

**THE TRIPARTITE TRACTATE FROM NAG HAMMADI: A NEW
TRANSLATION WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY**

Einar Thomassen

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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THE TRIPARTITE TRACTATE FROM NAG HAMMADI

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BY

EINAR THOMASSEN

Thesis submitted in application for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Divinity at the
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A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary
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The thesis intends to provide a better understanding of the text and the background of the Valentinian treatise, Nag Hammadi Codex, I, 5.

The Introduction studies the manuscript (date and provenance, purpose, scribal signs, quality), the text (an anonymous and untitled treatise, originally written in Greek, representing the Oriental branch of Valentinianism, date most likely second half of the 3rd. cent. A.D.), the language (a form of Subachmimic, with numerous orthographic and grammatical peculiarities). A brief survey of the system is also provided, where it is regarded from three different angles.

The Translation is primarily meant as an attempt to elucidate the difficult, and inadequately understood, Coptic text, and as an index to the following Commentary.

The Commentary discusses the translation and relates each passage to the treatise as a whole, and to the system it contains. Valentinian themes and technical terms are pointed out and analysed systematically. The broader religious and philosophical background for the ideas contained in the treatise have also been explored. A special effort has been made to relate the system of

the treatise not only to Gnostic documents, Christian literature and Late Jewish material, but also to Philosophy, and in particular to the emanationist physics of Neopythagoreanism and Neoplatonism.

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CERTIFICATE

I certify that Einar Thomassen has fulfilled the conditions of the resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 1, and that he is qualified to submit his thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, that it is my own composition and that it has not previously been presented for a higher degree. The research was carried out at the University of St. Andrews under the supervision of Professor R.McL. Wilson.

A large black rectangular redaction covering the signature of the declarer, followed by a dotted line.

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Preface

The Gnostic treatise, the "Tripartite Tractate," whose Coptic translation, the only witness to the text, is introduced, translated and commented in the following, was edited for the first time by a team of scholars, and published, in two volumes, in 1973 and 1975 (Ka.). Although that edition also provided philological and theological introductions, translations into three modern languages, and a commentary in addition to textual notes, it is hoped that the present study will not be found superfluous. In spite of the many merits of the editio princeps, and of other studies which have dealt with TriTrac, the text of this treatise has in many ways been inadequately understood, and a fresh effort to translate it and to define its structure and contents is desirable. Also I have wished to explore in my commentary certain aspects of the doctrine of TriTrac which previously have been left untouched.

It may be added that the significance of this text is such as to warrant continued interest: It contains the longest and most comprehensive statement of Gnostic doctrine among the original Gnostic texts recovered in the Nag Hammadi library. It is also a rare instance of a Valentinian system which has been transmitted first hand, and not through the

mediation of the heresiologists.¹ Moreover, as will be shown in the introduction below, it is the only available systematic exposition of Oriental Valentinian doctrine. In addition to this, it is hoped that the commentary will serve to indicate the considerable interest TriTrac offers for the study of the religious and philosophical thought under the Empire in general.

The present study does not include the actual text of TriTrac. Instead, the reader is referred to the printed text of Ka. It must be pointed out, however, that Ka.'s text is incomplete, in so far as the MS is now more completely restored than was the case when the transcription for that edition was made, and occasionally erroneous. The commentary therefore includes a certain number of notes intended to supplement and correct Ka.'s text. The translation disagrees in very many places with the already existing ones. It has not been found necessary to point out in every case deviations from previous translations. The translation is closely bound up both with the Coptic text and with the commentary, and it is primarily intended that text, translation and commentary be read together, although an effort has also been made to make the text more accessible

¹ The only other example is the still unpublished, considerably shorter and unfortunately very imperfectly preserved NHC XI, 2.

for scholars who without being coptologists have a professional interest in its contents. The purpose of the commentary is, first, to discuss the reading of the text, secondly, to identify Valentinian themes and technical terms, thirdly, to situate each passage within the context of the system as a whole, and in relation to other Valentinian systems, and fourthly, to indicate the broader religious and philosophical background for the ideas occurring in the text.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the debt I owe to those who have advised me in the preparation of this work. Professor R.McL. Wilson has taken great pains in meticulously working through my typescript, providing invaluable criticism and many suggestions throughout. I am also extremely grateful for the encouragement he has given, without which this work would probably never have been completed. Professor Richard H. Pierce has given important advice, above all on matters of Coptic grammar, making numerous suggestions and corrections. For this, as well as for his continued interest in my work over the years I am highly appreciative. With Professor Harold W. Attridge, who is preparing the edition of TriTrac for the "Coptic Gnostic Library" series, I have had the benefit of exchanging views on several passages of the text, and he has also generously supplied me with considerable parts of the draft of his

translation, with extensive notes; to this material I have had occasion to refer frequently below under the siglum "Attridge." Finally I wish to thank the British Council for the grant which allowed me to begin my work on the TriTrac at St. Mary's College during the academic year 1977-78, and Norges almenvitenskapelige forskningsråd, whose financial support during 1980 and 1981 made possible the completion of this dissertation.

