηθρογ εγι

16 οωο[ν] [κ]ατα ογα ονε[e] έτγι

18 ναγ επι[ν ομ]νμμένογ λ ν]

20 ονογε: τέν ηνοια τε]

22 [ζιτ] ουμα εις[νομωτογ]

24 νηε οναο ονοο[γ] [.] [. . . ηηος: τγο[ν] π[π η]

26 [τι] ηε ναι εωπη[ε] εγι


30 [τι] [ογ] [μα] πη ά[ε] έτα[ναγ] εν[α] ι εναν επικαλ[γτος]

32 εωπη ά[ε] εω[ο]ναγ[αγ ε]

34 να[ε] επιεον θερπβαλω [πι]

36 εωπη εριςανογ [αγ]

εροξ άε πως εω[αφη]
individual (-καρά) on the one hand (μὲν), they are together
on the other hand (δὲ), [since she] is an existence (ὑπαρκής)
of [theirs], and she [sees]
them all [also] truly (ἐντούς) <existing>.

[She] contains the
divine Autogenes. When she [knew]
her [Existence (ὑπαρκής)]
and when she stood, [she brought]

This One (masc.) since he saw them [all]
existing individually (-καρά) as [he]
is. And [when they]
become (as) he (is), [they shall]

see the divine Triple Male,
the power that is [higher than]

God. [He is] the [Thought (ἐννοια)]
of all these who [exist]
together. If he [ponders them],
[he] ponders [the]
great male [ ]
noetic (νοητικὸς) [Protophanes], the [procession]
of ] these. When [he]
sees it, [he sees]

[also those who truly (ἐντούς) exist]
and (δὲ) [the] procession [of those who are]
together. And (δὲ) when he [has seen]
[these], he has seen [Kalyptos].

And (δὲ) if he [sees]
one of the hidden ones (καλυπτός), [he]
sees the Aeon of Barbalo. And (δὲ) as for [the]
unbegotten offspring of [That One],

if one [sees]
how (πῶς) he [lives]
[H2]

(Lines 1–4 lacking)

[7+ άκεωτήμ] [ετβε τ]

6 ηπη[το]γε[ια] λπη]ωγα πογα

άμοογ ζη ο[γηα]ξρο· ετβε

8 πιτωντεμο [αε] ηα[ρο][α]το[η]

άππα σωτή· [γηω]οο[η] εογ[α]


tαγον ηαγ τηρογ εογη

12 Τη ηην τηρογ γραη ηη[η]της[

[εγ]ωο[η] γαρ τηρογ ετβή[η]

14 [ηητή· ε]γτελιον πε αγω ε

[νε]αγ ετελιος· [γη]ω εγμα

16 καριος πε· εογ[α] πε ηνογο

eαω νηι· αγω [εγ]ωο[η] ηη

18 [ηητο]γ τηρογ· εγατώαξε

[άμ]ογ [πε] ηναττή· ραν εροη


[τοοτο]γ τηρογ· πη ετε [ε]

22 [ωυπε ερρα]νογα ρνοη[ε]ι [η]


[ετε ογτα]γ ηνογη[γ]η[η]ραρ

26 [τικ· ητα]γ γαρ πε τη[ηην]η

[ηταγταγοογ τηρ]ογ εβο[λ]

28 [ηητης· εγ[ω]ρπη πε [αγη ηη]

[τηητε]λιος νε[γηωρπη πε]

30 [αγη ηη]ηητηονυτ[ε νηι·]

[α[γω] εγ[ω]ρπη πε [αγη ηη]

32 [οη]ηητημ[ακαριος νηι·] εγ

cαρε· ηνα δομ νηι· αγω

34 ογογια <πε> εγ[ημ]ητα[ηιον]

πε εγνουτε πε εμη νη

36 τηνυτε ηιω[η· πη ετε·

πιογε ογωτη η[ε]τε τε[η]

38 ηητνοι νη ηη [ηητημ]σαει<ε>.
you (sg.) have heard about the abundance (περιοφορία) of each one of them [certainly]. [But (δέ)] concerning the invisible (ἀποφαί) spiritual (πνεῦμα) Triple Powered One, hear! [He exists] as an Invisible One who is incomprehensible to them all. He contains them all within [himself], for (γὰρ) [they] all exist because of [him]. He is perfect (τέλειος), and he is greater than perfect (τέλειος), and he is blessed (μακάριος). [He is] always [One] and [he] exists [in] them all, being ineffable, unnameable,

[being One] who exists through [them] all—he whom, [should] one discern (νοεῖν) [him, one would not desire] anything that exists] before him among those [that possess] existence (τοπος), for (γὰρ) [he is] the [source (πηγή)] [from which they were all emitted]. [He is prior to] [perfection (-τέλειος). He was prior] [to every] divinity, [and] he is prior [to] every blessedness (-μακάριος) since he provides for every power. And he <is> a nonsubstantial (-οφέρια) substance (οφέρια), since he is a God over whom there is no divinity, the transcending of whose greatness and <beauty>
[MH]
(Lines 1–5 lacking)

8 ευσωπε [εγ]ωναι εγμα·
επιαν [ογμ]ντατβαμ τε η
12 λιος· ευαγιει δε εβολ ητο
οτη ογωφοπη νενν[ο]ια·
14 [η]πε ηπωυπε αν· αλ[α] ρω
ευ[η] [π]υπυπε [αν] [η] [ετ]
16 ηπη ητ[ε] θηπαρχς· ευς[α]
νε [η] ωψ[η] ρωβ ναι· δε πη
18 ητον η[τε] η[ευ]ωπε ευςαν
ηνοει ημοι· παι δε πη [ογα]
20 ευκη εφαι [ογ]λα [ει]βε [η] ωσ
[π]ε αν ουνην· άγω [ογγυ]
22 [λ]η ηνατψαλ [αν] [ο]νυνη
[η] αθηπε [αν] ουειδος ηαι
μο[ρ]φη· αν [ογα]τβαμ [αν]
26 ογ[δ]αμ· [α]ν [ογ]υνια ηαι
ογ[α] [α] αν ογκινηςι[α]
28 [ηα]κκιμ· αν ογενηρια]
νε [αν] ογμντνουτε [η]τε
tε [τ]ντνουτε [αλ[α] εσ]ω
πε ευσανξι ευαγιει εβο
32 ηη τωρ[π] ημτνσας· αν
ογενηρια ηαιπωρξ·
36 ογγυνοταςι [η]τε τω
tπ ητε πογα ετωον
38 οντως· ογμαρζ[ε]νε δε
[power. It is not impossible for them]
to receive a [revelation of] these things
if [they] come together.

Since (ἐπειδῆ) it is impossible for
the [individuals (-καρά)] to comprehend the Universal One
[situated in the] place that is higher than perfect (τέλειος),
they (+δὲ) apprehend by means of
a First [Thought (ἐννοεῖ)]—
(it is) not as Being (alone), [but (ἄλλο)]
it is along with the
latency of Existence (ὑπαρχεῖσ) that he confers Being. He
[provides]
everything for [himself] since it is
he who shall come to be when he
intelligizes (νοεῖ) himself. And (δὲ) he is [One]
who subsists as a [cause]
and source (πηγή) [of Being] and [an]
immaterial (-υλή) [material (υλή) and an]
innumerable [number and a formless (-εἶδος)]
form (εἶδος) and a [shapeless (-μορφή)]
shape (μορφή) and [a powerlessness and]
[a power and an insubstantial (-οὐσία)]
[substance (οὐσία) and a motionless motion (κίνησις)]
[and an inactive (-ἐνέργεια)]
[activity (ἐνέργεια). Yet (ἄλλα) he is]
[a] provider of [provisions]
[and] a divinity [of]
divinity—but (ἄλλα) whenever
they apprehend, they participate
the first Vitality and
an undivided activity (ἐνέργεια),
an hypostasis (ὑπόστασις) of the First One
from the One who truly (ἦντως) exists.
And (δὲ) a second
[Mθ]

δενεργία ε[...
2 [...].αεπενε[...
[......]ογτ[...
4 [...
[......]...[......]ογτ[αγ̇ Ν]
6 ογμήτμακ[αριός] ΜΝ ογμή[ντ]
8 αρασος· χε [εφω]πε εγω[αν]
10 ἰνοει ἰμοφ Μ[πιρε]ξιοορ
12 ζορατων ἰπή[α ετκ]ι ἰπρα[ι]
14 [ε]β[ω]οον ἰαω ιηε· αγω ι[ε]
16 [ο]γον ιμ· εκισοον ινογ
18 οπ· εβολ γρα τομ παι ασω
20 [ν]αε [ε]κεειμε· κε· ευ· ει
22 [ν]αιεβωι ινειερυ· ογ[τε]
24 [τ]ε ογειά· ογτε ογεων·
26 [ε]νεξ· α· τμντων· ἴν
28 οπ· τον· νε· τοτ· γρα· οι
30 [η]ττων· εψμήν· ΜΝ τνο
32 [η]τς· αγω· [πνων· ευον
tε] τμντων· ογντες· ἴν
34 ειμε· τνοντς· εὐ
36 οπ· αγω· πινομ· ογα
38 πογα· πογα· άνοκ· λε· ἴν

[NE]
activity (ἐνέργεια) [activity (ἐνέργεια)]

[however (δὲ), is the [He is endowed with]]

[He is endowed with]

[He is endowed with]

[He is endowed with]

[blessedness (-μακάριος)] and
goodness (-ἀγαθός) because [when] he is

recognized (νοεῖ) [as the] traverser
of the boundlessness of the Invisible (ἄόρατον)

Spirit (πνεῦμα) [that subsists]
in him, it (i.e., the boundlessness) turns him (i.e., the traverser)
to [it] (i.e., the Invisible Spirit)

[in] order that (ὁμα) it might know what is
within him and

how he exists. And

he was becoming salvation for

every one by being a
cause for those who truly (γείων) exist,

for (γάρ) through him
his knowledge (γνῶσις) endured,

since he is the one who knows what
he is. But (δὲ) they brought forth nothing

beyond themselves, neither (οὐτέ) nor (οὐτε) nor (οὐτε)
glory nor (οὐτε) aeon,

for (γάρ) they are all

ever eternal. He is Vitality and
Mentality and That-Which-Is.

For (γάρ) then (τότε) That-
Which-Is constantly possesses its

Vitality and Mentality (νοήματι),
and (Life has)

Vitality possesses
(non-)Being (-οὐσία) and

Mentality. Mentality (νοήματι) possesses
Life and That-Which-Is.

And the three are one,
although individually (-κατά) they are three."

Now (δὲ) after

I heard these things, my son
[N]
[mccosc aeip]zote aym
2 [aeikolb epio]yato. el[
[ io± m]eyye]
4 [
[...]]
6 [t]bom e[nn etd]mbom [neime
[e]nae e[boal zit]n oynw e
8 boal en[eaq n]zoypo. anok de
aeidh[om] ejhn oycap5 to
10 ziwst[aei]cwtn enai eboal
ntootk [a]wyn etbe tcbw
12 etnhtov. ekipimeeyg
etnht apexw Nn[h] et
14 xoce e[n]psi Mn niat[c]oyn[w]
noy' etbe pai tizote m[h]
16 nwc atacbw aceipe noy
llaq para peteysve. aym
18 tota pexac nau on [xe] na
ynre mccosc N6i tanie
20 [o]oy throu ioynh. acdn[k]
[n]ai eboal. aym pexac xe [e]
22 reyoyon nih cwtv ena[n]
eboal eninob Nbom oya[ay]
24 w palleogenhc ay' ziw
wk noynob Nbom' th e
26 tautoac ziwshk N6i pwi
nte ptrph pwa enez 2a
28 en empatpk ei epima. zi
na nh etmkf mpordcay
30 xe ekepordcay. aym nh
ete inat'coywno N
32 pioato xe ekeime e
pooy. aym Nny3g3 e
34 xai epete paw. nh e
takhordp3 nnowg N
36 nh ete maqf xria Nnagmeq
[50]
[Messos, I was] afraid, and

2 [I turned toward the] multitude

[ ] thought [ ]

4 [ ]

6 [gives] power to [those who] are capable of knowing these things [by] a revelation

8 that is much [greater]. And (δὲ) I was [capable], although flesh (σάρξ) was

10 upon [me. I] heard from you about these things and about the doctrine

12 that is in them since the thought which is in me distinguished [the things that are] beyond measure as well as the unknowables.

14 Therefore I fear that (μὴ πώς)

16 my doctrine may have become something beyond (παρά) what is fitting.” And

18 then (τότε), my son Messos, the all-glorious One,

20 Youel, spoke to me again. She made a revelation to me and said: “No

22 one is able to hear [these things] except the great powers alone,

24 O (Ω) Allogenes.

A great power was put upon you, which

26 the Father of the All, the Eternal, put upon you

28 before you came to this place, in order that (ἰδα) those things that are difficult to distinguish

30 you might distinguish and those things that are unknown to

32 the multitude you might know, and that you might escape (in safety)

34 to the One who is yours, who was first to save and

36 who does not need (ἀφεῖ) to be saved.
(Lines 1-5 lacking)

6 ἡ[...] [...] ἃκ [ἵογ]
   εἰδῶς ἅ[ὸν ὦν]ς ἐβολ [ἢ]

8 πισμοῦτ [ᾗ ὅμοι ἃ]ατῆ
   ἐρῶ ἀπὸ ἄνα ἐ[ἐκὴ ἄ]αβολ ἅ

10 μοῦ ὅδι ὄγω[ψεις ἃ]ατη[ὦ]
   ὦ ἁ[ἀτῶμα ἃ]ως[α ἐ]νεξ

12 κατὰ θε ἐτῶ ἃ[ἵ]εων τῷ[ογ]
   [ἐ]ψ[oο]π ὅδι πεισ[ὦν ἄ]αρ[ῆ]

14 ᾗ[ῶ] εὐγνατ ὁν ἁ[ἰτου]πος
   ἅ[ὶ]ε [ἰδῶς ἄ]τε ἁ[ιοντος

16 ετω[o]πτ ἁ[ἰκ]ων ἁτ
   πικα[λυπτος] εὑ[γνατ] ἀ[ε

18 ἁ[π]ω[ά]κε ἁ[ν]ερον ἁτ
   ν[α]τ ἐ[τῶ]ν 2α [πιπρωτοφα

20 ν[η]ς ἁ[κο]υτ ἁ[ν]ος κατά
   ὁ[γ]κων ἁ[ε]νεργίδι ι[ε

22 ἃ[ν] ὅ[ικο]τα ὁγα εἰτε ἃ[ν] ὄγ
   τεχνη εἰτε ἃ[ν] ὄγεπιτη

   μερικον εὐγνατ ἁ[π

26 ἀ[γ]τογενης ἁ[ν]ουτε κα
   τα ὁ[γ]κων ἁ[ε]ιμε ι[ε

28 ε[π]οφα νογα ἁτε ναι ἁ[ε
   ἁ]ενεργει κατα μερος ἁ[γ

30 κατα ὁγα ἁ[πο]ν ἁ[ε]ταζο
   ἄ[ν]ντωβε ἁ[ρατον ἁ]εβολ

32 ἃ[ν] ἁ[φ]υςις ὁγντατ ἃ
   πισμοῦτ ἁ[κο]υτ ἁ[ν]ο

34 τε ἁ[γ]ο[γα]ι ἁ[τ]εγ τη
   ρογ ἃ[ν] πιασοτατον ἁ[π

   ἂν[]<Ἀτς> πε πια[λογ ἁ]τελος

38 ἀ[γ] ἁ[τε]γνυποτασις ὁγα
form (εἶδος) [and a revelation of]

the invisible spiritual (πνεῦμα) Triple Powered One outside of which [dwell]

an undivided incorporeal (-σῶμα) [eternal] knowledge (γνώσις).

As (κατά) with all the Aeons, the Aeon of Barbelo exists,

also endowed with the types (τύπος)
and forms (εἴδως) of those who truly (ὁντος)
exist, the image (εἰκών) of Kalyptos. And (δὲ) endowed

with the intellectual (νοερόν) Word of these, he bears the

noetic (νοῦς) male Protophanes like (κατά)
an image (εἰκών), and (δὲ) he acts (ἐνεργεῖ) within the individuals (-κατὰ) either (εἰτε) with craft (τεχνη) or (εἰτε) with skill (ἐποικη

or (εἰτε) with partial (μερικόν) instinct (φύσις).

He is endowed with the
divine Autogenes like (κατά)
an image (εἰκών), and (δὲ) he knows each one of these. He

acts (ἐνεργεῖ) separately (κατὰ μέρος) and individually (-κατὰ), continuing to rectify the failures

from nature (φύσις). He is endowed with
the divine Triple Male

as salvation for them all (and) in cooperation with the Invisible (ἄδοραν) Spirit (πνεῦμα).

He is a word from a counsel,
<he> is the perfect (τέλειος) Youth.

And this hypostasis (ὑπόστασις) is a
[NB]
(Lines 1-5 lacking)

6 [...][10±]α[ε]

8 [α]εἴρ ἐβ[ολ] ἀειὼτ]ορτρ εμα 
te· ἀγ[ω] ἀε]ικοτὲ εροει

10 ὥγι[α]τ ᾂ εἰναγ ἐπιογο 

12 ἀγαθον ετ

14 τανεοογ θρογ 1ογια

16 πιαν ἀτεκσβω ἀρτελιοσ 

18 ακειμε ερογ· σωθμ ετβε 

20 [2]Ἀρες εροογ ἤν ὁγνοβ ἤ 

22 ὁν ἰε ναι μεγεοογ ὕνο 

24 νη ετε ογιδομ ἤμοογ 

26 ωμ ἵν τε εξοογ εγρα εγ 

28 θῃ ετξοε ετελιοσ· 

30 πιωομ ἅδομ· νη ετῳ 

32 ἤν ογμντάγαθος· νη 

34 εκῳοον 2ρα ἄγητη ἄδι 

36 εκῳοον εογα πε ἤν ογ
[52]
(Lines 1–5 lacking)

6  
[my soul \(\psi\nu\xi\eta\) went slack] and

8  I fled [and was] very disturbed.

And [I] turned to myself

10  [and] saw the light

that [surrounded] me and the

12 Good (\(\dot{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\delta\omicron\)) that was in me and I became divine.

And the all-glorious One, Youel,

14 anointed me again

and she gave power to me. She said: "Since (\(\ell\epsilon\tau\epsilon\delta\omicron\))

16 your instruction has become complete (\(\tau\ell\epsilon\ell\epsilon\iota\omicron\))

and you have known the Good (\(\dot{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\beta\beta\omicron\)) that is within you,

18 hear concerning

the Triple Powered One those things that you will

20 guard in great

silence (\(\sigma\tau\gamma\eta\)) and great mystery (\(\mu\nu\sigma\tau\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu\)),

22 because they are not spoken to

anyone except those who are worthy,

24 those who are able

to hear; nor (\(\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\)) is it fitting

26 to speak to an

uninstructed generation (\(\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\delta\alpha\)) concerning

28 the Universal One that is higher than perfect (\(\tau\ell\epsilon\ell\epsilon\iota\omicron\)).

But (\(\delta\epsilon\)) you have <these> because of

30 the Triple Powered One, the One who exists

in blessedness (\(-\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\))

32 and goodness (\(-\dot{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\delta\omicron\)), the One

who is responsible for all these.

34 There exists within him

much greatness.

36 Inasmuch as he is One in a
(Lines 1-4 lacking)

6 ἔτε ὑ[ὀρτὶ ἡννοοῖα πὴ ἑ]
8 ὑς ἀν ἐβ[ολ ழ ὑ ἑτὸωοὶ]·
10 ἀκιμ ἐν ὑμ[
12 ἔτεμμε νίνα ἐν ἑ
14 ἔτοοτπ ἵκενεργία ἔτε
16 ἔτοοτπ ἔροκ ὄγαγ: ἀπογ
18 πηθρὴ ἐτὸος ἐτελιος·
20 ὑς ἔτοοτπ ἀν
22 ἔτελιος ὑς ὑς ἔτε
24 ὑς ἑτεροπ ητε ἕ
26 ὑς ὑς ἐτακογ
28 ποια ἐτε πνευμ πε ἑ
30 ὑς ὑς ἐτακογ
32 ὑς ὑς ἐτακογ
34 ὑς ὑς ἐτακογ
36 ὑς ὑς ἐτακογ
38 ὑς ὑς ἐτακογ
of the [First Thought (ἐννοια), which]
does not fall away [from those who dwell]
in comprehension [and knowledge (γνώσις)]
and [understanding (ἐπιστήμη)]. And
That One moved motionlessly
in that which
governs, lest (ὑπα) he sink
into the boundless by means of
another activity (ἐνέργεια) of
Mentality. And he entered
into himself and he appeared,
being all-encompassing,
the Universal One that is higher than perfect (τέλειος).
Indeed (μέν) it is not through me
that he is to such a degree anterior to knowledge (γνώσις).
Whereas (ἐπείδη) there is no possibility for complete (τέλειος)
comprehension, he is (nevertheless) known.
And (δὲ) this is so because of the
third silence of
Mentality and the second
undivided activity (ἐνέργεια) which appeared
in the First Thought (ἐννοια),
that is, the Aeon of Barbelo,
together with the Indivisible One of
the divisible likenesses and the Triple
Powered One and the nonsubstantial (-όσια) Existence
(ὑπαρζεῖον)."

<And> the power
appeared by means of an activity (ἐνέργεια)
that is at rest
and silent, although it uttered
a sound thus: ZZA
ZZA ZZA. But (δὲ) when she heard
the power and she was filled
[NA]
(Lines 1–4 lacking)

[15±] ne

[13±] ανοίγω


8 [8±] κατὰ τὴν θεον

10 [γ]α] θε[ε] εβολήν Μὸς τῇ τί παντικόν οὐ νοσοῦνigma
tην οὐ νοσοῦνigma

12 ἀρμαθωνο[ν] οὐ νοσοῦνigma κατὰ αὐτὸν
tην οὐ νοσοῦνigma

14 γὰρ [λε] ενταξάσια ἡ σομί
tην οὐ νοσοῦνigma εἰς τὴν παντικόν
tην οὐ νοσοῦνigma

16 τῇ εβολῇ Μὸς<ν> τῇ τί παντικόν
tην οὐ νοσοῦνigma τὴν προσωπία
tην οὐ νοσοῦνigma
tην οὐ νοσοῦνigma

18 ηρεγαναψι] υπομενεῖ: αὖ
tην οὐ νοσοῦνigma

20 [λ]αλαμεγί: ἤθεγί: νονθαγί:
ην οὐ νοσοῦνigma ποιεῖ: επειμερήσατο
ην οὐ νοσοῦνigma

22 ὁμοί: επετηρί: οὐ νοσοῦνigma
tην οὐ νοσοῦνigma
tην οὐ νοσοῦνigma

24 λαμ: οὐ νοσοῦνigma ποιεῖ
tην οὐ νοσοῦνigma

26 εἰς νιμ: τοτε ἀκομοῦν εἰς
ην οὐ νοσοῦνigma

28 λε: λαλαμεγί: νο[θα]γί: χθο
ην οὐ νοσοῦνigma
tην οὐ νοσοῦνigma

30 μελλεθαγί:
ην οὐ νοσοῦνigma

32 ὁμοί: οὐ νοσοῦνigma ποιεῖ
tην οὐ νοσοῦνigma

34 αὐτοχος ενιατχο
ην οὐ νοσοῦνigma

36 εὐαγχρον νακ ἰνιατμι
tην οὐ νοσοῦνigma

[παπανε]
[54]
(Lines 1–4 lacking)

[6] thou art

[8] Solmis!

[8] according to (κατά) the Vitality,

[that is thine, and] the first activity (ἐνεργεία)

which derives from

divinity: Thou art great,

Armedon! Thou art perfect (τελειος),

Epiphaneu(s)! And (ὁ) according to (κατά) that activity

(ἐνεργεία)

of thine, the second power

and the Mentality

which derives from blessedness (μακάριος):

Autoer, Beritheu(s),

Erigenaor, Orimeni(os), Aramen,

Alphleges, Elelioupheu(s),

Lalameu(s), Yetheu(s), Noetheu(s)!

Thou art great! He who knows [thee]

knows the Universal One! Thou art One, Thou

art One, He who is good, Aphredon!

Thou art the Aeon of

Aeons, He who is perpetually!"

Then (τότε) she praised

the Universal One, saying:

"Lalameu(s), Noetheu(s), Senaon,

Asine[u(s), Olrippani(os),:

Mellephaneu(s), Elemaoni,

Smoun, Optaon, He Who

Is! Thou art He Who Is,

the Aeon of Aeons, the

Unbegotten, who art higher than the unbegotten (ones),

Yatomen(os), thou alone

for whom all the unborn ones were begotten,

the Unnameable One!
(Lines 1–9 lacking)

1 [poq

10 [ 12± 12± ]
[ 6± MNT]eime a

12 [nok de ñtapist[ω] th enai ae1
[naay eneyooy] nnikata oya

14 [nteioac ay]psi ninanteioac
[nh etwos op zi]ogyma nin ni

16 [panteioac e]țaeh ñnite
[lyoc nalin] on pexac nai

18 [ñbi tañnoba] neoooy iðyha
[axe palleore]nhc õn ogei

20 [me ñat eime] ekeime ae pi
[swot ñbo]m qwoop za

22 [th ñnieoooy] ncewoop an
[mn netwoop ncewoop

24 [an zi oyma] mn nh etwop
[oYTE NH ETW]OOP ONTOC

26 [alla nai thpo oy eywoop
[nøymntnayo]te mn oymn

28 [makaricoc mn] ogyarpzic
[ayw nøymnt]atoçcia mn

30 [ogyarpzic] natywppne
[ayw tote a]e[i]twbzy xe epe

32 [pooyw õb]oq wypne nai
[ayw tote pe]xac nai ñbi

34 [tanieoooy] tbroay iðyha
[xe õ palleo]enhc men

36 [tou piyñnt]2000t ey
[aaaq pe ñc]a ogyocia

38 [eneyatoçcia] de pe pi
10 [unknowing knowledge]."

12 [Now (δὲ) after I] heard these things, I
[saw the glories of the perfect (τέλειος)] individuals

14 [and] the all-perfect ones (παντέλειος)
[who exist] together, and the

16 [all-perfect ones (παντέλειος) who] are before the perfect ones (τέλειος).

[Again (πάλιν) the greatly] glorious One,

18 Youel, said to me:

["O Allogenes, in an

20 [unknowing knowledge] you know that the
[Triple Powered One] exists before

22 [the glories]. They do not exist
[among those who exist]. They do not exist

24 [together] with those who exist
[nor (οὔτε) (with) those who] truly (ἄντως) exist.

26 [Rather (ἀλλὰ) all these] exist
[as divinity] and [blessedness (-μακάριος)]

28 [and] existence (ὑπαρξεῖσ),
[and as] nonsubstantiality (-οὐσία) and

30 non-being [existence (ὑπαρξεῖσ)]."
[And then (τότε) I] prayed that

32 [the revelation] might occur to me.
[And then (τότε)]

34 [the] all-[glorious One], Youel, said to me:
["O (ὁ) Allogenes], of course (μεντοί)

36 [the Triple] Male
[is something beyond] substance (οὐσία).

38 Yet (δὲ) [were he insubstantial (-οὐσία)],
[.Lines 1-7 lacking]

8 [ e ]
[8]ολ[ ]
10 ΝΗ ετ' ωφ[ο]η [2Ν ογυγγτα]
ic ΝΗ ἡ[Γ]ε[ν]εά ΝΤΕ ΝΗ
12 ετ' ὑοον δ[ντως· εγγο]
op ΝΗ δί ΝΙΑΓΤ[ογενης· ε]
14 γρα[ε]π[ει]ψ[δντιοουτ· ε]
wπε εκ[απ[ε]νιε 
16 ω[ινε· εγχ[κ εβολ· τοτε]·
εκεείμε επ[αγαθον ετν]
18 ζήτη· τοτε ε[κεείμε εποκ]
ζωωκ· ΝΗ ετ[ωοοι εβολ Ν]Μ
20 πνογτε ετρ[ψορπ Νωοον]
οντως· ΝΗ Ν[κα ωε δε Ν]
22 ρομπε εφε[ωπε νακ Ν]
δι ογβωλπ εβ[ολ Ντε πη ε]
24 βολ [λιοοοτη νελαμεξ]
ΝΗ θε[λαηεμη· Ν[ν δρ· Ν· Ν]
26 φωσθηρ ντε[ε πεων νβαρ]
βηλω· ΑΥΝ π[παρα πετ]
28 ωυε εροκ ν[εκεείμε ερο]
νωορπ χε ν[εκτ οσε ηπεκ]
30 ρενος εω[ωπε δε ντε]
tοτε εωωπε[ε εκαναχη]
32 Νουγενο[δα Ντε πη· τοτε]
eωαγκωκ [ημοκ εβολ Ν]Μ
34 πωξε εγ[γλαę επξωκ εβολ·]
ΑΥΝ τοτε [ωκαυωπε Ννογ]
36 τε· ΑΥΝ ψ[ακφ τελιος· έκχη]
μεν Νμοο[γ]
[56]
(Lines 1–7 lacking)

8  [  

10 those who exist [in association (σύστασις)]
   with the [generation (γενεά) of those]
12 who [truly (ἀντων)] exist.
   [The self-begotten ones (ἀυτογενεῖς) exist]
14 with the [Triple Male].
If you [seek with a]
16 [perfect] seeking, [then (τότε)]
   you shall know the [Good (ἀγαθόν) that is]
18 in you; then (τότε) [you will know yourself]
   as well, (as) one who [derives from]
20 the God who truly (ἀντων) [pre-exists].
   [For (γάρ)] after [a hundred]
22 years there shall [come to you]
   a revelation [of That One]
24 by means of [Salamex]
   and Scλθmεν [and Ar.ε, the]
26 Luminaries (φωστήρ) [of the Aeon of] Barbelo.
   And [that beyond (παρὰ) what]
28 is fitting for you, [you shall not know]
   at first, so as not [to forfeit your]
30 kind (γένος). [And (βε) if so],
   then (τότε) when [you receive]
32 a conception (ἐνως) [of That One, then (τότε)]
   [you] are filled [with]
34 the word [to completion].
   Then (τότε) [you become divine]
36 and [you become perfect (τέλειος). You receive]
   (+μέν) them [
(Lines 1–4 lacking)

6 [..] ἡγαράς[

[ε]ψωπε εκει[ναμακτε ἵογ]

8 [λ]αβαγ ἐσαγαμα[τε ἤμοις ἐβολ]

[τ]το τὸν εἰς τῆμαι ἦν ἐβολ[ν]!]

10 τοῦτο ἠπν ἐτούταξ ἤμοις [ε]τε χεὶς ἀγω τὸτε ἐσαγ

12 ψωπε ἑνεὰς ἵσογο ἰδῖ πν [ε]mouseenter ἀγω εὐείμε ἵσογο·

14 ε[π]ν ἐτούταξ ἤμοις ἀγω ἑτογείμεν ἐρο[ψ] ἐψωπε

16 ἰς ἑψωνεὶ ἑγραῖ ἐτεφφυ [σι] ψαψθει[ν] νιφυς[ις] γαρ

18 ἰνατςωμα ἵπογςυβηρ ε [λα]αγ ἵμντνοβ· εὔνταγ

20 ἵτειβομ εἵς Τοπος Νίμ· ἀγω ενεξαγ ολαι Ητοπος

22 άν· ἑνειγ ἵμντνοβ Νίμ· [α]γω εσσβοινοτ ἐμντκογ

24 εί Νίμ· Ναις ἐς ἰταςχούον ἦ [δι] τανιεοογ θρογ ἱογνα·

26 ἀσπυρξ ἐβολ ἤμοις ακά [στ]· ἄνοκ δε ἰπικα οοτ

28 ἐβολ ἓν νισάξε εταίκωτα ἐροογ· ἀεισωτε ἤμοις ἦ

30 ζητουν· ἀγω νεισωξνε ἦ μοει πε ἓν γε ἰρομπε·

32 ἄνοκ δε νειτελνα ἤμοις ε [ματε ειευο[[π] ἓν ογνοβ

34 ἰνογςειν ἦν ογῖν ἰμα καριος· ἄε νη μεν εταει

36 ἰτσα ἰναγ ἐροογ· ἀγω [ον] ἦν ἐταείπους ἤςω

38 τὸ ἐροογ· νη ἑτεψω ἰντε νηοβ ἵσομ ογαγ
(Lines 1-4 lacking)

[ ] the seeking

6 [ ] the Existence (\(\psi\pi\alpha\rho\xi\iota\))

if it \(\textit{apprehends}\)

8 anything, \(\textit{it} \) is \(\textit{apprehended by}\)

that one and by

the very one who is comprehended.

And then \(\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\epsilon\) he

becomes greater

who comprehends and knows than

he who is comprehended and

known. But \(\delta\epsilon\) if

he descends to his nature (\(\phi\upsilon\omicron\omicron\iota\iota\iota\)),

he is less, for \(\gamma\alpha\rho\) the

incorporeal (\(-\sigma\omicron\omega\mu\alpha\)) natures (\(\phi\upsilon\omicron\omicron\iota\iota\iota\)) have not associated with

any magnitude; having

this power, they are everywhere (\(\tau\omicron\omicron\pi\omicron\omicron\os\))

and they are nowhere (\(\tau\omicron\omicron\pi\omicron\omicron\os\)),

since they are greater than every magnitude,

and less than every exiguity."

24 Now \(\delta\epsilon\) after

the all-glorious One, Youel, said these things,

26 she separated from me and left

me. But \(\delta\epsilon\) I did not despair

28 of the words that I heard.

I prepared myself

therein and I deliberated

with myself for a hundred years.

32 And \(\delta\epsilon\) I rejoiced exceedingly

since I was in a great

light and a blessed (\(\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\os\)) path

because those (\(\tau\mu\iota\nu\)) whom I was

worthy to see as well

as those whom I was worthy to hear

38 (are) those whom it is fitting

that the great powers alone
[NH]
(Lines 1-4 Lacking)
[13±] εν.[
6 [10±] b ñte πνο[γ]y
[te étαυρνα]ν εζογν ñδι [πν]
8 [ἀωκ εβολ ñt]ε τσε ῥομπ[ε]
10 πιοc ñte ἄζελπιc ñwa ενε[ς]
εκμεζ εβολ źni ογμντμεc
12 αἰναγ επιαραθοc ñγαυτοcε
ννc ñνογνε mn πιςω[τ][π]
14 ετε παί πe πισμνττɔο[ογ]τ'
ñτελιοc ñναλογ' mn ἄμnt'
16 αραθοc ñtε παί πιπρωτο
φαννc ñηαρμνδαωñ ñτελι
18 oc ñνογc mn ἄμντμακα
πιοc ñtε πικάλμπτοc: mn ἄ
20 ωφρπ ñαρκχ ñtε ἄμντμα
καριοc: πιεων ñβαρβνλω
22 εκμεζ εβολ źni ογμντμνογ
tε mn ἄωφρπ ñαρκχ ñtε
tηαταρχ' πισμνττοβοm ña
ζορατον ἰπνα' ριθρή ετ
26 χοcε ετελιοc: εταγτοrοrπ<τ>
εβολ ζιτοoτq ἵπιογοειn
28 ñwa ενεζ' εβολ ζιτοoτq
μπιενδαμa εττοε ζιw
30 ωτ' αγw αγxιt ετραί εξh
ογτοποc εζογααβ' πn ε
32 υε θημνbοm οτεειnε ñ
ταq ογων' εβολ ζιm πkοc
34 μοc' τοtε εβοl ζιtν ογ
νοβ θημντμακαριοc αι
36 ñαγ ένh ηθρογ εταεi
cωτm εροοv αγw αει
38 cμw εροοv ηθρογ αι
When the completion of the one hundred years drew nigh, it brought me a blessedness (μακάριος) of the eternal hope (ελπίς) full of auspiciousness (-χρηστός).

I saw: the good (ἀγαθός) divine Autogenes; and the Savior (σωτήρ) who is the youthful, perfect (τέλειος) Triple Male Child; and his goodness (-ἀγαθός), the noetic (νοῦς) perfect (τέλειος) Protophanes-Harmedon; and the blessedness (-μακάριος) of the Kalyptos; and the primary origin (ἀρχή) of the blessedness (-μακάριος), the Aeon of Barbelo full of divinity; and the primary origin (ἀρχή) of the one without origin (-ἀρχή), the spiritual (πνεῦμα), invisible (ἄπαθος) Triple Powered One, the Universal One that is higher than perfect (τέλειος). When <1> was taken by the eternal Light out of the garment (ἐνδύμα) that was upon me, and taken up to a holy place (τόπος) whose likeness cannot be revealed in the world (κόσμος), then (τότε) by means of a great blessedness (-μακάριος) I saw all those about whom I had heard. And I praised all of them and I
[αζερ]ατ' ἡξιών ταρνωσις: η[1]
[κωτ]τε εζογν ετ'ταρνωσις [η]
[τε] ηπτηργ' πιεων ἱβαρβή[ν]
[αω] παληπον αγ[γ] ε[γ] [ας] ἐβολ ἱτοτογ ηνιφως[ε]
[α]τ ταπαζε τα[ι] ε[τ]
ὡς τη α蚤 πκοσμος: παλλό
[ρ]ενς καν επαγ ετ'θντμακαιρι
[οκ ετντακ ηνε ετ'σωοπ
[ζ]ον ογκρη: τη ετεκειμε ε
τοκ ηζητε καταρκ: αγω αρι
[α]ναξωρι εξον τιντωνι
εκκωτε ηκσκ: τη ετεκεν
[να]γ ερος εκκιμ: αγω ειν
δαμ ναζερατκ: ηπτργωτε
[λα]αγ: αλλα ευσωπ εκγλαν
ογς εαζερατκ: αριαναξω
[πι εξο] ντζυπαρκς: αγω εκε
τε ερος εαζερατκ αγω εκ
[ζορκ] ήμος κατα πινε ηπη
ετζορκ ήμος οντωμ
[αγω ε]καματε ηναι ηθρου
ζον ογκαρων ην ογκται
[τε]εργια: αγω εκγαλαξη η
ογτηρν εβολ ητε ναι: εβολ
[ζιτοτογ ηογωρπ ηογ
ωνε εβολ ητε πιατκομω
[ηγ] ην ετε ευσωπ εκ
ουειμε ερος: αριατει
[με ερος] αγω εκσαν
[τοι ηπιμα ετ']ειμαγ αρι
[α]ναξωρι επαζου ετε η
[ε]εργια: αγω εκσαν
[τελιος ηπιτοπος ετη
μαγ ςοκ ημοκ: αγω
[κατα πιτυπος ετσωοπ
ηζητε: ειμε ον ιτη]
[stood] upon my knowledge (γνώσις) and [I]
[inclined to] the knowledge (γνώσις) [of]
the Universals, the Aeon of Barbelo.
And I saw [holy] powers
by means of the [Luminaries (φωστήρ)]]
of the virginal (παρθένος) male Barbelo
[telling me]
[that] I would be able to test (πειράζων) what
happens in the world (κόσμος): “O Allogenes,
behold your Blessedness (-μακάριος),
how it silently (σιγή) abides,
by which you know
your proper (-κατά) self and,
seeking yourself, withdraw (ἀναχωρεῖν) to the Vitality
that you will
see moving. And although it is
impossible for you to stand, fear
nothing; but (ἀλλά) if you
wish to stand, withdraw (ἀναχωρεῖν)
to the Existence (ὑπαρχις), and you will
find it standing and
at rest after (κατά) the likeness of the One
who is truly (ὑπνωσ) at rest
and embraces all these
silently and
inactively (-ἐνέργεια). And when you receive
a revelation of him by
means of a primary revelation
of the Unknowable One—
the One whom if you should
know him, be ignorant
of him—and you become
afraid in that place,
withdraw (ἀναχωρεῖν) to the rear because of the
activities (ἐνέργεια). And when you become
perfect (τέλειος) in that place (τόπος),
still yourself. And
in accordance with (κατά) the pattern (τόπος) that indwells
you, know likewise
[5] [x]e ephwoon ἵππει ἸΝ· ὅτι θὴ  
2 [po]υ κατὰ πείσμον· ἄγ[ω]  
[τ]πράξωρε εβολ ἸΔΟΥ ὧν [ἰνά]  
4 [x]ε εκδίδομεν ἱασερατίκ[ι]  
[o]γεῖν Μπρογωγὺ ἐφε[νερ]  
6 [ἰ]να ἐκ νήχε ἐβολ παντ[ʨθ]  
[ἰ]να πατενεργία ετερπαί ἦς[θ]  
8 [τ]κ ἰτε πι[ατς]ογωνι ἔπρε[ι]  
[ι]νε ἐρο[ψ] παί γαρ ομμὴντατ  
10 δομ τε· ἀλλα ἐβολ ἸΤΙΝ ὤγ  
12 ἐρο[ψ]· ἀριστείμε ἐρο[ψ]· ἐν  
14 ἐνείκωτι̣ ἐροού ἐγχα Ἰ  
16 ἰτε οὐς[γς]· ἀείκωτι ἐ  
18 ἐρο[ψ] ἐβολ ὸτουτο[ς] καταρο[ς]  
20 ἰγυς ἀειφαναξωρί ἐξ[υ]ν̣ ἐμ[ν]̣̣̣̣  
22 ἐρο[ψ]· ἀείφυβη ἱβωκ ἐζογν ἐρο[ς]  
24 ἐμμακ· ἰγυς ἀειασερατ ἕ  
26 ἱσα [ι]να ὅταξρο ἀν· ἀλλα ἸΝ·  
28 ὅ[γ]ροκ· ἰγς ἀἱναγ γυκιμ·  
30 ἱγς· ἐπανιδομ τηροῦ ἐ  
32 ἐκασερατῖς· ἰγς εκζορκ  
34 ἐκος κατὰ ογξικων ἰν  
36 ὅ[γ]ν ε[ν] ἑττοξ ἸΩ  
38 ἠς πιάτσων ἰν· ἐτ  
40 ἰν· ἐβολ· ἐβολ ἸΤΙΝ ὥρα ἔβολ  
42 ἰτε πιάτσων ἰν· ἐτ  
44 ἰτε πιάτσων ἰν· ἐτ  
46 ἰτε πιάτσων ἰν· ἐτ  
48 ἰτε πιάτσων ἰν· ἐτ
[that] it is this way in [all such (matters)]
after (κατά) this (very) pattern. And
[do not] further dissipate, [so that (ίδα)]
you may be able to stand,
and do not (οشرط) desire to [be active (ἐνεργεῖν)]
lest (ίδα) you fall [in any way (πάνω)]
from the inactivity (-ἐνεργεία) in
[you] of the Unknowable One. Do not
[know] him, for (γάρ) it is impossible;
but (ἀλλά) if by means of an
enlightened thought (ἐννοία) you should know
him, be ignorant of him.”
Now (δὲ) I was listening to these things as
those ones spoke them. There
was within me a stillness
of silence (σιγή), and I heard the
Blessedness (-μακάριος)
whereby I knew <my> proper (-κατά) self.
And I withdrew (ἀναχωρέω) to the
Vitality as I sought <myself>, and
I joined into it,
and I stood,
not firmly but (ἀλλά)
still. And I saw
an eternal, intellectual (νοερόν), undivided motion
that pertains to all the
formless (-εἴδω) powers, (which is) unlimited
by limitation. And when
I wanted to stand firmly,
I withdrew (ἀναχωρέω) to
the Existence (ὕπαρξις), which I found
standing and at rest
like (κατά) an image (εἰκών) and
likeness of what is conferred upon
me by a revelation
of the Indivisible One and the One who
is at rest. I was filled
with revelation by means
of a primary revelation
[32]

εβολ ἄπατ'κογων' γ[σc]
2 ετε ἰνατ'ειμε ερον' ἄιε[ι]ε[ε]
ερον' ἀγω δε[ι][κι] δομ' γρα[ι]' η
4 2[η]τ'κ' εε[ε][ε]ξι νου[ξ]ρο νζηθ'
6 [σ]οον νζηθ' μη πικ'μητ'δο[μ]η
μη πιογων' ε[ο][ο]λ' ητε η[ι]
8 ατ[ου]μπ ερον' ε[ε][ε]τακ' η[γω]
εβολ' ζηθ' ουμντ'φορπ' ν[ογ]
10 ο[ο]υν' εβολ' ητε πικ'φορπ' ηατ'
[σ]ογων' ναγ' ηθρογ' πνογ'
12 τε ετκ'ο[ςε] ετελιος α[ιναγ'
ερον' μη πικ'μητ'δομ' ετγο
14 οπ' ιζηθ'ογ' ηθρογ' νείκω
τε η[ε]κα πνογτε ηνατ'ςαε
16 ημον' μη πικ'κογων'
ναι ετε εωςπε ερωςνογα
18 ειμε ερον' παντ'ςε ψαφ'φατ'
ειμε ερον' πιμετ'ίςε ητε
20 πικ'μητ'δομ' μη ετ'κη η[ι]ν ου
ζροκ' μη ουκαρ'ψε' η[γω] εε[ε]
22 ηνατ'κογων' ναη δε ειτα
[κηθυ] ιζηθ'ογ' πε[ε]καγ' ναι' ι
24 δι' η[ι]δομ' ητε νιφωςτ'ηρ' χε
ζω' δε εκξωςπε εβολ' ηπια
26 τενερπια ετ'ουον' ιζηθ'
εβολ' ζη[ο]οτ'ηρ' ηνικωτε ι
28 τε νιατταζοοογ' αλα' σωτη'
ετβηττυ κατα' ζε' ετε ουν'
30 δομ' εβολ' ζηθ' ουμντ'φο
πη' νουγων' εβολ' μη ουγ
32 ηζ εβολ' φςοοον' δε' νινογ'
λααγ' ησε ετεφςοον' δε' χε
34 φςοον' η[γω] εφανωςπε
η ευφενερπ' η ε[ε][ε]δε ευφο
36 ηζ εμ[ντακ'] ηνινογνογ'
ουτε ουγων' ουτε ουγ' η
38 παρξιε' ουτε πιατγυπαρ
ζιε' ην ουμντατταζοκ'
of the Unknowable One. [As though (ὡς)]
2 I were ignorant of him, I [knew]
3 him and I received power [by]
4 him. Having been permanently strengthened,
5 I knew the One who
6 exists in me and the Triple Powered One
7 and the revelation of
8 his uncontainableness. [And]
9 by means of a primary
10 revelation of the First One (who is) unknowable
11 to them all, the God
12 who is beyond perfection (τελειος), I saw
13 him and the Triple Powered One that exists
14 in them all. I was seeking
15 the ineffable
16 and Unknowable God—
17 whom if one should
18 know him, he would be absolutely (πάντως)
19 ignorant of him—the Mediator (μεσιτής) of
20 the Triple Powered One who subsists in
21 stillness and silence and is
22 unknowable. And (δὲ) when I was confirmed
23 in these matters,
24 the powers of the Luminaries (φωστήρ) said to me:
25 “Cease hindering the inactivity (-ἐνέργεια)
26 that exists in you
27 by seeking
28 incomprehensible matters; rather (ἀλλὰ)
29 about him insofar (κατὰ) as it is
30 possible by means of a primary
31 revelation and a revelation.
32 Now (δὲ) he is
33 something insofar as he exists in that he either (ἂν)
34 exists and will become,
35 or (ἂν) acts (ἐνέργεια) or (ἂν) knows, although he lives
36 without Mind (νοῦς)
37 or (οὔτε) Life or (οὔτε) Existence (ὢπαρξις)
38 or (οὔτε) Non-Existence (-ὢπαρξις),
39 incomprehensibly.
[38]
[α]γαν εψωοντ ἄνογλααγ μν
2 [ν]ὴ εψωοντ εἰνταψ' ογτε
[ε]νεσωξενια ἄνοψ ουν κατα
4 [λ]ὰαγ ἁςμοτι σωκ εητ ἄνο[γ]
[λ]ὰαγ εψωντι ο εητεθβο [ν]
6 [ε]ψι ο εητι ογτε εμεγ
[ψα]χρη κα[τα] λααγ ἁςμοτ·
8 [ν] ο εβολ τίτην] πενογωυε ογα
4 [η] ο εητι ο εψι εβολ τιτο
οτη άκεουα ογτε άννταψ
λααγ άνογουε εβολ άμος
ογααι ογτε εβολ τίτην κε
ογα άνευαει ο κα εγραι ε
ρου άλα ογτε ήντοΥ νητ
άνογλααγ ον εβολ τίτοτην
16 τίνα ιε νεψουπε εγψωξε
άμος κατα κεςμος' ετιε
18 ναι ογτε μαψρξια άνογ
νους ογτε ογωνιον ογτε λα
12 αγ ρω εντηρη έγσοτεν ἅν
πτηρη την τίμνταςε εηνταψ
μν τίμνταςουλνε' ετε
ται τε τηςγαρξις άνατους
24 πε' επινα ογνταψ άμαγ μν
ουειη μν ογροκ τίνα ιε
26 νεψωξη εβολ τίτοτου
28 τε άνογμηντνογιε αν' πε
ογτε ογμνταςκαιριος
30 ογτε ογμντετειοιος' άλλα
ογλααγ ήταψ' πε' άνατςου
32 ωνη μνη άν εηνταςι άλ
34 α εκεουα ήτοψ πε' εςο
36 τελιος' ογτε γαρ άνογ
τελιος' άν πε' άλλα εκεν
And he is something along with his proper being.

He is not (οὐτε) left over in (κατά) any way, as if (ὡς) he yields something that is assayed or (ἡ) purified [or (ἡ)] [that] receives or (ἡ) gives. And he is not (οὐτε) diminished in (κατά) any way,

[whether (ἡ)] by his own desire or whether (ἡ) he gives or (ἡ) receives through another. Neither (οὐτε) does [he] have any desire of himself nor (οὐτε) from another; it does not affect him.

Rather (ἀλλά) neither (οὐτε) does he give anything by himself lest (ὡς) he become diminished in (κατά) another respect;

nor (οὐτε) for this reason does he need (χρεία) Mind (νοῦς), or (οὐτε) Life, or (οὐτε) indeed anything at all. He is superior to the Universals in his privation and unknowability,

that is, the non-being existence (ὑπαρξις), since (ἐπιδή) he is endowed with silence (σιγή) and stillness lest (ὡς) he be diminished by those who are not diminished.

He is neither (οὐτε) divinity nor (οὐτε) blessedness (μακάριος) nor (οὐτε) perfection (τέλειος). Rather (ἀλλά) it (i.e., this triad) is an unknowable entity of him, not that which is proper to him; rather (ἀλλά) he is another one superior to the blessedness (μακάριος) and the divinity and perfection (τέλειος). For (γὰρ) he is not (οὐτε) perfect (τέλειος) but (ἀλλά) he is another thing
κα πε εφιστήτη ογια η[νογ]
2 [α]ταρχή τε ογια η[νε]
† τοι οροι τε εβοι ζιτον[τη]
4 [σκ]ειογα· αλλα εγικα εφσο
† πε· ηνογκώμα τε [ν]
6 ονογκώμα [α]ν [πε· ηνογ]
νοβ οα [πε· ηνογ[κο]γει [αν πε]
8 ηνογητε αν πε· ηνογητα[μιο]
αν πε· ογια ηνογιααγ αν
10 πε εφώον· πατ ετε ογιδομ
[ν]τειογα ειμε εροι· αλλα εκε
12 [α]λαγ ηταγ πε εφιστή· ην ε
[τ]ε ημιδομ ητειογα ειμε
14 [ε]ροι· εγιοφι ηνογφει ε
βοι πε· ην ογινωσι ηταγ
16 εντοι ογια άτειμε εροι·
επιαν ηλααγ [α]ν πε· ητε ην
18 εφώον· αλλα εκεικα πε
εφιστή ητε ην ετειστη·
20 αλλα ηθε· ημι ετηταγ· αγω
ημι οα· ητηταγ· ογια εφκι
22 οα εβοι ζη ογιεων· ογια
εφκι [αν εβοι ζη ογιρονος·
24 ογια εμεφκι λαλα ηβοι ζη
τηκειογα· ογια ενεεω
26 ζη ηυμοι αν· ογια εφσωφη
ηλααγ αν· ογια ηνογατα
28 ζη αν· παι· [αν· ογιεξο
ηταγ ογιααγ πε· [χς εγλα
30 αγ ητηε πε· ηνοταγκωνη
cχς εφιστη εηη ετηπονου
32 ογ ζη· ηνοταγκωνη·
εγταγ ηνογκώμακα
34 ριος [αν· ογμπτελ]ος
ην ογκάρωη <ην>θηπ> ηηακαπι
36 ογ· ογια· ην ογεχοκ· αλλα
38 ογιααγ ηταγ πε εφώον·
ην ετε ημιδομ ητειογα
that is superior. He is neither (οὐτε) boundless, nor (οὐτε) another. Rather (ἄλλα) he is something [superior].

He is not corporeal (σωμα). He is not incorporeal (-σωμα). He is not great. [He is not] small.

He is not a number (i.e., quantity). He is not a [creature]. Nor (οὐτε) is he something that exists, that one can know. But (ἄλλα) he is something else of himself that is superior, which one cannot know.

He is primary revelation and knowledge (γνώσις) of himself, as it is he alone who knows himself. Since (ἐπειδή) he is not one of those that exist but (ἄλλα) is another thing, he is superior to (all) superlatives even (ἄλλα) in comparison to (both) what is (properly) his and not his. He neither (οὐτε) participates in eternity (αἰών) nor (οὐτε) does he participate in time (χρόνος).

He does not (οὐτε) receive anything from anything else. He is not (οὐτε) diminishable, nor (οὐτε) does he diminish anything, nor (οὐτε) is he undiminishable.

But (δὲ) he is self-comprehending, as (ὡς) something so unknowable, that (ὡς) he exceeds those who excell in unknowability. He is endowed with blessedness (-μακάριος) and perfection (-τέλειος) and silence—not <the blessedness (-μακάριος)> nor (οὐτε) the perfection (-τέλειος)—and stillness. Rather (ἄλλα) it (i.e., these attributes) is an entity of him that exists, which one cannot
[5a]
(ei)me eproq ayw eproq
2 [M]oq' alla ezenlaay ne ñ
[ta]q ñnatcoynow nay
4 thrøy. epxoce de ñh ñm[nt]
çaie ññooy oenái thyroy
6 [etn]ano[y]oy' nai de ñţţe
[oyat]co[y]wnq pe nay th
8 r[oy] kata cmot nim' ayw
ebol ñitooth thyroy eq
10 prài ñntroy thyroy ñţţm
sic oyaac an ñnatcoynow[c]
12 th etwoon kata poq' ay[w]
eqtoth' ebov ñitoothc ñm[nt]
14 atcoynowc etnaq eproq' ñ (ew]
14a <xe oyn oya eqnaq eproq> xe ñaw ñze qe ñnatcoyn
16 ñq' ñ ewxe [o]yԠ oya eqnaq
eproq kata şe eteqwoon ñ
18 moc kata cmot nim' ñ ew
xe oyn oya naxooc eproq xe
20 eqwoon ñoylaay ñue ñoy
[onousic]: aq'acevhec eproq
22 eyntaq ñoyzan xe ñpeq
coywn nnoyte: ñnéeqa
24 xi ñoyzan an ebov ñitoothq
[mp] etmmay: pi etecp
26 meli naq an 2alaaq' oyte
[mmnt] lala ñoyswye ñ
28 muy' alla ñtoq <q>ebov ñmoq
oyzaq xe ñpeqbine ñţap
30 xh etwoon ontwc: aq' bă
le ñcanbaw mńbval etţo
32 rb ñmoq ñte poywnq
ebol: pi eteq'energī
34 eproq pi ebov ñm píyment
bom ñte ñfour ñennoi
36 a ñte nizoratow ñńná
nai ñţţe eqwoon ebov
Rather (ἀλλά) they are entities of him unknowable to them all. And (ὅτε) he is much higher in beauty than all those that are good, and (ὅτε) he is thus unknowable to all of them in (καρά) every respect. And through them all he is in them all, not only as the unknowable knowledge (γνώσις) that is proper to (καρά) him. And he is united with the ignorance that sees him. Whether (ὅτε) in what way he is unknowable, or (ὅτε) sees him as (καρά) he is in (καρά) every respect, or (ὅτε) would say that he is something like knowledge (γνώσις), he has sinned (-σεβής) against him, being liable to judgment because he did not know God. He will not be judged by That One who is neither concerned (-μέλει) for anything nor (οὐτε) has any desire, but (ἀλλά) it (i.e., judgment) <is> from himself because he did not find the origin (ἀρχή) that truly (ὁντως) exists. He was blind apart from the eye of revelation that is at rest, the (one) that is activated (ἐνεργεῖω), the (one) from the Triple Power of the First Thought (ἐννοια) of the Invisible (ἀόρατον) Spirit (πνεῦμα). This One thus exists from...
(Lines 1–14 lacking)

[....].[

16 [....]λαλαγ α[ttax]ρογ εν[...][8±μογ]

18 [Μκθεαιείς Μώ[γυφπ]ην'ήνεψ
άτε ουξρόκε [μ[ογ]καρμ]

20 [Μ]ν ουμντρποκ [Μowed] ουμν

[τ]νοδ ορηϊτηράτε εαρογω

22 νη εβολεν οε[ραξ]ρια αν ηνογ
χρονος ουτε ηνερξι αν> εβολ ουε

24 οιε' αλλα ντοκ εβολ εμομ
ογαλη εγατηπεθα πε ζω ουμνη

26 ατηπεθη επερενι αν ου
τε εροκ ζινα ζε ερεσωπε

28 εροκεμομ ουτε ηνογ
γυπαρξις αν πε ζινα ζε ηερ

30 ηζκος ογκωμα μεν πε ερη
ζω ουτοπος ογκωμα

32 δε πε ερζν ουκει ενεταρη
ηνογγυπαρξις ηατωπε

34 ερζοοπ ηαυ ηθρογ εροκ
εμεταρ λαλη ηνογω η

36 μεγ' αλλα ογκωμε ηιε
πε ητε ουμντροδ' αγω

38 ερζοκε επερζροκ ζινα
Lines 1–14 lacking

[set firmly on the]

beauty and a [first emergence]
of stillness and silence

and tranquility and

unfathomable greatness. When he appeared,

did not need (-χρεία)
time (χρόνος) nor (οὗτε) <did he partake> of eternity (αἰών).

Rather (ἄλλα) of

himself he is unfathomably

unfathomable. He does not (οὗτε) activate (ἐνεργεῖν)
himself so as to (ὡς) become

still. He is not (οὗτε) an

existence (ὑπαρξεῖσ) lest (ὡς) he

be in want. Spatially (τόπος) he is (+μέν) corporeal (σῶμα),

while (δὲ) properly he is incorporeal (-σῶμα).

He has

non-being existence (ὑπαρξεῖσ).

He exists for all of them unto himself

without any desire.

But (ἄλλα) he is a greater summit

of greatness. And he is

higher than his stillness in order that (ὡς)
[234]

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[235]

(Lines 1–14 lacking)

\[ \text{13}\pm \text{NH} \]

\[ \text{16} \pm \text{AQNAY ERO[OY]} \]

\[ \text{AQT[BOH EPROOV THP[OY EN[EP]} \]

\[ \text{MEI NAY AN} \text{M[NH ETTMAY[N]} \]

\[ \text{LAAV' OTTE EWSPE EWDOYA} \]

\[ \text{XI EBOV MMOT' MEQXI BOV' OY} \]

\[ \text{TE METERLAV ENERGI EROQ KA} \]

\[ \text{TJ TMTOGW'T ETZOR' MMOT[C]} \]

\[ \text{OYATCOYWNH RAP PE' ENTO} \]

\[ \text{POC RAP PE' NNATNQPE NTE} \]

\[ \text{TMTATNAPHXC' ZWC EYA} \]

\[ \text{TNAPNAX' PE MN OYATBAD' AYW OYATWSPE' NNEP\uparrow} \]

\[ \text{MMOT' EQZERATY EBOV ZM} \]

\[ \text{NH ETZERATY NNOCYES} \]

\[ \text{NNATNAW EROQ AYW NNMT' BOV' PIOYA ETZN NAI THROY} \]

\[ \text{ETWOP' AYW EQMPEV} \]

\[ \text{KUTE THROY EQXOCE E} \]

\[ \text{POOY THROV' OYGAIBEC} \]
16 he saw them

and empowered them all although they do not concern (-μέλεων) themselves with That One at all, nor (οὐτε) if one should receive from him, does he receive power.

Nothing (+οὐτε) activates (ἐνεργεῖν) him in accordance with (κατά)

22 the Unity that is at rest.

For (γὰρ) he is unknowable;

24 (+γὰρ) he is an airless place (τὸ πόσ) of the boundlessness. Since (ὡς)

26 he is boundless and powerless and nonexistent, he was not giving Being. Rather (ἀλλὰ) he contains all of these in himself, being at rest

30 (and) standing out of the one who stands continually, since there had appeared an Eternal Life, the

34 Invisible and Triple-Powered Spirit (πνεῦμα) which is in all of these who exist. And it surrounds them all, being higher than

38 them all. A shadow
(Lines 1-14 lacking)

[16] [...]ηταγ.ρ[ ______ αγ]

[μο]ηγ αβο[λ ζιτν ογβομ' αγω]


βομ ηναι θρογ' αγμογ']

[20] ηναι θρογ' εβολ' αγω ε

[τ]βε ηαι μεν θρογ' ακσω

[22] ημ ηη ογταξρο' αγω ηηηο

κωτε ηια ηαι ηηογδ'

[24] αλα ηαιοε ηακ' ογτε ηι

ηεοογοη ηαν ηε ογιηε

[26] πιατογωνη ογιηαη

ηεοεηελοε' ογτε ηεη'

[28] ηογτε' ογτε' ηη ε'τζορκ

ηοοη' ηε ηεογιηαη ηηοη

[30] ηαι ηαιι ηειηηη ηεαβελ ε

πιροκ ετε' ηαι' πε' ηε' ηηοη

[32] ηινα' ηε' ηενεγωαξη ηε'

τε' ηπετεψενε ηαν' πε' ε

[34] ηεωρη εβολ' ηηογο' ηηοη

ηπε' ηεοπ εκκωτε' ηεο

[36] ηηπμα' ηετεηειμε ογ

λετ' <τηνε'> αγω' ηεςωαξε

[38] ηη' ηεογα' αλα' εκαχιτογ
he was filled with power. And he stood before them, empowering them all, and he filled them all. And concerning all of these (things) you have heard certainly. And do not seek anything more, but go. We do not know whether the Unknowable One has angels or gods, or whether the One who is at rest was containing anything within himself except the stillness, which is he, lest he be diminished. It is not fitting to spend more time seeking. It was appropriate that you <alone> know and that they speak with another one. But you will receive them.
(Lines 1–14 lacking)


18 ετεναι μεεγε νακ ετεν

22 εμουτε εςραι ουβε πιρε[π]

24 δε επερεψοουν απωρψ

26 εμολ ζν ουρασε δεεζαι δε

28 ναι παψρε μεστοκ δε εεκβλαπ νακ εμολ ζνη ε

30 ηαητασε οειω ημοογ να

32 του ζν ονοο ντςι[ν] αγων

34 τε ημο[ο]ερ ναι νε νη ηαη

δολπο[γ] ναι εμολ ω παψη
[16] [and he said to me]: "Write down
[the things that I] shall [tell] you and
[18] of which I shall remind you for the sake of
those who will be worthy
[20] after you. And you will leave
this book upon a mountain
[22] and you will adjure the guardian:
'Come Dreadful One (φρυκτός)."
[24] And (δὲ) after he said these (things), he separated
from me. But (δὲ) I was full
[26] of joy, and (δὲ) I wrote
this book which was appointed
[28] for me, my son Messos, in order
that I might disclose to you the (things) that
[30] were proclaimed before me in
my presence. And (δὲ) at first I received
[32] them in great silence (συγγεγένη) and
I stood by (κατά) myself, preparing
[34] myself. These are the things that
were disclosed to me, O (ὁ) my Son
[38]

(Lines 1–13 lacking)

1  pep messoc

14 [——<tause>——]
   [——<oewy μmooy o pα>——]

16 —<whep me[cc]oc [nt>——]
   —<eppagic [nt]te [nixω]>——

18 —<wme throv [nte]>——
   —<pallo[g]emh>——
   — — — —

20 —<pal[λ]ogemh>——
[lines 1–13 lacking]

1 [Messos

14 [proclaim]

[them, O (ὦ) my]

16 son [Messos, as the]

seal (σφραγίς) [for] all [the]

18 [books of]

Allogenes.

20 Allogenes
45,6–9  

“(perfect) individuals”: the repeated phrase \( \text{NH} \) \( \text{Kat} \) \( \text{O} \) \( \text{A} \) (45,37–38; 46,15; 48,10; 49,37–38; 51,30; 55,13; \( \text{Steles Seth VII,5:121,3; 124,24-25; Zost. VIII,3:18,16-17; 41,17-19} \)) may render Greek \( \text{Ta} \ \text{Kat} \) \( \text{E} \) \( \text{v} \) or \( \text{Ta} \ \text{Idi} \) \( \text{O} \) or \( \text{Ta} \ \text{Merik} \), while the phrase often contrasted with it, \( \text{NH} \) \( \text{Kat} \) \( \text{O} \) \( \text{M} \) \( \text{Y} \) \( \text{A} \) (“Those who are together,” cf. 45,6; 46,21–22,29–30; 55,15; \( \text{Steles Seth VII,5:124,24; Zost. VIII,3:40,14-15; 125,5-7} \)) may render Greek \( \text{Ta} \ \text{Omu} \) \( \text{E} \) \( \text{V} \) \( \text{E} \) \( \text{ta} \) or \( \text{Ta} \ \text{Ka} \) \( \text{bol} \) \( \text{O} \) \( \text{O} \) (or \( \text{Ka} \) \( \text{bolik} \)). “Those who exist together” are called \( \text{Pau} \) \( \text{TEL} \) \( \text{E} \) \( \text{o} \) \( \text{O} \) in 55,14–15 (cf. \( \text{Steles Seth VII,5:124,23-25} \)), while “the individuals” are called “perfect” in 55,13 (cf. \( \text{Steles Seth VII,5:124,8} \)). In Proclus’ \( \text{Elements of Theology} \) \( \text{Ta} \ \text{Omu} \) \( \text{E} \) \( \text{V} \) \( \text{E} \) \( \text{ta} \) refers to the compositeness of things less perfect than their cause (props. 59,127,157) while \( \text{Ka} \) \( \text{bol} \) \( \text{E} \) \( \text{v} \) \( \text{ta} \) refers to specificity (props. 170,180). In \( \text{Ep. 58} \) Seneca refers to a sixfold division of “things that are” in which the Platonic ideas are referred to as “(those) who truly are” = (\( \text{ea} \) \( \text{qua} \) \( \text{proprie sunt} \) (= Greek \( \text{Ta} \ \text{Idi} \) \( \text{w} \) \( \text{Ou} \) \( \text{ta} \) or better, \( \text{Ta} \ \text{Ou} \) \( \text{v} \) \( \text{ta} \), \( \text{Ep. 58,18} \)) and individual things are referred to as \( \text{ea} \) \( \text{qua} \) \( \text{communiter sunt} \) \( \text{Ep. 58,22 = Greek} \ \text{Ta} \ \text{Kou} \) \( \text{v} \) \( \text{o} \) \( \text{Ou} \) \( \text{ta} \); the reverse of their expected use). The significance of these terms in \( \text{Allogenes} \) seems best illustrated by \( \text{Ta} \ \text{Merik} \) and \( \text{Ta} \ \text{Ka} \) \( \text{bol} \) \( \text{O} \) \( \text{O} \) in \( \text{Porph. Sent. 22} \) (\( \text{Lamberz, p.13, lines 13-16} \)): “The intellectual substance (\( \text{Ou} \) \( \text{v} \) \( \text{ta} \)) is homeomeric, such that the beings (\( \text{Ou} \) \( \text{ta} \)) exist in both the particular (\( \text{Merik} \)) and the total (\( \text{Pau} \) \( \text{TEL} \) \( \text{E} \) \( \text{o} \) \( \text{O} \) \( \text{O} \)) intellect (\( \text{Ou} \) \( \text{v} \) \( \text{Ou} \)). But in the universal (\( \text{Ka} \) \( \text{bol} \) \( \text{O} \) \( \text{O} \)) intellect, even particulars (\( \text{Ta} \ \text{Merik} \)) exist universally (\( \text{Ka} \) \( \text{bolik} \)) whereas in the particular (\( \text{Merik} \)) intellect there exist both universals (\( \text{Ta} \ \text{Ka} \) \( \text{bol} \) \( \text{O} \) \( \text{O} \)) and particulars (\( \text{Merik} \)) individually (\( \text{Merik} \)).” To be compared is \( \text{Corp. Herm. XXI} \) (\( \text{Nock-Festugière, III.91} \)): “The Pre-existing One (\( \text{proOu} \)) is thus pre-existing beyond beings (\( \text{Ta} \ \text{Ou} \) \( \text{ta} \)) and the truly existing ones (\( \text{Ta} \ \text{Ou} \) \( \text{v} \) \( \text{ta} \))). There is, in effect, a being (\( \text{Ou} \)) one calls universal substantivity (\( \text{Ou} \) \( \text{v} \) \( \text{Ou} \) \( \text{Ou} \) \( \text{Ou} \) \( \text{Ou} \)) \( \text{Ou} \) \( \text{Ou} \) \( \text{Ou} \)) \( \text{Ou} \) \( \text{Ou} \) \( \text{Ou} \)), common (\( \text{Kou} \)) to intelligibles (\( \text{Ou} \) \( \text{Ou} \)) considered as the truly existing (\( \text{Ta} \ \text{Ou} \) \( \text{ta} \)) and as beings (\( \text{Ta} \ \text{Ou} \)) individually (\( \text{Ka} \) \( \text{bol} \) \( \text{E} \) \( \text{v} \) \( \text{ta} \)).” Metaphysically, “those who exist together” refers to \( \text{Ta} \ \text{Ou} \) \( \text{ta} \), the Platonic intelligibles which are universal, the Ideas, while “the (perfect) individuals” refers to the Platonic intelligibles which are individuated (probably the mathematicals) and traditionally held to reside in the soul. In \( \text{Allogenes} \) these expressions refer as well to spiritual beings inhabiting.
these ontological levels; "those who exist together" are associated especially with Protophanes, the central level of the divine thought, Barbelo, while "the (perfect) individuals" are associated with Auto­
genii, the third and lowest level of the divine thought, Barbelo (see note on 45,33–38 and 46,10–17).

45,9–10 The guardian as Mind appears to be Protophanes or even the Aeon of Barbelo. The one who instructs Allogenes is here unidentified, but elsewhere it is Youel (48,38–57,27) or the powers of the Luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo (54,9–68,25). Allogenes' reply (50,6(?–17) to the instruction in 45,6(?–49,38(? assumes Youel as the revealer of the previous revelation (50,10–11; cf. "again," 50,20). Cf. the "guardian" φύκτος (68,22), "Dreadful One," but which seems not to be in view here.

45,13 "Triple Powered One" (= τριπλόνος, cf. Bruce Codex) cf. 47,7–8; 52,30–36; Steles Seth VII,5:121,32; 123,23; Zost. VIII,1,97,2–3; Marsanes X,7:17–18.23–24; 8,19–20; 9,8–9.20–21.25; 14,22; 15,2; Trim. Prot. XIII,1:37,26–27; Ap. John BG 8502,2:28,1; 39,13; Ap. John II,1:3,8; Schmidt-MacDermot, Bruce Codex, 231,20; 233,6; 234,16 passim (in particular 235,17–23). Allogenes often coordinates the Triple Powered One with the Invisible Spirit (47,8–9; 51,8–9; 58,25; 66,33–34; cf. Zost. VIII,1,97,2–3; 128,20–21), but more often mentions them separately: Triple Powered One (45,13.20.21; 52, 19,30; 53,30–31; 55,31; 61,6.13.20); Invisible Spirit (45,27; 49,10; 51,35); cf. the locution "the Triple Power of the First Thought of the Invisible Spirit" in 64,34–36; and similarly in Zost. VIII,1:20,15–19. It is difficult to tell whether the Triple Powered One or the Invisible Spirit is referred to by such phrases as the "Unknowable One" or "Unknowable God" mentioned in 59,29; 60,8; 61,1.10–12.16.20–22; 62,31; 63,30; 64,3,11.15; 66,23; 67,26. Marsanes X,7:1–29 suggests that the Triple Powered One, unbegotten and without being, derives from the silence of the highest being ("Silent One"), and is his energy.

45,15–19 The "Immeasurable One, the Light of Knowledge" is the Aeon of Barbelo (cf. 51,8–13; 59,2–3), the perfect Youth/male Virgin (51,37; 59,6–7; cf. the virginal Spirit of Ap. John BG 8502,2:27,13–21; Trim. Prot. XIII,1:38,11–14 and Marsanes X,8,28–9,5). The Knowledge (45,16) is the self-knowledge of the Invisible Spirit produced by the Triple Powered One out of the "boundlessness" of the Invisible Spirit, making knowledge of himself revealed (49,7–21; 53,10–18). As the First Thought (48,13; 53,27–28; 64,35) of the Triple Powered One, the Aeon of Barbelo is the first Aeon, the Aeon of Aeons (54,24–25.33). Cf. 45,19; 46,34; 51,13; 53,28; 54,33; 56,26; 58,21; 59,3.
45,19 Supralinear stroke is visible above ωοπη.
45,20–22 The unique triple-powered Aeon is the Triple Powered One (not strictly speaking, an Aeon!); it is the source of the Aeon of Barbelo, i.e., his first Aeon. The distinction in gender used in the English translation of this text conforms to the Coptic usage. It is likely that anyone of the transcendentalia can be considered to be androgynous, or even neuter, i.e., sexless in the ordinary sense.

45,23 MS reads ῥοφαετ έβολα; the masculine object seems required to fit the masculine gender context. The terms seem to designate a spontaneous unfolding of the Invisible Spirit as the Triple Powered One into the Aeon of Barbelo. Cf. the similar description in 66,28–36.

45,25 A trace of λ is visible on the new fragment transferred here from pages 41/42. The fragment is visible in the Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII beneath the tape on those pages; see the Facsimile Edition: Introduction.


45,28–30 The Triple Powered One realizes itself as the Aeon of Barbelo, the divine Intellect. Plotinus once suggested and abandoned a distinction between an intelligence at rest which knows and another movement which knows that it knows (cf. Plot. Enn. II.9.1,33–34; III.9.1,15–26; Proc. In Tim. I.303.27–304.7: des Places, Numénius, frg. 11,12,15,16,22).

45,31–47,7 Cf. 51,7–38; 58,12–26. The Aeon of Barbelo, the First Thought and first Aeon of the Triple Powered One corresponds to the Neoplatonic divine Intellect. It seems to consist of three sub-aeons, hypostases or levels: (1) Kalyptos ("Hidden One," cf. 45,31–33; 46,30–34; 51,12–17) who is highest (cf. note on 45,31–33); (2) Protophanes ("First-appearing One") also called Harmened, cf. 45,33–38; 46,17–30; 51,19–24.32–35; 58,16–17; see the note on 45,33–38); and (3) Autogenes ("Self-begotten One," cf. 46,10–11.14–17; 51,25–32; 58,12) who is lowest (cf. note on 46,10–17). Compare the triad in the Bruce Codex (Schmidt-MacDermot, 234,12–13). In Zost. VIII,1:15,2–12 the hypostases Kalyptos, Protophanes and Autogenes correspond pari passu with the Neoplatonic ontological triad: Existence, Mentality and Vitality (cf. 49,26–38 and note). The Aeon of Barbelo is said to be endowed with these hypostases as images (ἐἴκονες, 51,16.21.27). The Aeon of Barbelo also contains what seems to be a fourth hypostasis, the divine Triple Male (45,37; 51,32–33; 55,36; 58,15; cf. Steles Seth VII,5:120,16–30; 121,8–9; Zost. VIII,1:18, [23–24]; Ap. John BG 8502,2:27,20–21; NHC II,5,7–8; NHC III,7,23–8,1; Trim. Prot XIII,1:37,26; Gos. Eg. III,2 and IV,2:pas-
sim; Schmidt–MacDermot, Bruce Codex, 234,14–15); he is called “the Thought of all those who exist together” (46,17–22), “the perfect Youth” (51,32–37; 58,12–15) in whom the self-begotten ones exist (56,13–14), “the Savior” (58,12–15; cf. 51,32–37). In 51,7–38 he is mentioned after Autogenes; otherwise he is ranked between Protophanes and Autogenes. In 45,36–37 he seems to be a (feminine?) hypostasis of Barbelo who gives power to the “individuals” (those in Autogenes, cf. note on 46,10–17); in 46,17–30 it is said that the self-reflection of the Triple Male is reflection upon Protophanes; in 58,13–17 it is said that Protophanes is the goodness of the Triple Male. Since he does not fit the triadic layout of the Aeon of Barbelo that seems to form the basis for the ontology of the Aeon of Barbelo, and owing to the intimate connection he sustains with Protophanes in Allogenae, he may be considered as perhaps an aspect or syzygy of Protophanes, although he may constitute a fourth hypostasis. In this regard, see the following passages from Zost. VIII,1:44,24–31: “I blessed the living and unborn [God who is] in truth and the unborn [Kalyptos] and the invisible male perfect noetic Protophanes and the invisible youthful Triple Male and the divine [Autogenes]”; 24,2–17: “With perfect soul he seeks those of Autogenes, with mind those of the Triple Male, with pure spirit those of Protophanes; he hears of the Kalyptos from the powers or the spirit whence they come by a superior revelation of the Invisible Spirit. And in the Ennoia now existing and in the First Ennoia they hear about the invisible spiritual Triple Powered One who is a report and pure silence in a life-giving spirit; perfect, [greater than] perfect, and all-perfect”; see also 22,8–12; 60,13–17.

The fluidity of the position of the Triple Male is due to the Sethian ambiance of Allogenae. It seems that the Sethian movement (cf. Schenke, “Das sethianische System,” 169–71) postulated a primal triad Father (Invisible Spirit)-Mother (Barbelo)-Son (Autogenes) in which the Son was originally identified with the divine Anthropos Adamas or Pigeradamis. In Zostrianos, Adam is the eye of Autogenes (VIII,1:30,4–14) and Geradamis is the eye of the Perfect Child (VIII,1:13,1–7). Triple Male is associated with Adamas in the untitled tractate in the Bruce Codex (see note to 45,13) and with Geradamis in Steles Seth VII,5:120,29; 121,8–9. There is a later trend to distinguish Adamas/Triple Male from Autogenes in the more strongly Christianized texts, such as the Apocryphon of John and Gospel of the Egyptians, which tend to identify Christ as the Autogenes or even as the Triple Male Child (cf. Gos. Eg. III,2:55,5–6; 54,13–20 and IV,2:66,2–8). This slackening of the identification of Adamas or Triple Male with Autogenes occurs here in Allogenae,
showing that the identification was perhaps always fluid, and that its slackening may not be due to Christianization alone, but also to the "Platonizing" of "Sethianism." In any case, aside from the Triple Male, Allogenes displays no trace of Adamas or of his son Seth, the Child of the (Triple Male) Child, except perhaps in the supposed identity of Seth with Allogenes himself. Finally it should be noted that the triad Kalyptos, Protophanes and Autogenes occupies the same ontological level in Allogenes as does the Triad Prognosis, Aphtharsia and Aionia Zoe in Ap. John BG 8502,2:27,1-29,8 (cf. Iren. Haer. I.29.1). The tripartitioning of the divine Intellect occurs in Numenius and Plotinus (see references in the three following notes).

45,31-33 Barbelo becomes the first of her levels or hypostases, Kalyptos (the "Hidden One") who is characterized directly by blessedness (58,18-19) and, by derivation, divinity (58,19-22, from the Aeon of Barbelo). Like the Triple Powered One (45,21-22), Kalyptos "truly exists" (Zost. VIII.1:125,11-13) and thus is the domain of "those who truly exist," whose types and forms are the image (εἰκών) of the Kalyptos (cf. 51,12-17 and 46,28). "Those whom she knows" (45,32-33) are the "hidden ones," whom to see is to see the Aeon of Barbelo (46,32-34). The Kalyptos level of the Aeon of Barbelo corresponds to the Existence (ἐξίστασις) aspect of the Triple Powered One. Compare Zost. VIII.1:15,2-12 where Kalyptos is conjoined with the third term of the triad Life/vitality, Mentality/blessedness, Existence/divinity. Kalyptos may derive from the conception of the veil (καλυμμα) as a limit (μέσος) separating the high deity from the aeonic world; cf. Iren. Haer. I.11.1; Val. Exp. XI.2:27,34-38; see also the veil in Gos. Phil. II.3:69,36; 84,23. Kalyptos seems to correspond to the νοῦς νοητός in Plot. Ἐμν. III.9.1,15-17 or to the First God of Numenius (Euseb. Praep. Ev. XI.17,11-18, 18,13-14, 22,3-5, 22,6-8; Proc. In Tim. I.303,27-304,7: des Places, Numénius, frg. 11,13,16,19,21).

45,33-38 Protophanes ("First-appearing One") also called Harmodon (58,17; Armedon, 54,12) is the second level or hypostasis of the Aeon of Barbelo, characterized as noetic, male and perfect (45,34-35; 46,24-30; 51,17-24; 58,15-17). He is the domain of those who are together (46,29-30); in Zost. VIII.1:129,4-17, Zostrianos, becoming all perfect, sees in Protophanes "all those existing there as one." Protophanes is intimately conjoined with the Triple Male (cf. note on 45,31-47,7) who is called "the Thought of all those who exist together" (46,20-22) and "the goodness" of Protophanes (58,15-17). The Triple Male is the domain of the self-begotten ones (56,13-14) who according to Marsanes X,3,18-21 are associated with the "Incorporeal being that exists partially." These correspond to individual souls in Platonism. In his role as "Savior" (58,13-15), the Triple
Male’s contemplation of the beings resident in a lower ontological level enables their elevation to a higher level within the Barbelo Aeon. Protophanes works with craft, skill and instinct on the "individuals" in Autogenes (51,17–24); the self-reflection of the Triple Male (the Thought of those who exist together) shows Protophanes to be “the procession for those who exist together” in Protophanes, whom to see is to see “those who truly exist,” whom they are to become in the Kalyptos, whom to see is to see the Aeon of Barbelo (46,11–34). Protophanes occupies a similar median position in Zost. VIII, t:15,2–12 where he is conjoined with the median term of the triad: Life/vitality, Mentality/blessedness, Existence/divinity. In Steles Seth VII,5: 123,5–9 Protophanes is identified with the divine Youth (the Triple Male of Allogenes) and causes multiplicity by “a division of those who truly exist.” The Bruce Codex explains (Schmidt-MacDermot, 252,24–27): “The power that was given to the Propator is called Protophanes because it was he who first appeared.” The name “Protophanes” seems Orphic in origin. In the Rhapsodies, Phanes (also called Eros, Metis, Erikepaois) was “first to appear” (πρῶτος γὰρ ἐφάνη; Orph. Arg. 14–16: Kern, Orph. Frag., p. 65, frg. 224) “two formed,” bisexual, “looking this way and that,” “the key of mind” (Kern, Orph. Frag., frg. 72–89, cf. Terzaghi, Synesii Cyrenensis, 2,63 where the Son is called πρωτοφανὴς εἴδος). Proclus (In Tim. III.d–f: Diehl, II, p. 102) calls Phanes the “demiurgic cause” and Zeus the paradigmatic cause. Protophanes seems to correspond to the νοῦς ὑψώ (who is at once νοῦς and νοητός in Plot. Enn. III.9.1,17–21) or to the upper aspect of Numenius’ Second God, νοῦς θεωρητικός who contemplates the First God (Euseb. Praep. Ev. XI.18.20–21; 22.3–5; des Places, Numénius, frg. 15,16).

46,9 Those “truly existing”: i.e., those in the level of the Hidden One. For the emendation cf. XI.3:45,[14],[22]; 48,38; 55,25; 56,[12]; 64,30.

46,10–17 Autogenes (“Self-begotten One”) is the lowest of the levels, hypostases, of the Aeon of Barbelo, characterized as divine and good (48,10–11; 51,25–32; 58,12). He is the “path to” or domain of the “individuals” (cf. Zost. VIII, t:25,10–18). The objects of his vision exist individually and they become as he is (46,14–17); both the Triple Male and Protophanes work on the “individuals” from above (45,36–38; 51,21–24). Autogenes knows each of the individuals (“these,” 51,28; cf. 51,22) and works “successively and individually” to “rectify the failures from nature,” the realm below him; he is thus the principle of individuation and the savior of the natural world (φύσις). In Marsanes X,4,24–5,26 Autogenes descends to save a “multitude,” probably the sense-perceptible world which is “[worthy] of being saved entirely.” In Zost. VIII, t:15,2–12 Autogenes is con-
joined with the first term of the triad: Life/vitality, Mentality/blessedness, Existence/divinity. The name Autogenes may derive from the Autogenes/Monogenes light generated in Barbelo by the Father (Ap. John BG 8502:2:30,1–31,1). In Iren. Haer. I.29,1 the production of Autogenes ("a light like her") is the beginning of the γένεσις of all things (i.e., he is a demiurgical figure). Autogenes seems to correspond to the νοῦς διανοουμένων in Plot. Enn. II.9,6,18–21; III.9,1,21–23 and according to Numenius "he siezes upon the sense realm and draws it up to his own character" (in Euseb. Prep. Ev. XI.17.11–18: des Places, Numénios, frg. 11; cf. frg. 16). In Plotinus' system Autogenes would correspond to the intellectual part of the soul.


46,25 The vestige of ink at the beginning of the line is an apparent trace of ι, θ or 6; the expected locution, however, is 

46,22–34 "procession"; τῷ ὁμόν ἡ οὐχ probably translates either πρὸδος or προσωρισμός, "procession" or "progression," a sort of "path" for Aeons or perhaps human initiates (such as Allogenes in 59,4–61,22) to move from the rank of "individuals" (in Autogenes) through the rank of "those who exist together" (in Protophanes) to the rank of "those who truly exist" (in the Hidden One) so as to see the whole Aeon of Barbelo and receive a primary revelation of the Triple Powered One or Unknowable God. Cf. the Neoplatonic triad: μονή, πρόδος, ἐπιστροφή = permanence, procession (i.e., emanation), reversion, although here the direction of procession is upward. προσωρισμός is used of arithmetic progression from the monad in Theon Smyr. Expositio in Hiller p. 18, line 3.

46,28 For [ἐνίον]τω[c] [ἐτύμον], cf. 49,17–18.

46,32 ω of ἐγουν written over η.

46,34 βαρβαλω elsewhere appears as βαρβαλω.

47,5–7 For ἄκωθμ ετεβ...ζη οὐταξρο, cf. 67,21–22. m of ἄκωθμ (47,5), οὐα of ονυα (47,6) and ἃρ of ταξρο (47,7) are from frg. #6, Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, pl. 82, placed there after publication of the volume; see the Facsimile Edition: Introduction. "You"(masc. sg.) is Allogenes; "them" may be the components of the Aeon of Barbelo. "Abundance" refers to the creative efficacy of the higher powers; cf. περιουσία (Plot. Enn. VI.7,32,33) and περιουσία διυμένως in many Neoplatonic sources: Plot. Enn. IV.8.6; Porph. Sent. 17; Iamb. Myst. 5,23; Proc. Theol. props. 27,71, 121,124; passim.

47,7–34 The all-sufficiency and unity of the Triple Powered One; cf.
note on 45.13. “They” and “them” may be the components of the Aeon of Barbelo that emanate from (45.22–33) the Triple Powered One. For “perfect and greater than perfect” of the Triple Powered One, cf. Zost. VIII,1:24,2–17. For “non-substantial substance,” cf. 55.29–30; 62.23; 65.32–33.


47.33–34 The sentence beginning with ΑΥC/ΩΥC needs a subject expressed by a copula, since πε in 47.35 belongs with the circumstantial clause.

47.38 MS reads ΜΗΤΚΑΕΙΝ; the sense demands ΜΗΤΚΑΕΙΕ (“beauty,” cf. 64.5; 65.18).

48.6–7 ΥΑ of ΟΥΑ[τθ6αμ (48.6) and ΥΩΝ of ΟΥΩΝ2 (48.7) are from frg. #6, Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, pl. 81, placed there after publication of the volume; see the Facsimile Edition: Introduction.

48.9–49.1 Apart from a digression on self-sufficiency (48.14–19) and paradoxical incomprehensibility (48.19–32), this passage suggests that even if individuals “come together” (cf. 45.6–9 note), they would be incapable of comprehending the Triple Powered One (= “Universal One,” cf. 58.25–26 and 47.14–15; 52.28; 53.18), since only those who “truly exist” can see “the Triple Powered One who truly exists” (45.21–22). Rather they can only “apprehend” (48.12–13) by means of a First Thought (i.e., The Aeon of Barbelo, 53.27–28) revealed by the Triple Powered One. “First Thought” (Words: 53.27; 64.35) may render Greek πρωτή ἔννοια (cf. Just. Apol. 1; PG 6.425—of Athena as Zeus’ first thought), or even προέννοια, perhaps “preconception”; see the discussion and parallels in Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, 1:117, who concludes that προέννοια in late Platonic sources signifies a mode of knowledge anterior to intellection, that is a sort of non-comprehending knowledge or “learned ignorance” suggested by the English terms “prehension” or “apprehension.” “First Thought” in Allogenes seems to be a revelation of the Invisible Spirit (64.35–36), and seems to be identified with the Aeon of Barbelo (53.27–28), although clearly in 48.13 the meaning of “preconception” would be quite fitting. Indeed, the term may refer intentionally both to (human) pre-noetic intuition (see note on 59.30–32) and to divine revelation in quasi-hypostatic form.

48.10 ΠΗΡΩ (ΕΤΧΟΕ ΕΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ) is translated here and at 52.28; 53.18; 54.22 and 58.25 as “the Universal One” rather than as “the All,” since in 58.25 it is identified with a specific figure, the Triple Powered One.

48.14–16 Perhaps the latent (“hidden”) portion of existence is the same
as “Being” (εὐωμὴν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ); in any case 66,25-28 denies that the Triple Powered One gives Being.

48,18 The relative of the third future ε[τε]λεφερωμεν seems to be unattested; one might parse it as ε[...]εφερωμεν έφεραν, a conditionalis in protasis, but this leaves the condition without apodosis and ε[...] unexplained.


48,32 Perhaps a supralinear correction above λ of ἀλαλα.

48,35-49,1 “undivided activity”: cf. the second undivided activity which appeared in the First Thought, probably the Aeon of Barbelo (53,23-28) and the “eternal intellectual undivided motion” of the Vitality or median aspect of the Triple Powered One (60,19-28). These are substantially manifested (i.e., as an hypostasis), probably as Protophanes, in the Aeon of Barbelo, the First One from the One who truly exists (the Triple Powered One). In 54,8-16 (see note on 54,6-37) it appears that Protophanes (=“Harmedon” in 45,34-36; 58,16-17) corresponds to Vitality and “first activity,” and Autogenes to Mentality, “activity” and “second power.” Inasmuch as 48,38 continues with “a second activity,” it is likely that “first Vitality” and “undivided activity” refer to Protophanes, and “second activity” (cf. 53,25-28; 54,13-17) would refer to Autogenes.

49,1-3 The fragment appearing at 57,1-3 in the *Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl. 63 has been placed at this location.

49,5-21 The Triple Powered One appears to be the subject, endowed with blessedness and goodness. On the triad: blessedness, goodness and divinity, cf. note on 62,27-63,1. The boundlessness of the Invisible Spirit is the proceeding (Vitality) aspect of the Triple Powered One, here called “the traverser” (see Introduction Section IV). According to Plotinus *Enn.* III.8.9.33-39, the Supreme One is a primal life (πρώτη ζωή), an activity (ἐργεία) eternally traversing (ἐν διεξόδῳ) all things which must derive from something else which is not in traverse, but is the origin of traversing, the origin of life and intelligence and of all things. See also Zost. VIII.9.16,5-14: “having instilled a [desire] in Him who exists that he not become boundless [and] shape[less]. Rather, having [been] truly traversed, he is prior to his reification into something that has its [Spirit], in addition to Existence and [Being], standing with him, existing with him, surrounding him.” Apparently, the Triple Powered One, as the boundlessness subsisting in the Invisible Spirit, traverses itself in an act of procession and reversion upon the source (the Invisible Spirit) from which it emerges. The boundlessness reverts by turning itself back towards its source in an objectivizing act of knowledge, thus becoming
a separately existing definite (bounded) being, truly existing. In this sense the Triple Powered One is a cause or point of departure for truly existing beings, since it has become a mind containing truly existing ideas. This is precisely the same process described in Plot. *Enn.* VI.7.17,13–26 where boundless life regards its source and this vision causes it to become a definite being, a separate subject perceiving its source as object. It is no longer boundless life, but bounded life, which is Mind. The text of *Allogenes* appears garbled at this point, but its intention seems clear. In particular one might emend 49,11 to read εκκωτε άμο<ε> ερ[ο], i.e., The boundlessness turns itself to the Invisible Spirit. As the text now stands, one must interpret: The boundless turns him (i.e., the traverser) to it (i.e., the Invisible Spirit).

49,21–26 The subject of the sentence (they) seems to refer to the components of the Aeon of Barbelo, who produce no subordinate aeons or hypostases; cf. 67,25–32.