Abbreviations

- ApJn The Apocryphon of John. See Bibliographic index s.vv. Krause; and Till, Die gnostischen Schriften
- Attridge Provisional translation of TriTrac 51:1-73:28, and notes on 51:1-75:23, privately communicated by Harold W. Attridge.
- BG The Berlin Gnostic Papyrus. See Bibliographic index s.v. Till, Die gnostischen Schriften
- Emmel Emmel, S. "Unique Photographic Evidence for Nag Hammadi Texts: CG I 1-5." Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 15 (1978) 251-61.
- ExcTh Clement d'Alexandrie. Extraits de Théodote. Ed. François Sagnard. Sources chrétiennes, 23. Paris 1948.
- Facs. The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex I, Leiden 1977.
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Leipzig-Berlin.
- GTr Evangelium Veritatis, edd. M. Malinine et al. See Bibliographic index.
- K R. Kasser in Ka.
- Ka. Tractatus Tripartitus, edd. R. Kasser et al., 2 vols., Bern 1973 and 1975.
- LSJ A Greek-English Lexicon. Edd. Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick McKenzie. Oxford: 1968.

- M M. Malinine in Ka.
- NHC Nag Hammadi Codex: The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices. 11 vols. Leiden 1973-1977.
- NHLE The Nag Hammadi Library in English. Translated by members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. J.M. Robinson, Director. Leiden 1977.
- P H.-Ch. Puech in Ka.
- P&Q Puech, H.-Ch., and G. Quispel, "Le Quatrième Écrit gnostique du Codex Jung." Vigiliae Christianae 9 (1955) 65-102.
- Q G. Quispel in Ka.
- RAC Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. Edd. Th. Klauser et al. Stuttgart. In progress.
- Res De Resurrectione (NHC I, 4)
- Sch. Schenke, H.-M. "Zum sogenannten Tractatus Tripartitus des Codex Jung." Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 105 (1977) 133-41.
- Stern Stern, L. Koptische Grammatik. Leipzig 1880. Rpt. Osnabrück 1971.
- SVF Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta. Ed. J. von Arnim. 4 vols. Stuttgart: Teubner 1903-1924.
- TWNT Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. 10 vols. Stuttgart 1933-1979.
- V W. Vycichl in Ka.

- ValExp A Valentinian Exposition, NHC XI, 2,
22:1-39:29, quoted after The Facsimile
Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices:
Codex XI. Leiden 1973.
- W R.McL. Wilson in Ka.
- Z J. Zandee in Ka.

P A R T O N E

I N T R O D U C T I O N

I The Manuscript

"The Tripartite Tractate" is the generally accepted designation for the untitled fifth tractate of Nag Hammadi Codex I (pp. 51:1-138:25).

As the story of Codex I has been told elsewhere,¹ it will suffice to recapitulate here that at an early stage after the discovery of the Nag Hammadi library in December 1945 the codex was split into two portions and passed through the hands of separate antiquity dealers in Cairo. One lot consisted of 17 folios, the larger halves of 2 more folios, and 54 fragments. This was acquired by the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo in June 1952.² The other lot consisted of 51 folios, the smaller halves of 2 folios, and 103(?) fragments.³ This was bought by the Jung

¹ For the reconstructed story of the discovery one may now consult Robinson, "From the Cliff to Cairo"; for Codex I in particular the most recent and best documented account is the one told by Robinson in the "Preface" to Facs. Additional information is supplied in his polemical article in RelStRev 3.17-30. A definitive version is projected for the Introduction volume of the Facsimile Edition.

² Pp. 33-36, 49-50, 59-82, 87-90, halves of pp. 83-86; see Ka. I 11 n. 1, Facs. vii. Photographs of these pages (except the halves of 83-86) were published in P. Labib, Coptic Gnostic Papyri, Cairo 1956, plates 1-46.

³ Pp. A-B, 1-32, 37-48, 51-58, 91-138, halves of

Institute in Zürich in May 1952, pro forma as a present to C.G. Jung, and was named "the Jung Codex." After the publication of its five tractates by the designates of the Jung Institute, the "Jung Codex" was returned to Egypt in successive portions. Thus all known remains of the codex, with the exception of the cover, which now belongs to Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, California, have been kept in the Coptic Museum since October 1975, receiving the inventory numbers 10554, 10589, 10590, 11597 and 11640.