49,26–38 In his later writings, Plotinus tends to place the triad ὅν, ζωή, and νοῦς, derived from traditional exegesis of Plato, *Soph.* 248e, into his second hypostasis, Nous, perhaps under the influence of Arist. *Metaph.* XII.7 (1072b 27); see Plot. *Enn.* I.6.7, 8.2; III.6.6, 7.3; V.3.5, 4.2, 5.1, 5.10; VI.6.8, 6.18, 7.23, 7.36, 9.9 passim (cf. Procl. *Theol. Plat.* IV.1–3; *Theol. props.* 101–3 and Dodds, *Porphyry: Theology*, 220–21; 232; 252–54; 345–46; Dam. *Dub. et sol.* 39 (Ruelle, I, p. 80, lines 7–14). See Victorinus, *Adv. Arium*, IV.21,26–27: "τοῦ ἄνωμον ἦστε θεός, ἵδι εἰς τρεῖς ποιέματα ἀναμενεῖ, τέλειος, ἀναλογικός." See discussion by Hadot, "Etre, Vie, Pensée chez Plotin," 159–77; "Discussion," 175–90 and *Porphyre et Victorinus. Allogenes* XI.3:49,26–38; 59,9–60,12; 60,13–61,22 and *Zost.* VIII.1:15,2–12 firmly witness the triad, Being or Existence, Vitality, Mentality in that order of predominance (cf. Plot. *Enn.* VI.6.8,17–22). On the variation of the name of the leading term (ὁν and ὅπαρης) and its relation to Porphyry, see Hadot, "La métaphysique de Porphyre," 127–57; "Discussion," 158–63 and *Porphyre et Victorinus* 1.267–72. For discussion of the triad, see Introduction Section VI. In *Allogenes*, τὸ ὅν seems to be rendered by πη ἐτε παί πε, τογια (τὴν ατογια is surely by attraction from τὴν ἀτοματικα and τὴν ἁπεικος) and πετυοοο; ζωή is rendered by τὴν ἀτοματικα (i.e., ζωός) and πονῆ (πονῆ ευνε- is dittography); τὴν ἁπεικομ seems to render the strange neologism τὸν ἠθικός (for νοῦς). The preference for the abstracts μητωματα (for ζωός), μητεικος and νοητικος emphasizes the non-substantiality of the aspects of the Triple Powered One. The triad occurs in *Steles Seth* VII.5:125,28–32 as ὅπαρης, ωνῆ, νοῦς, and in *Zost.* VIII.1:15,2–12 as ὅπαρης, νοικη,
On the unity of the three modalities, cf. Procl. Theol. prop. 103. Abstract qualities precede, ground, and generate substances. The variation νοῦς/νοῦς; ζωή/ζωότης; ὄν/ὄνοτης; ὀξία/ὀξωυτής, etc., rests on the distinction between concrete substances and abstract qualities in Stoic and Neoplatonic thought, and was systematized as the "Method of paronyms" by Proclus (In Parm. 1106,1–1108,19: Cousin) and is extensively analyzed by Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, 1.352–75. Cf. the similar distinction in the Valentinian, Marcus: μονότης/ἐνότης → μονᾶς/ἐν, Iren. Haer. 1.15.1; cf. 1.11.3 and Hipp. Ref. VI.49.1 and VI.38.2.


50,1–3 The fragment appearing at 58,1–3 in the Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, pl. 64 has been placed at this location.

50,2 πιθανόν (cf. 50,32): s.v. ἀτό, Crum 19a; ἀτό* should be listed s.v. οιγάτο (Crum takes ογάτο, εγάτο, αγάτο as the singular indefinite article plus ἀτο.

50,6–17 Allogenes has heard the initial doctrine (ɕbů, 50,11.16; 52,16) about the Triple Powered One and the Aeon of Barbelo (“these things,” “them” 50,7.10.12) probably from Youel (“you” masc., 50,10; cf. “the one who taught you,” 45,9–10) while in the flesh. At this stage, his (discursive) thought (μεενεγε=διανοι?) can distinguish things beyond measure (i.e., the doctrine concerning the Aeon of Barbelo, the “Immeasurable One”) from the unknowables (i.e., doctrines concerning the Unknowable God?), which can only be conveyed by a superior revelation.

50,18 ἄξι was mistakenly entered by the scribe; the quotation to Allogenes begins in line 21.

50,19–20 τανιεικοθ ἐνὸγ ιοῦνα (cf. 52,14; 55,18.34; 57,25); see also Zost. VIII,1:125,12–17, and compare Allogenes XI,3:55,12–30. The locution apparently renders ἡ πανευδοκος ἴουνα, or the like.

50,25 Is this power (cf. 52,15; 57,20; 61,3; 66,20) an initial form of insight?

50,26–27 “Father of the All” is frequent in Valentinian literature but hapax legomenon in Allogenes; cf. 52,28 and note.


51,8 Or “the triple-powered invisible Spirit.”
The Aeon of Barbelo surrounds the Triple Powered One as the knowledge of the Invisible Spirit (cf. 49,5-21 and note; cf. the similar image in Plot. Enn. II.4.5,31-39; VI.7.17,12-26; 7.21.4-6; 8.18.1-37 and Victorinus, Adv. Arium IV.24,10-20.

Cf. note on 45,6-9 and 45,26-30. The Aeon of Barbelo contains the patterns and forms of the Aeons (i.e., the Platonic ideas or intelligibles) that “truly exist”; their image is the Hidden One (cf. note on 45,31-33), their intellectual principle (“word,” ψαλεταλογός) is Protophanes (cf. note on 45,33-38), the image of their individuality is Autogenes (cf. note on 46,10-17), and their salvation is Triple Male (cf. note on 45,33-38), the Perfect Youth. The sphere of activity of each is progressively lower: the aeons, human “know-how” and defective nature. On the ordering of the hypostases, cf. Procl. Theol. prop. 70, and on their status as images, prop. 65: “All that subsists in any fashion has its being either in its cause (κατ’ αἰριαν) as originative (ἀρχοειδῶς; cf. ἀρχή, Allogenes XI,3:58,20.23), as a substantial predicate (καθ’ ὑπαρξι), or by participation (κατὰ μέθεξι) after the manner of an image” (εἰκονικός; cf. εἰκόν, Allogenes XI,3:51,16.21.27), and In Tim. I (in Diehl, I.8, lines 13-29): “All things are to be beheld in all things, but either archetypically (παραθεγματικός) or substantially (οὐσιωδῶς) or after the manner of an image (εἰκονικός).” Protophanes here seems to act as a demiurgic intellect (νόης), receiving the type and forms of true being from Kalyptos by means of an intellectual word (ψαλεταλογός) and imposing those on the individuals, i.e., particulars, perhaps individual souls, much as the demiurge in Plato, Tim. 41-42. But here Protophanes functions as the intelligence within individuals; in humans he acts by craft and skill, and in animals by partial instinct.

For the cluster: craft, skill, and instinct used in reference to the distinction between the knowledge of men and that of animals who do not possess reason (ἁλογοί), cf. Corp. Herm. Exc. Stob. IV,2-3 (Nock-Festugière, III.21).

Separately (κατὰ μέρος; cf. Marsanes X,3,21-22 and passim) and individually (κατὰ οὐκ=καθ’ ὑπ’): cf. Procl. Theol. prop. 170. Autogenes may here play the role of the νεώτεοι in Plato, Tim. 41-42.

Either Barbelo (more likely) or Autogenes is endowed with the Triple Male/Perfect Youth who in Sethian theology is the Anthropros Adamas, cf. Zost. VIII,1.6.7-30 and note on 45,31-47,7. In 58,13-14 Triple Male is called Savior, a rare term in Sethian literature. It is also used of Seth in Gos. Eg. III,2:68,22.

ψαλεταλογός, a synonym of the Paternal Intellect in the Chaldean Oracles: Proc. In Parm. 800,20-801,5; 941,27-28; Psellus,
In Phys. in PG 122,1128 b8-c7; 1149a 10-11 in des Places, Oracles, frg. 37,77,88,107.

51,37  Ντοq is supplied to provide a subject for the sentence.

52,12  At various points, Allogenes is filled with the goodness (52,12.17), blessedness (58,9.35; 59,10-13; 60,16-18), and divinity (52,12) of self-knowledge corresponding to similar attributes of the Aeon of Barbelo and the Triple Powered One (49,6-7; 52,30-32; 62,28-36; 63,33-37).

52,13-15  On Youel, cf. note on 50,19-20; the anointing and empowering seem to be metaphors for revelation and insight (Zostrianos employs baptisms and sealings). Χω may also be rendered "touched."

52,16-33  On θῆσι, cf. note on 50,6-17. The following instruction on the Triple Powered One is derived from him (52,32-33) and given only to the worthy, the properly instructed (cf. 68,16-20; Zost. VIII,1:4,4-20; Plot. Enn. VI.9.11).

52,28  On "the Universal One that is higher than perfect," cf. 48,10-12; 53,18; in 58,25-26 it is identified with the Triple Powered One.

53,9-18  Apparently the Triple Powered One (as Mentality) moves motionlessly among his objects of thought, the Aeon of Barbelo (cf. note on 45,15-19). As with Aristotle's unmoved mover, so also in the Neoplatonic ontology it is Nous who moves motionlessly (cf. Proc. Theol. prop. 20; see also the discussion and parallels by des Places, Numénius, p. 110 note 4 and Hadot Porphyre et Victorinus, 1.283-97, in particular note 3 p. 287). Perhaps there is a higher and lower intellect: the Triple Powered One (as Mentality, unmoved, in repose), and Barbelo (as νοῦς καθορη, "contemplative intellect," cf. Plato, Tim. 39E) who surrounds the Invisible Spirit as his self-knowledge (49,9-14). Plotinus (Enn. II.9.1) accuses the Gnostics of distinguishing a νοῦς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, "inert intellect" (cf. the self-stilling of the Triple Powered One in 45,22; 53,34 and 59,21-26) and a νοῦς κινούμενος, "demiurgic intellect" (cf. Barbelo), a view entertained by Numenius (in Euseb. Praep. Ev. XI.18.20: des Places, Numénius, frg. 15) and the earlier Plotinus (Enn. III.9.1). Motionless motion in that which governs (ῥιψη =κυβέρνητε, "to steer, govern") signifies a stabilizing self-limitation of the Triple Powered One by his "faculty" of self-control; self-limitation alone prevents running away into the boundless (Plot. Enn. VI.6.18,9-11).

53,18  "The Universal One that is higher than perfect," i.e., the Triple Powered One, cf. note on 52,28.

53,24-28  These expressions seem to describe the Aeon of Barbelo. For
"the third silence of Mentality," cf. Zost. VIII, t:124,1-4: "a silence of the second knowledge, the First Thought in conjunction with the Triple Powered One." The second undivided Energy (cf. the undivided activity of 48,35 and note) seems to correspond to Protophanes and the eternal intellectual undivided motion in the level of Vitality (60,19-28) corresponding to the median aspect of the Triple Powered One. The First Thought is probably another term for the Aeon of Barbelo (cf. note on 45,15-19).

53,29-31 These expressions seem to describe the Triple Powered One. The Triple Powered One is coordinate (by hendiadys) with "The Indivisible One" in 66,32-35. His separate likenesses may be his Existence, Vitality and Mentality aspects discussed in 49,26-38. The "nonsubstantial Existence" (υπαρξις) seems to be another version of a similar predicate (ουκια ... μνητογυια) of the Triple Powered One in 47,34; in 55,29-30 the aspects of the Triple Powered One are described as nonsubstantial and non-being existence (ουκια τατογυια ην [ογυπαρυκ] ηατωμε). For similar terminology see the index in Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, vol. 2.

53,31-32 MS reads ηαν ηαοομ (by attraction from preceding occurrences of ηαν). It should read ηηων ηαοομ in order to provide an antecedent for ηηων; the power seems to be the Triple Powered One revealing itself through its "third silence" and "undivided activity" (53,24-26) that appear in the Aeon of Barbelo. Quotation marks in 53,31 mark what appears to be a shift from Youel's discourse to Allogenes' description of her ecstasy.

53,37-38 The antecedent of "she" (cf. 54,26) is unclear, but it appears to be Youel.

54,6-37 Cf. Stedes Seth VII,5:126,4-17. Apparently Youel ("she," 54,26) is ecstatically praising the glories (cf. πιεοο[γ, Stedes Seth VII,5: 126,4) representing the three levels of the Aeon of Barbelo according to (κατά, 54,8,13) the aspects of Existence, Vitality and Knowledge in the Triple Powered One (cf. notes on 45,31-47,7 and 48,35-49,1). The first level would correspond to Kalyptos, probably praised according to Existence, represented here only by the name Solmis, as in Zost. VIII, t:85,22-87,23. Zost. VIII, t:126,1-8 calls Solmis the first luminary and god-revealer of the Kalyptos Aeon (cf. also Solmistos in the Bruce Codex: Schmidt-MacDermot, Bruce Codex, p. 252, line 22). In Plot. Enn. VI.7.40,18-19 the first activity (πρωτη ενεργεια) is that which brings an hypostasis into being (ονσια). The second level (the "first activity," but called "second indivisible activity" in 53,24-31), would correspond to Protophanes praised according to Vitality. Elsewhere Harmedon is a cognomen of Protophanes (45,36; 58,17; cf.
Steles Seth VII,5:126,12; Zost. VIII,1:127,8–9), while Epiphaneus is placed in the fourth aeon of the fourth illuminator Eleleth in the level of Autogenes by Zost. VIII,1:127,15–128,7 (spelled Epiphanius). See the close parallel in Zost. VIII,1:87,16–88,21. The third level would correspond to Autogenes, praised according to Knowledge. Of the denizens of this level, Lalameu(s) and Noetheu(s) recur later (54,28) and Aphredon occurs in Steles Seth VII,5:126.12. Youel (?) then praises what seems to be the entire Triple Powered One of whose glories four are mentioned in the Three Steles of Seth (Senaon, self-begotten, 126,6–7; Asineu(s), 126,7; Elemaon, the great power, 126,8–9; Optaon, 126,8) and another in Trim. Prot. XIII,1:39,2–3 (spelled Mellephanea). On the ascription “Thou art One,” cf. Steles Seth VII,5:125,23–25; “Aeon of Aeons” is frequent in all gnostic literature.

54,14 Δε cancelled by scribe with a stroke through Δ and a dot over ε.
54,16 Emend ΜΜΩQ to ΜΜΩ<Q> to agree with gender of antecedent ΤΗ.

55,12–17 Cf. 45,6–8; reconstruction is suggested by Steles Seth VII,5:124,7–10.22–25.
55,14 In Proclus the παντέλειοι are wholly perfect entities, complete in themselves, that give rise to things complete (τάλειοι) in their kind (Proc. Theol. prop. 64). They correspond to the universal intelligibles or ideas of Platonism (see note on 45,6–9).
55,19–20 For reconstruction, cf. 59,30–32 and note.
55,20–30 Apparently the glories do not exist with the Triple Powered One or its aspects, nor with the components of Barbelo’s Aeon, but only as the attributes of those hypostases: divinity (instead of “Vitality”), blessedness (instead of “Knowledge”) and Existence. The final modality of the glories, nonsubstantial and non-being existence (cf. 55,29–30), seems to correspond to the entire Triple Powered One (cf. note on 53,29–31). For “non-being existence,” cf. 62,23; 65,32–33. The term may derive from speculation on the four modes of non-being in Plato’s Parmenides (cf. 161ε–162β); see the discussion by Hadot, Porphyry et Victorinus, 1.147–211.
55,32–35 Compare the note on 55,17–19.
The “generation of those who truly exist” would be located in the Hidden One (cf. note on 45,31-33); on the self-begotten ones and the Triple Male, see note on 45,33-38.

The supralinear stroke of πιστικά ἀντωνύμιον is visible; for the reconstruction, cf. 58,12-16.

Reconstruction based on a possible parallel to [Plato], First Alcibiades, 130 D4, pointed out by M. Tardieu.

For reconstruction, cf. 52,12.17.

Τῷ κατοικῆσαι: cf. 57,31; 58,8.


The Luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo are restored from Zost. VIII, r:62,18-20; 63,19-21; 64,8. Among this triad, Selmen (not Semen as in Allogenes) is listed in Zost. VIII, r:54,20 as associated with the level of Protophanes, at which level Youel commands Zostrianos (VIII, r:62,17-64,11) to invoke them. They then give the succeeding revelation about the emergence of Barbelo from the Invisible Spirit and Barbelo’s levels, Kalyptos, Protophanes, and Autogenes.

On pl. 4 and 63-78 of the Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, the codex page numbers should each be reduced by two; cf. Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, p. XVII.

The fragment appearing here in the Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, pl. 63 has been placed on 49,1-3.

The attempt to apprehend anything above one’s own level is futile; it is rather that the higher level, whose identity or being (ἡ ἐντὸ ὄν, cf. 49,28-29,33,35-36) is apprehended by the comprehender, in turn aids the comprehender to achieve at a level higher than the comprehended. But if one only remains at one’s own level (φύσις, “nature”), even if he has an incorporeal nature, he remains inferior since he does not associate with any superiority or any inferiority; he is both everywhere and nowhere (cf. Zost. VIII, r: 21,6-7; the incorporeal living thoughts are everywhere and nowhere—said of incorporeal reality by Plot. Enn. III.9.4; VI.4.3, 17-19; VI.8.16, and Porphyry Sent. 27,31,38,40). This seeming inability to control one’s station is nearly cause for Allogenes’ despair (57,27-28).

The end of the Youel revelations (45,6-49,38; 50,21-51,38; 52,15-55,11; 55,19-30; 55,35-57,24); the next revelations are from the Luminaries of the Aeon of Barbelo (59,9-60,12; 61,25-68, top, or 61,23 depending on whether “I” in 68,17 and “he” in 68,24 are the same as the powers mentioned in 61,24 and “we” in 67,25). On the structure of the ascent, see Introduction IV.
57,27–58,26 Allogenes’ reaction to the revelation while still in the flesh (cf. 58,26–33) involves an incubation period of “a hundred years” (57,31; 58,8) and is characterized by the blessedness (57,34; 58,9–11) of self-knowledge.

58,1–3 The fragment appearing here in the Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, pl. 64 has been placed on 50,1–3.

58,12–26 Allogenes achieves the first stage of the ascent, the vision of all the beings up until the Triple Powered One. These ascending levels and their (somewhat confused) corresponding characteristics are separated below by semicolons: Autogenes with goodness and divinity (in Ap. John BG 8502,1:30,14–19 Autogenes is anointed with and characterized by goodness; cf. Iren. Haer. I.29.1; Gos. Eg. III,2:44, 22–24=IV,2:55,11–14 and Trim. Prot. XIII,3:37,30–33); Triple Male/Savior with perfection; Protophanes/Harmedon with the goodness of the Triple Male; Kalyptos with blessedness; the Aeon of Barbelo with divinity; and finally the primal origin (Δρυξή) of Barbelo, the Triple Powered One. See the note on 45,31–47,7, and Zost. VIII,1:20,4–16. Barbelo is called the “primary origin” (ΨΩΡΗΝ ΝΑΡΧΗ=ΠΡΟΑΡΧΗ; cf. Iren. Haer. I.5.3; Hipp. Ref. VI,38.2) of blessedness, which is an alternate designation of the Mentality aspect of the Triple Powered One (cf. note on 62,27–63,1). Likewise, the Triple Powered One is the primary origin (ΠΡΟΑΡΧΗ) of the “one without origin” (presumably Barbelo).

58,26 MS reads εὐαγγέληται but the third sg. masc. pronoun has no antecedent; εὐαγγέληται (“when I was taken”) must have been intended.

58,26–59,9 The earthly vision of the Aeon of Barbelo is concluded, and Allogenes is raptured from the flesh (ἐνδύμα, 58,29; cf. Plot. Enn. I.6.7,5–7) to a holy place with no earthly analogy (cf. the ἐπερουπάνως τόπος in Plato, Phaed. 247c). Presumably he has risen to the level of Mentality in the Triple Powered One, where he now sees the things previously known to him only by hearing. He transcends his own active knowledge (γνώσις; cf. σω, 50,11.16; 52,16) and participates in the knowledge of the Aeons (ΜΙΤΗΡΑΙ, 59,3) of Barbelo. The ensuing ecstatic ascent will test, or confirm (πεπάλειψε, 59,8), his earthly knowledge.


59,9–60,12 After Allogenes has attained the level of self-knowledge (blessedness, 58,35; 59,10; 60,17), the Luminaries ready him for the comprehension of the ontological levels of the Triple Powered One.

59,10–13 The level of (self-)knowledge; cf. note on 60,14–18.


59,26-60,12 The primary revelation of the Unknowable One or Invisible Spirit, whose level cannot be achieved, but only revealed; cf. note on 61,28-67,20.

59,30-32 See also 60,8-12; 61,17-19; cf. Dam. *Dub. et sol.* 70 (Ruelle, I.154, lines 16-18): “Were you to incline your intellect so as to know that one as if knowing something (with the mind), you shall not know that one” (γ` ὑ ἃρ ἐπεγκλήνης σῶν νοῦν κάκεων νοήσης ὃς τι νοών, ὦ κεῖνο νοήσηες); also found in des Places, *Oracles*, p. 66: frg. 1, lines 2-3; cf. ἐν εὐ ἅντον (i.e., the first cause) γνώσει ἡ ἀγνώσσια, Erbse, p. 183, line 26; θεωρεῖτοι δὲ ἀγνώσσια, Porph. *Sent.* 25 in Lamberz, p. 15, lines 1-6; Anon. Parm. Comm. II,15-31 in Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 2.68-71 and note on 48,9-49,1.

59,32-60,12 The fear is fear of the infinite, cf. note on 59,14-18. On “that place” cf. 58,31. The “activites” from which Allogenes is to retreat are active attempts at knowledge; only “ignorant” knowledge characterized by “stilling oneself” (59,37; cf. Plot. *Enn.* V.5.8,5) and “inactivity” (60,7) is receptive of primary revelation of the Unknowable One, apparently even for the aeons and glories (i.e., “these” of 60,1). “Withdraw to the rear” occurs also in Plot. *Enn.* III.8.9,29-32; cf. VI.9.3,1-13.


60,14-61,22 This section describes Allogenes’ ascent through the levels of the Triple Powered One and receipt of the primary revelation of the Unknowable One.

60,14-18 The level of Mentality is characterized by silence and blessedness, a synonym for Intellection (of oneself, cf. 58,34-37; 59,10-13).

60,18 MS reads καταρός; the emendation is based on 59,12-13.

60,19-28 MS (60,20) reads ἐκκωτε ἰκως; the emendation is based on 59,14. The level of Vitality is entered by “infirm” standing since it is characterized by the “eternal intellectual undivided motion,” probably circular (cf. Plot. *Enn.* VI.8.18,25-30; cf. Procl. *Theol.* prop. 33), undergone by the formless unlimited powers, which when limited, will become the ideas of the Intellect (cf. Plot. *Enn.* VI.7.17,13-26). Likewise, Allogenes cannot stand firmly in a place “boiling with life” (Plot. *Enn.* VI.7.12,23).
60,28-37 The level of Existence is static and still (ζοφὴ ἄνοιγμα ἅμα χρόνος); cf. the permanence (μονή) of the triad: μονή, πρόδοσις, ἐπιστροφή. Through revelation, Allogenes approximates (κατὰ εἰκόνα, cf. note on 51,12-38) the stillness of the “Indivisible One” and the “One who is at rest” (hendiadys for the Triple Powered One, cf. 53,29-31 and note); cf. Anon. Parm. Comm. XIV,22-23 in Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, 2.110-11.

60,37-61,22 This important passage seems to imply the existence of two exalted beings: (1) the Unknowable One (61,1), the First One unknowable to them all, the God beyond perfection (61,10-12); the Unknowable God (61,16), the Mediator of the Triple Powered One; and (2) the Triple Powered One (61,6.13.20). For discussion, see Introduction IV and notes on 45,13 and 53,9-18. Most of the phrases enumerated may be hendiadys (as in 60,36-37; cf. 53,29-31 and note), but the term Mediator (μεσιτής, 61,19) applied to the Unknowable God introduces a fundamental ambiguity: if the Unknowable One is the highest principle, equivalent to Plotinus’ One, how can it mediate the Triple Powered One without forsaking its primacy?

61,28-67,20 “primary revelation and a revelation”: unless this is ditography or another form of textual disturbance, or a case of hendiadys, it seems that “primary revelation” may refer to the negative theology (via negationis) section which follows (for examples see Hipp. Ref. VII,20.2-21.3; Plot. Enn. VI passim; Albinus, Ἐπιστολή, X). “Revelation,” on the other hand, may refer to a more “positive” theology. Thus the preferred “primary” negative theology in 61,32–63,27 (heavily dependent on the Apocryphon of John; see below) is followed by 63,28-67,20, which, while still using contrasting negative statements, is distinctly more affirmative. According to the latter, one receives “revelation” (64,30–36) about “That One” (64,25; cf. 64,37; 66,18) who “appears” (65,21; cf. 66,32) and “gives power” (67,19).

61,32-62,2 “something” (ἀλλαγῇ Greek τί) in Stoic thought is the highest category of reality, encompassing both (corporeal) being and (incorporeal) non-being; see the discussion and parallels by Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, 1.159-61. “Exists and will become” (μορφὴ χωρὶς ἔκτασις) is awkward. χωρὶς may be the translator’s equivalent to ἐπάρχειν. ἐνεργεῖν and ωὴρ seem to be out of sequence and ἀντίπαραξία seems gratuitous. The original may have read: τὸ δὲ τί ἐστιν ἢ ἐστι, ὡς ἐπάρχει ἢ ἔχει ἢ ἔχει ἐνεργοὺς ὄντως ὡσεὶ ὡς ἔχει ἐπάρχεις ἀκαταλήπτως “Now he is something (in the most general sense) in that he exists, that he either exists or lives or knows, acting without mind or life or existence in an incomprehensible way.” The same phraseology is found
in Victorinus, *Adv. Arium* IV,23,19–22; cf. the note on 49,26–38 above. The substitution of τυραξίς for τὸ ὅν in the triad occurs in Damascius who may have found it already in the second-century Chaldean Oracles (see discussion and citations in Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 1.267–69). [π]Η ἐτύγωον ἐτήνταφ in 62,2 and without ἐτύγωον in 62,32 (negated); 63,20 and 63,21 (negated): “that being which is proper to him” seems to mean something like a property or attribute peculiar to a thing as distinguished from the thing itself. It may render the Greek ἡ ἄρωτης “specific property”; see the discussion by Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 2.99 note 4.

62,3 *ἐνεγωμενί*: space requires restoration of ε producing a hanging negatived circumstantial phrase. To judge from ἐμεγυ (line 6) a negatived second tense is called for, i.e., *νεγωμον ἀν* (“it is not in any way that he is left over”).

62,3–6 These terms may be alchemical or metallurgical.

62,6–7 *σωμπ* (62,16; 63,25–26), *σαξα* (62,7), *σαξα* (62,26,27; 67,32) appear to be an euphonic metathesis and *σαραγ* (63,27), judging from its context, is an unattested word apparently meaning “to diminish.” The passages 62,2–27; 63,25–27 and 67,16–17,32 which utilize this term reflect the Platonic conception of undiminished emanation (cf. Plot. *Enn.* III.8.8,46–8.10,19; V.1.3 and 1.6) which Dodds (*Proclus: Theology*, 26–27, notes) traces back to the Middle Stoa. It is found often, e.g., Wis 7:27 and in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* X.18.15–19 (des Places, *Numénius*, frg. 46). In *Enn.* V.4.2,13–28 Plotinus refers this idea back to Plato, *Tim.* 42E of the demiurge abiding in his own proper state while the junior gods make the mortal body.

62,8–11 For readings at end of line, see *Facsimilie Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII*, pl.4.

62,13–14 “it does not affect him”: *νεγωμενει ἀν εγραε εποθ*, a negatived second habitude; lit. “it is not upon him that it is wont to come.”

62,17–27 This passage concludes (cf. *ἐτε βαλ*, 62,17–18) the portion of the negative theology due to the composer of *Allogenes* (i.e., 61,32–62,27), as can be seen from his characteristic terminology: “Mind and Life” (62,19), “non-being Existence” (62,23), “silence and stillness” (62,25), “(un)diminished” (62,26–27). Beginning in 63,28 and continuing through p. 67 the propositions are distinctly more affirmative, though many negative locutions occur. It stresses the unknowability of the positive attributes of the highest divinity. The intervening material (62,28–63,27), characterized by the repeated phrase *ἐκκοττε ε*- “he is superior to,” sustains an extremely close verbal
parallel with a portion of the shorter version of the Coptic *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:23,3–26,13 (especially 24,9–25,9). This parallel is so close as to suggest that *Allogenes* is dependent on some form of the *Apocryphon of John* close to the BG version, or else upon the common prototype upon which both texts drew. Cf. Plato, *Parm.* 137c–142a.

62,20–27 **μινθηφι** (cf. 59,3: the “Universals”) may be the all-perfect ones (**παντελείων**) of 55,14–15; that is, the universal intelligibles or ideas of Platonism (see the note on 45,6–9).


63,1–8 Cf. BG 8502,2:24,13–19: θνε νουκπι/ρος άου πε θνε μπου/τθω εροοφ/άλλα ογηωβ ενοθη εροογ άου ξ[ε]/θνθθματικοκ άου πε θνατ/κωμα άου πε ονοκ άου πε θνολο νου/κογ άου πε ουθρ άου πε θνε/θαμο άου πε (Till-Schenke, *Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*). This parallel shows that **μπε** (“number,” 63,8) translates the Greek **ποσότης** or **ποσόν**, “quantity.”


63,9–13 The order of the phrases (ABC) in BG 8502,2:24,19–22: (A) θνε νευλαμ[γ]/θνο θνολο (B) ογηααγ <α>εθηφ/ ετθωον (C) άλλα ογηωβ ενοθη[ν]/εροογ άου occurs as **BACA** in *Allogenes* with minor variations (the first occurrence of A is positive, not negative).

63,14–17 Material not in BG either derives from the common prototype, or more likely is an interpolation by the composer of *Allogenes* into his prototype of material proper to *Allogenes* in terms of primary
revelation = self-knowledge. The Unknowable God does not possess attributes of existing things and thus cannot be known by them, but he can only be known by himself. Cf. Anon. Parm. Comm. V.32–34 in Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 2.80–83: “(The divine) knowledge is not as one knowing the known; rather he is this knowledge.”

63,18–21 Cf. *Ap. John* III.15,16: ὁγιάσας ἂν πε ἑνεκεν ἔσωσεν and BG 8502,2:24,21–25,1: ἀλλὰς ὡς ἐπεφώνησεν ἐπετρεπτό ἃλλα ἄν τὸ ἐπώνυμον ἑγὼ ἵνα ἔπεσεν ἤπειρα (Till-Schenke, *Papyrus Berolinensis* 8502). The Unknowable God strictly speaking cannot be compared in terms of his own attributes. The composer of *Allogenes* changes the ὡς ἐπεφώνησεν ἀλλὰς ἄντι ἔποιησεν ἡμένη τῷ ἔπωνυμῳ πρὸς ἅμα ἐπισκόπησεν ἀλλὰς ἄν ἐπώνυμῳ ἄν τὸ ἐπώνυμῳ τῷ ἔπωνυμῳ ἐπηρεάσατο to stress the superiority of the Unknowable God with regard both to his own specific character and to the specific character of anything else. See also notes on 61.32–62.2 and 62.27–63.1. *Ap. John* III.15.18–19 takes ἀλλὰ πείτε πωικ πε: “not as his being better, but as his being his own specific character” to ἐν ἐπηρεάσατο ἄν τῷ ἐπώνυμῳ ἄν ἐπηρεάσατο to stress the superiority of the Unknowable God with respect both to his own specific character and to the specific character of anything else. See also notes on 61.32–62.2 and 62.27–63.1. *Ap. John* III.15.18–19 takes its reading as the subject of ἡμένη: “but that which is his did not participate....” The more difficult reading is to be preferred here.

63,21–25 Cf. BG 8502,2:25,1–7: νέῳ/μετέχεε ἃς εὐαίσθην οὐκείσι/ ἃς ἔσωσεν νάκ (νεκτίμετέρχε/καὶ ἐπαίσθην ἐπεικούς νέρ/ κοσμεῖν) ἄροι ἄρων ἔσωσεν ἐπετρεπτό τῷ ἐπώοροι ἐποφ一站 ἄντι ἔπωοροι ἁντὶ τῶν ἐπώοροι ἁγάθεως (Till-Schenke, *Papyrus Berolinensis* 8502). *Allogenes* seems to reflect only the material prior to the parentheses, although one should compare 65,21–24 with the material before and after the parentheses.

63,26 Note marking on left margin; perhaps — or —?

63,33–64,4 Compare notes on 61,32–63,2; 62,27–63,1; and 63,18–21. The two negated abstracts at 63,35–36 seem to suggest that the blessedness and perfection characterizing the Unknowable One are not to be confused with the blessedness and perfection which are “an entity of his” (62,28–36). Elsewhere blessedness is associated with the Triple Powered One (49,6; 52,31), especially as the source of its Mentality aspect (54,16); it is possessed by Kalyptos (58,18.20) and by Allogenes (58,9.35; 59,10); it is equated with the glories (55,28) and “heard” by Allogenes (60,17).

63,35 MS reads ἔνικα/καρπός; elsewhere the phrase is ἔνικα/ καρπός; see the index.

64,5–6 Fragment preserving ends of lines placed subsequent to photo in...

64,8-14  See the note on 63,14-19.

64,14-36  The restoration/emendation [εω]/ <ξε ογνογα εκναγ ερογ> is supplied to complete the protasis of the sentence extending through 64,21 on the supposition that it was omitted by homoio-teleuton and haplography. Anyone who knows the deity in a positive way, and not by being ignorant of him, sins against him. Yet since the deity is totally self-sufficient and without need, he cannot concern himself with punishing the sinner, who actually punishes himself by depriving himself of his object, the origin or principle (ἀρχή) that really is. Without the eye or sight of revelation (i.e., primary revelation, perhaps self-knowledge?) which stills itself (by being activated from without, not by activating itself, which would be active rather than passive or “ignorant” cognition—cf. 65,26-28), such a one is blind. The source of the revelation seems to be the Triple Powered One of the First Ennoia of the Invisible Spirit (the same locution occurs in Zost. VIII.1:20,15-19 absolutely, without genitives). On the problem of ambiguity concerning the Triple Powered One, cf. notes on 60,37-61,22 and 53,9-18.

64,20  οον written over erased άτ.

64,28  Emendation: assuming loss of q through haplography. But perhaps it originally read Ντορ <ογ>εβολ Νμον.

65,37-67,20  The negative theology is here applied to the Triple Powered One.

65,21-24  Cf. 63,21-25 and note.

65,22-23  Π ξρια takes a compound direct object Νογχρονος and Νογεων; the εβολ Νι is unnecessary. Perhaps the scribe was thinking of ξι εβολ Νι, “participate.”

65,24-30  The Triple Powered One is unfathomable (beyond knowledge), inactive (beyond vitality) and beyond existence (since he is non-being existence, 62,23 and 65,32-33).

65,30-32  While Ν ογτονος (“spatially”) implies corporeality, for incorporeality, one might expect Ν ογτονος άν. For the contrast cf. Philo, Conf. 136; Somn. I.63; Plot. Enn. III.9.4; VI.8.16; Porph. Sent. 1.2.31,38 in Lamberz; Victorinus, Adv. Arium I.50,8-10 in Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, 2.29 and Zost. VIII.2:21,6-7. Ν ογνεί probably renders οικείος, “properly.”

65,32-33  Cf. 55,30; 62,23.

65,34-35  The Triple Powered One causes the existence of the self-sufficient beings by doing nothing to cause their existence; he simply exists unto himself, having no desire to create anything else; cf. Procl.
Theol. props. 8–10: the Good has no ἔφεσις (desire) or ὀρέξις (appetite), but is only ἐφετῶν (desired) and ὀρεκτῶν (craved).

66,16–38 This section seems to be similar (cf. 45,21–27; 49,7–21) and yet to contradict (cf. 48,14–16) other sections of Allogenes, thus suggesting separate sources. Here it is said that the Triple Powered One does not receive power (66,20) and does not grant being (66,27–28), while 45,25–26 suggests that he does receive power and 48,14–16 suggests that he does grant being. Furthermore, the way in which the Triple Powered One emanates from the Invisible Spirit here (i.e., “being at rest” [σταλλόμενος], and appearing ὡς Εἱμάτον as an Eternal Life surrounding all else) is similar to but uses different terminology from 45,22–26 (being stilled, being extended [ἐπορώθη Ἐβολά], and becoming perfect [πέμπεται]). While here the Triple Powered One is “at rest” and is “boundless,” in 49,7–21 he is “transverter of the boundlessness of the Invisible Spirit.” It is possible that “an Eternal Life” (ὡς ἐν Εἱμάτε) may be syncopepation for “eternal revelation,” but “revelation” should require Ἐβολά, and “Life” certainly seems to be the proceeding aspect or emanating modality of the Triple Powered One of the Invisible Spirit. The triad, boundless, powerless and non-existent, seems comprised of negatives of the triad, Being or Existence, Life or Vitality, Knowledge or Mentality (which is the stage at which boundless Life becomes bounded and defined as intellect in contemplative reversion upon its source).

67,16 ε of ΕΤΑΓ read in ultraviolet light.

67,36–38 οὐκαετπ and ΕΚΑΝΙΤΟΥ betray some Subachmimic influence. οὐκαετπ must be emended either to <μον> οὐκαετπ (“know only him,” i.e., the Unknowable One who is at rest) or to οὐκαετ <κοινῇ> (“that you alone know and that they speak with one another,” i.e., that Allogenes should know the Unknowable One directly and that “they,” perhaps Messos and his associates, should know through Allogenes, the “other [ἄλλος] one” who mediates the revelation). Why Allogenes is referred to in the plural (ἄλλην ἑπτάκοιμα) is puzzling, unless perhaps we assume both he and Youel are here addressed, or unless we have redaction by someone other than the author of Allogenes, as the sudden introduction of Subachmimic features might suggest.

68,16–23 The final instructions to Allogenes (by one of the Luminaries or their powers, 61,24) require him to record the revelation for his successors, to leave it on a mountain (the τόπος of revelation) and
"call up" the "guardian," the "Dreadful One," probably a demon to strike fear into the hearts of unauthorized users. "Book" may be the author's designation for the genre of *Allogenes*; cf. "books of Allogenes," 69,18–19 and Epiph. *Pan. XXXIX*.5.1; XL.2.2.

68,24–69,19 *Allogenes* is left alone full of joy having written down the revelation as a witness to Messos, who is apparently to go himself and proclaim (69,14–15) its content "as the seal," (in the sense of the conclusion of a series) "of all the books of Allogenes" (Schenke's suggestion [††ε]cφπαρικ, "the five seals" ["Gnostic Sethianism," 603] is too long for the lacuna). On the plurality of such books, see Introduction, Section II. Compare the command to preach to the worthy in *Zost. VIII*.1:4,4–20. The name "Allogenes" occurs in 69,20 as the title of the tractate, "The Allogenes" (cf. Porph. *Vit. Plot.* 16). Apparently all of p. 69 was inset from the left margin, and each of lines 1–19 was decorated with a reversed *diple obelismene* to the left and to the right approximately two *dipleis* followed by a *diple obelismene*. The titles of *Allogenes* and of the following tractate (*Hypsi­phrone*) in lines 19–20 are each prefaced with a reversed *diple obelismene* and surrounded above and below with short obeli with serifs at their ends.

INTRODUCTION
NHC XI,4: HYPSIPHRONE, 69,21–72,37


This small tractate, which occupies the last four pages of Codex XI, consists of only four large and two small fragments containing the lower portion of both margins of two leaves. The margins are separated by a large vertical gap in the center. No top and bottom margins are extant. The texture and fibers of these fragments match the texture and fibers of the first two surviving leaves of the codex (69/70 + 1/2 and 71/72 + the front flyleaf), thus suggesting that they constitute parts of the same respective sheets. It is therefore probable that the codex, and hence this tractate, concluded with p. 72. Although there has been no codicological confirmation, it appears that fragments 1 and 2 in the Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, pl. 82 (see below, “Codex XI: Fragments, Hand 2”) may belong somewhere in this short tractate to judge from extant vocabulary: ἀγω ἀειν (=ἀεινἀγω), frg. 1↑ , line 3; cf. ἄγω in 69,23; 71,22; 72,20. ἀειταμοούγ, frg. 1→ , line 3; cf. ταμο in 70,17; 72,24.26. And possibly an occurrence of the name Hypsiphrone in frg. 2→ , line 5: ἰەق ێه (=%imar newt), although the supralinear stroke is not regular.

The superscript title “Hypsi[rone]” (69,21) is only partially extant: γPsi[r]. Both Doresse and Puech took it to be γPsiC[rC], the second member of the subscript title to the next-to-last tractate that read “The Supreme Allogenes” (see the Codex Introduction, Section IV). Since the body of text below these titles contains the readings ἸφΟΝΗ (69,23), γΨιφΟ/ΝΗ (70,22–23) and γΨιφΟΝΗ (72,21), the title on 69,21 may be safely restored as γΨιφ[ΡΟΝΗ], and taken to be the superscript title of the fourth tractate. Since the conclusion of the fourth tractate is not extant, there can be no confirmation from a final subtitle that may have existed at the bottom of p. 72.

The script of Hypsiphrone is identical with that of Allogenes; the only feature of note is the substitution of the diaeresis above the γ.
in "Hypsiphrone" instead of the Coptic 2 to mark the rough breathing (69,21; 70,22; 72,21). To the extent that this can be determined from the extant fragments, the Coptic dialect is standard Sahidic, and thus differs slightly from the dialect of Allogenes.

Even with the title "Hypsiphrone" ("She of High Mind," apparently derived from ἤψιψρων), the character of this small tractate is obscure. The incipit designates the text a “book” or “scroll” (69,22) that contains [things] (69,22–23) either seen by or communicated to Hypsiphrone (69,23–24) in the “place” of (her) “virginity” (69,25; 70,15.19.24). Although there is mention of a plurality of persons speaking (69,29), the tractate does not appear to be a dialogue; rather, the conversation with “her brethren” (69,27) must be a setting for the first-person narrative that occupies the rest of the tractate, in which dialogue is reported, in part, with a certain Phainops (φαίνωψ), cf. φαίωψ, “bright-eyed,” 70,26.[29]; 72,19; cf. 69,27–28).

The tractate therefore appears to be a first-person revelation narrative, which relates the descent of Hypsiphrone (the speaker) into the world (70,20–21) and the response of others who had already come into the world, but whose abode was in the place of her virginity. The fragmentary state of the tractate makes it impossible to trace the course of the discourse.
[30]  

22 πνωσώμε [τετε όντα]γι

24 ναγ εροογ [ντν ψηφρό

26 θενος: α[γω χωτ]μ ε

28 Νωψίνο [εδκ 0ν]γω

30 ξη μνημ[ισθρίων] ανοκ

32 κα[ογκα]τ. πε
The book [concerning the things] that were seen [by] Hypsiphrone being [revealed] in the place (τόπος) of [her] virginity (παρθένος). [And she listens] to her brethren [ ] Phainops and [ ] and they speak [with one another] in a [mystery (μυστήριον)]. Now (δὲ) I [was first by individual] ranking
(Lines 1-13 lacking)

14 [ 10± ]ο' δαει [εβολ]
[επιτο]ηρ[ε]Μη ταμώ [γαρ]

επ[κος]μο[ς] τοτε αγτα

νη ετ[ω]μη
επ[ιτο]ν[ος] τοτε ταμω

20 πα[ρεν]ος [γω]ν ἀειβωκ


24 παι (πνε[τ]ε(μη) παρενος·
τοτε [απετα]μει̣ μη [δι]


[ξε] [ανοκ] πε [φα]ι[μ]ω [ω]. ον

30 τ.ν[ 6± ]...[.].[.].[.].
...[ 6± ].[.].[.].[.].[.]

32 ...[ 6± ].[.].[.].[.].[.]
...[ 12± ]αγ
[70]
(Lines 1-13 lacking)

14 me. I came [forth]
[to the place (τόπος)] of my [virginity (παρθένος)]

16 and I went down
to the [world (κόσμος)]. Then (τότε) I was told

18 [about] them (by) those who abide
in [the place (τόπος)] of my [virginity (παρθένος)].

20 And I went
down [to the world (κόσμος)] and they said

22 to [me: “Again] Hypsiphrone
[has withdrawn (ἀναχωρεῖν)] outside

24 the [place (τόπος) of her] virginity (παρθένος).”
Then (τότε) the one [who] heard,

26 Phainops, [who breathes] into
[her fount (πηγή) of ]blood, spread [out]

28 for her. [And] he said:
[I am Phainops]

30 []

32 [

34 [ ]

70,15 For “place of (my) virginity,” cf. 70,19.24.
(Lines 1-16 lacking)

18 σωρμή Ἄν\[e.\] 9\±\ 0\γ
20 ἐπιθυμία[ 9\±\ τ\]ά
[π\]ε ἡνίκευσωντι ἠ[ρ\]μ\]έ
22 ἦ ἠνταναγ ἐγρ[φ\[με\]\] 9\±\ 0\γ
[τ\]έ ἡ[κνοχ\] 9\±\ 8\±\ 0\γ
24 ὡ ἐβολ[ 9\±\ ]\·\ τε
[κ\]όψ\[ν\]ι[ 10\±\ κ\]ω\]ς
26 ὡ ῥ\[ν\] ὑγ.[ 9\±\ 2\]ι\[ν\] ν\[ε\]
τ\[δι\] 3\[τ\]\[τ\] το\[τ\]ε \[α\]ν[οκ \[π\]ε\]ξ\[α\]
28 [\]α\[γ\] χε ἡπεύ\[ψ\]\[φ\]\[ε\][ρ\]\[α\]ι \[ε\]
[τ\]\[κ\]\[γ\][π\]\[α\]\[ν\] \[κ\]\[ι\] \[ν\] [\]
30 [\]σωρ\[μ\]\[ή\] \[8\±\ \]α\[ γ\] \[ε\] \[γ\]
[π\]\[σ\]με ἡ[ 10\±\ ]\γ
32 [\]\[11\±\ ]\γ
[ 14\±\ ]\[μ\]\[ν\]
34 [\]\[14\±\ ]\[α\] \[γ\]
[ 14\±\ ]\[ν\]α

(3\± Lines lacking)
[71]

(Lines 1–16 lacking)

18 err

20 desire (ἐπιθυμία) [ the number]
of just the [human] remnants
22 or (ἡ) that I may see a [man, the blood–likeness]
or (ἡ)
24 [ of a [ fire]
26 and a [ in] his
28 hands. Then (τὸ) [as for, I said]
28 [to] him: "[Phainops] has not [come] upon
me; he [has not]
30 gone astray. [ see] a
32 man [ ] him

(3± lines lacking)

71,18 Note the vestige of ink before ἐ of ἐπιθυμία at the beginning of the line.
71,19 Possibly ἀιτε for ἀιτέω (aiōn), "to ask."
71,23 For κμος, cf. 70,27.
71,25 For κψτ, cf. 72,28.
[ΟΒ]
(Lines 1-16 lacking)


20 παί[ 6± ] . ἐ [. .] . ἁίναγ ἐροφ

22 ετ[βε ὡν κώοονν] [Ν] [π] [Α] [Ν] [Ο] [Μ] [Ω]

24 ταμο[κ] ἐροογ . ἃν[α]κ ἄε ἄει

26 [Ν] [Ρ] [Α] [Κ] [Ι] [Κ] [Ο] [Ν] [Ο] [Ν] [Ο]

28 ἐκδο[λ] ἐβολ . [Ε] [Κ] [Κ] [Ω] [Γ] [Τ]

30 [. .] . [ 8± ] [Ν] [Χ] [Κ] [Η]

32 [. .] [. ] [ 8± ] [Χ] [Κ] [Η]

(4± Lines lacking)
[72]
(Lines 1–16 lacking)

18 [For (γάρ) [ ] which he said [ ] Phainops]

20 this [ ]. I saw him
and [he said] to me: “Hypsiphrone,

22 [why do you dwell] outside me?
[Follow me] and I will

24 tell [you about them].” So (δὲ) I
followed [him], for (γάρ) [I] was

26 in [great] fear. And
he [told me] about a fount (πηγή) of [blood]

28 that is [revealed by] setting afire
[ ] he said [ ]

30 [ ]

32 [ ]

(4± lines lacking)

72,23–26 Reconstructions based on extant traces of ink and the character of the surviving text of Hypsiphrone.
Codex XII was part of one of the groups of codices acquired by the antiquities dealer Phocion J. Tano during 1946-48. It was put in safekeeping at the Department of Antiquities in 1949, transferred to the Coptic Museum on 9 June 1952, declared national property by court action in 1956, and given the inventory number 10555 in 1959. It had been numbered XII by Jean Doresse and Togo Mina in 1949, XIII by Henri-Charles Puech in 1950, XI by Doresse since 1958, and XII by Martin Krause in 1962 and James M. Robinson in 1968 (Robinson, “Introduction” and Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, pp. VI-VII). In April 1961 it was conserved in 12 plexiglass containers by Victor Girgis in consultation with Pahor Labib and Martin Krause. It was photographed by R. Herzog for Krause at that time and again by photographers of the Center of Documentation for UNESCO in 1966. Under the supervision of the Technical Sub-Committee of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices of the Arab Republic of Egypt and UNESCO, fragments were placed and photographs made at three work sessions during 1970-71.

Of all the Nag Hammadi Codices, Codex XII is in the poorest state of preservation. No titles or page numbers remain, although at least three tractates are represented. Of the approximately thirty-nine original pages of the Sentences of Sextus (XII,1) ten survive, of which eight lack parts of the top and bottom lines, while the remaining two (from a different part of the tractate) have lost the outside half of the leaf. The Gospel of Truth (XII,2) has fragments of only six of the originally twenty-nine pages. Until the two larger remaining fragments (numbers 1 and 2 on pl. 101-102 of the Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII) can be associated with a known piece of literature, it is impossible to say whether they represent one or two other tractates. Two smaller fragments (number 5 on pl. 101-102 of the Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII and number 8 on pl. 23*-24* [frg. c] of the Facsimile Edition:
Introduction) could belong to any tractate in the codex. Since the remnants are from different parts of the codex, it is likely that the main loss was suffered since the discovery in modern times.

The original size of the codex cannot be reconstructed. The estimated original lengths of the Sentences of Sextus and the Gospel of Truth plus the four pages of a third tractate, for which evidence remains, add up to a minimum of seventy-two pages. The third tractate, however, was almost certainly longer than four pages. It is more disconcerting that the sequence of the tractates cannot be determined. This is due to the unusual make-up of the quire, unique among the Nag Hammadi Codices. In the case of the other codices the quire is formed by placing a number of papyrus sheets on top of each other, generally with the horizontal fibers facing up. In contrast, Codex XII was made up of a quire in which only every other sheet has the horizontal fibers facing up. As a result, pages facing each other always have the same fiber direction. This technique was used for the “hair side” and “flesh side” of parchment codices in the Byzantine period to give the book a more uniform appearance. Though it is less common among papyrus codices, it is not unknown, e.g., P 66 (Bodmer II of the Gospel of John).

Since the center sheet of the codex is not extant, even this clue as to which tractate belongs to the first or second half of the book is lacking. There is a slight decrease in the width of the column from page 15* to page 34*, which suggests that the Sentences of Sextus came in the first half of the book. This conclusion assumes that the practice of trimming a quire, after it was folded, was observed, thereby causing the pages in the center of the quire to be narrower than those at the beginning and end. A scribe who did not copy the columns of his exemplar would thus tend to make his columns narrower towards the middle of the codex. The gradual change in the width of the pages would be a much better guide, but none of the extant pages of Codex XII has complete right and left margins. Also no page with complete top and bottom margins is extant. Hence the original size of the pages had to be reconstructed by combining evidence from several pages. The result indicates an original size of approximately 19 x 25.5 cm.

The reconstructed page sequence of Sent. Sextus 27*–34* provided sufficient evidence to show that the sheets were cut from a roll. There is exact correspondence of fibers between the right edge of page 31* and the left edge of page 30*. A reconstruction of this
part of the roll from left to right is as follows. Numeration is by pages with horizontal fibers; the two leaves of a sheet are connected by a plus (+); adjoining sheets are connected by a slash (/); square brackets ([ ]) indicate the lost halves of the sheets.

\[34^* + [ ] / [ ] + 31^* / 30^* + [ ] / [ ] + 27^*\]

There are joints (kolleseis) in the roll on pages 31* and 58*. The overlap of the joint on page 31* is left over right, and measures 4 cm. The overlap on page 58* is not complete but runs also left over right. The leaves from the Gospel of Truth and the fragments could not be shown to form a sheet with any of the leaves of the Sentences of Sextus, but this may have been due to their fragmentary nature.

The papyrus used for the codex was of mediocre quality for this period. The many cracks and irregularities forced the scribe to leave some blank spaces between letters or to slant his lines. Most pages have uneven coloring. No page numbers have been preserved. The leaves which still have part of the top margin (15*/16*; 57*/58*) suggest that the codex lacked pagination.

The number of missing pages of both tractates can be calculated fairly accurately in terms of the Subachmimic Gospel of Truth in NHC I and the Greek Sentences of Sextus, assuming the Coptic version did not contain more than the 451 sentences found in the Latin version. Thus it can be established that the original codex could hardly have begun with the Sentences of Sextus immediately followed by the Gospel of Truth or vice versa. In order to do justice to the fiber direction, a third tractate must have intervened. However, for the sake of convenience, and consistency with the other codices in the collection, the pages have been numbered consecutively making the Sentences of Sextus the first tractate and the Gospel of Truth the second. This makes the Sentences of Sextus end and the Gospel of Truth begin on the same page, although this is not possible based on the estimated length of each tractate. The two remaining large fragments have been assigned to a third tractate even though they may belong to two different tractates. Since the publication of the Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, frg. 3 has been placed on p. 33*,3–8 and p. 34*,3–8; frg. 6 has been placed on p. 33*,2–3 and p. 34*,2–3; frg. 4 has been placed on 55*,24–25 and 54*,24; and frg. 7 has been placed on 59*,24–27 and
60*,24-26. Two fragments originally conserved with Codex VIII have been placed in Codex XII, one at 59*,22-23 and 60*,21-22 and another at 59*,23-25 and 60*,22-24. Fragments 5 (Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, pl. 101/102) and 8 (Facsimile Edition: Introduction, pl. 23*/24*c) have not been placed.

The writing columns have an average of 28 lines. The scribe had the tendency to make his lines slope upward. The script is a regular, square biblical majuscule somewhat similar to, but heavier than, that of Codex II. The scribe has used line fillers, usually a diple (cf. for example, 15*,4.10.19.21.25.26), to keep a straight right margin. For the same purpose he often crowds letters by writing them very small (cf. 27*,8; 33*,25.26) or by running a number of letters together (i.e., ligatures), particularly the H,M,N,N,P, and T. In 29*,26 and 31*,22 the π and p have been fused and a mark in the shape of a “c” inclined to the right has been placed on top of the joined letters. The scribe has also made an effort not to split up a word between two pages by placing the last couple of letters of a word below the bottom line (cf. 31*,28f.; 33*,27f.; 57*,28f. and probably also 58*,29f.). The final น of a line has been indicated by means of a horizontal stroke in 27*,7; 29*,6; 34*,19; frg. 1A,19. An unusual feature of the hand is the rounded м when it is the final letter of a line, over against the square uncial м elsewhere.

The use of full stops and paragraphing by means of blank spaces is discussed in the introduction to the Sentences of Sextus. The supralinear strokes have been placed somewhat carelessly, frequently extending too far to the right. They have been standardized in the transcription. Strokes are missing in 15*,6 (NET K); 16*,17 (NωWc); 27*,14 (MΦAYΛΘN); 29*,10 (HΣN); 29*,17 (ΣιΚΟΟΥΕ); 30*,17 (ΝΑΚΑΘΑΡΤΟΣ); 58*,7 (ΜΙΤΣ). In 16*,5 a stroke was placed on the wrong м (ΜΟΡ). These have not been corrected in the transcription. The န following the qualitative o does not have a supralinear stroke before € (27*,5 and 29*,15).

There are remarkably few corrections and misspellings, indicating the work of a skilled scribe. In 34*,8 λ was written superimposed over another letter and น was added above the line in 34*,27 and an e in frg. 1A,26. π was written superimposed over น in 58*,26. There is no reason to believe that the corrections were made by anyone other than the original hand. Emendations were necessary in 28*,13.27; 29*,10 (haplography).13; 30*,4 (hap-
lography).20; 33*,10 (haplography); 34*,13 (dittography).14. These are discussed in the notes.

The scribe did not use the smooth breathing mark on Η, and "hooked" the final τ (τ) of a word only rarely (e.g., 33*,19). The codex was written in Sahidic with a number of archaic, i.e., preclassical, forms appearing in the Sentences of Sextus. The present state of Coptic paleography does not allow for an accurate dating of the hand. However, there are no reasons why it would not fit the late fourth-century date supported by evidence found in some of the other Nag Hammadi Codices.

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INTRODUCTION
NHC XII, 1*: THE SENTENCES OF SEXTUS,
15* ,1–16* ,28; 27* ,1–34* ,28

Bibliography: Chadwick, Thè Sentences of Sextus; Conybeare, The Ring of Pope Xystus; Edwards-Wild, The Sentences of Sextus; Elter, Gnomica I; Gildemeister, Sexti Sententiarum recensiones; Hermann, "Die armenische Überlieferung der Sextussentenzen"; Kroll, "Die Sprüche des Sextus"; de Lagarde, Analecta syriaca; Poirier, "La version copte des Sentences de Sextus (Sent. 320)"; id., "La version copte des Sentences de Sextus"; Ryssel, "Die syrische Übersetzung der Sextussentenzen"; Wisse, "Die Sextus-Sprüche und das Problem der gnostischen Ethik."

The Coptic Sentences of Sextus (abbreviated C) do not present us with a hitherto unknown piece of ancient literature. The sentences have been known throughout the centuries, in the West through the Latin version, in the East through Syriac, Armenian and Georgian versions. Only during the last part of the nineteenth century were two manuscripts of the original Greek discovered. There is no need at this point to comment on the origin and theology of the collection. Not that these matters are unimportant or settled, but they are larger scholarly issues on which the discovery of the Coptic version has no direct bearing.

With C we have now a manuscript which is at least a century and a half older than the oldest previously known copies, two Syriac manuscripts (X and x) from the mid-sixth century C.E., and more than 500 years earlier than the earliest Greek and Latin witnesses. Moreover, since it is a faithful and consistent translation from the Greek, even retaining many of the original Greek words as loanwords, it is of considerable textual interest where the Greek manuscripts differ or are corrupt, or the order of the sentences is uncertain. C also sheds light on the form in which the collection circulated at the time of its translation, i.e. in the way the maxims were separated and grouped.

Jean Doresse, who made the first inventory of the Nag Ham- madi Library, missed the true identity of the tractate. On the basis of what could not have been more than a brief glance at sentences 348–349 he called Codex XII—his Codex XI—"fragments of
INTRODUCTION

NHC XII,2*: THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH,
53*,1–54*,28; 57*,1–60*,30


The fragments of the Sahidic Gospel of Truth in Codex XII had not been distinguished from the other material in the codex in the inventories made by Doresse (Secret Books, 142–45), Krause ("Der koptische Handschriftenfund," 121–31), and Robinson ("The Coptic Gnostic Library Today," 383–401). First mention of the fragments was made in "The Coptic Gnostic Library," 85.

No title of the tractate has been preserved with the fragments; the title, as well as the order and identification of the fragments, is wholly dependent on the parallel text of the Gospel of Truth in Codex I. Apart from the parallel text, these fragments would have had little value. Their present significance is limited to the light they shed on the parallel version in Codex I. Hence the notes to the text and translation only deal with the differences between the two versions.

Fragments of three leaves have been found. All of these contain a part of the bottom margin and one of the leaves has part of both top and bottom margins. Unfortunately, in every case the left and right margins are lost, which made the reconstruction of complete lines a matter of conjecture. By calculating the average number of lines in the Gospel of Truth (I,3) which correspond with a page of text in the Gospel of Truth (XII,2*), it could be estimated that the fragments belonged to pages 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, and 22 of the tractate. When put in sequence with the Sentences of Sextus (XII,1*) the fragments then become pages 53*–54* and 57*–60*. Assuming that both versions of the Gospel of Truth had the same length, XII,2* can be estimated to have ended at the bottom of page 67*. This means that the Sentences of Sextus ended and the Gospel of Truth began on page 39* of the codex. Yet the last page of Sextus must have been almost a full page, especially if the title was at the end; and also the first page of the Gospel of Truth comes out as a full page in the estimate. However, in order to prevent a rather
awkward codex pagination, this conflict has been ignored (see the Codex Introduction). Leaf 53* /54* is represented by two fragments, leaf 57* /58* by two fragments which join in the middle of the leaf, and leaf 59* /60* by seven fragments which clearly fit together. The small fragment of leaf 53* /54* and three small fragments of leaf 59* /60* were placed after the facsimile edition of Codex XII was published and, except for one fragment of leaf 59* /60*, are shown in position in The Facsimile Edition: Introduction, pl. 23* /24*. Fragment 7 shown on pl. 119/120 has been placed on p. 59*,24—27 (pl. 120) and p. 60*,24—26 (pl. 119). The extant lines on pages 53* /54* and 59* /60*, of which only the bottom parts of the leaves survive, have been numbered by estimating the number of lines the page once contained. The fact that pages 55* /56* are not represented in the sequence lends support to the suspicion that at least some of the loss was suffered since the discovery of the codices.

The Gospel of Truth (XII,2*), it appears, was written in pure Sahidic. The only departures from standard Sahidic, aside from a few itacisms (ἀοειδε 59*,28 for λοιδε; παιει 54*,25 and παιει 54*,22.23.27 for παι and παι; ψταιειογ 54*,26 for πκταιογ; ογκαι 57*,24.26 for ογκαι), are the following: μ, τ, and ΝI are frequently used as articles. Once Ν has not been assimilated to Μ before Ν (53*,27). The relative form of the habitual tense is ευμα- (58*,25). The “not yet” tense is spelled εμπατ- in 60*,24. The perfect relative is normally ἔντα- and, if reconstructed correctly, once ἔντα- (57*,23). The translator used remarkably few Greek loanwords.

The differences between the two versions of the Gospel of Truth go far beyond those expected for independent translations into different dialects. The fragments are not extensive enough to present a full comparative evaluation of both versions. If the fragments are indicative of the whole, then the version in Codex XII has a somewhat shorter text and differs often in substance. The many serious problems of syntax in l,3 are not evident in XII,2*. The text appears smoother, more direct and more transparent in meaning. Some of this could be due to the fact that the Coptic translator of XII,2* produced a version that was a simplification of the Greek. However, it is at least as likely that the Coptic of Codex I is awkward and at times corrupt. If the fragments of the Gospel of Truth in XII,2* indicate anything, then it is to make the student of the
Gospel of Truth aware that the difficulties in I,3 are not necessarily due to complexity of thought and gnostic obscurity but perhaps to an inferior Coptic translation of a corrupted Greek text.
53*
(Lines 1-18 lacking)

[6±]...[6±]

20 [αγω] μεταώτι ερθ[η]
[νεχ]† ναγ ἄφτηπε [μὴν πιστοὶ ἦ]

22 [οὐς] μοτ ὑτατ πν[η]ρε ἰμεριτ]
[αφ]γως ἅγιον παῦ ἐβολ [απταμοῦγ]

24 [ἐνεί]ωτι πιατώξε [μμοψ ε]
[απιν]ίμε ἀποψεηγεν ε[δρα] ἐρο]

26 [οῦ ἀρει]πε ἀπεθογοψ[ψμ ἀξαλ ἔδ]

28 [ρῆς] νε[γ]ο ἄπωμο πε [ἐροῦμ]
[4-5] ἐνεκταεῖτ ἢ.[6±]
53*
(Lines 1–18 lacking)
[ ]
20 [and] they who hear [him
[he] granted them the taste [and the smell of ]
22 his form. The [beloved Son]
appeared to them [and told them]
24 [about the] Father, the ineffable one, [having]
[breathed] his (Father's) thought [into]
26 [them. He did] his (Father's) will. [Then many]
[received the] light. He was in [fleshly (σῶμα) form;]
28 (his) face was foreign [to them]
[ ] since he was changed [ ]
54*
(Lines 1–18 lacking)

[μφρε ετσλ]ήλομεν απόρκογ

20

[9±] μφρε αγορ[σε ε]

22 [ειτ αγγυπ]ε ἡναι ετςομ[μ' ογ]

24 [κοούν αγγυ]ῳπε ἡναι ετ[ο ηαι]

26 [εγκω εσρ]ά] ἐπίπτεισε[γ ηή ψιε]

28 [ψε νη]α παι ἡνταγερφ
ensnaring [bonds] he destroyed
20 [ ] new. [And (-widgets)] he raised
[up those] who have stumbled. [A way]
[came into being] for those who are lost.
[Knowledge] came to those who [are]
[ignorant.] Immortality [came]
[to those who are] mortal. He is [the shepherd]
[who left behind] the ninety [and nine]
[sheep] which were not lost, [and]
[searched for] the one which was lost. [ ]
[μοψον] τοῦτον ἔβολα χηθαὶ ἑ[ίμι εἰσαν]
2 [τῷ έτταγὸ]ν θηρὲ π[ηκτὸν ηγῇ]
[ὑμοὶ ἐπο[γοῖν αἰ]
4 [ὁ ζην ἑττὸμ]τάρφυρν [κρόοε]
[ἐξαὶ σμότ ημ. έμαι[ε γὰρ ἁν]
6 [πε εὐχαρίσω]λη ἀλλα π[ίπα πετ]
[ὑμλῆ ἐρὸ]γη ἔπρητε ετ[επνα]
8 [σωκ ἐβολὴ]μηπ[ηκτὸν ηγῇ]ε[ἑροὶ αἰ]
[ὁ πίπα πε]ττ ἔπτ[έτοι ηαη]
10 [6± ἑ]μοὶ ἐκυη.[
[.....εβολα] ζην ηπτὸν[γῃν ηώ]
12 [πὴ έταρῷ ο]γιεβολ θην η[επτὸν ηγῇ]
[γὰρ πε· ογ]ψυχικὸν μ[πλαςμα]
14 [10± ] ἐρεπμε[πιςμος]
16 [12± ἔ]τβε [παί άχει η]
18 [πιςμος αγῳ αρ]τ[επω]κ εβολ]
[ἐττὸμ Χε]ξ[ας η]ερβω[πε]
[ὁ ην]αβῶλ ζην πτωτ ἤ[ημε ετ]
22 [χην] παί π[ε] πμα[χε ἰνπημ]
[ην]όη εντ[αγ]ταψ[ε έκω η]
[μούτε] εροο[γ εγ]κομ[εβολ ζη]
[.....ογο]νη [πα]ει εττ[ξ]
28 [.....] εγκομ[εβολ]
[it appears] in every place. [If it]

[ mixes with] all kinds of [ matter (\(\nu\lambda\eta\)), its fragrance]

[it gives] to the [light. And]

[in its] patience [it is exalted]

[over] every [form]. [For (\(\gamma\acute{a}\p\)) it is not] the ear

[that] smells, but (\(\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{a}\)) the [Spirit (\(\pi\nu\varepsilon\iota\mu\alpha\)) is the one who]

[smells it] just as [the Spirit (\(\pi\nu\varepsilon\iota\mu\alpha\))]

[draws forth] the fragrance [to himself, and]

[the Spirit (\(\pi\nu\varepsilon\iota\mu\alpha\)) is the one] who put [it] at ease []

[ ] him upon it. [

[ from] the [first] fragrances

[which are cold. For (\(\gamma\acute{a}\p\)) he is] one of the [fragrances,]

[a ] physical (\(\psi\nu\chi\iota\kappa\omicron\omicron\)) [form (\(\pi\lambda\acute{a}\sigma\mu\alpha\))]

[ ] the [division (\(\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\))]

[ ] the place [

[T] Therefore

[Faith came and dissolved the division (\(\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\)).]

[And it came] to the fullness

[which is warm, in order that] the cold may not

[again] come [to it. And]

[it shall] dissolve [through the perfect] harmony.

This is [the] word [of the gospel]

which [was proclaimed.]

[It is the] salvation for those [who are]

[ called while] waiting for

[the salvation] which [is] a [ ]

appear. This] which [ ]

[ ] while they await [ }
58*  
[πε πογ]οεῖν παί [ἐτέ μὴ ἄκιες]  
2 [Νὶχτ]ή Ἱν ἗μ[ον εὐχὲ ωὰ]  
[εἰ ἦ]δι πιπληρ[μα: ἀγ]ω ἦ[πε]  
4 [π]ὶ[ν]适当 Ṿωπη [ἐβολὰ γιτοῦτε]  
[...]]ψωπη[ε:' ε[  
14 [ ...]με[τ] ἑτε π[  
[ ...]מרו πτ.[  
16 [ ...]π[ν][κε  
[ ...]ογν πέ[τ]ττο ἐβολὰ γαρ σε]  
18 [μό]γ[τε] ερο[ς ἃς οὐμετάνοια]  
[ἐτβε να]ϊ [α][φθ]αρ[κια ρωτ ἕκα]  
20 πνοβε γί[να] ξεκ[ας ε]ρ[μσ] [  
[πε] νδι ογ[τ]αλ]60- π.[  
22 [ ...]. ν[ ...]ψωπε [ ... παί]  
[τ]τοῦτ q[ ...]μ[.]λ[.  
[q[τ]ν]τοῦτ q τα [τε βε ἦ[π]πλα]  
30 [σωμα]
[is the] light [which has no shadow]

2 [in it,] or rather [as if]
the pleroma (πλήρωμα) [were to come. And]

4 [the] deficiency [did not] occur [through]
[the] error (πλάνη). And [it happened because of]

6 the immeasurable divinity [of the]
[Father.] He gave [time to the deficiency,]
although (καίρος) there was [no one]
[who] will be able to tell the [manner of coming of the]

Incorruptible One]. But (ἀλλά] [
[the] depth (βάθος) of the Father [

thought] entirely (δόλως) with [ it] happens. [

14 [ ] which [ ] of the [ ]

16 [ ] the [discovery [ for (γάρ)] the [rejection (of sin)]

18 [is] called [conversion (μετάνοια).] Therefore [Incorruption (ἀφθαρσία) pursued]

20 Sin, in order that (ιδα) healing [might occur]. The [ ]

22 [ ] happen [ This] [is the forgiveness] through [the Word (λόγος)]

24 of [the] pleroma (πλήρωμα). [For (γάρ) he]
runs to the [place where]

26 [the] sickness is, [for he gives] aid [ ]

28 [the] deficiency, because [whoever is deficient] [he] aids. Thus [it is with the pleroma (πλήρωμα)]
(Lines 1–17 lacking)

18 [nai τὴν τούμμητε α]γω[α] [xe e]
[pnc xe]kaac ἔε[ν]αξι Νο[ycto]

20 [n61 na]τ' ετωτητωρ αγω ἃ[to]
[otq νc]εξι Νπιτω2ζ: Νπ[τω]

22 [2ε γαρ] ἐ σ πναε ἐτε πει[ψι]
[eaq]ναι δε ναγ αγα Νπ[τω]

24 [2ε πά]ει σε αγα(ωκ) εθ[ολ· νις]
[keυo]c γαρ ετμ[νς] ω[αιτας]

26 [coy 20]ταν γαρ εθ[ω]αν[βωλ e]
[boλ ν61] πιτωζ2ζ' αψι[

28 [ψογ]ειτ· τλοειβε [ετρεq²]
[υογχ]πια πβωλ ε[βολ Νπι]

30 [τω2ζ] τε ωακα[τεκε]
59*

(Lines 1–17 lacking)

18 [this they spoke in their midst about]
[Christ (χωρρός), so that those] who were disturbed [might]

20 receive [a bringing back], and [from]
[him they might] receive the ointment. [For (γάρ) the [ointment]

22 [is] the mercy of the Father.

Therefore, [since he had] mercy on them, they have received [the
ointment,]

24 [that is], they have [become perfect.]
For (γάρ) (only) [the full jars (σκεῦος) are being sealed.]

26 For (γάρ) when (ὁρᾶν)
the sealant [dissolves,] it [empty]. The reason [for it becoming]
[deficient (χρήτα)] is the dissolving [of the]

30 [sealant]. It [holds back (κατέχειν)]
60*
(Lines 1–16 lacking)

[. ]ψ[

18 [. ]ν επειδὴ [ν εγὼν παρὰ τὸν Ν] [Π]ερμεεύει πλοῦς [ς λέ νταῇ]
20 [ε]ι ηογονοῦ έβολ [πνοὺς Ν] τε πλοῦς ετώλ [ς ει ἀν χίν]
22 [θπ]εξοῦ έτενεφε[τε εγιόι] [τε εροῇ] λέ [ε]εγει επε[λή εῇ]
24 [δω ν]πητε[πα] [ογων] [εβο]λ χλεψωσε λε [τε έτερος]
26 [ω]ν ο λοιον έφιν [εράνεχ] [ά]κοιε [νο]ύς [πμετε]
28 [ογων]ο λοιον ο [πετῆι] [τον] ρ[ν Νυτη]
30 [κοι]ς ηε]ωτ λα ω πέτεγ[άκοιε]
(Lines 1–16 lacking)

18 [since (ἐπειδή) they are in the depth (βάθος) of] his thought. [And (δὲ) the Word (λόγος) which had]

20 [come] revealed them. [The Mind (νοῦς) of] the silent Word (λόγος) [from]

22 [that] day [continues to be called] thought, [since (ἐπειδή) it]

24 [remained] in [it] before it [appeared.] And (δὲ) it shall happen [that it appears]

26 when (ὅταν)
the will [of him who willed is pleased (εὐδοκεῖν.)]

28 [It is] the will [in which]
[the] father [rests] his whole heart

30 and with [which he is pleased (εὐδοκεῖν).]
NOTES TO TEXT AND TRANSLATION

NHC XII,2*: THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH
NOTES TO TEXT AND TRANSLATION

XII,53*,19–29 = I,30,27–31,6
53*,20 It is unclear from I,30,28 what words could be missing in the lacuna.
53*,20–26 Codex XII omits the reference to the laying hold of the beloved Son (I,30,31). It also specifies that the taste and smell apply to “his form.”
53*,24 ἀποκατάστασις ἱμωσ and ἀποκατάστασις (I,30,34) normally do not translate the same Greek adjective.
53*,25 The epsilon before the lacuna is very uncertain; perhaps some ink flaked off.
53*,26 ἐκ is not present in I,30,36–37, but is needed to fill the lacuna.
53*,27–29 The text of Codex XII is significantly different from its parallel in Codex I. It appears that the first part of line 29 was left blank.

54*,19–20 The parallel text in I,31,25–28 is worded differently; the last phrase (ἀγω ... πε) appears to have no equivalent in Codex XII.
54*,20–21 This sentence may be the equivalent of I,31,32–33; in that case, not only the order in XII is different but also it is no longer part of the parallel phrases which follow.
54*,20–25 Of the five parallel phrases in I,31,28–35, Codex XII lacks the third, and the fourth seems to precede the stanza in altered form (see note 54*,20–21).
54*,24 Both μνηματογευ and μνηματωγευ (I,31,34) could be a translation of ἀδιάφραστα.
54*,27–28 Codex XII lacks the equivalent of αμει in I,32,2.

XII,57*,1–29 = I,34,4–35,4
57*,2 τὴρε is lacking in Codex I.
57*,4 μνημειαιφωμέν (μακροβυμα) seems to fit the sense better than “his silence” in I,34,7.
57*,5 Φαραγιν ἄρτιο in I,34,9, which is syntactically unclear, is lacking in Codex XII.
57*,6 Codex XII lacks “the fragrance” after ὑώωφι; it is not needed for the meaning.
57*,6–15 I,34,10–21 is obscure in syntax and meaning which makes the reconstruction of Codex XII at this point hazardous.
57*,8 I,34,13–14 (ἀγω ... ἀμπιστ) appears to be lacking in Codex XII.
57*.14  I,34,20–26 appears to be lacking in Codex XII.
57*.18  πνεωκ εβολα translates πληρωμα. Elsewhere in the fragments πληρωμα has not been translated.
57*.19  There is not enough room in the lacuna for both ετγαν and the equivalent of ἤνεος ἐγαν (I,34,31).
57*.21  Codex I does not repeat the main verb (βωλ). τῳτ νηντ could translate the same word as μνημονεια (I,34,33).
57*.23–29  The wording in Codex XII differs considerably from Codex I.
57*.29  One could reconstruct χωκ εβολα (= πληρωμα) but this adds a further departure from the text of Codex I.

XII,58*.1–29 = I,35.5–35
58*.2  There is no equivalent for the puzzling χην ἀλοι in Codex I.
58*.4  I,35,9 reads: “the deficiency of matter.”
58*.5  There appears to be an omission due to homoioteleuton in I,35,10 involving the words ἤνεος ἐνοὶ ἀπει ρωμα εβολα 2ιτοοτς.
58*.6–7  Codex I lacks μνημονεια; τῳτν ἐκ and μνημονειαον (I,35,10) could be translations of the same Greek adjective, though Codex I reads it as a substantive.
58*.7  Codex XII suggests that the unusual form τη in I,35,11 is the construct form of τη rather than ενει.
58*.10  τηεκτωμα and τηεκτοκ (I,35,14) could both be translations of αφθαρτος. In that case Codex XII has the normal Coptic equivalent.
58*.12  ζωηες has no equivalent in Codex I.
58*.14  The word division is uncertain.
58*.17  One large or two small letters would fit in the lacuna at the beginning of the line. The “rejection” is probably with reference to sin.
58*.19  Codex XII lacks the strange reference to the breathing of Incorruptibility found in I,35,25.
58*.20–21  I,35,26 reads “him who sinned” instead of “the Sin.” The antecedent of the pronoun of “that he might find rest” in Codex I is unclear. Codex XII renders the purpose clause differently. The 2 in ζηα is partly obscured by blotting.
58*.26  ωυγε was corrected to ωυγε. I,35,31–33 (ξε...νηντης) is lacking in Codex XII.
58*.26–29  The wording in Codex I is different. There appears to be blotting in these lines.

59*.21  There appears to be blotting in this line.
59*.23–24  The wording in Codex I is somewhat different.
59*,24 There is room for one large or two small letters in the lacuna in addition to ẓē.
59*,27 The ẓ in tōwc may be c; perhaps the word was written tōwcē.
59*,29–30 The wording in Codex I is different.

XII,60*,17–30 = I,37,7–21.
60*,20–22 The syntax of the parallel in I,37,10–12 is unclear and the wording is different.
60*,29 Codex I lacks “his whole heart.”
INTRODUCTION
NHC XII,3*: FRAGMENTARY TRACTATE
1A–1B; 2A–2B

Fragments 1A–1B and 2A–2B have been assigned to the same tractate for the sake of convenience. There is no evidence to support or refute their belonging to the same tractate. All that can be said is that neither fragment belongs to the Sentences of Sextus or the Gospel of Truth. Both fragments contain parts of the bottom margin of the page. Since they do not contain the first line of the page, line numbers have been assigned on the assumption that the pages had a total of 29 lines, the average for the extant pages in the Sentences of Sextus and the Gospel of Truth.

With no title and only one substantial fragment surviving, the character of the tractate is obscure. It appears to contain ethical teaching within a religious context. The first-person singular and plural are used, and the speaker refers to “my father,” which suggests that he may be Jesus. The speaker contrasts himself and his followers with others, referred to in the third-person plural, who are evil. Nothing in the fragments suggests that the tractate was Gnostic. There are no unambiguous Christian references but nothing precludes the tractate from being Christian. There is no reason to doubt that it was translated from the Greek.

The fragments were written in a Sahidic that is less pure than the Gospel of Truth but with features which distinguish it also from the Sentences of Sextus. It exhibits the following archaic and dialectal forms: €N (A,F,S0)—1B,21; € (A,Sv1)—1B,20; n€€ (A,A2, F,Sv1)—1B,21; n€€ (A,A2)—1B,23; nae (S0)—1B,19; cooyne (S0)—1B,10; ούνοει (S0)—1A,19; cece (A2,S0)—1A,13. In distinction from The Sentences of Sextus it uses ṭ (1A,15; 1B,23) interchangeably with the article τ (1A,14; 1B,16.17), and the indefinite article is spelled 2εν- instead of 2η-. 
1A
(Lines 1-5 lacking)

6 [ ]
   ]

8 [ ]
   ]

10 [ ]
   ]

12 [ ]
   ]

14 [ ]
   ]

16 [ ]
   ]

18 [ ]
   ]

20 [ ]
   ]

22 [ ]
   ]

24 [ ]
   ]

26 [ ]
   ]

28 [ ]
   ]
FRAGMENTARY TRACTATE 1A,6–29

1A

(Lines 1–5 lacking)

6 [ 

8 [ 

10 [ ] us as it is
    [fitting. ] each other, but (ἀλλά)

12 [ ] a crowd to receive
    [ ] they speak ill (κακῶς)

14 [ ] live by wickedness
    [ ] the [ 

16 [ ] work evil things to
    [ ] the good things (ἀγαθῶν), and they

18 [ ] do their own things
    [ ] strangers. There are

20 [ ] do their own things
    [ ] works which [ 

22 [ ] we] ourselves do [ 
    [ works ] of those [ 

24 [ ] evil works [ 
    [ ] that which we shall [ 

26 [ ] the ] works which [ 
    [ ] that which [ 

28 [ ] every one [ 

\(1A,11\) The subject must have been first-person plural.

\(1A,14\) Or: οὐχοῦΝ.

\(1A,15\) Perhaps μοῦς “fill.”

\(1A,21\) At the end of the line restore perhaps ἐνανογοῦν “which are good.”
1B
(Lines 1-5 lacking)
6 [ 9± ].
[ 7± ] oy[
8 [.] ἐκ[...] δὴ ἄν[ν]
εἰς ἑαυτῷ γὰρ ἄν[ν]
10 ποιγνε ἡπν[οντί]
ἐς τε πειγό[ν]
12 πλάνη ἀλλ[ά]
σεισμῶν ἡπ[ν]
14 γογν ἐπι[οντί]
αὔων αὐ[ὴν]
16 τῆς τάξεων[ν]
ῥετακαίοσυν[ν]
18 ποι[γν] ἑψήπ[ν]
ἤδη ναε[ὲ]
19] [.] τα[κ]
νεγ εν νειο[ν]
20 [.] τε[κ]
τὸ[κ]
22 [.] ἔτι[κ]
τὸ[κ]
24 [.] τὸ[κ]
τὸ[κ]
26 [.] τὸ[κ]
τὸ[κ]
28 [ 8± ] νε[ῖ]
[ 8± ] ἔλεῳ
For (γάρ) I speak the [  
know [God 
gave their [ 
error (πλάνη). But (ἀλλά) [ 
they are worthy of the [ 
into God [ 
And already (ἡδη) they have [ 
the ignorance [ 
the righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) [ 
these were worthy [of 
He [ 
my father who is [ 
not to them a father [ 
I think that the [ 
} this which the [ 
} I give again to the [ 
} they forgive [ 
} spoke it [ 
} it [ 
} it [ 
} 

1B,10–11 Perhaps ρω/me “men.” 
1B,11 Perhaps οὐοειν “light.” 
1B,15 Perhaps μοογε “walked.” 
1B,23 Perfect relative Ντα- plus the article †.
2A

(Lines 1–23 lacking)

\[
\begin{align*}
24 & \quad \text{[} \\
26 & \quad \text{[φιλοσοφος} \\
28 & \quad \text{[κοσμος τι]}
\end{align*}
\]

2B

(Lines 1–23 lacking)

\[
\begin{align*}
24 & \quad \text{[} \\
26 & \quad \text{[οι} \\
28 & \quad \text{[χπον η.} \\
\end{align*}
\]
2A

(Lines 1–23 lacking)
24 [ 
26 [ philosopher (φιλόσοφος) ] 
   [ they are not able to ] 
28 [ philosopher (φιλόσοφος) ] 
   [ world (κόσμος) ] 

2B

(Lines 1–23 lacking)
24 [ 
26 [ ] her [ 
28 [ ] begot him [ 
   [ ] think that [ 

INTRODUCTION TO CODEX XIII


I. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

From Codex XIII only eight papyrus leaves (16 pages) survive. The top margins, where pagination might be expected to appear, are not sufficiently intact to determine if the codex was originally paginated. Since the handwriting and contents of the codex are in some respects similar to those of Codex II, which has no pagination, it is here assumed that Codex XIII was not paginated.

The minimum size of the codex has been calculated by Krause-Labib (*Gnostische und hermetische Schriften*, 14) on the basis that on the last surviving page there begins a tractate that is completely preserved in Codex II, where it comprises 30 pages (NHC II,5: 97,24-127,17):

Since the measurements of Codex XIII are only slightly smaller than those of Codex II and the number of lines per page in Codex XIII and Codex II are almost identical, one may assume that the tractate whose beginning is preserved in Codex XIII comprised at least thirty further pages. The second quire of Codex XIII comprised then at least forty pages. No doubt we may assume the same size for the first quire. Thus we reach at least eighty pages as the total size.

Since XIII,2* would average 36 lines per page but II,5 averages just under 35 lines per page, *On the Origin of the World* (II,5) might require only 29 additional pages. Be that as it may, the surviving pages would have as their minimal numeration 35-50; the hypothetical nature of this numeration is indicated by an asterisk: 35*-50*. As in the case of Codex II (145 pp.), Codex XIII may well have been much larger than this minimal pagination suggests.

The original reconstruction of Codex XIII assumed two quires, since the first three leaves (six pages) have horizontal fibers on the
front and vertical fibers on the back, suggesting the second half of a first quire, and the last five leaves (10 pages) have vertical fibers on the front and horizontal fibers on the back, suggesting the first half of a second quire. However, analysis of horizontal fiber continuity subsequently showed that the sheets of Codex XIII were stacked with horizontal fibers facing up, rotated $90^\circ$ in a horizontal plane and then folded inward at the center. The result was that the sheets appeared to have been stacked with vertical fibers facing up, as is actually the case with the top eleven sheets in Codex II. This is shown by the fact that the continuity of fibers from sheet to sheet in Codex XIII does not occur from the right side of one sheet to the left side of another but from the top of one sheet to the bottom of another (See Robinson, “Papyrus Codicology,” 56–57). Hence, the occurrence of facing pages with vertical fibers indicates the center of the quire, which occurs at pp. 40*-41*. The theory that there was only one quire is confirmed by the continuity of horizontal fibers between pp. 39* and 42*, pp. 37* and 44*, and pp. 35* and 46*. Codex I is the only codex in the Nag Hammadi library that is comprised of more than one quire (see the Facsimile Edition: Introduction, 32–44).

Krause has assumed that the discoloration and deterioration of the first two leaves is due to burning, so that the missing parts of the codex would be the leaves that legend says the peasants burnt to cook their tea (Gnostische und hermetische Schriften, 14 and 236). But the eight surviving leaves were apparently removed from the rest of the codex in antiquity and conserved inside the front cover of Codex VI prior to the burial of the library. This is confirmed by the congruency of the contours of the last leaves of Codex XIII with the first leaves of Codex VI, the discovery of a fragment belonging to lines 8–9 of XIII,35* attached at the proper position to the inside of the front cover of Codex VI, and a photograph by Jean Doresse showing leaves of Codex XIII still inside the front cover of Codex VI. The first two leaves probably suffer from nitrification, perhaps due to dampness and direct contact with the leather of the cover (Robinson, “Inside Codex VI,” 74–87; Facsimile Edition: Codex VI, ix and pl. 3–4; and Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, pl. 104–107.

These eight leaves, tucked inside the front cover of Codex VI, were part of one of the groups of codices acquired by the antiquities

Two fragments had remained in the cover of Codex VI and several had been put in plexiglass along with Codex XIII. But the absence of a cover for Codex XIII where fragments could have been kept together in the early period led to some of them having been put with fragments of Codices I, IV and V, where they were found and placed (see Facsimile Edition: Introduction, 129–30). Of the seven unidentified fragments with vestiges of ink published in the Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII on plates 119–120, fragment two has been subsequently placed on p. 47*, lines 26–27 and p. 48*, lines 26–28, and fragment three on pp. 45*–46*, lines 2–3. The minimal amount of unplaced inscribed fragments (numbers 1, 4–6; 7 is the same as fragment 14 of Codex XI, hand 1) tends to confirm the assumption that only the eight surviving leaves were buried with the library. A photograph of XIII, 45*, 37*, and 50* made in 1949 by Jean Doresse contains five to six letters each at the beginnings of lines 1–4 of XIII, 45*, one letter from line one and four letters from line 33 of XIII, 37*, and five to eight letters from lines 3–6 and one to three letters from lines 10–16 of XIII, 50* that were subsequently broken off and lost (cf. pl. 104 with pl. 115, 107, and 120 of the Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII and see Emmel, “Photograph Evidence,” 274–75).

The placing of blank fragments above the first line of the first surviving page (upper left, p. 35*) made it possible to identify the first extant line as an *incipit* (“I am the Protennoia”). Thus one can move beyond the initial assumption of Jean Doresse (Secret Books, 181) that the surviving leaves through 50*,24 were the concluding part of a tractate, to the recognition that they comprise a complete tractate. The contents of the codex may be summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tractate(s) (Lost)</th>
<th>pp.</th>
<th>Tractate 1* Trimorphic Protennoia</th>
<th>pp. 35*,1–50*,24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tractate 2* On the Origin of the World</td>
<td>pp. 50*,25–[79*] or [80*]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. THE SCRIBAL HAND

It has been suggested that the scribal hand of Codex XIII is a quicker, more cursive version of the scribal hand of Codex II (Emmel, "Final Report," 27–28). Yet there appear to be enough differences so as to allow that the two hands belong to a student and instructor. An insertion in Codex II, 12, 18 could be an overseer’s correction to a similar hand. In any case, the writing and articulation marks are of a very similar style, so that with the additional observation of the similarity in Sethian content (e.g., two versions of *On The Origin of the World* and *Ap. John II*, I:30, 11–31, 25), Codices II and XIII may be assumed to have been copied in the closest proximity to one another.

The hand of Codex XIII, which appears to be typical of the fourth century, is a regular, uncrowded biblical majuscule without embellishment (e.g., serifs), with nicely rounded e, o, θ, c, and 6. The supralinear strokes appear above and slightly to the right of their exponent letters, and, except for *nomina sacra* and the abstract prefix mNT, do not intentionally bridge two or more letters. The stroke over *nomina sacra* normally begins over the second letter. There are two instances of the common practice of indicating a line-final n by substituting for it a compendium consisting of a stroke over the preceding letter (43*, 6.7). Where the scribe wishes to indicate rough breathing on Greek nouns, he prefixes to them 2; in 48*, 28 he uses both the initial 2 and a diaeresis over the first letter of the Greek word (i.e., 2Υπηρέθς), of which the latter alone without 2 can serve as a rough breathing, as in Ψιφόνν (XI, 4:69, 21; 70, 22; 72, 21).

The scribe indicates mistaken letters by crossing them out with a diagonal stroke (37*, 25; 42*, 19; 44*, 3), and adds omitted letters by writing them above and in between the letters where they should have been (38*, 20; 39*, 5).

Besides the supralinear stroke, mentioned above, there are two other forms of punctuation: the raised point (‘), and an “apostrophe” mark (‘ or ’). As is true in much of Codex II, so also in Codex XIII, neither of these marks regularly serves to denote sense units; rather they function as word and syllable dividers. The raised point occurs: (1) often directly after the stops π and τ but only when they end a word; (2) after the first-person singular
suffixal pronoun τ; (3) after the fricative q when it would have borne the supralinear stroke; and (4) occasionally after the word-final sonorants λ, μ, ν. The “apostrophe” directly follows the last letter of a closed syllable in the following cases: (1) after the stop τ at the end of the word, or at the end of a morpheme ending in τ (e.g., the privative ατ- and the relative ετ-); (2) after the fricative q when it serves as the third-person singular suffixal pronoun (regardless of whether or not it would have borne the supralinear stroke); (3) often after the stop κ at the end of a word when the next word begins with a vowel; (4) optionally, on any of the above letters when they occur at the end of a line; and (5) occasionally after the word-final c that would have borne the supralinear stroke; (6) there is also one instance of its use to divide a double consonant: ΔΓΕΛΟΣ, 35*,16. Thus both forms of punctuation serve to denote the end of a closed syllable ending in a consonant or sonorant, and serve often as an equivalent to the supralinear stroke. The major difference between them is that the raised point occurs only at the end of a complete word, while the “apostrophe” mark can serve to separate bound morphemes, as well as to indicate closed syllables at the end of unbound morphemes. Exceptions to these observations will occur, e.g., ΘΗΡΟΥ, 41*,18. Firm conclusions on the punctuation of codex XIII are often made difficult by a multitude of ink splatterings throughout the Codex, perhaps caused by too stiff a stylus, making the decision whether or not to count an ink dot as a punctuation mark difficult and at times subjective.

III. LANGUAGE

The language of XIII,1* will be treated under the heads of orthography, phonology, morphology and syntax; only features that depart from standard Sahidic or that are in other ways striking will be discussed here. The language of XIII,2* is standard Sahidic; except for the variants from II,5 noted in the Introduction to XIII,2*, which witness a tendency to overcome Subachmimicisms (λαλαγ for λαλαγε, δε for ναε, and eι for i), the language of these ten lines is not sufficient in extent to call for analysis here.
INTRODUCTION TO CODEX XIII

A. Orthography

The characteristic features are: (1) arbitrary interchange of ει and ι; (2) a single extant instance of the monograph ι + ε = φ in φο[ογ] ("day" 42*,31); yet ten instances of τ + ε = θ. These occur consistently in θαι, θε, and θικων but otherwise only optionally and rarely in the juncture of the relative ετ- with θηπ and θογ ("evil"); (3) numerous instances of syncopation, especially in the case of the singular indefinite article ογ- before nouns beginning with ογ.