The papyrological and codicological studies carried out for the Facsimile Edition revealed that Codex I was composed of three quires of 22, 8 and 6 sheets making a total of 72 folios.¹ In the surviving material 70 folios

pp. 83-86; see Ka. loc. cit., Facs. xxvii. According to Facs. vii, 41 folios were put on consignment with the antiquities dealer J.A. Eid in 1946. In January 1949, during negotiations for the purchase of the MS, Eid informed the director of the library of the University of Michigan, W.C. Rice, that he had gained access to an additional 11 folios (Facs. ix). The source of these 11 folios has not been publicly reported. The total of 52 folios given by Eid at that time (ib.) must have been reached by counting the two half folios as one. The number of 103 fragments refers to what is visible on an old set of photographs made by Eid (ib. xxvii). Actually three more fragments not visible on these photographs were returned to the Coptic Museum in October 1975 (ib. xxvii-xxix).

¹ S. Emmel, BASP 14.56-57; Facs. xxi-xxv. These descriptions replace the incorrect one in Ka. I 11-13.

have been identified and more or less completely restored, while a number of small fragments remain unidentified. Some parts of the MS which are now lost can be documented by photographs taken on various previous occasions. The available documentation of the text of TriTrac is as follows:

- (1) The editio princeps (Ka.), which is still the only critical edition of the text.
- (2) The Facsimile Edition of Codex I (Facs.), which reproduces in correct positions 43 fragments of the pages containing TriTrac not included in the editio princeps.¹
- (3) The photographic evidence collated by Emmel, BASP 15.255-61 (Emmel).

The two missing final folios (of which the second may have

See also Robinson in R. McL. Wilson (ed.), The Future of Coptic Studies, 60-67.

¹ Cf. Facs. xxvii-xxix. 47 fragments were placed in Codex I by various scholars subsequently to the first editions of its tractates. Facs. also includes 30 unidentified inscribed fragments (Fragments nos. 1-30) and 38 unidentified fragments now only documented in photographs (Fragments nos. 31-68). (This makes a total of 169 fragments, apparently because to the 103 fragments on the photographs made by Eid one must add three fragments not on the photographs, one fragment misplaced on those photographs and now missing, and 8 fragments which have broken off from the papyrus after the photographs were made [Facs. xxix]. With the addition of the 54 fragments in Cairo a total of 169 is reached.)

been a stub) may have contained text related to TriTrac, but they may also have been uninscribed back flyleaves. In fact, one or two letters are faintly visible below the remains of a line of asterisci on p. 138.¹ As this kind of line is used regularly by this scribe to mark the conclusion of tractates (see below), and also because the text preceding this line has the normal form of a concluding doxology, it is unlikely that the additional text was (a fourth) part of TriTrac. It may, however, have been the title or the colophon of the tractate, or also a short independent tractate.

The date and provenance of the codex can be determined with some precision from Greek papyrus fragments used as cartonnage in the cover.² On these fragments the names of Chenoboskeia and Diospolis occur. Chenoboskeia (Copt. Sheneset, Arab. al-Qaşr) was located only some five kilometers from the site where the Nag Hammadi library

¹ Emmel, BASP 14.57; Facs. xxiii.

² Some of the papyrus fragments were edited provisionally by E.G. Turner in M. Krause (ed.) Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Pahor Labib, 17-18. Photographs of the cartonnage were subsequently published in the Cartonnage volume of the Facsimile Edition, plates 3-8. See also Robinson, Introd., NHLE, 16; Facs. xv-xvii; and the "Preface" to the Facsimile Edition of the cartonnage, xv-xvii. Papyri from the cartonnage of all the Nag Hammadi codices are now edited by J.W.B. Barns, G. Browne and J.C. Shelton in the Nag Hammadi Studies series (vol. 16, Leiden 1981), but this edition is still not accessible to me at the time of writing.

is alleged to have been discovered, whereas "Diospolis" is best interpreted as Diospolis Parva across the Nile from Chenoboskeia.¹ The Greek handwriting has been attributed by E.G. Turner to "the first half of the fourth century."² In principle no absolutely compelling inference can be made about the provenance of a cover from the cartonnage it contains, as the manufacturers of a cover are not necessarily identical with the original owners of the papyrus used as cartonnage. Nor can it be presupposed a priori that there was a close connection between the manufacture of the cover and the copying out of the manuscript. But in this particular case there is additional evidence which suggests that cartonnage, cover and manuscript are in fact connected: All the tractates of Codex I were copied by the same scribe, except tractate 4 (Res). Whereas the hand of this scribe is not found elsewhere in the Nag Hammadi library, the hand of tractate 4 is identical with the first hand of Codex XI. The second hand of Codex XI has in turn been identified with the hand of Codex VII. These three MSS are consequently closely related in their

¹ More precisely the reference is probably to the nomos of Diospolis Parva, to which Chenoboskeia belonged: The words Διοσπολις περι Χηνοβ' I, 1^c:4 (as the text is now to be read) refer to the nome more likely than to a person (as Turner, 18, thought initially), or to the town of Diospolis Parva itself.