B. Phonology

Several phonological characteristics should be mentioned. With regard to consonants, as in standard Sahidic, the final η of bound morphemes consistently (except in pronouns) becomes θ when it precedes π, μ, and φ, with the exception of three of the instances of the preposition εξθ- (40*,1.24; 45*,32). There are no other cases of consonantal assimilation. Nasalization occurs only with the Greek conjunction γαρ (γαρ 3 times, γαρ 10 times) and δε (δε 2 times, δε 12 times). The Greek spiritus asper is consistently rendered by ζ, except in the Greek portion of the title (άγιαγραφή, 50*,23). ζ is prefixed also to ἄμην and ελκάυν. ζ appears to be supplemented by a diaeresis ζγηρέτης (48*,28; in Codex XI,4:69,21; 70,22; 72,21 the diaeresis alone serves to mark the rough breathing in γηρέτον). Finally, as in Subachmimic, υ becomes c in κοσπ (2 times for υοκπ) and κεκε (42*,2 for ζκεκ).

Insofar as vowels are concerned, there are many instances of the α tonic vowel, characteristic of Subachmimic, instead of the o tonic vowel. The following list gives the number of times the α tonic vowel occurs, followed by the number of times (if any) the o tonic vowel occurs; if only one instance occurs, its reference is given: άνακ (35*,30; 36*,5), άνοκ (55 times); μαειτ (43*,24), μοιτ (43*,18); Ναϊν (43*,8), Νοειν (40*22); ζματ (40*,6), ζμοτ (3 times); ογαειν (35*,15), ογοειν(ε) (21 times); άμητ (37*,28), άμοτ (5 times); άγαι (2 times), άπογου (20 times); άπτε (3 times), άπτε (42*,8) and Δαμ (5 times), Δομ (5 times).
Characteristic of Subachmimic, € occurs instead of a in pre-tonic syllables particularly in causatives: T€KO (3 times), TAKO (none); T€BO (4 times), TCABO (none); T€NO (2 times), TCANO (40*,25); T€YO (2 times), TAYO (none); T€ZO (11 times), TAZO (none); and in pre-tonic and tonic syllables in the following: EMNTE (6 times), ANMTE (36*,4); EMNTE (2 times), AMNTE (none); E2Wp (37*,16), 2Wp (none); ENEZ (2 times), ANEZ (2 times); MITE (43*,23), MATE (none); CEXE (42*,2), WXXE (17 times), and OYAE2- (40*,17), OYAE2- (none).

The Sahidic double vowel (for vowel plus laryngeal) occasionally appears as a single vowel, often characteristic of Subachmimic: 8€8€ (36*,6), 8€€8€ (46*,17); 8€€8€ (2 times), 8€€8€ (none); M8Y (46*,20), M8Y (7 times); OTE (38*,15), ATE (45*,6), OOTE (none); N8KE (43*,6), NAKKE (none); NP8NE (43*,16), NP8NE (none); M8BE (2 times), M8BE (none); W8WT (44*,16), W8WT (none) and 2R8Y (2 times), 2R0OY (20 times). The opposite feature, doubling of vowels, occurs in KAAK- (49*,30) for KAK- (48*,12); the noun P8W8T (44*,12), cf. the verb P8W (43*,17); and RAA8T- (39*,11) for P8AT- (3 times). There is one instance of consonantal shift: CEXE (42*,2) for WXXE (15 times). The intensifier OYAA- is always OYAA.-

Finally, in words whose final syllable consists of a consonant or an original laryngeal followed by a sonorant, one often finds the secondary vowel € after the sonorant, characteristic of Achmimic and Subachmimic: NTWTNE (44*,31), NTWTN (46*,34); COOYNE (12 times), COOYN (7 times); T02ME (45*,12), T02M (none); 0YOEIN (21 times), 0YOEIN (16 times); 0X2ME (4 times), 0X2M (none), and OYAE2ME- (2 times), OYAE2M (37*,18).

There are no examples of the full form (PE-, TE-, NE-) of the definite article before words beginning with the double consonant. The use of NI-, N- is frequent. The numerals are formed as in standard Sahidic except for W0MT, W0MT instead of W0MT. The ordinal prefix is mostly M2- (AA2B, 4 times) instead of the Sahidic M2- (2 times). As indicated above, there are only two non-Sahidic forms among the independent pronouns, ANAK (AA2F; 35*,30; 36*,5) for ANOK and NTWTNE (44*,31) for NTWTN. The possessive article displays the following variation: third-personal singular, NI- (3 times; no supralinear stroke, cf. 49*,14), TEQ-, NEQ-; first-person plural, NI-, TNI-, NNI- (sic 44*,10); and
third-person plural, ΝΟΥ-, ΤΟΥ- (ΤΕΥ-, 40*,17), ΝΕΥ- (cf. ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ, 39*,12). Suffix pronouns are standard except for variation between ει (mostly) and ι; the second person plural is ΤΗΝ€ (AA2) instead of Sahidic ΤΗΥΤΝ. The prepositions occur as in standard Sahidic, with the following exceptions: εΤΒΗς- for εΤΒΗς-; ΜΜΑ- (35*,[35]; 40*,7) for ΜΜΟ-, and the heavy variation of Α- with ε-. The adverb ΤΩΝ (none) is always ΤΟ (2 times, AA2). There are two occurrences of 2ΡΑ (36*,24; 50*,12) for 2ΡΑΙ, and the fem. of ΟΥΑ is ΟΥΙΕ (SAA2, 42*,8).

The following verbs manifest non-standard Sahidic forms, most of which are characteristic of Subachmimic: ΤΗΜ (Till’s “II infinitive”) instead of ΕΙΜ; ΟΕΙ (2 times), qualitative of ΕΙΠΕ (cf. ΟΙ 6 times); ΜΗΝΕ- (4 times) for ΜΗΝΑ- (42*,21); ΝΗΝΥ Η (40*,12), qualitative of ΝΟΥ (cf. ΝΗΥ, 42*,21); ΠΠΙΕ (Till’s “II infinitive”) instead of ΠΠΕ; ΠΑΝΕ- (3 times) instead of ΠΑΝΑ-; ΤΝ- with dative (40*,33), status nominalis for Τ- (30 times), and ΤΑΣΙ- (38*,30) as status pronominalis for ΤΑΣ- (5 times); ΟΥΝΕ- (2 times) and ΟΥΝΤΑΑ- (2 times) for ΟΥΝΤΑ- (3 times); ΟΥΝΩ (37*8) as status absolutus for ΟΥΝΩ (11 times); and ΖΝΑΝ (4 times) instead of ΖΝΩ (none).

C. Morphology

The morphology of XIII is as found in standard Sahidic with few exceptions. All Greek verbs are constructed with Π except ΑΡΧΕΨ (2 times). In the conjugation system one finds the following features not characteristic of standard Sahidic: (1) The Achmimic form of the second present occurs two times (ΑΠΤΟ, 43*,33; ΑΝΗΠ, 44*,5). (2) The imperfect occurs once in the Achmimic form ΝΑ- (41*,19; elsewhere ΝΕ-). (3) The second future consistently replaces the third future in affirmative clauses of purpose. (4) The negative habitude is ΜΑ-, never ΜΕ-. (5) The temporalis is ΝΤΑΨ (43*,4). (6) There is the cohortative imperative ΤΩΝ ΜΑΡΝ (“let us arise and go,” 43*,30). (7) In the relative perfect, when the subject of the relative clause is identical with its antecedent, one usually finds the Sahidic (and Subachmimic) ΝΤΑ- as well as ΕΝΤΑ- (8 times), but ΕΤΑ (AA2) also occurs (37*,5,30). When the subject of the relative clause differs from its antecedent
NTA- is employed, except for one instance of ETA- (ΛΛ2, 43*,2). Finally, the negative occurs in the bipartite conjugation as both "...AN (40*,28; 47*,27), normal in Sahidic, and as AN alone (39*,24; 44*,8).

D. Syntax

There are some syntactic features which, though not atypical of standard Sahidic, are worthy of note. The direct object often precedes the verb; in 37*,9-20 and 41*,4-15 it occurs in apparently hymnic passages. The normal pattern for the first perfect with nominal subject is πρωμε αςωτη or αςωτη Ει ι πρωμε, rarely απρωμε κωτη and never απρωμε αςωτη. Befitting an aretalogical discourse, the cleft sentence with a relative verbal clause is frequent ("it is I, he, etc. who did..." rather than simply "I, he, etc. did... "). Occasionally the circumstantial is used instead of the relative (e.g., 38*,10), perhaps at times to identify the antecedent by gender (e.g., 46*,23,29) or to continue a string of relative modifiers (e.g., 37*,5-8; cf. Till, Koptische Grammatik, § 486). Although ΜN is in Coptic usually used to join words governed by the same preposition, ΑΥω is used in 35*,15 (which might be emended to ΑΥω<2Πα1 ΖΝ> ΖΕΝΟΥΑΕΙΝΕ—haplography?). The identity phrase ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ (and variant spellings) is twice used absolutely (42*,28; 49*,30); both instances seem to function as adjectives of specification, and are translated "particular."

The language of this document is translation Coptic; the frequency of extraposition of subject and direct object, including the Ει construction, points to a fairly literal rendering of a Greek Vorlage. The style is highly paratactic, although there are examples of rather sophisticated hypotaxis (cf. 39*,26-32; 40*,12-18).

IV. Title

XIII,1* (Trimorphic Protennoia), though not the first tractate of Codex XIII, is the only one to have survived completely. The page on which it concludes is the last that survives, and has at its bottom the opening ten lines of another tractate, On the Origin of the World.
Between XIII,1* and 2* there is a colophon which reads (unedited) as follows:

\[ 50*,21: \text{Πλογοςςτεπιφανια} \quad \tilde{\tau} \]
\[ 22: \text{Πρωτεννοια τριμορφος} \quad \tilde{\tau} \]
\[ 23: \text{Αγιαγραφ πατρογραφος} \]
\[ 24: \text{Εν γνωσει τελεια} \]

Lines 22–24 are purely Greek and the words there are divided from one another, a trait not at that time usual in either Greek or Coptic manuscripts. Line 21, however, is in Coptic (the articles η- and τ-; and the genitive Ν-). Lines 21–22 clearly refer to all or part of the preceding tractate (though the referent of lines 23–24 is less clear).

At the ends of lines 21–22 two gammas are written, preceded by a wide space and with a supralinear stroke (\( \tilde{\tau} \)), indicating that the number three is meant. Assuming that they are not purely decorative (cf. decorative letters, e.g., at VII,118,8–9), these require some explanation. Elsewhere in the tractate two other titles exist, of which at least one is in Coptic:

\[ 42*,3: \text{Πλογοςςτεπιφανια} \]
\[ 46*,4: \text{Πατρογραφος} \]

It is clear from the content of the sections of the tractate preceding each title that they function as subtitles to those sections. If the tractate were thus meant to be divided into three parts, or sub-tractates, the \( \tilde{\tau} \) at the end of 50*,21 would mean “part 3.” If this interpretation is correct, one would expect to find \( \bar{\tau} \), “part 1,” and \( \bar{\bar{\tau}} \), “part 2,” after the other two titles, respectively. Unfortunately, lacunae at these points in the text make verification impossible. Nevertheless, the correspondence between content and colophons and the \( \tilde{\tau} \) at 50*,21 make such an interpretation probable. Thus the tractate consists of three sub-tractates:

\[ 35*,1-42*,3: \text{The Discourse on the Protennoia (Part 1)} \]
\[ 42*,4-46*,4: \text{The Discourse on the Heimarmene (Part 2)} \]
\[ 46*,5-50*,21: \text{The Discourse of the Appearance (Part 3)} \]

The title of the second sub-tractate is reconstructed, following H.-M. Schenke, as a possessive prefix replacing the formula Πλογοςςτεπιφανια Ν- in the titles of the other two sub-tractates.

The next problem is how to interpret the \( \tilde{\tau} \) at line 50*,22. The obvious identity of the character with that found in line 21 might lead one to postulate a meaningless repetition of the “part 3,” perhaps a dittography. A more satisfactory interpretation is that the
" at line 22 means “in three parts.” This use of a single Greek letter with supralinear stroke as a numeral following a title is one common means for designating the number of books a work contains. Diogenes Laertius in *Vitae philosophorum* listed works by the various authors under discussion, often with an indication of how many books each work contained. The form alternates between e.g., περὶ τὰ γάθους ά ν ά τι ς (by Aristotle) and περὶ τὰ γάθους γ’ (by Strato), both meaning “On the Good, Three Books.” Therefore one may conclude that the title of the tractate, still in Greek (in distinction to the Coptic subtitles), read “Trimorphic Proto­tennoia, Three Parts.” This title suits well the tractate as a whole.

The Greek lines 23–24, ἄγια γραφὴ πατρόγραφος ἐν γνώσει τελεία, bear no obvious relation to either XIII,1* or XIII,2*. One might be tempted to consider them as a superscript title to XIII,2*. But this tractate is untitled in Codex II, where it occurs in complete form (II,5:97,24–127,17), yet makes no claim to be “Father-written,” while XIII,1* at least in part purports to be a first-person revelation by the Father. Therefore one may regard lines 23–24 as a pious recommendation appended to XIII,1* at some point in the history of its transmission, either by its author or a subsequent copiest. As such it is not part of the title to either XIII,1* or XIII,2*. 
INTRODUCTION

NHC XIII, 1*: TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA

35*,1–50*,24


I. LANGUAGE

The language of Trimorphic Protennoia is discussed in the Introduction to Codex XIII, Section III above.

II. TITLE

The title of Trimorphic Protennoia is discussed in the Introduction to Codex XIII, Section IV above.

III. RESEARCH TO DATE

Doresse, in his inventory of the Nag Hammadi Library, only briefly mentions Trimorphic Protennoia, and gives a translation of 39*,21–30 and 50*,12–20 (Secret Books, 181). In Appendix I (“The Teaching of Simon Magus in the Chenoboskion Manuscripts,” Secret Books, 329–32), he translates a number of passages (42*,4–5; 35*,7–9; 46*,14–19; 45*,10–18; 45*,21–24; 37*,8.10–29; 50*,12–20 in this order), and compares, as possible examples of Simonian Gnosticism, Trimorphic Protennoia with the Concept of our Great Power (VI,4) and the Three Steles of Seth (VII,5), whose incipit ascribes it to Dositheus, the master and rival of Simon. Recent
study of Trimorphic Protennoia has not supported this Simonian hypothesis.

Trimorphic Protennoia has been analyzed and translated, into German by G. Schenke: “Die dreigestaltige Protennoia”; “Die dreigestaltige Protennoia (Codex XIII)”; and into French by Y. Janssens: “Le Codex XIII”; La Prōtennoia trimorphe. In her dissertational transcription and translation G. Schenke (adopting the papyrus collation of H.-M. Schenke) attempts to restore most of the lacunae in the text, while Janssens in both her editions makes few restorations. Both provide a lengthy commentary listing many parallels between Trimorphic Protennoia and other ancient sources.

G. Schenke locates Trimorphic Protennoia in the ambience of non-Christian Sethian gnostic literature (cf. also H.-M. Schenke, “Das Sethianische System,” and “Gnostic Sethianism”). She characterizes it as a non-Christian document which has been secondarily Christianized by the addition of what in her translation is a single sentence at the end of the tractate (50*,12–15) and the insertion of the name “Christ” as a gloss serving to identify the divine Autogenes as Christ at three points (38*,22; 39*,6–7; 49*,8). The ontology of the text, characterized by a tension between dualism and monism, and the way in which its overarching pantheism tries to reconcile this dualism, is taken as an indication of a relatively late date for Trimorphic Protennoia, though it is recognized that its anthropology is equally marked by a very archaic gnostic Welt- und Daseinsverständnis. Noting that Trimorphic Protennoia consists of three separate subtractates, Schenke suggests that this literary tripartition corresponds to the “trimorphic” character of the Protennoia as universal goddess (somewhat as the three-formed Hecate), with the three aspects of Father, Mother, Son: as the masculine aspect of the First Thought of the Invisible Spirit (38*,11), as the feminine “mate,” and finally as the Son or Logos. The third subtractate, devoted to the appearance of Protennoia as the Son or Logos, is said to constitute a material parallel to the prologue of the Fourth Gospel, in that it lies on the same plane as the gnostic Logos hymn underlying the Johannine prologue. Whereas the motifs of that Logos hymn appear to be “artificially” made serviceable to an alien purpose in the Johannine prologue, they find their “natural context” in Trimorphic Protennoia. Schenke notes that the revelatory speeches of Protennoia are cast mostly in the “I am” style of self-predication, though there is an
admixture of direct address ("you," 41*,2-15; 42*,27-30; 44*,29-45*,20; 46*,33-36) and responses in the first-person plural (36*,33-37*,3; 42*,22-23), as well as sections in which Protennoia speaks of herself in the third-person; especially where appearing as Son she speaks of herself as Mother, 38*,13-16; 45*,10; 46*,9-13,20. Schenke further notes that much of the material cast in the third-person is supplementary, with the result that the first sub-tractate seems to be devoted to a cosmology reflecting the first appearance of Protennoia as a form of the Father, the second sub-tractate to be devoted to an eschatology reflecting the second appearance of Protennoia as Mother, and the third sub-tractate to be devoted to a soteriology reflecting the third appearance of Protennoia as Son. Finally Schenke calls attention to the prominent concept of the Voice, especially where it is portrayed as thunder (43*,4-26).

Janssens supposes Trimorphic Protennoia to have been the second tractate in a codex that originally contained the long version of the Apocryphon of John followed by Trimorphic Protennoia and On the Origin of the World. Her view is based on the similarity of the hand of Codex II to that of XIII, and the facts that the missing 35 pages of XIII would be sufficient to contain the Apocryphon of John (32 pages in Codex II) and that two of these three tractates are also found in Codex II. While the two hands do not appear identical, as she assumes, but nevertheless closely related, this theory is attractive owing to the close relationship between the three stanza Pronoia hymn that concludes the longer version of the Apocryphon of John (II,1:30,11-31,25) and Trimorphic Protennoia with its three sub-tractates (a similarity already noticed by MacRae; see the discussion in Section IV below). Janssens interprets the tripartition of Trimorphic Protennoia as corresponding to the three modes in which Protennoia is revealed: in the first sub-tractate as the Thought of the Father, in the second as the Voice of the Mother, and in the third as the Logos. Janssens then produces a survey of gnostic literature in an effort to document other occurrences of this triadic scheme, taking as her hypothesis the words of C. Baynes (Coptic Gnostic Treatise, 64): "Viewing the cosmos as a tripartite unit, and believing, as they did, that some form of salvation was required for the whole, they taught that the Savior was manifested in the three divisions in a form and manner suited to the mode of being and needs of each." Janssens mentions various
tripartitions: the Valentinian tripartition of the Universe (Pleroma, Mesotes or Topos, and kenoma or lower world) and the threefold Christ (spiritual, psychic and perceptible); the Basilidean triple Sonship (subtle, opaque and material); the tripartition of the Universe into levels by the Peratae (ἀγέννηρος, αὐτογένης and γεννηρός) and the triple nature, triple body and triple power of their Christ; in the last Bruce tractate, the tripartition of the Universe (inside, middle, outside) and its threefold manifestation of the Spinther (Christ); the triple manifestation of Pronoia in the main body of the *Apocryphon of John* (the perfect or merciful Father, the Epinoa of Light, and the thrice-descending Pronoia); the threefold descent of Pronoia contained in the longer ending of *Apocryphon of John* (II.130,11–31,25) taken as a tradition by itself; in the *Hypostasis of the Archons* the threefold appearance of Pístis (the Man of Light, Sophia-Zoe, and Logos); in the *Gospel of the Egyptians* the descent of the Triple Male Youth to the ἄγέννηρος, αὐτογένιος and γεννηρός realms; and finally the three-in-one Barbelo figure in the second Stele of the *Three Steles of Seth.*

C. Colpe ("Heidnische, jüdische and christliche Überlieferung") in his survey of the treatises of Codices XI, XII and XIII, summarizes the contents of *Trimorphic Protennoia.* Noting the various aspects of Protennoia, he characterizes her as a wisdom-figure similar to the all-pervading Stoic Logos/Pneuma, but which as a gnostic redeemer must bridge the gap between a dualistic world of two levels by means of soteriological descents. Colpe sees the auditory metaphors of *Trimorphic Protennoia* as evidence that, while the text is a genuine Sethian-gnostic product, its historical basis in a non-dualistic soteriological speculation on the divine self is still evident and recoverable. Colpe then goes on to enumerate “stupendous parallels” to the Johannine prologue to be found in *Trimorphic Protennoia*: 1:1–2 cf. 35*,4–6; 1:3 cf. 38*,12–13; 1:4 cf. 35*,12–13; 1:5 cf. 36*,5; 1:7 cf. 37*,3–6.8–9; 1:9 cf. 47*,28–29; 1:10 cf. 38*,16–18; 50*,15–16; 1:11 cf. 41*,15–16; 47*,22–25; 1:12 cf. 37*,18–20; 1:13 cf. 49*,25–28; 1:14 cf. 47*,13–15.16–17; 38*,20–22; 1:16 cf. 46*,16–19; 1:18 cf. 36*,30; 36*,17–22. He concludes that in *Trimorphic Protennoia* one may still recognize a kernel of Palestinian/Syrian or even earlier Mesopotamian speculation on the cosmological and soteriological functions of the divine Wisdom on the basis of which both the mythology of the Johannine prologue and the Sethian-gnostic mythology of *Trimorphic Protennoia* could
be constructed. Thus Colpe and Schenke (together with the Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptische-gnostische Schriften generally) substantially agree on the common background of Trimorphic Protennoia and the Gospel of John, though the latter moves a bit further in seeing Trimorphic Protennoia as providing the natural context for these materials more than does the Johannine prologue. Janssens ("Une source gnostique du prologue?" 357) also admits the naturalness of "the way in which the ‘Word’ follows logically from the Thought and Voice of the divine," but sees John drawing from non-gnosticizing Genesis traditions independent from the tradition behind Trimorphic Protennoia (cf. Robinson, "Sethians and Johannine Thought," 642–62).

Thus the evident similarities between the Gospel of John and Trimorphic Protennoia may be explained in large part by supposing common membership in a religious world prone to conceiving the advent of the divine into the world in terms of a descending-ascending redeeming wisdom figure. Both texts arise in this sapiental environment at a point when it had taken a gnosticizing turn characterized by dualism and a mild anti-cosmicism which holds that true liberation lies beyond this world and is conveyed by a figure personifying the divine wisdom.

IV. STRUCTURE AND CONTENT

As noted by Schenke and Janssens, Trimorphic Protennoia is divided into three subtractates (35*,1–42*,3; 42,4*–46*,4; 46*,5–50*,21) separated from one another by individual subtitles probably added at a very late point in the treatise’s composition and transmission ("The Discourse of Protennoia," 42*,3"; [On Fate]," 46*,4; "The Discourse of the Appearance," 50*,21). Each subtractate relates one of the three descents of the gnostic redeemer (cf. the summary in 47*,5–23a) here named Protennoia, the First Thought of the Father, and none other than Barbelo (36*,17; 37*,12–13; 38*,8–9). But beneath this simple structure, Trimorphic Protennoia displays a complex structure no doubt caused by a complicated redactional history.

The underlying basis of the tractate may be seen in the consistent aretalogical first-person singular (ego eimi) self-predications of Protennoia. These aretalogical statements are always of the form, "I am the...," or "it is through me that...," and do not include
direct statements about third-person parties, e.g., as in 46*,35b–36a, "then everyone of them within me shone." These self-predications seem originally to have been structured into an introductory aretalogy of about thirty lines (35*,1–32a) identifying Protennoia as the divine Thought, followed by three aretalogies of about forty lines apiece in the same style, the second and third of which form separate subtractates in *Trimorphic Protennoia*. Each of these three aretalogical sections were probably originally integral units, but seem to have been redactionally interrupted at points to make way for various later doctrinal additions.

The first aretalogy originally portrayed Protennoia as the Voice of the divine Thought who descends below to reveal her mysteries to her fallen members and seems to have consisted of 35*,32b–36*,27a + 40*,29b–41*,1a (and perhaps portions of 41*,20b–42*,2). The second aretalogy (and second subtractate) portrayed Protennoia as the Speech of the Thought’s Voice who descended to give her fallen members “shape” and spirit or breath, and seems to have consisted of 42*,4–27a + 45*,2b–12a + 45*,21–46*,3. The third aretalogy (and third subtractate) portrayed Protennoia as the Word of the Speech of the Thought’s Voice who descended incognito in the likeness of the various lower levels of beings, delivered the saving rite of the Five Seals and will raise her members into the Light; it probably consisted of 46*,5–7a + 47*,5–23 + 49*,6–22a + 50*,9b–20 (although the last two of these fragments seem to have suffered a number of Christian additions).

This tripartite aretalogy seems to have been expanded by inserting six doctrinal passages, which can be recognized by a shift from the first-person singular self-predicatory style to some other style of address. The first of these passages contains the sort of Sethian cosmological speculation found especially in the *Apocryphon of John* (see below Section V) and seems to begin around 36*,27b where *Trimorphic Protennoia* lapses into third-person description (cf. the use of the first-person plural in 36*,33–37*,3, perhaps a communal response), and ends at 40*,29a where the self-predicatory style resumes (the two instances of *ego eimi* material at 38*,11–16 and 40*,12–18 are drawn from the *Apocryphon of John* and reworded as first-person). This cosmology narrates the story of the Autogenes Christ and his four Lights, the last of which, Eleleth, emits his Epinoia (Sophia) to produce the Demon Yaltabaooth who steals the Epinoia’s power to create the lower aeons and
humankind, and concludes with the restoration of Epinoia-Sophia, who is regarded as innocent of all fault.

Three of the remaining five doctrinal sections are explicitly designated as "mysteries" communicated by Protennoia to her members (41*,1b–42*,2; 42*,27b–45*,2a; 47*,24–49*,top; the other two passages 46*,7b–47*,top and 49*,22b–50*,9a do not seem to involve this designation). The term μυστηρίων at 46*,34 and 47*,7 are general instances of the term and do not designate a specifically identifiable mystery. The first mystery narrates Protennoia's loosening of the fleshly bonds by which the underworld powers enslave her fallen members, a sort of harrowing of Hell; it is announced as a mystery and proclaimed in direct discourse to a second-person plural audience (41*,1b–42*,2). The passage 41*,20b–42*,2 which concludes the first subtractate may be a part of the original aretalogy since it is cast in the first-person singular, yet it seems to presuppose material from the first "mystery" in lines 41*,21; 41*,29 and 41*,34–35; uses third-person language in line 41*,35b–36a; and seems to anticipate the third subtractate in line 25; furthermore 41*,1 would make a fit ending for the original aretalogy. Hence, 41*,20b–42*,2 is here included in 41*1b–42*,2.

The second subtractate contains the second mystery (42*,27b–45,2a) which is called the "mystery of (the end of) this Aeon" (42*,28) and is addressed to a second-person plural audience. It presents an apocalyptic announcement of the end of the old age and the dawn of the new age inaugurated by judgment of the authorities of Chaos, the celestial Powers and their Archigenetor (i.e., the creator Yaltabaoth).

The third mystery (47*,24–49*,top) is contained in the third subtractate, and narrates Protennoia's administration of the celestial baptismal rite called the Five Seals; it is called the "mystery of knowledge" (48*,33–34). The third subtractate seems to have undergone extensive redactional activity. The first-person singular aretalogical narrative breaks off in the second line of the tractate, which introduces a lengthy third-person doctrinal treatment of the relation of the Word to the other two (Voice, Speech) modalities of Protennoia, and concludes with an announcement of Protennoia's intention to reveal more mysteries (46*,7b–47*,top). The aretalogy seems to begin again on the top of page 47*, by way of a recapitulation of Protennoia's first two descents (47*,5–13a), and resumes narrating her deeds as the Word who descends incognito
through various levels of spiritual powers until she speaks with her members (47*,13b–23a). At this point the term “brethren” (47*,23), which was used earlier only at 46*,[35] in the previous doctrinal section, is reintroduced, followed by third-person language (47*,25b–28a) and then by first-person singular language which recapitulates doctrine from the cosmology of the first subtractate (47*,28b–35; cf. 40*,11–18). While page 47* and page 49* refer to the recipients of Protennoia’s salvific activity in the third-person plural, page 48*, narrating the third (baptismal) mystery, refers to the recipients in the third-person singular. Furthermore, page 48* and the top of page 49* probably contained paraenetical second-person plural address, typical in this tractate after a phrase like “so, now” (tenoy 6e).

The third aretalogy resumes at 49*,6 and continues at least until 49*,22a. (The suspicious similarity between the “ineffable ordinances” in 49*,22b–23a and “the ineffable [Five Seals]” in 50*,9b–10a probably reveals a redactional seam.) This aretalogy on the Word appears repeatedly interrupted by Christianizing comments of a Christological nature at 49*,7b–8a; 11b–15a and 18b–20a). The last doctrinal addition, concerning the “ordinances of the Father” (identified with the Five Seals), seems to begin at 49*,22b (or perhaps 23b), again using third-person language (note the use of plural references in 49*,22b–28a and 49*,34b onward, but the singular in 49*,28b–34a). First-person style resumes at the top of page 50*, yet much of page 50* seems to bear the stamp of a Christianizing redaction (50*,10b–16a), leaving only 50*,16b–20 as perhaps belonging to the original aretalogy (50*,top–9a is first-person but seems enclosed by the redactional seam mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph).

The herein hypothesized redactor who was responsible for inserting doctrinal passages into the original aretalogy seems to have drawn upon traditional materials. The cosmological section is very close to that of the *Apocryphon of John* (see below, Section V). The first mystery (41*,1b–42*,2) narrating Protennoia’s descent to destroy the bonds by which the lower Powers enslave her members, a virtual harrowing of Hell, employs language similar to the Nekyia traditions found in Hom. II. VIII.14; Hes. Theog. 736–44 and 807–12; Plato, Resp. 614E–F and Phaedo 111C–13C; Vir. Aen. VI, 548–625; Orac. Sib. II, 227–28 and in the Apocalypses of Elijah and Peter. The second “mystery” (42*,27b–45*,2a) contains a
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traditional-appearing apocalyptic description of the shortening of the times, the shaking of Chaos and the celestial Powers who control Fate; and makes use of the Graeco-Egyptian astrological doctrine of the lots of Fate and the planetary domiciles (Ptol., Tetr. I.17,37). The two versions of the five-stage baptismal ascent ritual in 48*,15–35 (third-person singular; part of the third “mystery”) and in 45*,12b–20 (second-person plural, using a different order) also have a (Sethian) traditional flavor.

On the other hand, the remaining two doctrinal passages in the third subtractate (46*,7b–47*,top and 49*,22b–50*,9a) seem to represent almost a completely original firsthand speculative/theological composition on the genetic relationship between the three modalities (Voice, Speech, Word) of Protennoia and on the salvific significance of the Five Seals baptismal rite, speculation of the sort occurring in and around the traditional materials incorporated in the other non-aretalogical doctrinal sections.

In general, the hypothesized redactor of the original aretalogical sections clearly had a great interest in the Sethian baptismal rite as can be seen in passages such as 36*,5b–7a; 37*,1b–3a; 37*,35; 41*,21b–24a; 45*,12b–20 (an anticipation of 48*,15–30); 46*,16–19a; 48*,top–48*,35; and 49*,26b–34a. According to these, the Voice modality of Protennoia is the unpolluted Spring pouring forth Living Water (characterized as radiant light, perhaps a metaphor for the four Lights). The Word modality of Protennoia, bearing Living Fruit, pays the tribute of this Fruit (perhaps the seed of Seth; cf. Gos. Eg. Ill,2:56,4–13) to the Living Water, which is poured out upon Protennoia’s “Spirit” (i.e., members) which originated from the Living Water but is now trapped in the soul. The baptismal rite of the Five Seals is a mystery of celestial ascent which strips off the psychic and somatic garments of ignorance (cf. Col 2:11–15), transforming and purifying Protennoia’s members and clothing them with radiant light. The author’s reference to the recipients of this rite in the first-person plural (36*,33b–37*,3a; cf. 42*,22–23) and as “brethren” suggests a (Sethian) community with a well-established tradition of water baptism which has been spiritualized into a mystery of celestial ascent.

Finally, while the aretalogical sections of the first two subtractates of Trimorphic Protennoia bear no evidence of Christian teaching, a number of Christological statements appear in the third subtractate. It is likely that the Christological glosses found in the
cosmological section of the first subtractate at 37*,[31]; 38*,22 and 39*,6–7 came into Trimorphic Protennoia along with the traditional material from an incipiently Christianized source like the Apocryphon of John. But the Christianizing passages in the third subtractate seem to have been added perhaps at a stage later than the redaction of doctrinal passages into Trimorphic Protennoia, since they have been worked thoroughly into the (original) aretalogical sections of the third subtractate rather than into the doctrinal or “mystery” sections (see below, Section VI on these passages: 47*,14b–15a; 49*,7b–8a; 49*,11b–15a; 49*,18b–20a; and 50*,10b–16a). The section 49*,6–20 probably originally mentioned the beings in 47*,20–21 (Sovereignties or Archons, Powers, Angels), so that the titles, Christ, Son of the Archigenetor and Son of Man, are likely intrusions in 49*,6–20.

While it is impossible to be completely precise about the extent and exact boundaries of the original aretalogies and the secondarily added material, perhaps the following table will help to illustrate the evidence being discussed here. The first column represents the oldest layer of the document (the aretalogies), and the second, third and fourth columns a subsequent redaction. The separate listing of baptismal and Christian passages does not indicate separate redactional activity. In the fourth column, “Christian additions,” the material in the first subtractate is part and parcel of columns two and three; only in the third subtractate is there reason to believe Christian additions came from yet another, later stage of redaction.

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<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>— LATER ADDITIONS —</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Original First-Person Aretalogy</strong></td>
<td><strong>Doctrinal Passages</strong></td>
<td><strong>Explicitly Baptismal Passages</strong></td>
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<td>First Subtractate</td>
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<td>35*,1–32a (introduction)</td>
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<td>35*,32b–36*,27a (voice)</td>
<td>36<em>27b–40</em>,29a</td>
<td>36*,5b–7a</td>
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<td>40*,29b–41*,1a (voice)</td>
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<td>First Mystery</td>
<td>41*,1b–42*,2</td>
<td>41*,21b–24a</td>
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As for doctrinal content, the gist of each subtractate is to identify one by one the nature and work of each of the modalities of Protennoia. In 37*20–30 it is said that “the Voice that originated from my Thought exists as three Permanences (μορφή): the Father, the Mother, the Son. Existing perceptibly as Speech, it has within it a Word endowed with every <glory>, and it has three masculinities, three powers, and three names [cf. Ap. John BG 8502,2:27,21–28,3]. They exist in the manner of Three... quadrangles—secretly within a silence of the Ineffable One.”

**Trimorphic Protennoia** identifies Protennoia with Barbelo (38*8–9). In the platonizing Sethian-Barbeloite treatises *Allogen*es (XI,3), *Zostrianos* (VIII,1), *Three Steles of Seth* (VII,5) and *Marsanes* (X), Barbelo and her sub-aeons (Kalyptos, Protophanes-Triple Male, and Autogenes) occupy the second ontological level of true being below the highest deity and his Triple Power, but above the perceptible world. Thus Protennoia/Barbelo is probably the Sethian-Barbeloite ontological equivalent of the intelligible level occupied by Nous in Neoplatonic metaphysics (see Turner, “The Gnostic Threefold Path”).

As in *Trimorphic Protennoia*, so also in the platonizing gnostic
tractates previously mentioned, Barbelo is tripartitioned into aspects or modalities. In these platonizing tractates, including also the last tractate of the Bruce Codex, one finds many occurrences of the terms Triple Male and Triple Powered One (cf. the “three masculinities” and “three powers” of Trimorphic Protennoia). In these tractates, Triple Male functions as a being within the Aeon of Barbelo. The Triple Powered One seems to be the emanative potency of the highest deity which proceeds from him and then takes on definition as true being in the form of intelligence, thus producing the Aeon of Barbelo. When one recalls the late neoplatonic scheme of μονή (the abiding quality of the first principle), πρόδοσ (procession therefrom to a definite being or form) and ἔπιστροφή (recursion of the effect back to its first principle), one is tempted to understand the three μοναὶ of Trimorphic Protennoia (Father, Mother, Son) as first principles of the divine Thought from which Voice, Speech and Word respectively proceed (cf. XIII,36*,17-18) so as to provide form, being and definition to the Gnostics below (cf. the similar Valentinian idea of formation according to essence and formation according to knowledge directed by Christ and the Savior respectively toward the unformed Sophia, Iren. Ἱαρ. I.4.1 and I.4.5).

In the platonizing Sethian-Barbeloite treatises, salvation takes place in the form of an ecstatic visionary ascent of the Gnostic which occurs in three stages of ascent up to the highest deity (see the Introduction to Allogenes above). But in Trimorphic Protennoia, as well as in the Pronoia hymn of the longer version of the Apocryphon of John (II,1:30,11-31,25), salvation comes in the form of a threefold descent of the First Thought of the highest deity to the Gnostic below. This threefold descent is conceptualized in two ways: (1) as a hierarchical sequence of gendered figures, namely an unbegotten male (Father and Voice), a (self-begotten?) female (Mother and Speech) and a begotten (cf. 46*,9) male (Son and Word); and (2) as a three-stage temporal sequence (cf. 47*,5-16). The revelation culminates in the third descent as Son or Word, called “the eye (i.e., focus) of the three permanences” (46*,28-29). The “vertical” hierarchical structure, clearer in the more philosophical Sethian-Barbeloite tractates Allogenes, Zostrianos, and Three Steles of Seth than in Trimorphic Protennoia, seems to derive from the contemporary Platonic philosophical milieu (see Krämer, Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik, 233-64).
But the "horizontal" threefold sequence seems to derive from other quarters, perhaps from the partitioning of history into three or four dispensations of salvation adopted by gnostic Sethianism from Jewish apocalyptic speculation. Such a tripartitioning of Heilsgeschichte takes place in the Apocalypse of Adam where there is mentioned what appear to be three epochs of redemption (V.5:76,8-17) occurring at the times of flood, conflagration, and final salvation, and in the Gospel of the Egyptians, which relates three παρονσίαι of Seth at the times of flood, conflagration and final judgment (III.2:63,4-64,9). It is characteristic of the Nag Hammadi Sethian-Barbeloite literature to find a synthesis of philosophical and apocalyptic speculation on the nature of history and the cosmos typified by the tripartitioning of history, the cosmos, and the process of the salvation or restoration of the Gnostic.

Since in Trimorphic Protennoia, Protennoia is conceived mainly in auditory metaphors (Voice, Speech, Word), salvation is the hearing of a call. The Voice of the First Thought explains and thus nullifies the Gnostic's bondage to the hostile powers (40*,8b-19a; 41*,1b-42*,2). The Speech of the Voice initiates the shift of the Ages by shaking the rule of Heimarmene with its thunder (43*,4b-44*,10a). Finally the Word illumines those in the darkness by revealing the mystery of the Five Seals (46*,30b-32; 48*,6-35).

As S. Emmel has pointed out ("Sound, Voice and Word"), careful study of the first two of the terms 7ροογ (masc. "Voice"), CMH (fem. articulate sound, "Speech") and 7ροογ (masc. Word) in the Sahidic NT suggests that 7ροογ refers to sound in general whether articulate or not, while CMH generally refers to articulate sound or speech: "Protennoia thus describes her three 'comings' in terms of a progressive gradation: first she comes as an all-pervasive, general sound (hroou), then as the articulation of that sound in voice (Smē), and finally as the rational content of speech (logos)" (Emmel, "Sound, Voice and Word," 5). Hence there is presented the possibility of translating 7ροογ as Voice, CMH as Speech, and λογος as Word. Furthermore, taking into consideration the successive distinctions in gender of Protennoia's descents (Father, Mother, Son) together with the assumption that the distinctive auditory terminology did not arise in Coptic (where the distinction of gender [masc. Voice, fem. Sound, masc. Word] are still maintained) but in Greek, one may surmise that we may have to do with successive modes of Protennoia coordinated in the following
way: Father=probably masc. φθόγγος (2ποογγ); Mother=fem. φωνή (σμη) and Son=masc. λόγος (λογος). Thus the successive kinship terms and respective genders are coordinated with an increasing articulateness of Protennoia’s call or revelation manifested in each successive epoch of revelation/salvation. Insofar as Trimorphic Protennoia is built upon the Pronoia hymn of the longer ending of the Apocryphon of John (see below), it appears that the author has nicely explained the incompleteness of salvation in the two first descents as owing to lack of complete revelatory clarity and articulateness as conveyed only by the Son in the form of the “rational” Word.

The genius of the auditory metaphors is their interpretive power. Again and again Trimorphic Protennoia stresses the invisibility, intangibility, and imperceptibility of the revelatory medium. Yet the revelation itself is audible in the form of Voice, Speech and Word to those who listen for it, though only the Sons of Light can comprehend it (49*,22–26). The revelatory medium (and thus the redeemer) is neither substantial nor hypostatic, yet it is perceptible and effective in its auditory nature as speech and message. Hence Trimorphic Protennoia exemplifies a very creative philosophical theology of the Word.

V. RELATION TO OTHER ANCIENT LITERATURE

The three introductory aretalogies are cast in the form of the ego eimi style of self-predication familiar from the Isis aretalogies found in Diodorus Siculus (Bibl. Hist. I.27.3–5) and particularly in the inscription of Kyme in Asia Minor that dates from around the second century C.E. (see Peek, Der Isihsymnus; Müller, Isis-Aretalogien; Bergman, Ich bin Isis, and MacRae, “Ego-Proclamation”).

It is especially this feature that calls for close comparison between Trimorphic Protennoia and the longer ending of the Apocryphon of John which contains a strophic hymn distinguished by the prominent similarity of its content, structure, and form of discourse to that of Trimorphic Protennoia (previously noted by MacRae, “Sleep and Awakening,” 502; “Ego-Proclamation,” 132; “Sophia Myth,” 91 n.3, and Janssens, “Le Codex XIII,” 342, 351–52).
In the ending of the longer version of the *Apocryphon of John* (II,1:30,11-31,25), one finds an account of the threefold descent of the Pronoia of Light (also “remembrance of the Pronoia”) narrated in the *ego eimi* form of proclamation. There, in the *Apocryphon of John*, the Savior (who in the Christian dialogical framework is called both “Nazarene” and “Father, Mother, Son,” cf. *Ap. John* II,1:2,14-15) identifies himself as the thrice-descending Pronoia. At the first descent the foundations of Chaos are shaken, but Pronoia remains hidden from her brethren, obscured by their wickedness. At the second descent the shaking of the foundations of Chaos threatens to destroy the brethren trapped therein, so Pronoia withdraws to her root of Light. But at the third descent, Pronoia, at first unrecognized, enters the prison of their bodies and succeeds in awakening them by reminding them of their root and seals them with the light of the water with Five Seals. Thus in both the *Apocryphon of John* and *Trimorphic Protennoia* we have a tripartite revelation of the divine First Thought (Pronoia=Protennoia), two preliminary descents producing great disturbance in the underworld but not resulting in final salvation, and a third and final descent into the bodies of the brethren, which results in salvation through the Five Seals. In each case salvation is realized by a revelation of man’s current estate (bondage in chaotic matter), comes as a call to remember their origin, and results from the utterance of these things to the Gnostic.

The tripartite revelation of Pronoia in the longer ending of the *Apocryphon of John* was considered by MacRae to be “a Gnostic liturgical fragment probably recited at a ceremony of initiation much in the manner of a Christian baptismal homily or hymn” (“Sleep and Awakening,” 502). He refers to Doresse’s observation of its hymnic quality (*Secret Books*, 209), and cites as an example of such liturgies Pokorny’s reconstruction of a Gnostic mystery-initiation from the Naasene homily in Hippolytus (Pokorny, “Epheserbrief”).

If, as it is likely, the shorter BG 8502,2 and III,1 versions of the *Apocryphon of John* precede and are not digests of the longer version, the absence from them of this Pronoia hymn suggests that it may have existed separately from the *Apocryphon of John*. The strong equivalences between this text and *Trimorphic Protennoia* suggest that *Trimorphic Protennoia* is either the source of which the Pronoia text is a digest, which seems unlikely, or that *Tri-
Trimorphic Protennoia is an expansion based upon the source behind the hymnic Pronoia text now found in the longer ending of the Apocryphon of John. The cryptic reference in the latter to the Five Seals is clearly identified in Trimorphic Protennoia with a celestial liturgy of initiation consisting of investiture, baptism, enthronement, glorification, and transportation into the light (45*,13-20; 48*,15-35), though the order of the sequence varies. Both texts, then, demonstrate "liturgical" interest, and tend to establish the existence of a Sethian cultic mystery of baptism and celestial ascent, called the Five Seals. This ceremony is mentioned also in the Gospel of the Egyptians (IV,2:56,25; 58,27-59,1; 59,27-28; 66,25-26; 74,16; 78,4-5; III,2:55,12; 63,3) and in Schmidt-MacDermot, Bruce Codex, 232,10. Apparently the ceremony included baptism in the water of life and reception of the mysteries of Gnosis (XIII 41*,20-24) in the context of a graded series of acts, at each of which certain names are invoked (cf. XIII 49*,26-34 with 48*,15-35). It results in enlightenment and final salvation (cf. H.-M. Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism," 604-7).

Trimorphic Protennoia is related to the Apocryphon of John at points other than the ending of the longer versions; above all they are related in the doctrinal exposition of the first subtractate (36*,27b-40*,29a). Comparison shows that Trimorphic Protennoia shares only those episodes of the Barbeloite cosmogony of the Apocryphon of John which are also found in Iren. Haer. I.29.1-4; the single exception is 40*,22-29, which is a brief notice on Yal-dabaoth’s production of a man in Protennoia’s (Father-?) likeness. On the other hand, there are some episodes common to Iren. Haer. I.29.1-4 and the Apocryphon of John that are not narrated in Trimorphic Protennoia: the emanation of Barbelo from the Father or Invisible Spirit and his granting of Prognōsis, Aphtharsia, and Aiônia Zôē to Barbelo; the generation of the Monogenes-Autogenes-Christ from Barbelo’s light; the granting of Nous, Logos and Thelema to Christ; and the generation of Autogenes from Barbelo (Ennoia) and Logos (from Barbelo alone in the Apocryphon of John). Instead of narrating the generation of the four Lights from Monogenes-Christ, Trimorphic Protennoia only alludes to the generation of “Aeons” from the perfect Son (38*,16-21); as in Irenaeus and the Apocryphon of John, he establishes them, but only as four “Aeons” (not Lights), each conjoined with two others, while the term “Light” is only introduced in 39*,13-33 in reference to
Eleleth. Neither the tetrad (in Irenaeus) belonging to the Autogenes (Charis, Synesis, Phronēsis, and Thelēsis or Aisthēsis), nor the tetrad (in the *Apocryphon of John*) of Adam, Seth, seed of Seth, and repentant souls, nor the other inhabitants of the Aeons of the four Lights mentioned in the *Apocryphon of John* are to be found in *Trimorphic Protennoia*, which assigns rather different beings to the four Aeons Armozel, Oroiael, Daveithai, and Eleleth.

Thus not only does *Trimorphic Protennoia* (36*,27b–40*,29a) omit the multiple begettings of Aeons from various syzygies, but it also portrays the Barbeloite cosmogony only from the point at which the self-begotten Son is produced. Like Iren. *Haer.* I.29.1, it presupposes (or ignores) the emanation of Barbelo from the Invisible Spirit or Father. In place of the three faculties of Prognosis, Aphtharsia and Aiōnia Zōē granted to Barbelo, it offers the Voice-Speech-Word interpretation of the Father-Mother-Son aspects of Barbelo (37*,20–30). Even though a gloss (38*,7–16) which lists the various epithets of Protennoia makes it clear that it is really she who is the preeminent creator of the All, the cosmology of *Trimorphic Protennoia* begins with the pleromatic work of the Son. While the third subtractate is devoted to the salvific activity (the third descent of Protennoia), the cosmogonic work of the Son in the first subtractate is to be regarded as the work of the Voice aspect of Protennoia. But for the Christian gnostic redactor (see below), the first and last subtractates of *Trimorphic Protennoia* accordingly portray the work of Christ in the creation and redemption of the cosmos respectively.

The following synopsis of *Trimorphic Protennoia*, Iren. *Haer.* I.29, and the *Apocryphon of John* (Codex II,1 and BG 8502,2) will illustrate the structure and sequence of episodes in *Trim. Prot.* XIII,1*:37*,3–40*,29:

37*,3–20 Introduction to the salvific work of the Son who originated from the Voice; this work is carried out in the three descents of Protennoia (no parallels).

37*,20–30 A description of the relation of the Voice, Speech and Word to Protennoia’s three traditional modalities of Father, Mother, and Son. Cf. *Haer.* I.29.3 (Mother, Father, Son); BG 21,18–21 (Father, Mother, Son) and 27,18–28,2 (Triple Male, possessor of three powers, names and begettings)= II,2,13–14 and II,5,8–10.
Anointing the Son with χρηστία (goodness) and establishing him in light over the Aeons. Cf. Haer. I.29.1: “As Barbelo exulted in these...this they say is the Christ” (in quibus gloriand...dicunt esse Christum); BG 29,18-31,5=II,6,10-30 (cf. BG 32,3-19=II,7,15-30).


The Son reveals and establishes the twelve Aeons which include the traditional Sethian four Lights: Armozel, Oroiael, Daveithai and Eleleth (Aphtharasia is not involved). Cf. Haer. I.29.2: “From the light which is Christ...the fourth whom they call) Eleleth” (De lumine autem quod est Christus...Eleleth); BG 32,19-34,18=II,7,30-8,28.

The origin of Yaltabaath from Protennoia’s Epinoia (her “externalized ēvnoia”) now resident in Eleleth. Cf. Haer. I.29.4: “Then moved by simplicity...to the lower regions” (Post deinde simplicitate...in inferiora); BG 37,6-11 (cf. the boasting of Eleleth and failure of the powers to entreat him, XIII,39*, 15-20); BG 37,16-18 (Yaltabaath’s form); BG 38,12-17 (the name Yaltabaath and his theft of the power of the Mother [=Eleleth or Sophia]).

(Saklas): =II,11,16-18 (Saklas, Samael). Trimorphic Protennoia is briefer, and does not employ the Sophia myth. It is Eleleth rather than Sophia who channels the Protennoia’s Epinoia into the creation of Yaltabaath without the assent of the powers. Consequently for Trimorphic Protennoia, Sophia is innocent (39*,28-32; 40*,15); since her role in other Sethian literature is here assumed by Eleleth’s Epinoia, not explicitly identified with Sophia,
Yaltabaoth’s creation of the lower world is Eleleth’s fault.

the restoration of the Epinoia (=Sophia?) to another order (ραξ). Cf. Haer. I.29.4: “When then had been born... withdrew to the higher regions” (Generatis autem his... in altiora secessit); BG 46,9–47,13=II,13,32–14,13. In Trimorphic Protennoia, the restoration seems to be complete, and because blame falls on Eleleth and not Epinoia (or Sophia), there seems to be no repentance.

Yaltabaoth makes aeons as copies of the real Aeons with his power stolen from the Epinoia who has withdrawn. Cf. Haer. I.29.4: “he stole great power...she became the Ogdoad counting from below” (virtutem autem magnam abstulisse...fit deorsum numerantibus octonatio); BG 38,15–44,9=II,10,19–13,5. Trimorphic Protennoia summarizes and does not describe the angelic powers.

Since the creator’s boast is attributed by Trimorphic Protennoia to Eleleth (cf. 39*,13–17; to the “Archi­genetor” in 43*,31–44*,2), it is not here attributed to Yaltabaoth: cf. Haer. I.29.4: “When she had withdrawn...beside me there is no one” (illa igitur secedente...praeter me nemo est); BG 44,9–19=II,13,5–13. Instead, in Trimorphic Protennoia we have only the announcement of Protennoia, reaffirming Sophia’s innocence: cf. BG 45,19–47,20=II,13,26–14,18.

Yaltabaoth makes man in Protennoia’s likeness, the beginning of his undoing (not in Haer. I.29). Cf. BG 47,20–51,1=II,14,19–19,14. Trimorphic Protennoia only says that man was made in Protennoia’s image, while BG and Codex II imply that the image was that of Pronoia (Mother-Father=Protennoia) become First Man.

At this point where Iren. Haer. I.29.1–4 ends, the precise parallels with the Apocryphon of John also cease (except for the anthropogony and Pronoia hymn of the longer ending!). Yet the basic
structure of the threefold descent of Protennoia can also be elicited from the remaining portions of the *Apocryphon of John* that are included in both the longer and shorter versions. As Janssens notes ("Le Codex XIII," 348–51), the Pronoia descends three times throughout the long anthropogonical and soteriological sections of the *Apocryphon of John* that are not found in *Trimorphic Protennoia*. In these contexts Pronoia (Protennoia) is referred to as the "Merciful Father" (or Metropator) who initiates (from the divine world) various salvific missions. Thus, in effect, her first descent occurs in BG 51,1–52,3=II,19,10–33, where Sophia gets the Metropator to send the male Autogenes and the four Lights down to Yaltabaoth and have him breathe the Mother’s power into the inert psychic Adam, who is vivified. Pronoia’s second descent occurs as the female Epinoia of Light who hides in Adam as Zoe and, when formed from his rib by Yaltabaoth, causes Adam to know his essence (BG 52,17–54,9; 59,6–21,7=II,20,9–31; 22,28–23,36; material on Paradise the trees, and the serpent are interpolated into this episode). The third descent of Pronoia is her (male) manifestation as Christ, which in the shorter version is in fact coincident with the appearance of the Savior in the Christian dialogical frame-story itself (see its conclusion in BG 75,10–76,9), while in the longer version it is coincident with the very Pronoia hymn (II,30,11–31,25) that underlies *Trimorphic Protennoia*!

These three descents in the main body of the *Apocryphon of John* are essentially those to be found in *On the Origin of the World* (II,5), *Hypostasis of the Archons* (II,4), and Irenaeus’s “Ophite” account (*Haer. I.30.6–12*). They are thus a major feature of Sethian gnostic mythology. The *Apocryphon of John* seems to be a combination of the Sethian-Barbeloite cosmogony and Sophia myth of Iren. *Haer. I.29*, and this “Ophite” anthropogony and soteriology in which the Ophite doctrine of the serpent as the one who leads Adam and Eve to the tree of Gnosis (e.g., *Haer. I.30.7*) is severely criticized or played down (BG 57,20–58,14=II,22,9–21) in favor of Christ or Eve. It is this anthropogony and soteriology which is completely lacking in *Trimorphic Protennoia* save for the bare structure of three descents of the First Thought as Father, Mother, and Son. When the tree of knowledge is mentioned, it is a source, not of knowledge, but of ignorance (XIII,44*,20–26).

Furthermore, *Trimorphic Protennoia* does not make use of the Sophia myth of the *Apocryphon of John*. Instead, it employs a
weakened form of the myth in which the blame for the creation of Yaltabaoth is affixed to the boastful Eleleth. The innocent (and hence non-repentant) Sophia is weakly identified with the Epinoia, the creative power of Protennoia, stolen by Yaltabaoth who is created virtually by accident, not by Sophia's decision to create without a consort. Since this variant form of the Sophia myth is attested only in Trimorphic Protennoia and in the Gospel of the Egyptians, it surely cannot claim the primacy of the version found in the Apocryphon of John and Valentinian sources. It looks more like a reaction against the latter in an effort to separate the perfection of the divine world as far as possible from the evil of this world. This separation is not at all accomplished by the multiplication of aeonic buffer zones between the divine and material world; on the contrary, Trimorphic Protennoia reduces these to the bare minimum consistent with the Sethian-Barbeloite cosmology. In fact the extremely condensed version of the Aeons of the four Lights (38*,33–39*,5) seems to be included only for the purpose of providing the Epinoia with a point of exit (Eleleth) from the divine world. Trimorphic Protennoia, then, appears to be reacting against the excesses of the Apocryphon of John.

Trimorphic Protennoia intersects with the Apocryphon of John at only two points: the Pronoia hymn of the longer ending, and the Sethian-Barbeloite cosmogony it has in common with Iren. Haer. I.29. Accordingly, one should regard it as occupying a midpoint between the highly mythological Apocryphon of John and the more philosophical Sethian-Barbeloite treatises, such as Zostrianos (VIII,i). Although Trimorphic Protennoia shows no literary awareness of Zostrianos, it is close to it in spirit, particularly in its liturgical interest (cf. the baptisms in Zostrianos with the Five Seals of Trimorphic Protennoia), and in its lack of allusions to Genesis 1–6.

Yet Trimorphic Protennoia proved highly amenable to Christianization (see Section VI below) perhaps because of the similarity of the Logos-doctrine of its last subtractate to that of the Johannine prologue and the similarity of the eschatological language of the second subtractate to Christian apocalyptic. It further appears that Trimorphic Protennoia has orthodox Christian baptism in view in its presentation of the Sethian celestial baptismal-ascent ritual of the Five Seals when it interprets this as the "ordinances of the Father" proclaimed by Christ (48*,top–50*,20; cf. note on 49*,6–20). In fact, as Robinson notes in the discussion of his excellent
treatment of *Trimorphic Protennoia*: “Apart from the *Gospel of Thomas*, no greater claim has been made for the relevance of the Nag Hammadi texts to the New Testament than that made by the *Berliner Arbeitskreis regarding the Trimorphic Protennoia*” ("Sethians and Johannine Thought," 662). This claim principally involves the question whether and to what extent *Trimorphic Protennoia* is a non-Christian document originally composed without benefit of Christianity and subsequently Christianized by a Sethian author who was either (1) a non-Christian using materials no longer sensed as Christian or (2) was a non-Christian consciously reinterpreting (and thus confuting) Christian tradition, or (3) a Sethian consciously taking up with Christian tradition, but consciously reinterpreting it (thus confuting orthodox Christian interpretations) in Sethian fashion to yield a higher spiritual meaning in the light of Sethian teaching. In the present analysis, the third option emerges as the most likely explanation for the present text of *Trimorphic Protennoia*.

As will be argued, *Trimorphic Protennoia* originated as a non-Christian text based on the non-Christian Pronoia hymn at the end of the longer version of the *Apocryphon of John* (see below, stages 1 and 2), but subsequently (see below, stage 3) was fleshed out on the basis of the cosmological teaching in common between Iren. *Haer.* I.29 and the *Apocryphon of John*. If that version of the *Apocryphon of John* were substantially the same as the four versions we currently possess, it would serve as the source for the glosses identifying the Autogenes Son with Christ (37*,31; 38*,22–23; 39*,6–7), but not for the substantial Christian interpretations of the Protennoia/Logos as the Christ in 48*,35–49*,20 and 50*,7–16. In these passages the reinterpretation of Christological titles and of the work of Christ is explicit and consciously polemical, but not as Schenke observed, anti-Christian or even non-Christian. It is rather anti-orthodox Christian, but still fundamentally sympathetic to the appropriateness of understanding the work of Seth as the work of Christ.

This acutely raises the question of the “stupendous parallels” between *Trimorphic Protennoia* and the Gospel of John (see above, section III), especially in the prologue, but also in the farewell discourse (cf. 50*,11–12 with Jn 15:4–5; cf. Jn 17:21–23; 1 Jn 2:24; 3:24; and 50*,14–16 with Jn 14:2). In general, all the parallels cited by Colpe (see above, section III) and others are most likely
due to a sapiential background common to the Johannine prologue and the Trimorphic Protennoia together with its basic source, the Pronoia hymn of the Apocryphon of John, given their common tripartition of cosmic time according to the descents of the savior figure, first shining in the darkness at the beginning, then coming unsuccessfully into the world, and finally becoming incarnate in the third (successful) coming. But with the parallels to the farewell discourse in 50*,11-12 and 50*,14-16 and with the parallel to John 1:14 in 47*,14-15, it seems that Johannine language is intentionally employed, if not reinterpreted (cf. Helderman, “Bemerkungen zu Codex XIII,” criticized by Robinson, “Sethians and Johannine Thought,” 659-60). In 47*,14-15 it is clear that “their tents” in which Protennoia reveals herself as Word is interpreted as the “shape” (εἰκών) earlier given by Protennoia to her “fellow brethren” until their consummation; indeed it is a “garment” (47*,17) to disguise her from the Powers. This guise is later interpreted docetically by means of certain redactionally added passages (in 49*,6-22a and 50*,9b-20) to the effect that the true Christ never actually became human but only appeared to be such, and that he rescued Jesus from the cross and established a dwelling place with his Father, not for believers (Jn 14:2), but for Jesus himself. This in itself does not constitute a denial of Johannine thought, but certainly takes it in a direction anathematized by the author of 1 John (cf. 4:2-3). Certainly the use of σκηνή and λόγος in a single sentence which refers to a (third and) final descent of a savior figure in 47*,13-15 is striking, even if the Coptic versions of Jn 1:14 do not use this loanword to translate ἐσκηνομένος. On balance it seems that the final redaction of Trimorphic Protennoia does employ Johannine language in such a way as to score a polemical point against more orthodox Christian views of Christ’s incarnation. Precisely whose views and what his direct source was for Johannine language remains unclear.

VI. COMPOSITION

Since the figure of Christ is dominant at two points in Trimorphic Protennoia (the activity of the Perfect Son in 37*,3-38*,6 and the activity of Protennoia as Logos in 48*,35-50*,20), one might classify it as a Christian-gnostic document. Although this
undoubtedly characterizes its present form, at an earlier stage of its composition it was probably non-Christian. That is, the figure of Christ may be secondary, a redactional addition to Trimorphic Protennoia (see G. Schenke, “Die dreigestaltige Protennoia,” cols. 733–34), as has also been pointed out in the case of the closely related Apocryphon of John (cf. Arai, “Christologie des Apokryphons des Johannnes”; H.-M. Schenke, “Das literarische Problem des Apokryphon Johannis”).

Of the four occurrences of the term “Christ” in Trimorphic Protennoia, the first (37*,[31]) has been restored on the basis of context and parallel epithets (“the God who came into being by himself,” i.e., “only-begotten”) used in the second occurrence (38*,22–23); the third occurrence is found at 39*,6–7 (where it is likely that ΝΑΣΧΠΟΣ should be completed by a missing ΕΒΩΛ ΠΙΤΟΤΥ); the fourth occurs in a mutilated section (49*,8), to the effect that the Archons were fooled by Protennoia’s incognito descent into thinking Protennoia was their (earthly?) Christ. The first three occurrences appear to be glosses appended to the phrases “it is he alone who came to be,” “the God who came into being by himself” and “the God who was begotten” (add: “by himself”) either by ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΕ or in simple apposition by juxtaposition. These three instances of the name “Christ” serve only to make an identification between Christ and the Autogenes Son of Protennoia/Barbelo as in the Apocryphon of John, and thus may imply dependence of Trimorphic Protennoia on an already Christianized version of the Apocryphon of John, and thus may imply dependence of Trimorphic Protennoia on an already Christianized version of the Apocryphon of John of the sort reflected in Irenaeus’s excerpt in Haer. I.29. Furthermore, the first three instances of the term “Christ” all occur in the only section of Trimorphic Protennoia (37*,30–40*,7) that has direct parallels to the material in Iren. Haer. I.29.1–2 and to the theogonic material in the version of the Apocryphon of John.

The final mention of the term “Christ” (49*,8) occurs in the third subtractate of Trimorphic Protennoia (48*,35–50*,20) which is intended to give a Christian-gnostic interpretation to the descent of the revealer in opposition to other “orthodox” Christologies. Here the Word appears as Christ who, disguised successively as a son of the Archigenetor, as an angel and as a Son of Man, descends incognito and reveals the Five Seals, puts on Jesus, and bears him and his seed into the world of Light.

Only in the third subtractate does it seem that Christianization,
particularly by means of Johannine language, becomes thoroughgoing. There one finds the identification of Protennoia with the Logos as the third mode of Protennoia's descent into the world, appearing this third time (as the Logos) in their tents (σκήνη, 47*,11-15; cf. ἐσκήνωσεν, Jn 1:14). The Logos descends incognito, disguised, and hidden from all in the form of various heavenly powers until he chooses to reveal himself (47*,13b-23a). It is implied that the Logos, not the Archons, made the world (47*,25-28). Next, after the apparently non-Christian Sethian-gnostic liturgical passage on the Five Seals on page 48*, Christian language as well as the subject of incognito descent returns (49*,6-22a or 23a). As G. Schenke "Die dreigestaltige Protennoia [Codex XIII]," 130-32) argues, this passage reinterprets traditional Christological predications of Jesus as Christ, Son of God (i.e., "Son of the Archigenetor"), an Angel, a Power, and "Son of Man." Trimorphic Protennoia shows these to designate only the forms in which the Logos appears to the Archons, Angels, Powers, and Sons of Man. In actuality he is not the Son, but the Father (of everyone), the "beloved" of those in whom the Logos reveals himself. After the continuation of the Sethian passage (with no particular Christian features) on the Five Seals, Christian especially Johannine, language returns again (to 50*,10b-16a cf. Jn 15:4; 14:2-3; 12:32).

As Schenke goes on to observe, Trimorphic Protennoia is at this point non-Christian, even anti-Christian. That is to say it is anti-"orthodox Christian," for the shift from the obscure, ineffective activity of the earthly Jesus to the clear revelation of saving gnosis by the Logos-Christ is located not in his earthly life, nor in a work he effects on the cross, but in his post-resurrection mode of existence; only then can the Logos-Christ and his message be recognized for what they are. Pages 49* and 50* seem to contain instances of Christian-gnostic polemic which use Christological motifs to characterize the "orthodox" Christian view of Christ as inferior and inadequate. The orthodox Son of God is a son of the demiurge-Archigenetor, their Son of Man is only a human, and their cross is only "cursed wood." Furthermore, it is to be noted that the "orthodox" version of the Johannine Logos-hymn carefully subordinates John the Baptist to the Logos, to the effect that John was not the light, but was merely a witness to it. Indeed he was not the Logos but only a voice (φωνή) crying in the wilderness (Jn
1:6–8.23). But contrary to this view, *Trimorphic Protennoia* exalts the Voice (not identified with John) to the status of the two earlier but not finally effective modes of Protennoia's self-manifestation as Father and Mother, while the Son-Logos is the third manifestation. Although the Logos is the final and fulfilling manifestation of Protennoia, it is not superior to the Voice, from whom the Logos in fact originated (37*,3–6; cf. 46*,3b–32).

All these considerations suggest that *Trimorphic Protennoia* had a distinctive redactional history. At its basis lies an early version of the aretalogical sapiental Pronoia hymn presently found in the longer version of the *Apocryphon of John*. This aretalogy on the threefold descent of Protennoia as Voice, Speech and Word was subsequently enlarged and supplemented by various doctrinal sections (36*,27b–40*,29a; 41*,1b–42*,2; 47*,27b–45*,2a; 46*,7b–47*,top; 47*,24–49*,top; and 49*,22b–50*,9a), the first of which was incipiently Christianized by means of the Christological glosses at 37*,[31]; 38*,22–23 and 39*,6–7. Finally the original aretalogy (46*,5–7a + 47*,5–23 + 49*,6–22a + 50*,9b–20) of the third subtractate seems to have undergone a somewhat polemical Christianizing by the addition of 47*,14b–15a; 49*,7b–8a; 49*,11b–15a; 49*,18b–20a; and 50*,10b–16a.

The purpose of Christianizing *Trimorphic Protennoia* by means of this additional material would be to point out the superiority of the docetic gnostic Logos-Christ to the “orthodox” Son of God (i.e., Son of the demiurge) or (the too-earthly) Son of Man. This hypothetical but quite conscious Christianization does not seem to employ themes from the Johannine prologue, which seem to have entered *Trimorphic Protennoia* during a prior stage of the text much as Colpe and Schenke have suggested. That is to say, the parallels to the Johannine prologue seem to belong to those parts of *Trimorphic Protennoia* that were not explicitly Christianized, suggesting that *Trimorphic Protennoia* is not directly dependent on the text of the prologue, but upon common sapiental traditions employed in each text independently. On the other hand, the Christian interpolations in 50*,10b–16a seem to reflect at least the language of the farewell discourse, but not the prologue, of the Gospel of John.

On the basis of these observations, *Trimorphic Protennoia* seems to have a compositional history consisting of approximately four stages.
(1) The first stage is represented by the Grundform of the non-Christian Pronoia hymn, a later version of which is represented by the ending of the longer version of the *Apocryphon of John*. This original form of the hymn was perhaps a product of general oriental speculation on the pre-existent figure of the divine Wisdom who descends into this world for salvation and judgment. Although it does not display detailed features of the Sethian-Barbeloite cosmology, it does mention the "seed" (*Ap. John* II, r, 30,13) and conceives salvation as occurring in three visitations, or epochs, both of which are Sethian conceptions. Thus the Pronoia hymn may represent a very early stage of gnostic Sethianism. The version of this hymn now in the *Apocryphon of John* already bears the marks of a long interpolation (II, r, 31, 4-22) in its third stanza which unbalances an otherwise smoothly balanced hymn in three stanzas of approximately equal length. If the interpolation is removed, the third stanza (30, 32-31, 4, 22-25) would then read: "Again the third time I went—I who am the Light that dwells in the Light—I am the remembrance of Pronoia—that I might enter the midst of the darkness and the inner part of the underworld. I filled my face with the light of the completion of their Aeon and went into the midst of their prison...and I raised him up and sealed him with the Light of the Water with Five Seals, that death might not prevail over him from now on." The grounds for suspecting that 31, 4-22 is an interpolation are three: (a) €τ€ η€ ι€ η€ μ€ κ€ η€ ν€ ι€ ν€ μ€ in 31, 4 has the character of an interpretive gloss; (b) the number of the addressee(s) shifts from the plural (31, 2-3) to the singular (31, 6-20, "he" and "thou"); and (c) the length of the dialogue of awakening, cast in language similar to Eph 5:14, makes the third stanza too long and unwieldy. Whether *Trimorphic Protennoia* is literally dependent upon the version now found in the *Apocryphon of John* or some other version cannot be determined. The motifs of the call to awakening (31, 5-6; cf. XIII,35*, 1-22), the chains (31, 10; cf. XIII,41*, 4-6.18.29) and the weeping (31, 6; cf. XIII,44*, 11) contained in the interpolation all occur in *Trimorphic Protennoia*, but such motifs are common in gnostic literature. Of course, one should bear in mind, as Schenke and Colpe have suggested (see above Section III), that even this hypothetical first stage may be based on a yet earlier composition which underlies both the Pronoia hymn and the Johannine prologue.

(2) The first-person self-predications of the three stanzas of some
form of the Pronoia hymn were expanded into the long aretalogies of self-predication in each of the subtractates of *Trimorphic Protennoia* (35*,32b–36*,27a + 40*,29b–41*,1a; 42*,4–27a + 45*,2b–12a + 45*,21–46*,3; 46*,5–7a + 47*,5–23 + 49*,6–22a + 50*,9b–20; also the introductory aretalogy in 35*,1–32a). The creative gain from this second compositional stage was perhaps the development of the male Voice, female Speech, and male Word speculation as an interpretation of the three descents of Pronoia, now renamed Protennoia, which may have been inspired by the Sethian-Barbeloite Father, Mother, Son triad in the *Aprocrphon of John* and in the source of Iren. *Haer.* I.29.

(3) The third stage represents the accommodation of this expanded Pronoia/Protennoia hymn to the developed cosmogonical mythology of the major Sethian treatises such as the *Aprocrphon of John*. Into the first subtractate (35*,1–32a + 35*,32b–36*,27a + 40*,29b–41*,1a) there would later have been inserted the cosmogonic myth (36*,27b–40*,29a) drawn from the Sethian-Barbeloite cosmogony in or underlying *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:26,15–39,6 and Iren. *Haer.* I.29.1–4. Since the Christian glosses at 37*,[31]; 38*,22–23 and 39*,6–7 were probably taken over as part of this inherited cosmogonic material, *Trimorphic Protennoia* became incipiently Christian at this stage. This cosmogonic material seems to have been reworked in such a way as to exonerate Sophia from the responsibility for the creation of Yaltabaoth as depicted in the *Aprocrphon of John*. Hence the blame is transferred to Eleleth, while Sophia, identified with Epinoia, is called “innocent” (39*,13–40,4). In the *Aprocrphon of John* Epinoia seems to be a female (Zōē=Eve?) manifestation of Pronoia (BG 53,4–10), and is distinct from the blameworthy Sophia. But as *Trimorphic Protennoia* omits the story of the creation of Adam by Yaltabaoth in the garden, the Epinoia does not appear as Zōē or Eve, or as the tree of knowledge; rather, she is assimilated to the role usually reserved for Sophia herself, who is in turn exonerated as guileless, with the result that Eleleth tends to receive the blame for allowing the Epinoia to fall into Yaltabaoth’s hands. Likewise at this stage the contents of the first “mystery” on Protennoia’s harrowing of the underworld powers (41*,1b–42*,2) would have been appended to the first subtractate. If the first-person material in 41*,20b–42*,2 was part of the original aretalogy, only 41*,1b–20a would have been added here, yet this first-person material seems suspicious: 41*,20b–21a
seems dependent on 40*,10–18; 41*,21b–24a is a gloss identifying with the spirit Protennoia’s portion (meros occurs only at 40*,13 and 41*,21; elsewhere one finds melos); 41*,24b–25 seems inconsistent with 41*,27; 41*,30–32 is defective; and 41*,32b–35a seems to presuppose the doctrinal section 41*,1b–20a. Alternatively one may on a different interpretation of this evidence conclude that the entire section 41*,1b–42*,2 (except perhaps 41*,21b–24a) belonged to the original aretalogy of stage two, but the use of the second-person plural form of direct address to the tractate’s audience at 41*,2.5.12 and 13 is unusual for the bulk of the first-person aretalogical sections, and occurs elsewhere only at 42*,27; 44*,29b–33a; 45*,12b–20 and 46*,33–34, all of which occur in doctrinal passages which employ first-person language only to introduce a generally third-person doctrinal discourse of Protennoia.

Similarly in the third stage the eschatological teaching of the second mystery (47*,27b–45*,2a) would have been inserted into the aretalogy (42*,4–27a + 45*,2b–12a + 45*,21–46*,3) of the second subtractate. In this way the activity of the Mother or Speech aspect of Protennoia is interpreted as causing the shift of the ages and the overthrow of the power of Fate. Whether or not the anticipatory promise to introduce the baptismal rite at 45*,12b–20 was added at this stage is hard to decide; it employs the first-person language of the aretalogies, but as previously mentioned, direct address in the second plural to the reader is certainly not characteristic of the bulk of the aretalogical material.

Finally the doctrinal material at 46*,7b–47*,top (speculation on the relation of the Word to Protennoia’s other modalities), 47*,24–49*,top (the third “mystery,” on the Five Seals) and 49*,22b–50*,9a (on the efficacy of the “ordinances of the Father,” identified with the Five Seals) would have been added to the third subtractate during the third stage. While the first and last of these sections are generally third-person description, the third mystery contains first-person narrative (47*,28b–48*,35a) typical of the aretalogies, and may be considered to be part of the aretalogical treatise produced at stage two. However, 47*,28b–47*,bottom seems dependent on 40*,10–18 (cf. 41*,20b–21) which is probably a doctrinal addition, and the section 48*,top–48*,35 refers to the recipients of Protennoia’s salvific activity in the third-person singular, not in the third-person plural as is elsewhere usual (cf. a similar shift at 49*,28b–34a).
At this point, *Trimorphic Protennoia* has become an only incipiently Christian (cf. the glosses at 37*[31]; 38*,22 and 39*,6–7) basically Sethian-Barbeloite doctrinal homily. It is no longer a hymn or even an extended self-predicatory aretalogical composition, but it is not yet a didactic mythological treatise. Its goal is no longer primarily liturgical nor is it yet completeness of speculative mythological calculation, but rather it constitutes a paraenetical appeal to the human spirit. Its lofty rhetoric, combining aretalogical announcement and compelling narrative, suits it as an appeal for conversion, as evangelistic proclamation. One may conjecture that at this stage, *Trimorphic Protennoia* may have been used as a public invitation to membership in the Sethian community, perhaps with (orthodox) Christians in view as the target audience.

(4) Finally, the rather polemical Christian Sethian material at 47*,14b–15a; 49*,7b–8a.11b–15a.18b–20a and 50*,10b–16a would have been inserted into the third subtractate, yielding *Trimorphic Protennoia* as it presently stands. The insertions on pages 47* and 50* which draw on Johannine language would tend to be attractive to both Sethian and non-Sethian Christians alike, but the generally anti-orthodox quality of the Christological insertions on page 49* make it clear that the goal of the tractate is to show the poverty of orthodox Christologies (including the Johannine) and to convey a higher (Sethian) one.

At this point the almost purely positive appeal of *Trimorphic Protennoia* in its immediately previous non-Christian dress has been modified in a polemical direction. No longer a purely evangelical announcement, it is now aimed at challenging and reinterpreting the "orthodox apostolic" Christian claims concerning Christ and the salvation offered by him. Instead of the orthodox Son of the creator God of this world, who was also the human Son of man, Christ is claimed for Sethian Gnosticism as the completely otherworldly Logos of the divine Thought itself, whose phenomenal appearances to both men and to spiritual powers were only a ruse perpetrated by the evil Archigenetor of this world and his archontic Powers. At this point the Sethian community has targeted members of the more "orthodox" Christian church as candidates for the immediate enlightenment and salvation tendered by Sethian Gnosis. *Trimorphic Protennoia* has now become a weapon in the competition for souls.

If such a compositional history be accepted (or one like it),
Trimorphic Protennoia should be considered to be roughly contemporary with the Apocryphon of John and Iren. Haer. 1.29, and may have reached its final form by the mid-second century C.E. Probably surviving for some time in Greek dress, it was eventually translated into Coptic, and found its way into Codex XIII. At some point in the mid-fourth century C.E., Trimorphic Protennoia was removed from Codex XIII, inserted into the front cover of Codex VI, and buried with the other Nag Hammadi Codices, where it lay until the time of its discovery.
[ANOK] τε τηρω[τεννοια πμ]εεγε ετ

2 ω[οοω]ν' τ' Κ[πουειν ΑΝΟΚ] πι πκιμ
ετώοον τ' Κ[πθηρ ταί ετε π']πθηρ' ω
2ν ηνταγωσ' ωντε τετωοον 2α[θ]η
6 πτ[θ]πρ' εγμο[γτε εροσ] Π[πωμτ Π']πωμ εε
εοο' ογατς[τε εςωνκ' εβολ' ΑΝ]οκ' ου
8 ατναγ ερο[ς 2ρ]αι 2[μ] πμεεγε ηνπιατ-
ναγ ερο εε[ι]βολ[π] εβολ 2ν ηντωι
τον ηντωαξε ημοογ ΑΝΟΚ' ογατ-
tεςος εειωοον 2ν πιαττεσογ εει
12 Κίμ' 2ραί 2ν Cωντ' ΝΙΜ ΑΝΟΚ πε πωνι
ηνταννοια τα[ί ετωοον' 2ραι 2ν
14 δαμ ΝΙΜ ΑΓω 2ραι 2[μ] Κίμ' ΝΙΜ Ν'ανες
ΑΓω ζεν' ογαεινε ηνταναγ εροογ ΑΓω
16 2ραι 2ν ηνρξωμεν ΜΝ ηνγ'ελος ΜΝ
Ν[αιμερ]ων' ΜΝ Ψ'ωχ ΝΙΜ ετωοον'
18 2ν Ντ[αρτ]αρος ΜΝ' Ψ'ωχ ΝΙΜ Ν'γυλικη
εειωοον' 2ν ηνταγωσ' ωνταικι 2ν
20 ογον ΝΙΜ [ΑΓω εει'ρη Ν'ζηνογ τη
πογ εειμοοουε 2ν ογκοογτνι ΑΓω νε
22 Τ'κατκ' εεινε[ς]ε ημοογ ΑΓω ΑΝΟΚ'
πε πναγ εβολ ηνετ'ιοον 2ν π'ζινηβ
24 ΑΝΟΚ πε πιατναγ εροο 2ρα[ι 2ν Ν]πθηρ
ΑΝΟΚ' πετωοονε ηνετζηιν ηεεικο
26 ογνε ημπθηρ ετωοον 2ραι Ν'ζηντι
ΑΝΟΚ' ογατηπε παρα ογον ΝΙΜ ΑΝΟΚ
28 ογατηπε ηντωαξ[με] ημοογ ΑΝΟΚ Ν
δε εειςαν' ογ[ωσε Τνι]αογ' ονςτ εβολ
ογατ' ΑΝΑΚ [τε ταπε Ν']πθηρ εειωο
οπ 2αθετ Ν[πθηρ' ΑΓω ΑΝ]οκ πε ππθηρ
32 εειςαοον 2ν ογον ΝΙΜ ΑΝΟΚ ογρο
ογε εειωοο αν 2ν ογζε[οε]νη ηειωοο
34 Ν[νοωρ' εειωοον 2ρα[ι] 2ν 'Μιντκα
[φωσ ετιπκωτε Νογον] ΝΙΜ Νιμ[γ]
TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA 35*,1–35

35*

[I] am [Prottennoia, the] Thought that
dwell] in [the Light. I] am the movement
that dwells in the [All, she in whom the] All takes
its stand, [the first-born]
among those who [came to be, she who exists] before
the All. [She (i.e., Prottennoia) is called] by three names,
although she
dwells alone, [since she is perfect]. I am
invisible within the Thought of the Invisible
One. I am revealed in the immeasurable,
ineffable (things). I am incomprehensible,
dwelling in the incomprehensible. I
move in every creature. I am the life
of my Epinoia that dwells within
every Power and every eternal movement
and (in) invisible Lights and
within the Archons and Angels (άγγελοι) and
Demons (δαίμονες) and every soul (ψυχή) dwelling
in [Tartaros] and (in) every material (δύσκολη) soul (ψυχή)
I dwell in those who came to be. I move in
everyone and I delve into them all.
I walk uprightly and those who
sleep, I [awaken]. And I
am the sight of those who dwell in sleep.
I am the Invisible One within the All.
It is I who counsel those who are hidden, since I know
the All that exists in it.
I am numberless beyond (παρά) everyone. I
I am immeasurable, ineffable, yet (δε)
whenever I [wish, I shall] reveal myself
of my own accord. I [am the head of] the All. I exist
before [the All, and] I am the All,
since I [exist in] every[one]. I am a Voice
[speaking softly (ψηφοφορεών)]. I exist
[from the first. I dwell] within the Silence
[that surrounds] every[one] of them.
ΔΑΥ Ν[Σ]ΡΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΕΤΩ[Σ]ΝΟΠ ΣΡΑΙ
2 ΝΗΣΤ ΣΡΑΙ ΣΗ ΠΗΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΑΤΤΕΣ[ΟΥ Ν]
ΑΤΩΣΙΑ ΣΡΑΙ ΣΗ ΝΗΜΝΙΣΚΑΡΨ ΝΑΤΩΣΙΤ[Σ]
4 ΑΝΟΚ ΑΕΙ[ΒΕΣΚ] ΣΡΑΙ ΕΤΩΜΗΣ ΝΑΜΝΗ[Ε]
ΑΕΙ[Ν]ΠΗΡΕΣ ΣΡΑΙ ΕΧΗ ΠΗΚΑΚΕ ΑΝΑΚ ΠΕ[Ν]
6 ΤΑΕΙ[ΒΕΒΕ] ΗΝΠΟΟΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΣΗΠ[Σ]
ΣΗ ΣΗΜΟΟΥ ΕΥΝΠΗΡΗΣ[Ε]ΝΟΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΝΤ[ΑΕΙ]
8 ΠΗΡΕ ΝΠΤΗΡΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΠ[ΡΟΣ ΣΡΑΙ ΢Η ΠΑ
ΠΗΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤΩΤΗ ΑΝΠΡΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ[Λ]
10 ΣΙΤΟΩΤ[Σ] ΕΨΑΚΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗ[ΣΙ ΤΙΝΩΣΙΕ ΕΕ[Ι]
ΨΟΟΠ ΣΗ ΝΗΝ ΝΙΑΤΩΚΕ ΝΗΝΟΟΥ ΝΗ ΝΙΑΤ
12 ΣΟΥΝΟΥΑ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΤΑΙΣΗΝΣΙΕ ΝΜ ΠΣΟ
ΟΥΝ ΕΕΙΤΕ[ΝΥ ΝΟΥΡΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΙΤΟΩΤ[Σ]
14 ΝΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΕ[ΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΣΡΟΟΟΥ ΕΤΣΟΟΠ
ΕΕΙ[Σ] ΣΡΑΙ ΝΗ ΟΥΝ ΝΗΜ ΑΣ ΚΟΣΟ<ΟΥ<Ν
16 ΝΙΜΑΣ ΕΡΕΟΥΣΠΕΡΜΑ[Σ] ΨΟΟΠ ΣΡΑΙ ΝΗ[ΤΟΥ]
ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΗΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΠΙΩΤ Α[ΓΥ]Ψ[ΕΒΟΛ ΣΙΤΟ]
18 ΟΤ ΑΨΗΨΟΡΗ ΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗ[ΚΙ ΣΡ]ΡΟΟΥ ΕΤΕ
ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΝΟΟΥΝ ΝΙΝΕΤΕΝΜΗΤΕΥ ΣΗ ΕΕΙ
20 ΨΟΟΠ ΝΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΠ[ΘΗΡΗ] ΕΕΙΣΑΤΡΕ Α
ΣΟΥΝ ΑΝΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΑΤΣ[ΟΥΝΨ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΤ
ΤΕΣΟΨ ΑΕΙΟΥΝΣΤ[Ε]ΒΟΛ ΑΝΟΚ ΝΗ[ΡΑΙ]
2Ν ΝΕΝΣΑΓΣΟΥΝΣΤ ΣΗΡΟΥ ΣΕ ΑΝΟΚ Ν
24 ΓΑΡ ΠΕΤΣΑΤΡΕ ΝΜ ΟΥΝ ΝΗΜ ΝΗΡΑI ΢Η ΠΗΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΤΣΗΠ ΑΥΩ ΝΗ ΟΥ<ΣΡΟΟΥ ΕΠ'
26 ΧΟΣΕ ΑΥΩ ΟΓΣΡΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΙΤΟΩΤ[Σ] Ν
ΠΗΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΑΤΝΑΓ ΕΡΟΨ ΑΥΩ ΟΓΑΤΩΣΙΑ
ΠΕ ΕΨΟΟΠ[Σ] ΢Η ΠΙΑΤΩΣΙΑ ΟΥΜΥΣΤΗ
ΡΙΟΝ ΠΕ ΟΥ[ΑΤΕΜΑΣΤΗΣ]ΤΕ ΝΗΜΟΥ ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ
30 ΣΙΤΟΩΤ[Σ ΝΠΙΑΤΤΕΙ]ΟΨ ΟΥΑΤΝΑΓ Ε
ΡΟΥ ΠΕ ΝΝΑΙ ΣΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΟ]ΟΥΝΣ ΕΒΟΛ[Σ
32 ΣΗ ΠΗΡΗΡ[Ο]ΟΥΕΙΝ ΠΕ ΕΙ[ΛΨ]ΟΟΠ ΣΗ
ΟΥΟΙΕΙΝ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ[Σ] ΣΗ ΝΩΝ ΕΤΑΒΩΛ[Λ]
34 ΟΥΑΤΝΗ ΕΒΟΛ[Λ ΣΗ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΕΤΟΥ]ΟΥΝΣ
ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝΝΟΥΣΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΗ[Ν ΝΗΜΠΡΗΝ]
36 ΣΗΣΤ ΕΤΣΗΠ[ΕΒΟΛ ΣΙΤΟΩΤ[Ν ΝΠΡΟΟΥ]
And [it is] the [hidden Voice] that [dwells within] me, [within the] incomprehensible immeasurable [Thought, within the] immeasurable Silence.

I [descended to the] midst of the underworld and I shone [down upon the] darkness. It is I who poured forth the [water]. It is I who am hidden within [radiant] waters. I am the one who gradually (κατὰ μέρος) put forth the All by my Thought. It is I who am laden with the Voice. It is through me that Gnosis comes forth. [I] dwell in the ineffable and unknowable ones.

I am perception (αἰσθησίας) and knowledge, uttering a Voice by means of thought. [I] am the real Voice. I cry out in everyone, and they recognize it (i.e., the voice), since a seed (σπέρμα) indwells [them]. I am the Thought of the Father and through me proceeded [the] Voice, that is, the knowledge of the everlasting things. Since I exist as Thought for the [All]—being joined to the unknowable and incomprehensible Thought—

I revealed myself—yes, I—among all those who recognized me. For (γάρ) it is I who am joined with everyone by virtue of the hidden Thought and an exalted <Voice>,

even a Voice from the invisible Thought. And it is immeasurable, since it dwells in the Immeasurable One. It is a mystery (μυστήριον);

it is [unrestrainable]

by [the Incomprehensible One]. It is invisible [to all those who are] visible in the All. [It is a Light] dwelling in Light. It is we [also who] alone [have separated]

[from the] visible [world (κόσμος)]

since we [are saved by the]

hidden [wisdom by means of the]
37*

ηατωάξε ἢμοιον ὀξαὶ τυτν' αγω πετὶ

2 μα ηνητι εττηπ ητ ἦμφορος ηνεκκαρ

4 πος ατοοτ' ημιμοουν ηπων2 τοτε δε

6 πηρε ετακην εβολ θν 2ωβ ημ ετε παι

8 πε πλοοος εταξωσε εβολ θητι πι

10 ημο ιατεμοζ κδηζεμενευε ημο

12 πος ηνηνηπ' απογονοΐν εβοιν αγω

14 πος εταξωοτ' θην ουμντκαρως ηπη πηορτ'

16 ημεευε αυταιε ωειω ναγ αγω πετωο

18 ου αγνα[ν] ηνουουεη ηατοναζμον αυτσεβο

20 ου ανενταξωσε ηηρουν ηνηρε

22 μονη πιουτ' ημαιαρ πηρε ουμεν εε

24 ημοο πην ουμεσαςιν ονητεε ημαι ν

26 ουμτε ημιμτζουοτ' αγω ηομοη ηναι

28 ειρνεη επαμετ' [λλλλλλλλλλ]εγο ηπμητου κο

30 ημπατωαξε ημιοκ ηπτον ογατητ' εταξωο

32 ἱπεοου [ντε πηνα να]τημαε νερον θην

34 ου[ατητ'] θην ουμεοον ην]ανες εζραι ε

36 [οη ναιουν γραι γην ηπμοου] ετον2 ετε παι

VACAT
ineffable, immeasurable [Voice]. And he who is
hidden within us pays the tributes (φόρος) of his fruit (καρπός)
to the Water of Life. Then (τότε)
the Son who is perfect in every respect—that is,
the Word (λόγος) who originated through that
Voice; who proceeded from the height; who
has within him the Name; who is
a Light—he (i.e., the Son) revealed the everlasting things and
all the unknowables were known.
And those things difficult to interpret (ἐρμηνεύειν)
and secret, he revealed, and
as for those who dwell in Silence with the First
Thought, he preached to them. And
he revealed himself to those who dwell in darkness, and
he showed himself to those who dwell in the abyss,
and to those who dwell in the hidden treasuries he told
ineffable mysteries (μυστήρια),
and he taught unrepeatable doctrines
to all those who became Sons of
the Light. Now (δέ) the Voice that originated
from my Thought exists as three
Permanences (μονή): the Father, the Mother, the Son. Existing
perceptibly (αἰσθησία) as Speech, it (i.e., Voice) has
within it a Word (λόγος) endowed with
every <glory>, and it has
three masculinities, three powers (δύναμις)
and three names. They exist in the
manner of Three [□□□]—which are quadrangles—
secretly within a silence
of the Ineffable One. [It is he] alone who came to be,
that [is, the Christ. And] as for me, I anointed him
as the glory [of the] Invisible [Spirit (πνεῦμα)] with
[goodness (χρηστός)]. Now [the Three] I established
[alone in] eternal [glory] over
[the Aeons in the] Living [Water], that
[is, the glory that surrounds him]  

VACAT
NAG HAMMADI CODEX XIII,

38*

πατ' ἐντ(α)γ[φωρτ' ήππρει ἁπογείν

2 ἄναισιν ἐταξισε ἀγω ἑραὶ γίν ὁγείν

νεοσο γίν ογσα[ρ]ο εἰμιν' ἐβολ ἀγω α[γ]

4 ορε ἐρατῇ γίν πηγεοείν ἄμιν ἁμο[γ]

πατ ἐτκωτε ἐρο ἐτε πατ πε πολτ' ἄιν[ογ]

6 ὀειν ἐτρογοείν ἐροει ἑραὶ γίν ὁγεο[γ]

ἀτ' ἄιων ἠπιστ' ἄι<ν>ἀιων τηρο ἐτε [λ]

8 ὅκ ἐπ πμεεγε ἠπιστ' ἠπρωτεν

νοια ἐτε πατ πε βασβναω νεοσο ετα[ικ]

10 ἐβολ ἀγω πατ' ναγ ἐρο ἐριν' ἄιωι[τ]

ἀνοκ ἐπ ηικων ἠπινα νατ' ναγ ἐρο[γ]

12 ἀγω ἄιατηγρ' ξι ηικων ἐβολ γίτοοτ

ἀγω τμαγ νηγεοείν πατ ἐντακααι

14 ἐροει: ἠμαθενος τα ἐτογμοντ[ε]

ἐρο ἐν μειροθεα τοτε ἄτα ὀθοο πηρ[ο]

16 ου ἄτα ἐμαγετε ἁμογ' ἀγω ἄταωι[τ] τοτε

πτελειοσ νηγερ ἁπογονσγ' ἐβολ ἁνεπ

18 ἄιων πατ ἐνταγψωτε ἐβολ γίτοοτ'

ἀπογονσγ ἐβολ ἂτ' ναγ ἁπογεοογ ἀγω

20 ἂτ' ναγ ἄενερονος ἀγω ἐρατῇ 'ζ' ἁ

νεοογ πατ ἐταοτ' ἐσον ναγ' ἑραὶ ἄνῃτ'

22 ἄσμογ ἀπτελιοσ νηγερ πεξε πηνοτε

πατ ἐνταγψωτε ὀγατη' ἁγω ἂτ' ἐσον

24 ἐγαω ἁμος ἐν ὑοον ὑοον ψην

ῥ ἠμπογητε νηγερ ἠμπογητε ἄτογ πε[τ]

26 ψοοπ' παϊων ἄτε παϊων εφατη' ἀνα[η]

ἐν απ αι ἐνταμσποογ ἐξη ἄτογ ἁγαρ α[γ]

28 ἄηο γίν πεκογψω σγατι ἐτε πατ τ[ν]

† ἐσον νακ' ἄα απ ἄπ ἄπ ἄα εἐ ἄε ἄο ἄι π[αι]

30 ὅν ἄτε πα[ϊων π]αϊων ἄταηταεικ τοτε

ἄτογ πνο[γε]τε ἐνταγχπογ ατ' ναγ ἃ

32 ὄγομ ἄα[ων ετρεγασ]γρ ἐρο ἐβολ ἁγω α[γ]

τεσο ἁμο[ογο γίν ογμα π]γ[ο]ρ πρα μεν' ἃ

34 ἄιων ατετογ[αγ' εςραι εχι πνο]π' ἀρμη

ἀων νοςχα[νιων ἀρμοζηα πναις]καναγ

36 ατετογρ' εςραι εχι πναις καναγ ἁιων]
who first came forth to the Light
of those exalted Aeons, and it is in glorious
Light that he firmly perseveres. And [he]
stood in his own Light
that surrounds him, that is, the Eye of the Light
that gloriously shines on me.
He perpetuated the Father of all <the> Aeons, who am I,
the Thought of the Father, Protennoia,
that is, Barbelo, the [perfect] Glory
and the [immeasurable] Invisible One who is hidden.
I am the Image (eikôn) of the Invisible Spirit (pnevuma)
and it is through me that the All took shape (eikôn),
and (I am) the Mother (as well as) the Light which she
appointed
as Virgin (parthénos), she who is called
Meirothea, the incomprehensible Womb, the
unrestrainable and immeasurable Voice. Then (tòte)
the Perfect (télēios) Son revealed himself to his
Aeons who originated through him,
and he revealed them and glorified them and
gave them thrones (thronos) and stood in
the glory with which he glorified himself.
They blessed the Perfect (télēios) Son, the Christ, the
only-begotten God. And they gave glory
saying: "He is! He is! The Son
of God! The Son of God! It is he who
is! The Aeon of Aeons beholding the
Aeons which he begot! For (γάρ) thou hast
begotten by thine own desire! Therefore [we]
glorify thee: MA MÔ Ô Ô EIA EI ON EI! The [Aeon]
of [Aeons! The] Aeon which he gave!" Then (tòte),
moreover, the [God who was begotten] gave them (i.e., the
Aeons)
a power of [life on which they might rely] and [he]
established [them. The] first (+ μέν)
Aeon, he established [over the first]: Armledon,
Nousa[nios, Armazel; the] second
he established [over the second Aeon]:
39*

Φιλοσοφόν λαίδε, τοίχον ὁριζάντια πηγᾶς ὑμῶν,

2 εἰρήνευτον πηγᾶς ὑμῶν ἑλκεῖν 

Νέα: ἀλώιον ἀγγείωσι πηγητούον εἰς

4 παῖς πηγητούον μούσαν ὁμοίων ἀμή 

Εἴη 'νάλανθε ν' αίσω δὴ ἐνταγχόον

6 ἐβολά διοτοδῇ ὑπονοῦτε ἡταγχόον πε 

ὑπὲρ ναί δε ἄγγ' ἀγγ' ἱσθαι ὑποδο 

οὐ δώον ἀναίσω ἀγγ' ὑποδο ἐβολά εὔχο 

πογομειεῖε ἀγγ' πογομέε πογομέ

8 πογομέ εὐτ' ἤςτενδα ἴσοον ἡπαθοῦν ἀγγ' 

μνὴν ἀπὸ ἄνεμον ἄνον ἀπὸν οὐ γε 

[++] ἀγγομὸν τῆρον μὴν ἀποροῆ ἀποροῦ 

οἰκεῖον ὑποτοῦον ὑταγχόον τοτε ἀγ 

12 εἰ ἐβολά νῦν ὁγοροῦ εὔχο 2ῃ πνοὶ ὑ 

ὁγορεῖν ἁλασθὲ ἄγγ' παξεῖ τε ἀνοκ' 

πε πῆρο νὶμ πε παπχαὸς ἄγγ' νὶμ πε 

παξεῖν ἄγγ' ἄτογον ϊτῆμασι ἀπο 

οἰκεῖον ὁγοροῦ ἐβολά εἰ 

18 νῆμα[ν] τετίκοια ἵπογος ἵππα 

νῆμα[ν] τετίκοιον ἵππος ὑμὲν 

νῆμα[ν] πνοὰς ἐβολά νῦν ἄτογον 

16 ἁπαξεῖ τε ἁπάχος ἀγγ' ἁπάχος 

οἰκεῖον ὁγοροῦ ἐβολά νῦν ὑπὸ 

14 ὁν ταὶ ἑπαρχεῖ αὐξά πναμπίν νὲ 

μῆτε μὴν πχαὸς ἐμθεῖΝ μορφὴν ὕ 

22 μαγγ ώνεὶ <ἐν> ον οι <κα> ἓ <ν> 

ταγχόον 2ῃ πκακε παϊ δε εμθεῖν ε 

24 μαγγ ώνεὶ <κα> ἓ <ν> ἐβολά <κα> <κα> ε 

ταγχόον 2ῃ πκακε παϊ δε εμθεῖν ε 

26 ἁβάε [τα] οι <κα> ἓ <ν> 2ῃ ἐπαρχεῖ <κα> 

ταγχόον 2ῃ πκακε παϊ δε εμθεῖν ε 

28 ἁβάε [τά] <κα> <κα> ἓ <ν> 2ῃ ἐπαρχεῖ <κα> 

ταγχόον 2ῃ πκακε παϊ δε εμθεῖν ε 

30 <κα> <κα> ἓ <ν> 2ῃ πκακε παϊ δε εμθεῖν ε
Phaionios, Ainios, Oroiel; the third
over the third Aeon: Mellephaneus,
Loios, Daveithai; the fourth
over the fourth: Mousanios, Amethes,
Eleleth. Now those Aeons were begotten
by the God who was begotten—the
Christ—and (δέ) these Aeons received
as well as gave glory. They were the first to appear,
exalted in their thought, and each
Aeon gave myriads of glories within
great untraceable lights and
they all together blessed the Perfect (τέλειος)
Son, the God who was begotten. Then (τότε) there
came forth a word (λόγος) from the great
Light Eleleth and said: “I
am King! Who belongs to Chaos (χάος) and who
belongs to the underworld?” And at that instant his Light
appeared radiant, endowed
with the Epinoia. The Powers of the Powers
did not entreat him and likewise immediately
there appeared the great Demon (δαμασκέων)
who rules (ἀρχεῖον) over the lowest part of the underworld
and Chaos (χάος). He has neither form (μορφή)
nor (οὐδέ) perfection, but on the contrary (ἀλλὰ) possesses
the form (μορφή) of the glory of those
begotten in the darkness. Now he is called
“Saklas,” that is, “Samael,” “Yaltabaoth,”
he who had taken power; who had snatched
it away from the innocent one (i.e., Sophia); who had earlier
overpowered
her who is the Light’s Epinoia (i.e., Sophia)
who had descended, her from whom he (i.e., Yaltabaoth) had
come forth
originally. Now [when] the Epinoia of the [Light] realized
that [he (i.e., Yaltabaoth)] had begged him (i.e., the Light),
for another [order (τάγις), even though he was lower] than she,
she said:
“Grant [me another order (τάγις) so that] you may become for
me
[a dwelling place, lest I dwell] in disorder (ἀραξία)
[forever].” And the order (τάγις) of the] entire house of
40*

πεος[γνε]οτ[θ]εραί εξήνες

2 ομηλειάς ηνούς κομπου εγόμην

ερούς αγάρ ατ' ταζίς ετροσει κω η

4 μη σαζ ομοία εμόλ αγάρ αγάρ 

αναματάτο ηναϊων ετροόμην 

6 αιώνη ηνπομάτα ηναιαίων ετροόμην 

ατροσειον δε ηνμαγ εμόλ ην ηνπομί 

8 ογόατη τοτε ανοκ' άνωτ' αειούωνς 

εμόλ ηναματά ην ογόατην' εειν 

10 αγάρ ημοία δε άνω ηντή δε άνω 

ναει ιερόν στρομάν ηνπομί δε εις σιλ 

12 τε ανοκ' αειινήνες επαραί εποκομο[ε] 

ηνρεομήν ευπε παμερόσ ετη 

14 ημα ετημαν ήν[ή] ημποου ηταγ 

αξο απόφωνα ηνποματάοον ταει η 

16 ταει' απιτή δεκαάο εειαξώω 

ρε εμόλ ηνταγαν τα[πι]ει ετημαν' 

18 σάγνε ημοία ηνίο παει ετούσκη 

ημοία' εμόλ αμοία 2ιτςότε αγάρ αγώτωρ 

20 από τηρου ηνίο ογον πιμ ετροόμη 

ηντη ήμποιοείνε νατεούων 

22 αγή αμοείνε ηνίο ημπον 

αμω παρχίγενηντωρ ηνμηνατεοουν 

24 ακόμπο αχήν πχαος μη εμίτε αγ 

τσανό ντορωμεη ημπαμοτ' ηπή 

26 ημέ δε δε πετήμαν ναυνπη 

ηαμ ηνποκόμη άνωλ εμόλ ογάδε 

28 ημποουνε αυ ηνταίμ εμάρατ η 

2ητή δενού δε ανοκ αηει απιτή 

30 αμω αίμπως εμάρατ απχαος αγω 

νεπειωοον [ματ]η δετε δνωει 

32 τημπα [ετ]ημαν έε[ε]μη πρατ η 

ηντου εει' δομ η[ν]αμ αγω έειηη 

34 δαμ ηικων αγαρ άην ηνπορή ηνκο]η' ωα 

36 ημέτε δνη [νε ηνάογοντ' εμόλ έ] 

ηαει ηταγαίω[τη ηεαμυετήπιο]
glory [was agreed] upon her word. A blessing was brought for her and the higher order (τάξις) released it to her. And the great Demon (δαίμον) began (ἀρχεσθαι) to produce aeons in the likeness of the real Aeons, except that (δὲ) he produced them out of his own power.

Then (τότε) I too revealed my Voice secretly,
saying: "Cease! Desist! (you) who tread on (παρεῖν) matter (Ελη); for behold I am coming down to the world (κόσμος) of mortals for the sake of my portion (μέρος) that was in that place from the time when the innocent Sophia was conquered, she who descended, so that I might thwart their aim which the one revealed by her appoints."

And all were disturbed,
each one who dwells in the house of the ignorant light, and the abyss trembled. And the Archigenetor of ignorance reigned over Chaos (Χάος) and the underworld, and produced a man in my likeness. But (δὲ) he neither knew that that one would become for him a sentence (κρίμα) of dissolution nor (οὐδὲ) does he recognize the power in him. But (δὲ) now I have come down and reached down to Chaos (Χάος). And I was [with] my own who were in that place. [I am hidden] within them, empowering [them and] giving them shape (εἰκών). And [from the first day] until the day [when I will grant mighty power] to those who [are mine, I will reveal myself to] those who have [heard my mysteries (μυστηριον)],
41*

ἐτε ναὶ ὃν ὄνω[ηρ]πε ἡ[π]ογοεὶν ἀνοκ

πε πογειὼτ' ἄγω ἐναὼ ἀγων ἀγων

μυστὴριον ἁτωάξε ἁμοξ ἄγω ἄγω

τεγο ἐβολ 2ην ταπρο [η]μ ἀναγὺς τη

ρογ αἰείωλ' ἁμοξ ἐβολ ἀγων ἀγων

obuf ἁναωμων ἁμεῖτε ἀεἰσολπογ

ναὶ ἐτμηρ ἁναμελος εὔτ' αἰητογ αγ

ω μικατ' ἐτχοε ἄτε πκακε ἀειφ', ἁρφογ απιτν' ἄγω ἁπγλην ετορξ ἄτε

νιαηναε ἀεἰσάωφογ ἄγω ἅμεοξλος ἀεἰσορβογ ἄγω τενερην ἐτζοογ μη

πετζογε αρωτν μη πετζωυτ μμω

τη ἄγω πτυραννος μη παντικεμε

νοσ μη πετν ἁπρο ἄγω παξαξε ετωο

οπ' ναὶ βε τηρον αειτεβοογ ἀνετε

νωὶ νε ἐτε ναε νε ἁγυρε ἁμογοειν

ἀεκαας εγναβὼλ ἐβολ ἁναι τηρογ

ἄγω <ν>σενογη ἐβολ 2ην ἀναγὺς τηρογ

ννεει εὐογν ἀπμα ετε ναγιμαγ ἄν

ὡροπ' ἀνοκ πε πνωρπ ἁταειε απιτν' ἐτε ναμερος ετςοξπ' ετε ναϊ πε

ππνε ετπωοπ' 2ην τρ'γων ἁταψων

πε ἐβολ 2ην ἁμοογ ἁπωνγ ἄγω ἐβολ

2ην παξωκην ἁμυστηριον ἁειώξε

ἀνοκ μη ἁαρχων ἄγω γενεζογκια

ἀειβωκ γαρ ερπαί επσα ἁπιτν' ἁμογ

λας ἄγω ἁειξων ἁναμυστηριον ανε

τε νωὶ ὁμυστηριον ἐξηνὴ ἁγβωλ

ἐβολ ἁναγυς μη τῆςῃ ἡ[α]ν[α]νεξ

ἀγω ἁειτ' κάρπος γραϊν ἁνητογ ετε ναϊ

πε πνεεγε ἁπαιψ[ης] ἁντσίβε ἄγω

παν' μη πο[γε]ιετ' ἄγω ἀνοκ αειβωκ

ερπο [η][να]ν ετε νωὶ δην ἁνωρπ ἄγω

ἀειτε[ζοογ αειςεν μ]ωρπ ἁμουν

ۀ[نال]γα[ν]ν ἁς[αλ]ν τοτ'ε ἁγφογοιν

Νωὶ ὀγον ηνην ἁ[νετηςραϊ]ν ἁγιτ' ἄγω
that is, the [Sons] of [the] Light. I
am their Father and I shall tell you a
mystery (μυστήριον), ineffable and undivulgeable
by [any] mouth: Every bond
I loosed from you, and the
chains of the Demons (δαίμων) of the underworld, I broke,
these things which are bound on my members (μέλος),
restraining them. And
the high walls of darkness, I overthrew,
and the secure gates (πυλή) of
those pitiless ones, I broke, and I smashed
their bars (μοχλός). And the evil Force (ἐνέργεια) and
the one who beats you, and the one who hinders
you, and the Tyrant (τύραννος), and the Adversary
(ἀντικείμενος),
and the one who is King, and the present Enemy,
indeed all these I explained to those
who are mine, who are the Sons of the Light,
in order that they might nullify them all
and be saved from all those bonds
and enter into the place where they were at
first. I am the first one who descended
on account of my portion (μέρος) which remains, that is,
the Spirit (πνεῦμα) that (now) dwells in the soul (ψυχή), (but)
which originated
from the Water of Life and out
of the immersion of the mysteries (μυστήριον), and I spoke,
I together with the Archons and Authorities (ἐξουσία).
For (γάρ) I had gone down below their
language and I spoke my mysteries (μυστήριον) to
my own—a hidden mystery (μυστήριον)—and
the bonds and eternal oblivion were nullified.
And I bore fruit (καρπός) in them, that
is, the Thought of the unchanging Aeon
proper to me, even their [Father]. And I went
down [to those who were mine] from the first and
I [reached them and broke the] first strands
that [enslaved them. Then (τότε)]
everyone [of those] within me shone, and
αἰεικώτε ἰοὺς [ἐμὼν] ἰννίκαιονεὶς εὗτος

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42*  

[...]
TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA 42*,1–33

42*
I prepared \textit{[a shape]} for those ineffable Lights that are within me. Amen.

The Discourse (λόγος) of Protennoia: \textit{[One (a')]}

I am the Voice that appeared through my Thought, for (γάρ) I am “He who is syzygetic,” since I am called “The Thought of the Invisible One.” Since I am called “The unchanging Speech,” I am called “She who is syzygetic.” I am a single one (fem.) since I am undefiled. I am the Mother [of] the Voice, speaking in many ways, completing the All. It is in me that knowledge dwells, the knowledge of <things> everlasting. It is I [who] speak within every creature and I was known by the All. It is I who lift up the Speech of the Voice to the ears of those who have known me, that is, the Sons of the Light. Now (δὲ) I have come the second time in the likeness of a female and have spoken with them. And I shall tell them of the coming end of the aeon and teach them of the beginning (ἀρχή) of the Aeon to come, the one without change, the one in which our appearance will be changed. We shall be purified within those Aeons from which I revealed myself in the Thought of the likeness of my masculinity. I settled among those who are worthy in the Thought of my changeless Aeon. For (γάρ) I shall tell you a mystery (μυστήριον) [of] this particular Aeon and tell you about the forces (ἐνέργεια) that are in it.

The birth beckons: [hour] begets hour, [day begets day]. The months made known the [month. Time] has [gone round] succeeding [time]. This particular Aeon
[43*]

[ন]তাঙ্কন যবল মন[ন]রহে[ত[ে] অয অযোল আ]

১ যে সবকি সুন্ধে গর পেতােক যবল নোয নীযে অয অযুয়ে নত[ন]বষ[ল] যবল জিও নীযম়ে নতরোয়ীমে বে [নিবি মন]নল নেযুয চি জে অপােয়ী নিপাক যবল অয়নয় ই

৫ যবল যেপ্রতে নতনেকে নে[র]তমীলে আয় গি নীযযু প্রো তাই তে স্তে অযূযনায এযো

৭ নিবি প্রেকো আয়নায় তিরোয ২১ অয়গোল নিবি ন ন তেরিযশন আয নেন্টে নেমেতে মন নি

১০ লই নিপাকেক আয়নি আনোল নেন্টে পর্তী 

[২০] নিদু তাযিযনে অয নিপত্রা মন পিও আয

১২ কিম হয় নিপ্রতে নযুকায একি জিও প্তি জু

১৪ নিনকোল আয়টোটর্প নিপা এয়াল আয়

১৬ নয়নিম আয়টোটর্প এয়নযুনে অয পনো

প্রো অয় ২০তে অয অযুযপ্তও নিও তিমার চ

১৮ মনে আয় নেতুিন্টে নকট নমোইট আয

১২ নাঙ্কয় নয়নিম জে অয পে পিওতর

২০ তপম মন পিকম নতামে এয়াল এখন এবল জি

২২ আয আয়নি নিবি নিন তিরো আয প্রি তিরো

২৪ আয লেকো অয ন্যোসে এয়াল আমেটে আয

২৬ তর নিপাক্সপো আলো এযমন্টল নাল

২৮ তটে অয়েযযব নিবি নয়নিম একিও

৩০ লাল তাযনা মারন এয়াল পারিণে

৩২ নিয়নিম এবশক এয়াল পার্ফিয়ে

৩৪ যে নয়নিম আয়নিউয এলোয়ো তিরো ন

৩৬ পে পনোয[ত]ে আয অনোল পে নেতনেইটল
was completed in [this] fashion, and it was estimated, and it (was) short, for (γάρ) it was a finger that released a finger and a joint that was separated from a joint. Then when [the] great Authorities (ἐξουσία) knew that the time of fulfillment had appeared—just as in the pangs of the parturient it (i.e., the time) had drawn near, so also had the destruction approached—all together the elements (στοιχεῖον) trembled, and the foundations of the underworld and the ceilings of Chaos (χάος) shook and a great fire shone within their midst, and the rocks (πέτρα) and the earth were shaken like a reed shaken by the wind. And the lots (κλῆρος) of Fate (εἰμαρμένη) and those who apportion the domiciles (οἶκος) were greatly disturbed over a great thunder. And the thrones (θρόνος) of the Powers (δύναμις) were disturbed since they were overturned, and their King was afraid. And those who pursue Fate (εἰμαρμένη) paid their allotment of visits to the path, and they said to the Powers (δύναμις): “What is this disturbance and this shaking that has come upon us through a Voice <belonging> to the exalted Speech? And our entire habitation has been shaken, and the entire circuit of our path of ascent has met with destruction, and the path upon which we go, which takes us up to the Archigenetor of our birth, has ceased to be established for us.” Then the Powers (δύναμις) answered, saying: “We too are at a loss (ἀπορεῖν) about it since we did not know what was responsible for it. But (ἀλλά) arise, let us go up to the Archigenetor and ask him.” And the Powers (δύναμις) all gathered and went up to the Archigenetor. [They said to] him: “Where is your boasting in which [you boast]? Did we not [hear you say]: ‘I am God [and I am] your Father
and it is I who [begot] you and there is no [other]
beside me'? Now behold, there has appeared
[a] Voice belonging to that invisible Speech
of [the Aeon] (and) which we know not. And
we ourselves did not recognize to whom we
belong, for (γάρ) that Voice which we listened to
is foreign to us, and we do not recognize
it; we did not know whence it was. It came
and put fear in our midst and weakening
in the members (μέλος) of our arms. So now let
us weep and mourn most bitterly!
As for the future (τοῦλοιτοῦν), let us make our entire flight
before we are imprisoned perforce (βία) and
taken down to the bosom of the underworld. For (γάρ) already
(ἡδη)
the slackening of our bondage has approached,
and the times (χρόνος) are cut short and the days have shortened
and our time has been fulfilled, and the weeping
of our destruction has approached us so that
we may be taken to the place we do not recognize.
For (γάρ) as for our tree from which we grew, a fruit (καρπός)
of ignorance is what it has; and
also its leaves, it is death that dwells in them,
and darkness dwells under the shadow of its
boughs. And it was in deceit (ἀπάτη)
and lust (ἐπιθυμία) that we harvested it, this (i.e., tree) through
which ignorant Chaos (χaos) became for us a dwelling place.
For (γάρ) behold, even he, the Archigenetor
of our birth, about whom we boast,
even he did not know this Speech.” So now,
O Sons of the Thought, listen to me, to the Speech
of the Mother of your mercy, for (γάρ) you have
become worthy of the mystery (μυστήριον) hidden from (the
beginning of)
the Aeons, so that [you might receive] it. And the consummation
(συντέλεια)
of this [particular] Aeon [and] (of) the evil life
[has approached and there dawns]
45*

[61 ta]pXH 'M' [aXn etnaowpe] e nai ete M[O]

[2]t]e[q] n'may n[ouwibe wa ene]2 anok' oyg[0]

[0]ytcime anok oymaay anol' oyeiw' ee[i]

[0uwpe] n'mai oyaat ee[0uwpe] n'mai oyg[a]

[at M netu]ei eimic uqualo quis e (t)

[2e epatq' evol zitoot o[ya]at anok pe tate

(e]tikw)n uqthry' eimic uqualo quis e(t)

[pprie z]n' [ogy]eooq anok pe naeewn etm[hy]

[anok pe] n'wok evol uqthry' ete ta' te he[i]

[ppet]ea nnooq uqthay euinoxye uqycmh

[pp]ooq evrau ammaaax uqualoqyne qmc

[ei qw] ttwm' eimothi aqouy uqualoetn[0]

efocoe etaxik' evol nai et etetnuqan'1

[eqouy epyq tettnaxi epyq uqtootq uqne[t]

[py] epyq qw cennq fntq epenuq qnc qnet

[py] epenuq tettnaxi styay nnth uqtoot
toq qnet qy styay styay cennbaantize [f]

[qwthi qnc ibaptixthc uqetnuqyope ni

epyq mnh uqecooq nai epeenuqyope

[qraq nqhtq'] uqquer etetuqen uqyc<n0>ein[e]

[qw aaxqnt'] qraq qn ouq oiu aaxqon[2t]

[evol qraq nqhtoy qw aaxqntenymxet e[0]

[ei qnc meexet uim euqine uqcewet he anq[k]

[pentaq'] yikw qumthry qemsteg mop[r]

[ph nmay pe qw aaxqine uqneymorfq

[2n zemorfq wa poueux etouaq]

[moqun uqthry evol zitoot uqtap2[p0]

[ou ywoue qw anok pentaikw uqnp[n]

[qe qraq qn nete nwi aqw pppn etoua

[aq wa eneg euinoxy epraq epyq uqwyn

[aaxqwert' atpe euqine euqouy uqualoetn[0]

[ne aq[ibwq] e[p]raq qn pakaadoc aq

[3mec[t'] nmay qraq qn qwhre uqualoetn[0]

[etoua qaab aqqapanaxwprq de uqualo uqy[w]
45*

[the] beginning (ἀρχή) of the [Aeon to come] which [has]
[no change forever]. I am androgynous.

[I am Mother (and) I am] Father since [I]

copulate] with myself. I [copulate] with myself
[and with those who love] me, [and]

it is through me alone that the All [stands firm]. I am the Womb
[that gives shape (ἐκκόμη)] to the All by giving birth to the Light

that

[shines in] splendor. I am the Aeon to [come].
[I am] the fulfillment of the All, that is, Ἐλἰοθ, the glory of the Mother. I cast [voiced] Speech
into the ears of those who know

me. And I am inviting you into the exalted, perfect Light.
Moreover (as for) this (Light), when you enter

it you will be glorified by those [who]
give glory, and those who enthrone (-θρόνος) will

enthrone (-θρόνος) you. You will accept robes (στολή) from
those who give robes (στολή) and the Baptists (βαπτιστής)

will baptize (βαπτίζεω) you and you will become

gloriously glorious, the way you first were

when you were <Light>.
And I hid myself in everyone and revealed [myself]

within them, and every mind seeking
me longed for (ἐπιθυμεῖ) me, for it is I

who gave shape (ἐκκόμη) to the All when it had no form (μορφή).
And I transformed their forms (μορφή)

into (other) forms (μορφή) until the time when a form (μορφή)
will be given to the All. It is through me that the Voice

originated and it is I who put the breath
within my own. And I cast into

them the eternally holy Spirit (πνεῦμα) and
I ascended and entered my Light.

[I went up] upon my branch (κλάδος) and
sat [there among the] Sons of the [holy] Light.

And (δὲ) [I withdrew (ἀναχωρεῖ) to their dwelling place
pe naï e[t

[46*

2 [.].e Ἅπ[ 20± 12± 2am]HN

[ 8± ]——[ 6± ]——[ 4

anok pe π[λογ]ος ετ'ωος[π 2ν πνροογ]

6 ἡατ' ωαξε εροq' εειωο[ο]π 2ν [ογεινε] ἡαταξωμε αγw ογμεεγε αυβ[ολ]ην' εβολ]

8 2υ ογαίος[ης εβολ χιοοτς η[ν]ονδ 2] κυνη υηε τμααγ εγαπο νροογτ φι[2 ραοι]

10 ἡκαατ εςραι αγw εαυοον' 2ν ἡνον[ρπ]

12 ωοον ευςηπ εςραι 2ν ειςη αυβ[ωρ]π[ηε] εβολ ντος αε ογαατε εαυοον ηκαρβη

14 anok pe πλογος ογαατ' ἡαταξε ημο[η]

16 ογεινε ευςηπ pe εψη[ν]ογκαρπος 2 wνς εβεεβε ογμοου ρυςς εβολ

18 2υ τιηγη ἡατ'ναγ εροc ἡαταξωμε

20 2μααυ ηνογαξμερ' πεουο ηπαξο

22 ωοον ογμαλθ εροq' απτηρη εκο ηνανυ

24 αςμες ογοειν ηατ'ωιτη' τιηγη ηπτη[πη]

26 εςραι 2α κινης[ε]ιον κν ης ηαιων 2η[τ]

28 cic αε πιιε pe ην[ηθαμ πβαλ pe η]

30 εβολ χιοοτς ηνομεεγε αγw ογλο
goc pe εβολ χιοοτς ην[σμη ηταγη]

32 ονυq' δ[ρ]ογειν ανεταοον 2μ πκ[α] [κ]ε eic 2ηητε δε α[νο]κ ρη[ναο]κως

34 ηντη εβολ η[ναμυσθρ]ην ηε η

36 ηνου τηρ[ο]γ
which [  
become glorious Amen].

[On Fate (εἰμαρμένη): Two (β')]  

I am the [Word (λόγος)] who dwells [in the] ineffable [Voice].

I dwell in undefiled [Light]  
and a Thought [revealed itself]

perceptibly (-αἰσθητος) through [the great]  
Speech of the Mother, although it is a male offspring [that supports me]

as my foundation. And it (i.e., the Speech) exists from the beginning

in the foundations of the All. But (δὲ) there is a Light [that]

dwells hidden in Silence (σιγὴ) and it was first to [come] forth. Whereas (δὲ) she (i.e., the Mother) alone exists as Silence,  

I alone am the Word (λόγος), ineffable, unpolluted, immeasurable, inconceivable.  

It (i.e., the Word) is a hidden Light, bearing a Fruit (καρπὸς) of Life, pouring forth a Living Water from the invisible, unpolluted, immeasurable Spring (πηγή), that is, the unreproducible Voice of the glory of the Mother, the glory of the offspring of God; a male Virgin (παρθένος) by virtue of a hidden Intellect (νοῦς), that is, the Silence hidden from the All, being unreproducible,  

an immeasurable Light, the Source (πηγή) of the All, the Root of the entire Aeon. It is the Foundation (βάσις) that supports every movement (κίνησις) of the Aeons that belong to the mighty Glory. It is the Foundation of every foundation (βάσις).

It is the Breath of the Powers. It is the Eye of the three Permanences (μονή), which exist as Voice by virtue of Thought. And it is Word (λόγος) by virtue of Speech; it was sent to illumine those who dwell in the [darkness]. Now behold [I will reveal] to you [my mysteries (μυστήριον)] since you are my fellow [brethren, and you shall] know
47*

(Lines 1–4 lacking)

[ ... ]

6

[namycthr]ion etwooni 2n [naiouw n]
[at'teoooy n]at'xooy aeitce[booy anmy]

8

[cthri]ion eboal zitoootq nπz[pooy et]
[wooni] 2pai 2n oynocy nteleio[c aγw]

10

[aei]oupe nkw egpai nπthpq aγw [aei]
[6]qm nay πmacceip'cnaq aieei 2n t[cmh]

12

ηπαρροοου aeit 2ikwn nπnentayx[i 2]i
kwn wazoum atouynteileia πm[a]2

14

womt' ncooip' aeioyonst' eboal nay [2]n

16

oayonst' eboal 2n πeine nτουγικων aγ
w aeitpfiropi nτουγιωcω nγoyon nιm aγ

18

w aeizopt ouaaf 2pai nπhtoq aγw πm[oy]
couwn pett' bom nai t'woon rap 2pai

20

2n narpnh thpoy mπ naynamic aγw 2pai
2n nargelos aγw 2n kinhcid nιm e[tw]o

22

op' 2n τυγμ thp' aγw aeizoptt' 2pai[i] n
nhtoq wantoynost' eboal nnaçnh[y]

24

aγw nπeλλαqy nπhtoq couwn' kai[toq]
anok' petpenerpei nπhtoq aλ[a ayme]

26

eye xe nταγωμnt nπtpthp eboal n]'n[htoq]
eyo natooyne encecooy an nτ[oy]

28

nougπe πmα nταγρσt' 2pai nπhtq a[nok]
p πouoein eτt' ouoeine nπtpth[qy a]

30

nok πe πouoein eτpaw 2p[ai 2n na]
cnhy aeiets rap eg2pai enpocmoc [nīn]

32

peqmon etbe npn h etcoxη' 2p[a 2n]
nai nτalη[boqk eg2p]al nτaqei eboal [2n] τçq

34

fia n[atpebooy aeiets aγw a1[τ e]2p[a]i
[ ... ]
triformia protennoia

(Lines 1–4 lacking)

[1] I [told all of them about]

[my mysteries (μυστήριον)] that exist in [the]
incomprehensible], inexpressible [Aeons]. I taught [them the
mysteries (μυστήριον)]

through the [Voice that]
exists] within a perfect (τέλειος) Intellect (νοῦς) [and]

[I] became a foundation for the All, and [I]
[empowered] them. The second time I came in the [Speech]
of my Voice. I gave shape (εἶκὼν) to those who [took] shape
(εἶκὼν)
until their consummation (συντέλεσα). The third
time I revealed myself to them [in]
their tents (σκηνῇ) as Word (λόγος) and I

revealed myself in the likeness of their shape (εἶκὼν). And
I wore (φορεῖον) everyone’s garment and

I hid myself within them, and [they] did not
know the one who empowers me. For (γάρ) I dwell within
all the Sovereignties (ἀρχῆς) and Powers (δύναμις) and within
the Angels (ἀγγέλους) and in every Movement (κίνησις) [that]
exists

in all matter (ὕλη). And I hid myself within
them until I revealed myself to my [brethren].

And none of them (i.e., the Powers) knew me, [although
(καίτοι)]
it is I who work (ἐνεργεῖον) in them. Rather (ἄλλα) [they
thought]

that the All was created [by them]
since they are ignorant, not knowing [their]

root, the place in which they grew. [I]
am the Light that illumines the All. I

am the Light that rejoices [in my]
brethren, for (γάρ) I came down to the world (κόσμος) [of]
mortals on account of the Spirit (πνεῦμα) that remains [in]
that which [descended] (and) came forth [from] the
[innocent] Sophia. [I came] and I delivered

[ ] and I [went] to
(Lines 1–4 lacking)

[...]

6 [8±] ἐτε νεγνταα αν [瑙ωρη· αγω]

8 [κωκ ᾦ] μοο [αγν] ἐβολ 2η πνεο [μπωνη παι ετ]

10 [ποι]κε τηρτ' ἐτε παι πε πνεεπε ν [τον]

12 [αι]ταα γιωωτ' αεικακυ αε αγν μοο

14 ἀγν αει τ' μοο οτοοο την τ' στοι

16 [αιμων ελασεω αιναι αγν αγς]

18 ἀγν αειααμ οτοοο την απαντει την

20 [τ]' θρονος βαρινα νογαν καβναι αγ

22 [τ]' θρονος ναρ' εβολ 2η περονος 

24 [ο]' θρονος αγν αειααμ οτοοο την τ' αο [ο]' αριθν 

26 [ναη γραι 2η πεοο νταν τειτειτ' αγ']

28 [...]. αινη καμβλω νηγηπετης νην χανοβ

30 [π]' θρονος νογανι ντε τοντειτ' αγν

32 [νυφοειν νταναα τηρτενναι αγν]

34 πν[ο]' ογανα αγν [αιωπνη νογαε]πε ντε 2η

[...][11±]
TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA 48*, 5–35

(Lines 1–4 lacking)

6 [ ] which he had [formerly and]
[I gave to him] from the Water [of Life, which]
8 [strips] him of the Chaos (χάος) [that is]
[in the] uttermost [darkness] that exists [inside]
10 the entire [abyss], that is, the thought of [the corporeal
(σωματική)]
and the psychic (ψυχική). All these I
12 put on. And (δὲ) I stripped him of it
and I put upon him a shining Light, that
14 is, the knowledge of the Thought of the Fatherhood.
And I delivered him to those who give robes (στολή)—
16 Yammon, Elasso, Amenai—and they [covered]
him with a robe (στολή) from the robes (στολή) of the Light;
18 and I delivered him to the Baptists (βαπτιστής) and they
baptized (βαπτίζων) him—Micheus, Michar, Mn[es][ious]—
20 and (δὲ) they immersed him in the spring (πηγή) of the [Water]
of Life. And I delivered him to those who
22 enthrone (-θρόνος)—Bariel, Nouthan, Sabenai—and
they enthroned (-θρόνος) him from the throne (θρόνος) of glory.
24 And I delivered him to those who glorify—
Ariom, Elen, Phariel—and they glorified
26 him with the glory of the Fatherhood. And
those who snatch away snatched away—Kamaliel
28 [ ] Janen, Sambo, the servants (ὑπηρέτης) of <the> great
holy Luminaries (φωτιστήρ) and they took him into
the light-[place (τόπος)] of his Fatherhood. And
30 [he received] the Five Seals (σφραγίς) from
32 [the Light] of the Mother, Protennoia, and
it was [granted] him [to] partake of [the mystery (μυστήριον)] of
knowledge, and [he became a Light] in
Light. So, now, [
49*

(Lines 1-5 lacking)

6 [7± οειʔωοοπτ ηʔμηʔογ εειςις ηςες]
[μοτ ηπογα βνβα νεγμεεγε ης6ι ηνρχουη]
8 [κε ανοκ] νε πνυξρς ανοκ μεν [εειςις]
[ς6ι ογον] ηνιμ 2παι μεν 2ςι ηνετα[εινον]
10 [ςς' εβολ] ηνογεηε 2παι ηνηηογ [αεις]
[εβολ] ημηρπκου Ανοκ νε πνυμεριτ [ανοκ]
12 [γ]αρ ιςι νμα ετύμαγ αεις γιςμάτ ις[ςες]
πνυηρε ημπαρξηγεξετυρ αγω αεις[ες]
14 μοι εηρπαι ωα θεα ηπεηςαη ετε ης[ι ης]
τμηηηατςογν ηπχαος αγω 2παι ιςι ης
16 αγγελος αειςονςη εβολ ηπογεη[ις]
αγω 2παι ιςι ημηγιμηςις γως κε ανοκ' ογα
18 εβολ ηνηηογ ιςι πνυηρε δε ιμπρυμε γως
κε ανοκ ογγυηρε ηςε πρυμε εειςον
20 ηςειςη: ηνογον ημ αειςονς 2παι ιςι ης
ει ηηρηγο γαντςονςη εβολ ιςι ημειλος
22 ετε νια νε αγω αεηςεβοογ αντωρυη ις
ατηςαξε ημμοογ ιςι ηησηςη ηεν' ατςογο
24 δε νε ααρξη ημ αγω ημηγιμηςις ηςι ις
ιαρχοντικη ειηητι ανσυηρε ηπογοηε[ις]
26 ογαλτογ ετε ναι νε ηττου γηπωτ ιςι [ις]
νενογ εητςοε αεςογ ημ ετε ναι νε [ςς]
28 ε ιςςφραςις εητςικ εβολ ιςι ογοογ νε
τεηγητηη ιςμαγ ιςςης ιςςφραςις ιςε νε
30 ειραν ετε ναι νε αηκαηκυ αςηυ ιςι<ις>ςτο
ις ηςτμηηςατςογν αγω αςςις γιςμας
32 ηνογεηε ηηςπριηωγ αγω μηηλαλαγ
ηαογως εβολ ιςι αηςις αηςηη' ααγιμης[ις]
34 ιςε ημηρπκου 2παι ιςι ιςι ντεηειμενη ις[ις]
βωλ εβ[ολ] ιςι ικακε αγω εηςομογ ιςι
36 τμηηςατςογν ις[ις] ιςεηεηε ιηπκυς[ις]
εητς[ις]ορε εβολ ιςιςις ιςςεμοη ιςςηωτ
38 αγω [ιπχαος ικακε] ιμαβωλ εβολ ιςςις
TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA 49*,6–38

49*

(Lines 1–5 lacking)

[ I was] dwelling in them [in the form]
of each] one. [The Archons] thought

[that I] was their Christ. Indeed (μέν), I [dwell]
in] everyone. Indeed (μέν) within those in whom [I revealed]

[myself ] as Light [I eluded]
the Archons. I am their beloved,

[for (γάρ)] in that place I clothed myself [as]
the Son of the Archigenetor, and I was like

him until the end of his decree, which is
the ignorance of Chaos (χάος). And among the

Angels (ἄγγελος) I revealed myself in their likeness,
and among the Powers (δύναμις) as if (ως) I were one

of them, but (δὲ) among the Sons of Man as if (ως)
I were a Son of Man, even though I am

Father of everyone. I hid myself within them
all until I revealed myself among my members (μέλος),
which are mine, and I taught them about the ineffable ordinances, and (about) the brethren. But (δὲ) they are

inexpressible
to every Sovereignty (ἀρχὴ) and every ruling (ἀρχοντική)
Power (δύναμις) except (εἰ μὴ) to the Sons of the Light
alone, that is, the ordinances of the Father. These are
the glories that are higher than every glory, that is, [the Five]
Seals (σφραγὶς) complete by virtue of Intellect (νοῦς). He
who possesses the Five Seals (σφραγὶς) of these
particular names has stripped off <the> garments (στολὴ) of ignorance and put on

a shining Light. And nothing
will appear to him that belongs to the Powers (δύναμις)
of the Archons. Within those of this sort
darkness will dissolve and [ignorance] will die.

And the thought of the creature
which [is scattered will] present a single appearance
and [dark Chaos (χάος)] will dissolve and
(Lines 1–2 lacking)

50*

\begin{enumerate}
\item \[14^\pm\] \emph{eine a\gamma w n\epsilon}\]
\item \[14^\pm\] \emph{n\alpha't\tau\varepsilon\varphi\omega\iota\upsilon}\]
\item \[11^\pm\] \ldots \[2\pi\alpha\upsilon \zeta n \upsilon \tau]\]
\item \[7^\pm\] \emph{\omega\alpha\tau\nu\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu\upsilon\upsilon\nu\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\omega\omicron\upsilon\nu\upsilon}\]
\item \[\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilon\upsilo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TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA 50.3–24

(Lines 1–2 lacking)
[ ] and the [ ] incomprehensible [ ] within the [ ]
[ ] until I reveal myself [to all my fellow]
[brethren] and until I gather [together]
[ ] all [my fellow] brethren within my [eternal]
[kingdom]. And I proclaimed to them the ineffable [Five]

[Seals (σφραφίς) in order that] [I might] abide in them and they also
might abide in me. As for me, I put on Jesus.
I bore him from the cursed
wood, and established him in the dwelling places
of his Father. And those who watch over
their dwelling places did not recognize me. For (γάρ) I,
I am unrestrainable together with my
Seed (σπέρμα), and my Seed (σπέρμα), which is mine, I shall
[place] into the holy Light within an

The Discourse (Λόγος) of the Appearance (ἐπιφάνεια):
Three (γ´)

Trimorphic Protennoia, in three (γ´) parts

A Sacred Scripture written by the Father (γραφή
πατρόγραφος)

with perfect Knowledge (ἐν γνώσει τελείᾳ)
This section constitutes the initial aretalogy of Protennoia prefacing the whole tractate (see Introduction, Section IV).

[ποιον: Schenke restores [πει:].


In Ap. John II,1:5,4-9 the Metropator is called the First Thought (πωρπίνειν = πρωτέννωια) and the threefold name (cf. Trim. Prot. XIII,1*:37*,20-22 where Protennoia’s Voice exists as the three μονή, Father, Mother, Son). Usually in the Aprocryphon of John the First Thought of the Invisible Spirit is called Pronoia (BG 8502,2: 27,5-18 passim), as in the Pronoia hymn (II,30,11-31,25) underlying Trimorphic Protennoia.

The Invisible One is the Invisible Spirit of the Aprocryphon of John, Gospel of the Egyptians, Allogenes, Three Steles of Seth, Zostrianos and Marsanes. As is his image (38*,11), Protennoia is also invisible.

For the motif of omnipresence cf. 47*,17-22 and Wis:22-24. ἐπίνουα (“externalized ἐννοια”) is the productive power of Protennoia later (39*,13-40*,7, as Sophia) stolen by Yaltabaoth.

The levels of cosmic beings here (Invisible Lights, ἄρχοντες, ἄγγελοι, δαίμονες, ὕψαί in [Tartaros], ὑλικαὶ ὕψαί) should be compared with 47*,19-22 (ἄρχαι, δυνάμεις, ἄγγελοι, κύριος [the soul is the principle of movement], ὕλη) and 49*,9-19 (ἄρχοντες, ἄγγελοι, δυνάμεις, Son of Man). Cf. Rom 8:38 (ἅγγελοι, ἄρχαι, δυνάμεις). Trimorphic Protennoia includes the biblical ἄρχαι, ἄγγελοι, δυνάμεις among the δαίμονες of the traditional Greek sequence of δαίμονες, ψυχαί, ὕλη; the Lights and ἄρχοντες are traditionally Gnostic.

Or if one assumes haplography read: άγω<2ραι 2ν> ζενοαείνε.

Schenke emends ὑμη to <c>6ρη<2>, “rest.” A medial point is visible after ὑ of ἡβητος.

Protennoia, until now referring to itself as feminine, now refers to itself as masculine.

“in it”: the antecedent is unclear.

Read ὁγιον νῦμ with Schenke, “Die dreigestaltige Protennoia (Codex XIII),” 1:13; it might possibly be ὁμοιόμοιος νῦμ or ΚΙΜ νῦμ.

Schenke does not supply the copula; with her we restore ζενούν and μεσέν.

In *Trimorphic Protennoia* water and light are apparently both metaphors for life-giving gnosis (cf. 46*,16–19; Jn 4:7–15). Whereas Protennoia is hidden in water (cf. *Ap. John* BG 8502,2:27,1–13), the Perfect Son is surrounded by light (38*,3–6; cf. 48*,15–21; but see note on 48*,19–20). Just as gnosis under the metaphor of light enlightens one, one can be immersed in gnosis under the metaphor of water (41*,24; 48*,18–21; cf. Sir 15:3 where Wisdom gives him who keeps Torah the water of wisdom to drink).

The gradual (κατὰ μέρος) "putting forth" of the All by Protennoia occurs in three stages, as Voice, Speech and Word.

The Voice (2ποογ=φθόγγος?) originates from Protennoia’s thought (36*,26–27; 37*,20–21; 46*,29–30) and is its masculine mode of revelation; the Voice is apparently the knowledge of God’s thoughts (cf. 36*,17–20) which are collectively the Protennoia (36*,17; 38*,8).

MS reads: θεογνίς, the construct of θεογνή, which latter is required by the proclitic pronoun θε. Protennoia is a Wisdom-figure, cf. 42*,9–16.

MS reads: τιερμά; cf. 1 Jn 3:9 where the seed of God dwells in the one born of god. For the seed cf. 50*,18. The “seed” may refer to the heavenly “seed of Seth” (the offspring or race of Seth, cf. Gen 4:25 LXX for Seth as ἄλλος σπήρα, “other seed” of Adam) whom the Autogenes (Christ) established in the Third Light Daveithe (*Ap. John* II,1:9,14–16). They are the heavenly counterpart of the earthly seed of Seth who survive in the world until the Mother sends her Spirit to correct their (and her) deficiency (*Ap. John* II,1:24,34–25,16).

Cf. 42*,1–12. The Platonists of the Roman period held that the Platonistic ideas are the thoughts (νοηματα) of God (i.e., the All); cf. Albinus, "Επιστομη, IX,1–3.

"proceed": ἐνταγονίς =προδρομαί.

One might possibly emend: άνοικτ<τ>ήνις 29.

The Thought of God (the Protennoia) is both the medium of revelation and the point of consubstantiality between God and man (the divine pneuma-nous).

MS reads: διενόμοκαντ.

The response of the Gnostics forms a redactional bridge to the cosmological exposition (37*,3–40*,29) which employs material parallel to Iren. *Haer.* 1.29.1–4.

Fruit is here a metaphor for the gnosis conveyed by the divine wisdom (cf. 44*,20–21). Apparently the Voice fructifies the Water of
Life (cf. note on 36*,5-6) with his thought, thus producing the Son. Cf. in particular 46*,16-20 where Voice is compared to a spring (πηγή) pouring out the Water of Life (=gnosis) as a “Fruit of Life.” The Valentinian “Savior” (Iren. Haer. I.4.5) was sent with “fructifying power” (καρποφορία) to give Sophia “formation according to knowledge” (μορφώσει ή κατὰ γνώσιν).

37*,3-40,29 τότε here and in 38*,16-30; 39*,13; 40*,8 marks stages (and compositional sutures) in the cosmogonical narrative (37*,3-40*,29) of the first subtractate of the text.

37*,3-20 Cf. generally Jn 1:1-13; Logos in Trimorphic Protennoia corresponds more closely to sermo than ratio. This whole passage is an anticipatory summary of the work of the Logos in the third subtractate.

37*,5-6 Logos comes from Voice, and is the third (Son) aspect of Protennoia; cf. note on 37*,20-22.

37*,7 As in Valentinian sources, so also in Trimorphic Protennoia the “Name” is “the Son”; cf. Gos. Truth I,3:38,6-7; 39,5-40,29; Gos. Phil. II,3:54,1-10; Interp. Know. XI,1:12,20-22; Exc. Theod. 22,4-7; 26,1; 31,4.

37*,8 MS reads: άνωνυμα εισοά.

37*,8-9 Logos is the mode of revelation of God’s thoughts (i.e., the “everlasting things”; cf. Plato’s “ideas”) to human minds.

37*,12 Or “those who dwell in Silence and (in) the First Thought.”

37*,20-22 On Father, Mother, Son, cf. Ap. John II,1:2,13-14; 9,10-11; and compare 5,7-10. μονή is opposed to κίνησις (cf. note on 46*,29). The three μονή are apparently the three abiding modes by which the Voice-aspect of Protennoia is to be envisioned. This tripartite representation of Protennoia’s thought corresponds in gender to the major aspect of the Protennoia exhibited in each of its respective descents (i.e., in each of the three subtractates): Voice (ἡ πρόοψις masc. = φθόγγος?), Speech (σῆμα fem. = φωνή?) and Logos (masc.). For the triple descent scheme in nuce, cf. 47*,5-16; see also Ap. John, II,1:30,11-31,25, where there is no distinction of genders or aspects of Pronoia. The “perceptible Speech” is an auditory metaphor of revelation, stressing the non-substantiality and yet perceptibility of the revelatory medium—speech is non-substantial since it disappears after the utterance, but has permanence in the memory of the hearer. μονή can also mean an “abode” (so Schenke), or, in late papyri, an “appearance” (in court). It is also possible that μονή may refer to the abiding quality of the First Principle as in the later Neoplatonic conception of universal nature as a rest-in-motion/motion-in-rest; the μονή of the First Principle, a procession (πρόδοδος) therefrom through the Forms to their effects, and reversion (ἐπιστροφή) of the effects
through the Forms to their First Principle (cf. Proclus, in *Tim.* III.185.20 and passim). This scheme was correlated with the Neo-platonic scheme of τὸ ὕψος, ζωὴ, and νοῦς, and the post-psuedo-Dionysian ὀνομα, ὀνοματικόν, and ἐνέργεια. The same scheme may apply to Voice, Speech, and Logos, i.e., Speech as the articulate potency of the essential Voice, which produces Word as its effect.

37* ,21-24 The three Permanences of Protennoia (the Thought), Father, Mother, Son, correspond to the three linguistic modalities in which the Thought is manifested: Voice (masc., perhaps Greek φθόγγος) corresponds to Father; Sound (fem., perhaps Greek φωνή) corresponds to Mother; and Word (λόγος) corresponds to Son. Appearing at first as (inarticulate) Voice, the Thought becomes perceptible as (articulate) Speech, and finally is manifested as a clear Word.

37* ,25 It appears that the scribe wrote an extra οὐ, corrected it, and cancelled one too many letters.

37* ,25-27 Cf. *Ap. John* II,1:5,8-9; III,1:7,23-8,5; IV,1:7,23-24; BG 8502,1:27,21-28,2. The three names are Father (Voice), Mother (Speech), and Son (Logos); the three masculinities and three powers seem to be theogonumena familiar from other tractates such as the *Three Steles of Seth* (VII,5), *Allogenes* (XI,3), *Zostrianos* (VIII,1) and *Marsanes* (X,1), where the potency of the Unknown God is the Triple Power, and Barbelo is identified with the Triple Male, Autogenes, Protophanes and Kalyptos. See the Introduction to *Allogenes*, Section IV for analysis.

37* ,26 Cf. *Gos. Eg.* III,2:41,7-9; 41,23-42,4; the three powers from the unknown father Autogenes are equivalent to the three Ogdoads (III,2:42,4-8).

37* ,27-30 Or: “which are secretly quadrangles within a silence . . . .” Cf. *Gos. Eg.* III,2:41,7-12 where Father, Mother, and Son proceed from the incorruptible Father in silence (σιγῇ). The three quadrangles (τετράγωνα) may refer to the three tetrads of aeons begotten ultimately by Barbelo in *Ap. John* II,1:5,5-8,21; BG 8502,1:27,17-34,13, since in *Trimorphic Protennoia* the three quadrangles take the place of the “three begettings” in the *Apocryphon of John* nomenclature of Barbelo: triple male, triple power, triple name, and triple begetting (BG 8502,2:27,21-28,2). Thus the triple begettings of tetrads (=quadrangles) would be: Prognosis, Incorruptibility, Eternal Life, and Truth (Codex II) or Ennoia (BG 8502; i.e., Barbelo herself) begotten by the Father for Barbelo; Autogenes or Christ (counted in the second tetrad), Nous, Will, and Logos begotten by the Father for Autogenes-Christ; and third the Four Lights, Harmozel (governing Charis and Adamas), Oroiael (governing Aisthesis and Seth), Davithai (governing Wisdom and the seed of Seth) and Eleleth (governing
Sophia and the psychics) begotten by the Father through Christ. The Four Lights constitute the Third tetrad, each member of which governs or contains two further beings, making a total of twelve aeons. Schenke displaces 37*,27–29 to 37*,22.

37*,30–36 The narrative on the only-begotten (or self-begotten) Son's work in the divine world resumes. τετελεσθεν reconstructed in line 31 is to be inferred from 38*,22–23, “the God who came into being by himself,” i.e., “the Perfect Son, the Christ.”


37*,33 η τρεῖς is visible in the Facsimile Edition: Codices XI,XII,XIII, pl. 104.


37*,34 In the Facsimile Edition: Codices XI,XII,XIII, pl. 104 γα is visible before the lacuna and ω following the lacuna.

37*,36 The last quarter of 37*,36 is uninscribed due to a split in the papyrus.


38*,5 Cf. Gos. Eg. IV,2:61,8–23 where Adamas, the son of the first Man is the eye of the light because he comes from the light; also cf. Soph. Jes. Chr. BG 8502,3:100,14; 108,10–11. In BG 8502,3:101 Adam is apparently identified with Christ. In Trim. Prot. XIII,4: 46*,28–29, the Logos is the Eye of “the three permanences.”

38*,7 τὰ δυνατά for αἰώνιον “perpetuate,” or possibly a corruption of either αἰών “praise” or ταυτό “praise.” For a possible meaning of “give aeon,” cf. 38*,18 and 38*,30–39*,13. Schenke inserts ἐκόλουθος before ἐτε to avoid the paradoxical identification of the Father of Aeons with Protennoia.


38*,8 Or: “Thought of the Father of Protennoia”; but cf. 36*,17. “Protennoia” is here in apposition to “the Thought of the Father.”

38*,11–12 Cf. Col 1:15–16 where Christ is “the image of the Invisible God, for in him were created all things.” In Trimorphic Protennoia it is Christ who establishes the aeons, while the image of the Invisible Spirit is not Christ, but Protennoia.
For Meirothea, "goddess Fate" (μοίρα), cf. 45*,[10]; Zost. VIII,1:6,30; 30,14 (Mirothea); Steles Seth VII,5:119,12 (Mirotheas and Mirotheos); 120,15 (Mirotheos), and Gos. Eg. III,2:49,4 (Mirothoē = Ionic fem. sg.; cf. Böhlig-Wisse, The Gospel of the Egyptians, 176). This name designates the primal Adam in the Three Steles of Seth. In Trimorphic Protennoia Meirothea is clearly feminine, and is identified as the intangible Womb (τοτε for τοοτε), Virgin, Mother, Barbelo, and as Protennoia in her Voice aspect. The cited passages suggest that Meirothea is to be construed as perhaps either the female aspect of Adamas or as his mother.


Perhaps read: μα μω ω ω ω ει α’ ει ου ει ο αιων των αιωνων. Coptic “Give! Take! Thrice-great” plus Greek “Thou art first! Thou art (the One who) is!” or: μα μωμω ω ει α’ ει ου ει = “Give to the thrice-great One! Thou art last! Thou art first! Thou art (the One who) is!” Cf. Gos. Eg. III,2:41,15; 43,9–10; IV,2:51,2–5; 53,5–6 where the Aeon of aeons is Domedon Doxomedon, the αυτογενής.

Perhaps translate: η η η η ποιημα perhaps should be ειναγεμαξημα complemented by ουατη, i.e., ο αυτογενής θεός, since Christian Sethianism identifies Christ as establisher of the Four Lights with the Autogenes god. Perhaps the scribe erroneously omitted ουατη; without this emendation, however, the third person plural ειναγεμαξημα produces an intelligible locution. Cf. Ap. John II,1:7,10–11 of Christ, the αυτογενής God.

Schenke restores in the lacuna μ[τραμιανα ραθων ραθων].

Restoration following Schenke.

Proper names are rendered in translation in their Greek nominative case at points where the text employs the vocative. The Four Lights Harmozel, Oroiael, Daveithai and Eleleth are a constant feature of gnostic Sethianism (H.-M. Schenke, “Das Sethianische System,” 166, 168–69; id., “Gnostic Sethianism,” 595). In these four triads of three names, the last of each triad is the Semitic name for each of the Four Lights. The first two names of each triad seem Greek and perhaps secondary; they and their cognates appear elsewhere in the Sethian-Barbeloite group of texts (the Three Steles of Seth, Zostrianos, Allogen) which have a strong affinity with mystic Platonism.
The Semitic names of the Four Lights appear in the Sethian texts: the Apocryphon of John (II,1), the Gospel of the Egyptians (III,2), Zostrianos (VIII,1), and Melchizedek (IX,1):

Harmozel: cf. II,1:8,5; 9,2; III,2:51,18; 52,10.22; 65,13; VIII,1:29,2; 32,5; 51,17; 100,6; 127,22; IX,1:6,4; (H)armas: II,1:10,30; 17,8; III,2:58,11.

Oroiael: cf. III,2:51,18; 52,11.24; 57,8; 65,16; VIII,1:29,6; 51,18; 127,27; IX,1:6,4; 17,12; Oriel, II,1:8,9; Oroiel, II,1:9,14.

Daveithai: cf. II,1:8,13; 9,16; Daveithe, VIII,1:29,8; 51,18; 128,3; IX,1:6,4; Davithe, III,2:51,19; 52,13.25; 56,22; 65,19.

Eleleth: cf. II,1:8,18; 9,23; II,4:93,8.18; 94,3; III,2:51,19; 52,14; 53,1; 56,24; 65,21; VIII,1:29,10; 31,17; 51,18; 128,6; IX,1:6,5; XIII,1:39,15; Eliiopheus/Eleliopheus, VIII,1:88,12; XI,3:54,19.

The Four Lights do not appear in the Platonizing Sethian (Barbeloite) treatises the Three Steles of Seth (VII,5), Allogenae (XI,3), and Marsanes (X,1), leaving Zostrianos (VIII,1) and Trimorphic Protenerina as the two Sethian texts where both the graecizing and semiticizing name traditions intersect in the use of the names (H)armedon and Mellephaneus. In Zost. VIII,1:119,3-11 it may be that [Arme]don is the first of four "lights" [Arme]don, Diphane[us], [Malsed]on and [Solmi]s. In Allogenae XI,3:45,36; 58,17 (cf. Steles Seth VII,5:126,12; Zost. VIII,1:127,8-9) Harmodon is a cognomen of Protophanes, a member of the sub-aeons (Kalyptos, Protophanes, Autogenes) of the Aeon of Barbelo.

39,6 “The God who was begotten,” cf. Just. Dial. 61, of Christ. Perhaps ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΤΑΥΧΙΝΟΥ should be emended to ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΧΙΝΟΥ <ΕΒΟΑ ΓΙΩΤΟΤΟΥ ΟΥΛΑΤΤΟΥ> “the God who begot himself,” i.e., δ αυτογενής θεός; cf.39,13.

39,13-32 This section narrates the creation of Yaltabaoth from the Epinoia of Eleleth. On “the God who was begotten” see note on 39,6.

can she be identified with Eleleth's ἐπινοια (39*,19)? As in Ap. John II,1:20,9-28; 22,28-24,15, the ἐπινοια appears to be a manifestation of Pronoia/Protennoia; in the Apocryphon of John the ἐπινοια is not said to reside in Eleleth, nor is it identified with Sophia, but appears as the second manifestation of Pronoia/Metropator (in the form of Eve; the first manifestation is Autogenes, i.e., Christ, in BG 8502,2:51,1-52,11); can it also be inferred to be the power by which Sophia creates Yaltabaath? In Trimorphic Protennoia it is not said how ἐπινοια comes into Eleleth's possession, nor how Sophia falls from Eleleth, bearing with her some of this ἐπινοια, and produces Yaltabaath. In the system of the Apocryphon of John, Sophia creates Yaltabaath without permission; it is an act of ἡγηρι (cf. Iren. Haer. I.29; II,1:9,25-35; BG 8502,2:36,16-37,11). If the composer of Trimorphic Protennoia is dependent on a source common to Irenaeus and the Coptic versions of the Apocryphon of John, he may be altering the myth at this point. However, see 39*,29-30, where (Eleleth's) ἐπινοια is virtually identified with "the innocent one," who is Sophia (40*,15). This reference, in conjunction with 39*,31-32, constitutes an implicit claim that Sophia is the innocent creator of Yaltabaath.


39*,21 In Gos. Eg. III,2:57,17-18.22 the great demon is called [Neb]-rouel.

39*,24 <ε>qξηκ: Perhaps ε of <ε>qξηκ elided with the final ε of ογδε or was lost through haplography because of the proximity of ογδε.


39*,32-40*,4 Though damaged, this passage appears to relate the restoration of Eleleth's ἐπινοια from the realm of disorder to another, presumably higher, order (τάξις). This higher order is the house of glory (the divine world of Aeons), and the order which she now has may be characterized with disorder (ἀραξα). This may be the Trimorphic Protennoia counterpart to the repentance and restoration of Sophia in Iren. Haer. I.29.4 and Ap. John II,1:13,32-14,5; BG 8502,2:46,9-47,13, except that in Trimorphic Protennoia there is no word of the Epinoia's repentance. The failure of Trimorphic Protennoia explicitly to credit Sophia with the creation of Yaltabaath by her ἡγηρι and without her partner is reflected by Sophia's epithet "innocent" (ἀπεθεσόο). Sophia has done no bad thing; she was merely
overpowered by the great demon produced from Eleleth's Epinoia. She needs no repentance because it was Eleleth's fault. Schenke restores 39*,34-37 rather differently.

40*,4-7 Yaltabaoth makes counterfeit aeons, cf. Iren. *Haer.* I.29.4; *Ap. John* BG 8502,239,1-6; II,i:10,23-28 (cf. 12,33-13,5). Since the ἐπινοια is forgiven (40*,2-4), Yaltabaoth makes them only with his own power.

40*,10 Janssens refers to the Naasene password παῦε, παῦε addressed to the primal man Papas: "Stop the cosmic disorder!" (Hipp. *Ref.* V.8.22).

40*,12-15 Cf. 41*,20-23; 47*,31-34.

40*,13 μετὸς refers to the spiritual substance within, but not coextensive with, the soul.

40*,16-19 Yaltabaoth "appointed" that his counterfeit aeons keep Protennoia's spirit (μετὸς, cf. 41*,21-22; μάλας, 41*,7; 49*,21-22), man's pneuma-self snatched from Sophia, entrapped in matter.

40*,19 The trace between ι and ι of ιγαςμτηδ does not exist.

40*,19-22 Cf. *Ap. John* Il,r:14,24-26. The unknowable light is Eleleth whose Epinoia produced Yaltabaoth; the denizens of Eleleth's house are, besides Sophia (II,i:8,14-20), the now repentant souls (i.e., psychics?) once ignorant of the Pleroma (II,i:8,18-23). On the trembling of the abyss on the first descent, cf. II,i:30,19-20. Schenke forgives Eleleth's culpability by emending 40*,20 to ετυγοον<αν>.

40*,21 ΝΙ probably refers to the celestial realm.


40*,29-34 In *Ap. John*, II,i:20,9-28 this descent of Protennoia would correspond to the descent of the Epinoia aspect of the Metropator in the form of Eve. For "receiving shape" as a metaphor for receiving gnosis, see the note on 45*,23-27.

40*,33-34 εξητήναω γιΚων: See Emmel, "Proclitic Forms."

40*,37 ñταγςύνθη δ: Janssens restores ñταγςύνθη γυνη.

41*,2-3 "mystery": cf. 42*,27-28 and note.

41*,4 Read ΝΤ τανπο [ΝΙ]Μ with Janssens.
41*,4–20  The evenly balanced lines in synonymous parallelism with preposition of object seem intentionally rhetorical (cf. 37*,8–19). Salvation is the nullification of the effect of the hostile powers that control the fleshly body; it is accomplished by explaining them.

41*,4–7  On the chains of the demons, cf. Orac. Sib. II.287–90, passim. Here the instruments of punishment of the underworld, conceived as a place of torture and imprisonment, are a metaphor for the imprisonment of Protennoia's spirit (μέρος, cf. 41*,20–23) in man's material body. The features of the underworld are standard in most of the Nekyia literature from Homer onward.

41*,7  ἀποθετόν: cf. XI,14,31 († ἀποθημεῖν- with the nuance of “oppose,” “restrain.”) These forms may be related to Achimimic ἀποθημεῖν-, Crum 23b.


41*,11–14  “The one who beats you” is probably Tartarouchos; cf. Thom. Cont. II.7:142,40–143,2. The hinderer may be a celestial “toll-collector.” This passage seems to be a collection of popular epithets for demonic powers in general, not necessarily at home in Sethian texts.

41*,18  MS reads: τὴρ' οὐ.

41*,20–23  Cf. 40*,12–15; 47*,31–34. Apparently, Protennoia is con-substantial with the human spirit that originated from the Water of Life and was perhaps nourished by immersion (baptism?) in the mysteries, even though it now dwells (or languishes!) in the soul (as μέρος; cf. note on 40*,16–19). Schenke's emendation Ντα<πε>q-ωυμε (41*,23) is unnecessary.

41*,29  Ὄανε: scribe wrote Ὄανανε by simple dittography.

41*,33  MS reads: ἀναγραφή.

41*,36  there is an additional trace of ink to the upper left of the supra-linear stroke over the initial Ν in the line.

42*,3  On [3], see Introduction to Codex XIII, Section IV.

42*,4–9  “syzygetic”: lit. “He/she who is doubled, united.” Protennoia exists in the three aspects of Voice, Speech and Word, all of which would be aspects of the “Thought of the Invisible One” (i.e., Protennoia, the invisible Father's Thought, 35*,7–9; 36*,17, passim). On the first descent, Protennoia appeared under the aspect of Voice (35*,1–42*,3; 47*,5–11); hence Protennoia, the Thought of the
Father, could be conceived as undergoing a syzygy with its masculine (προόγονο) aspect of the Voice—"he who is (a) double" (of Thought and Voice). On the second descent, Protennoia appears under the aspect of Speech (42*,4-46*,4; 47*,11-13); hence Protennoia could be conceived as undergoing a syzygy with its feminine (χού) aspect of Speech—"she who is (a) double" (of Thought and Speech).

42*,9-10 "Mother [of] the Voice": Protennoia, under its feminine aspect of Speech, can be conceived of, in a contorted way, as the mother of its masculine aspect of Voice; cf. 45*,3-4.27-28. Janssens calls attention to Heb 1:1 in connection with ΚΩΣ ΦΩΤΗ (=?Τοτε τινὲς) and to ΧΩΣ ΕΒΟΛ (=τελειωθήτων) as suggesting an act of the last days. Janssens reads ΤΜΑΓ [ΜΗ] / προόγον: I am the Mother [and] the voice.

42*,11-12 Cf. 36*,17-21 and note.
42*,12 Or: ΑΝΩΚ π[ε] πι / ωκε, "I am the Speech."
42*,12-14 Cf. 36*,15-16.
42*,13 MS reads: ΑΥ Ω.
42*,14-16 Cf. 45*,10-12.
42*,19 Text: of ΕΔΑΣΗ emended by scribe with a diagonal stroke. Schenke's suggestion that ΕΦΩΥΜΕΝ may have been lost following ετναΨωΝη is unnecessary; the antecedent is 2ΑΗ, not ΑΙΩΝ.
42*,22 Cf. 1 Cor 15:52.
42*,27-28 Cf. 1 Cor 15:51 and XIII,1*:41*,2-3.
42*,30 The raised point after ΕΗΤΩ is obscured in the Facsimile Edition: Codices XI,XII,XIII.
42*,30-33 Comparison of the inauguration of the new age to the travail of birth (cf. 43*,6-8) is a common apocalyptic motif: cf. Mk 13:8.17. Schenke restores 42*,30 differently, and in 42*,32 reads ΑΠΩΙΓΕΙΕ / ΕΒΟΛ [ΑΛ] "brought forth" for ΑΦΩΙΓΕΙΕ [ΑΛ] (8 is cancelled by scribe with a diagonal stroke; perhaps he started to write ΚΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ).

43*,2-4 ΤΗΒΕ and ΜΠΕ may refer to measures of length, so that the phrase may refer to the shortness of the time before the end of the present aeon; the time is shortened by a ΤΗΒΕ (finger's length) less a ΤΗΒΕ, and a ΜΠΕ (a knuckle's length—even shorter?) less a ΜΠΕ—i.e., no length at all. Alternatively, the passage may refer to the mutilation (κολοφονία) of parts (finger, joint) of the body, and
κολοβοῦν is used to refer to the shortening of the days in Mk 13:20. Schenke takes THΒΕ as a form of THΒΙ, “bandage.”


43*,6–17 The destruction overturns the netherworld (8–11), the earth (11–12) and the celestial realm (13–17).


43*,13 The lots of Fate (κληροι εἰμαρφένης) may be the κληροι τήχης (Ptol. Tetr. III.10.129); an individual’s lot of fortune (or fate) is determined by the relative positions of the sun and moon with respect to the horoscope or ascendant sign at the time of his birth; cf. also Ap. John, BG 8502,272,3–11; Orig. World, II,5.121,13–27.

43*,14 The οἶκος system allot each planet and its celestial deity patronage over a particular sign of the Zodiac as its domicile; cf. Ptol. Tetr. I.17.37.

43*,15–16 The planets are the seats (ΘΡΩΝΟΙ) of the celestial deities.

43*,17–18 The stars (including the planets), governed by fate, make their appointed revolutions; the “path” is their orbit.

43*,19 MS reads: ΝΙΨΩΤΟΡ/ΤΡ.  

43*,19–26 The planets inquired of their governing deities (δυνάμεις), probably Yaltabaoth’s counterfeit aeons (cf. 40*,4–7 and Apoc. Adam V,5.77,4–18), as to who has destroyed their order.


43*,23–24 “the entire circuit of our path” is probably an astrological term, possibly rendering Greek πᾶσα ἡ περίοδος τῆς ἀνδρον ἡμῶν.


44*,4 ΒΟΜΟ[Q]: c written over q of ΒΟΜΟ.

44*,10–19 The weeping of the powers: Schmidt-MacDermot, Bruce Codex, 239,20–21. Yaltabaoth, the Archigenetor, and the Powers had formerly imprisoned Protennoia’s spirit in matter; now, their grip on it lapsing, they are about to be imprisoned in their own underworld.
44* ,16 Cf. Mt 24:22 par.
44* ,17–18 I.e., “our mournful destruction.”
44* ,19 Emmendation following Schenke.
44* ,29 MS reads: ET"BH\Q.
44* ,20–21 Fruit is a metaphor for knowledge. Cf. 41* ,30–31, where Protennoia’s fruit is the Thought of an unchanging Aeon, whereas here the fruit of Yaltabaoth’s tree is chaotic ignorance.
44* ,31 “Mother of your mercy”: i.e., “your merciful Mother,” here referring to the Speech (fem.) of the Voice; probably Meirotthea is meant (45* ,9–10; but cf. 38* ,14–16 where Meirotthea is also the Voice). In the Aprocryphon of John the “merciful Mother” refers to Sophia (BG 8502,2:71,5–13).
45* ,1–4 The second letter of line 2 and the second and third letters of line 3 are from frg. 3 (Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, pl. 119) now placed at this location on p. 45. Letters five through nine on lines 1 and 4, letters four through eight on line 2, and letters four through nine on line 3 are transcribed from pl. 104.
45* ,1–2 For reconstruction, cf. 42* ,19–22.
45* ,5–6 For reconstruction, cf. 35* ,2–4.
45* ,7–8 Schenke reads [πα/τονυμα μη] η[e]2οου.
45* ,10–12 Cf. 42* ,14–16.
45* ,12–20 This celestial “initiation ceremony” is one of the two complementary components of the soteriology of Trimorphic Protennoia. One component is the reception and appropriation of the revealer’s gnosis (the explanatory “mystery,” s.v. mwτήριον in the index) and the other is the initiate’s (mental?) participation in the celestial liturgy of the Five Seals. Here the Five Seals proceed in the order of glorifying, enthroning, investiture, baptizing, and becoming light (the Gnostic’s primal state). In 48* ,15–35 we have the more elaborate, but more natural (and original?) order of the Five Seals: investiture, baptizing, enthroning, glorification, and transportation into the light. The Five Seals are the mode of salvation in the original core of the Pronoia hymn in Ap. John, II,r:30,11–32; 31,22–25, which as it now
stands appears to have a secondary mode of salvation (i.e., awakening from sleep) interpolated into it (31,4–22). Thus, in both Trimorphic Protennoia and in the Pronoia hymn in the Aprocryphon of John, salvation via the Five Seals was thought to need supplementation by a more noetic mode of salvation; not simply sealing with the Five Seals, but also the explanatory revelation (Trimorphic Protennoia) or awakening call (Aprocryphon of John) of the revealer-figure, Protennoia (Trimorphic Protennoia) or Pronoia (Aprocryphon of John). Compare the enrobing of the mystery-initiation in Apul. Metam. XI.24.

45*,21–22 Cf. 47*,18; 49*,20–21.


45*,31–32 The scribe intended a supralinea completa, but obviated it in the next line by adding NE; οὐοἰν and οὐοἰνε vary freely in this text.

45*,33 Supralinear strokes visible above ΚΗ Νι.

46*,3 ΚΑΜΗΗΝ is restored from frg. #3 (Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, pl. 50).
46*,4 On [B], see Introduction to Codex XIII, Section IV.
46*,5–10 The Son/Word aspect of Protennoia (cf. 37*,4–6) is about to succeed the Mother/Speech aspect (who having withdrawn to the light now exists alone as Silence, 46*,13) as the revelatory mode of Protennoia (cf. 47*,11–16).

46*,10–11 ΚΑΣΣΗ, “foundation” appears to be an unattested feminine noun derived from κάτω, “to set,” (so also Schenke).
46*,11–13 The Logos, who is a light and was first to come forth, is the Perfect Son (37*,3–8).
46*,16–19 the Spring (πηγή) pours forth Living Water (i.e., gnosis, 36*,5–6 and note) just as a luminary radiates light. Cf. 48*,19–20
and Jn 4:14; 7:37; Rev 21:6 where Christ is the source of living water. The Spring is also a metaphor for Yahweh (Jer 2:13; 17:13; 1 Enoch 96.6) but mostly for Wisdom (Prov 13:14; 14:27; 18:4; 1 Enoch 49.1) whence comes the reference to the Spring as the source of gnosis.

46*,19-20 The glory of the Mother is Meirothea (45*,9-10), who is the Speech of the Voice (38*,14-16; 44*,30-31).


46*,28 “breath”: cf. Wis 7:24-25 where wisdom is the breath of God’s power.

46*,28-30 The “Eye” (βαλ) probably signifies the Son (38*,3-6) as central focus of the three permanences (μονή) of the Voice (37*,20-22). Voice and Thought are similarly related in the Simonian Megale Apophasis (Hipp. Ref. VI.9.4): “This is the treatise (γράμμα) of revelation of Voice (φωνή) and Name (ὄνομα) by means of Thought (ἰερ ἑπωιείας) of the great infinite Power (ἡ μεγάλη δύναμις ἡ ἀπίφανος).” Cf. 37*,4-6 where the Son originates from Voice which comes from Thought.

46*,29 “Permanences”: 37*,20-22. μονή (permanence) is the opposite of κίνησις (movement, cf. 46*,26; Arist. Phys. 205a 17; 230a 20), and is thus akin to βάσις.

46*,30-32 Cf. Isa 9:2; Mt 4:16; Jn 1:5.

47*,5-16 Revelation of the Protennoia as: first, Voice (masc.); second, Speech (fem.); and third, Word (masc.). See the note on 37*,20-22.


47*,9 On Intellect (νοῦς), cf. 46*,22.


47*,17-22 Cf. 35*,12-26.

47*,18 Cf. 45*,21; 49*,20-21.

47*,19-22 On this series of beings, see 35*,15-18 and note.

47*,20 2 of 2ΠΑΙ from frg. #45 in Codex V (Faccsimile Edition: Codex V, pl. 99) and now placed at this location. “Movement” is a metaphor for Soul, source of motion.

47*,24-25 On the failure to recognize and accept the divine representative, cf. Jn 1:10-11 (the light/logos); 1 Enoch 42.2 (wisdom).

47*,25-28 The powers (47*,19-22) do not recognize the ignorance of their root, i.e., their creator the Archigenetor, the tree of ignorant Chaos (44*,20-26). On the creature’s ignorance of the creator, cf. Wis 13:1-3; Rom 1:19-23.

47*,26-27 Ν2 of ἤ[ΗΤΟΥ] (47*,26), ἤΤ of ἤΤ[ΟΥ] (47*,27) are from
frg. #2, Facsimile Edition: Codices XI, XII, XIII, pl. 119, and now placed at this location.

47*,31-34 Cf. 40*,12-16; 41*,20-23.


48*,5 Schenke reads: ηβολ ζητο[φτ ηθδιντωγην η/ηπεηγη.

48*,6-14 The psychic and corporeal aspects of man's thought are regarded as abysmally chaotic; it is another device to keep man's pneuma entrapped in the material world, and as such must be removed and replaced by the Thought of the Fatherhood—chaos must be replaced by Light (cf. Gen 1:1-5). This is accomplished when Protennoia/Logos, almost in substitutionary fashion, strips man of the corporeal and psychic thought as if it were a garment and puts it on himself in man's place and places upon man a shining Light. For “corporeal darkness” and “psychic chaos in mind,” cf. Zost. VIII, r:1,10-13. On the removal of the old nature and putting on of the new, cf. Col 3:9-10; Eph 4:22-24. On “Christ's circumcision” as a putting off of the body of flesh and being raised with Christ in baptism, cf. Col 2:11-12. See also 49*,28-32 below.

48*,6 Schenke reads: ηεγηταλαγ<φ> ζηνέτηθη".

48*,7 Supralinear stroke visible over η of ηπτωνη.

48*,15-35 The initiation ceremony proleptically sketched in 45*,12-20 (see note) in the future tense, is now cast in a past tense, reflecting a sort of “realized” eschatology. The putting upon man of the shining Light is interpreted by means of the ceremony of the Five Seals, by which man is transported from the corporeal and psychic realm to the spiritual world of light (cf. 49*,26-32).

48*,19-20 Cf. Gos. Eg. III,2:64,14-17 (=IV,2:76,2-6) where Micheus, Michar and Mnesinous preside over the ποτηρί of truth; also over the ποτήρι of waters (III,64,19-20 = IV,76,8-10). In Apoc. Adam V,5: 84,5-22 Micheus, Michar and Mnesinous preside over the holy baptism and living water (which they pollute). In the Bruce Codex (Schmidt-MacDermot, 263,22-28) Michar and Micheu(s), purified by Borpharanges, are located in the self-begotten (αυτογενής) level of the Aeon of Barbelo, and preside over the Living Water. Finally see Zost. VIII, r:6,7-17, where Micheus and Michar both baptize and seal, and VIII, r:47,4 where Mnesinous is a keeper of the immortal soul.


48*,26 Vestige of ink at the end of the line appears to be line “filler,” such as occurs at 36*,25-31; 37*,15; 43*,17.24. Schenke reads ο for [O]η.
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48*,27 One is seized (τωρπ=δραξει; cf. δραγέντα in 2 Cor 12:2), i.e., raptured, into the light by the servants of the holy Luminaries Harmozel, Oroael, Daveithai and Eleleth; see 38*,34-39*,5 and note. Cf. Gos. Eg. III,2:52,20-53,1 where Gamaliel, Gabriel, Samlo and Abrasax are associated with Harmozel, Oraael, Davith and Eleleth respectively (in IV,2:64,13-24 they are called διάκονοι). In Apoc. Adam V,5:75,21-31 Abrasax, Samblo and Gamaliel lead men from the punishing powers. In Zost. VIII,1:47,24 Samblo is receiver [παρ]διάκονοι. In the Bruce Codex, 239,24-27 (Schmidt-MacDermot) Gamaliel, Strempsuchos and Agramas are watchers who aid those who believe in the Savior.

48*,31-32 Cf. Ap. John II,1:31,23-24: “I sealed him with the light of the water.” This may be a type of hendiadys (water and light as metaphors for gnosis, cf. note on 36*,5-6), or μοογ (“water”) may be a corruption of μαγγ (“Mother”) from an original “Light of the Mother.” Conversely, the “Light of the Mother” (48*,32) may be a corruption of an original “light of the water.” On σφαγής, cf. note on 49*,25-33.

48*,35-50*,20 ΤΩΝΟΓ 6Ε is a formulaic introduction to an exhortation, cf. 44*,10.29-30. The section 48*,35-50*,20 contains extensive and polemical Christian glosses interpreting the word modality of Protennoia in terms of a highly docetic Christology (see Introduction, Section VI). At this point, “until I reveal myself [to all my fellow brethren]” is suspiciously continued with a Christianizing passage which begins with redundant language: “and until I gather [together] all [my fellow] brethren. . . .” Sethian language again returns in 50*,16-20, suggesting that 48*,35-49*,20 (rejoining the description of the Five Seals with the bridging passage 49*,20-26) and 50*,7-16 are Christianizing additions to an original sequence: 48*,top-48*,35; 49*,26-50*,7; 50*,16-20.

49*,6-20 Protennoia/Logos is identified with the Christ of Protennoia’s “brethren” (cf. 49*,23 which is part of a redactional bridge 49*,20-26; and 50*,6-9, the opening of a Christianizing addition). Successive Christological titles familiar to orthodox Christians are here applied to the Logos: “Christ,” Son of God (i.e., “Son of the Archigenctor,” or Creator God), Angel, Power and “Son of Man.” But the repeated use of ὁς, “as if,” shows that the applications are polemically intended, i.e., contrary to popular orthodox belief Christ was never identical with these guises, but only appeared as Christ, Son of the Creator,
Angel, Power and Son of Man to those (orthodox) Christians who mistakenly honor the Son of the Creator God of the Old Testament, but who is really the Archigenetor and chief of the evil Archons. This Sethian passage shows that the Logos is not the orthodox Christ and Son of God, but rather the “Father” of everyone (49*,20), a term attituded to Seth, “Father” of the incorruptible race (Gos. Eg. III,2: 54,9–11). On the motif of Christ’s incognito descent, cf. Iren. Haer. I.30.12; Treat. Seth VII,2:59,18; 65,18–19 and especially Ep. Pet. Phil. VIII,2:136,16–137,4. The occasion for the addition of this description of Christ’s incognito descent in the context of a description of the Five Seals may be Sethian tradition found in Gos. Eg. III,2:62,24–64,9. Here it appears that the Five Seals are involved in the redemptive sending of Seth through flood, conflagration and judgement of the Archons into the world with a baptism (cf. Apoc. Adam V,5:85,22–31), perhaps the Five Seals, by means of a secretly prepared “Logos-begotten” (λογογενής) body which is “put on” by Seth (cf. XIII,7*:50*,12). On the identification of Seth with Jesus, cf. Epiph. Pan. XXXIX.1.3; MacRae, “Seth in Gnostic Texts,” and Pearson, “Seth in Gnostic Literature.”

49*,11–20 See the note to 49*,6–20. The appositive phrase “which is the ignorance of Chaos” (49*,14–15), though grammatically feminine, must refer to the Archigenetor’s decree (2ατη); cf. the tree of ignorant Chaos (44*,20–26) and the stripping away of the chaotic corporeal and psychic thought (48*,8–12). Here Logos/Protennoia only appears as if (ὡς) he were a Son of Man (cf. 47*,13–16 and contrast Jn 1:14), since in truth he is the Father (cf. 36*,17, “the Thought of the Father,” and 45*,3, “[Mother] and Father”).

49*,18 ζ of 2ος is better preserved in an earlier photograph; see Facsimile Edition: Introduction, pl. 23*.

49*,20 Cf. 45*,21; 47*,18.

49*,24 η at end of line is better preserved in an earlier photograph; see Facsimile Edition: Introduction.

49*,25–33 On the Five Seals, cf. Ap. John II,1:31,22–25 (the Pronoia hymn), Gos. Eg. III,2:55,12; 63,3; 66,3; IV,2:56,25; 58,6; 59,1; 27–28; 66,26; 74,16; 78,4–5 and notes on 45*,12–20; 48*,15–35. The “seal” (σφραγίς) originally signified a stamp or brand marking one as the property of a god. Having thus become taboo, he is protected from other (hostile) divine powers (49*,31–34). In Gos. Eg. III,2:66,2–11 the Five Seals are associated with certain “invocations” and “renunciations” in the “spring-baptism” (πιπατισμα ἔνηχα). G. Schenke (“Die dreigestaltige Protennoia (Codex XIII),” 125–27; 134–35) suggests on the basis of 49*,29–30 (“the Five Seals of these particular names”) that at each stage of the Sethian baptismal rite a
divine name was invoked and the person being baptized was provided with a seal. H.-M. Schenke’s ("Gnostic Sethianism," 603-4) supposition that these names reflect a "Quinity" of five divine beings in one on the analogy of the Christian Trinity, and similar metaphysical groupings of beings suggested by Böhlig-Wisse (Gospel of the Egyptians, 27,50,174) seems to be speculative at best. It is more likely that the Five Seals are a single baptismal rite consisting of five stages of enlightenment: investiture, baptism in the spring of (Living) Water, enthronement, glorification, and an ecstatic rapture into the place of Light, as in 48*,15-30. The "invocations" of Gos. Eg. III,2:66,2-4 would involve calling on certain named beings at each stage, as reflected in Trim. Prot. XIII,1*:48*,15-30, and in the ascent through the series of baptisms in Zostrianos (VIII,1:4,20-26,2; especially 5,14-22; cf. the "sealing" in 6,14-17), or even one's own name (Melch. IX,1:16,13-16). Zost. VIII,1:130,5-6 suggests the ascent is ecstatic, out of the body (cf. Allogenes XI,3:58,26-59,3). See also the ascending series of thirteen seals in Marsanes, X,1:12,4-23; also the statements by the thirteen kingdoms of Apoc. Adam V,5:77,27-82,19. In Apoc. Adam V,5:84,4-22; 85,22-31 the baptism brought by Seth is the knowledge of Adam, contrasted with a form of polluted baptism (cf. the polemic against Christian baptism in Testim. Truth IX,3:69,7-24) suggesting that certain Sethians rejected water baptism in favor of a baptism with gnosis. In general, baptism in these texts and the Five Seals may represent a projection into the spiritual realm of an older established Sethian community practice of water baptism (cf. the discussions of Hedrick, The Apocolypse of Adam, 192-201 and Schenke, "Gnostic Sethianism," 602-7).

49*,26-32 Salvation is already realized for him who possesses the Five Seals, which implies that the "initiation ceremony" in 45*,12-20 (in the future tense) and 48*,15-35 (in the past tense) has now been completed. The phrase "the Five Seals that are complete by virtue of intellect" (ἐπεξήνωσεν ἐπ' ἐμάκρα πεπεπεπευγνύτο τοὺς ἀγαθόντας ἐκ τῆς συνείδησι) may imply that the celestial "initiation ceremony" is completed in the initiate’s mind, i.e., that salvation is a noetic process (although we would expect: ἐπεξήνωσεν ἐπ' ἐμάκρα πεπεπευγνύτο τοὺς ἀγαθόντας ἐκ τῆς συνείδησι).

The putting on of Jesus is a prominent motif: Iren. Haer. I.30.13: where Christ descends on Jesus, openly confessing himself as Son of the First Man (on Son of Man, cf. 49*,18–19). Cf. also Gos. Eg. III,2:63,24–64,3 on the “baptism by the incorruptible λογογενής and Jesus, and he whom the Great Seth has put on”; IV,2:75,15–17: “Jesus who has been begotten by a living word, whom the Great Seth has put on”; and Treat. Seth VII,2:57,7–11 in which a being (presumably Seth) identified with Christ (VII,2:59,18), raises “the Son of the Majesty (=Jesus) hidden in the region below...to the height, where I am above all these aeons.” Cf. also Epiph. Pan. XXXIX.1.3. For the dwelling places prepared by Christ; cf. Jn 14:2, to which this passage seems to make specific and polemical reference.

The Seed of the Father (the Great Seth) is the ἄφθαρτος γενεά (Gos. Eg. III,2:54,9–11; cf. Zost. VIII,1:130,16–17 “the holy Seed of Seth”). In Gos. Eg. III,2:60,9–11 the Great Seth sows his seed into the aeons he has begotten.

On the title, see discussion in the Codex Introduction, Section IV.
INTRODUCTION

NHC XIII,2*: ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD

50*, 25–34 is the beginning of the untitled text now called *On the Origin of the World*, which is completely extant in Codex II,5:97,24–127,17. The portion extant in Codex XIII coincides with II,97,24–98,5. The two copies are quite similar, with but minor orthographic variants: ϵπειδάν οὖν ΝΙΜ (50*,25) for ἐπείδαν οὖν ΝΙΜ (II,97,24), ἙΝ ΛΑΑΥ (50*,25) for ἙΝΛΑΑΥ (II,97,25–26), ἀΝΩΚ ἍΔΕ (50*,27) for ἀΝΩΚ ἍΔΕ (II,97,26–27), ἐΝΣΕΕΟΟΥΝ (50*,28) for ἐΝ ΣΕΕΟΟΥΝ (II,97,28), ἀΠΟΔΑΙΣΙ (50*,30) for ἀΠΩΔΑΙΣΙ (II,97,30), ΠΕ (50*,31) for ΠΕ (II,98,2), ΚΑΚΕ (50*,33) for ΚΑΚΕ (II,98,3), and [I]ΧΙΝ ΠΕ[ ] (50*,34) for ΧΙΝ ΤΕΣΟΥΕΙΤΕ (II,98,5). The two copies may presuppose the same Coptic translation. Hence, lacunae in one may be restored on the basis of the other; in one instance a photograph of V,64–[65] taken in 1949 (Facsimile Edition: Codex V, pl. 4) shows also the bottom left corner of XIIl,50* with the now-missing opening letters of lines 27–31, which make it possible to read ε1 at XIII,2*:50*,30 and in the parallel text at II,5:97,29.

A fragmentary Subachimimic copy of *On the Origin of the World* in the British Museum was identified by Christian Oeyen in 1972–73: BM Or 4926 (1), catalogued by Crum as item 522 (Oeyen, "Fragmente," 125). Comparison of the fragments with II,5 should provide a basis for more precise clarification of the relation of the Coptic translation attested by II,5 and XIII,2* to the assumed Greek original.

The survival of the opening ten lines of *On the Origin of the World* as XIII,2* is due to the chance circumstance that they were on the final page of XIII,i*, a tractate removed from its codex in late antiquity and conserved inside the front cover of Codex VI (see Robinson, "Inside Codex VI"). There was apparently no interest in conserving XIII,2*. The material discussion of XIII,2* is to be found with the complete copy of *On the Origin of the World* in II,5.
50*
[e]πίλη οὐγόν ἐν ἔνοντε ἐπικοσμος ἀγ[ω]
26 [π]ρωμε σεξώ ἐμος ἐξ ἔπλασι ὕοον' 2[α]
τῆ ἐπικος ανοκ ἀνε ἐπανολικυνε
28 ἄξα αὐθηλανα ἔθρου ενεκοοιν υαγατ
ἀν ἐπικοςτατικ ἐπικος μὴ τευκουνε τα
30 εὶ δὲ τε ταποδιζ εὐξὲ ερσγυμφουνι ἐμ[ν]
πρωμε ἔθρου ετε ἐπικος ἐξ ὑ[ν]κακε πε
32 οὐναίλ ἀνε ὑν ὑγαίβ[ε]ς ἀγνοντε ερον
ῥ ἐκάκε θ[ε]αβεκ δὲ ὑ[ν]ει εβολ τε ὑν ὑερ
34 ἐν ὕοον· [2]ἀν ὑ[ωρν]·
Seeing that (ἔπειδή) everyone—the gods of the world (κόσμος) and men—says that nothing exists [prior] to Chaos (χάος), I now (δέ) will demonstrate (ἀποδείκνυειν) [that] they all erred (πλανᾶσθαι) because they did not know the structure (σύστασις) of Chaos (χάος) and its root. And (δέ) this is the demonstration (ἀποδείκνυς): How agreeable it is (συμφωνεῖν) with all men to say concerning Chaos (χάος) that it is a sort of darkness!

Actually (δέ) it derives from a shadow, [and was (merely) named] “darkness.” And (δέ) the shadow [derives from a] work (ἐργον) existing from the [first.

50*,27–31 The left edge of these lines is restored from a 1949 photograph of J. Doresse reproduced in the Facsimile Edition: Codex V, pl.4.
50*,28: The right part of the line was left blank because of a split in the papyrus.
50*,32–34: The right edge of these lines is lacking because the horizontal fibers are missing; χιν ἃιωπὴν is restored on analogy with χιν τεξώγειτε in II,5:98,5. Layton (Facsimile Edition: Codex II) reads χιν τὲ[ε] and does not emend ὑαίβειν.