² Turner, 17.

production.¹ But they also have in common that the cartonnage of their covers derives from Chenoboskeia: In a fragment from a letter found in Codex XI the sender is said to be a man from that town,² and the cartonnage of Codex VII derives at least in part from the Pachomian monasteries of the region. Further, some of the documents used as cartonnage in Codex VII are dated,³ and these datings, ranging from 333 to 348, agree with Turner's dating, on palaeographical grounds, of the cartonnage of Codex I. The coincidence that these three codices are related both in terms of scribal hands and in terms of the provenance and the date of the cartonnage of their covers, together with the fact that the codices were subsequently buried in the same region as the cartonnage derives from, can hardly be accounted for in any other way than by assuming that Codices I, VII and XI were all inscribed and bound within the same context (the same scriptorium?) in the region of Chenoboskeia, not many years after 348. On the other hand, as people who practised the binding of books are likely to have bought and collected used papyrus it cannot be safely inferred from the fact that some, or perhaps even all, of the cartonnage

¹ They can also be grouped together in terms of format, cf. Robinson in Krause (ed.), Essays, 185, 187.

² Facsimile Edition of the cartonnage, plate 72; cf. the "Preface," xvii.

³ See Barns in Krause (ed.), Essays, 12-15; Robinson in Facsimile Edition: Cartonnage, xix.

derived from Pachomian monasteries that these monasteries were that context.¹

Also the question for whom and for what purpose the MS was written can be partly answered. The chief scribe of the MS has decorated it with Christian symbols: On p. B Latin crosses as well as the crux ansata and a formula O ✠ ⲁⲚⲓⲐⲐⲐⲐ have been drawn; a crux ansata also concludes the first part of TriTrac on p. 104:3. Unless these signs have been copied from the scribe's model--it is far more likely that on p. B they have been added because of the spare space--they bear witness to the scribe's attitude to the text he was copying. First, since it is unlikely that a commercial MS would be decorated in this way, they show that the codex was made for the private use of the scribe (and the group to which he belonged). That this is so may also be deduced from the non-calligraphic quality of the script. Secondly, the signs testify that the scribe was a Christian; and thirdly, they suggest that he regarded the texts as valuable

¹ Pace Barns, 12. For a discussion of the inherent possibility of this see Robinson, Introd., NHLE 16-21. That no Pachomian monks could have been sympathetic towards Gnosticism is argued by Sève-Söderbergh in Ménard (ed.), Les Textes de Nag Hammadi, 3-13. Hedrick, NovTest 22.78-94, interpreting the Life of Pachomius, shows that "Pachomian" monasticism was less homogeneous in organization, and possibly therefore in doctrine as well, than is sometimes believed. He conjectures that the Nag Hammadi library may have been owned by a faction of monks emphasizing the importance of visional experience.

Christian documents. Thus the possibility is excluded that the copies were made in the interest of refuting Gnostic heresy.¹ The owner, or owners, of the codex will have been a Christian, or a group of Christians, sympathetic to Gnostic ideas. As Codex I was produced and in all likelihood owned by the same group as produced Codices VII and XI, whose contents are clearly heterogeneous, this group cannot, however, be identified with any of the varieties of Gnosticism represented by the texts.

The MS contains a number of signs, among them reading signs and text division marks. As the understanding of their use does not always bear on the interpretation of the contents of the text, an exhaustive study of them may be dispensed with here, and I restrict myself to the following observations.² (These observations refer only to TriTrac, although in some instances it has been found useful to supply evidence from the rest of the MS.)

Point and apostrophe. Both a hooked apostrophe and a high point frequently occur. Other forms are rare.³

¹ This is the view argued by Sæve-Söderbergh, op. cit.

² A first study of them was published in Ka. I 14-15, 10-22.

³ A double dot (:) is found at the end of lines 52:29 and 87:4, cf. 18:30, 19:24, 29:33, and after the first word of a line in 78:9 and 136:16. A straight apostrophe may be discerned e.g. in 51:35, 66:35.

Their uses are:

- (1) Syllable division only (rare).¹
- (2) Syllable and morpheme division. A double consonant is often marked in the middle to distinguish two morphemes.² Of the letters, ε and τ are very frequently marked, often also Η, ΕΙ, Α, Ρ, Ϛ, -Υ, ϣ and ϝ. Indeed, every letter which can close a word in Coptic has received a mark at least once.³

Sometimes the point is placed in or near the middle of the line. No distinctive functions seem to belong to these forms and positions. Nor do hook and point differ from another in their function as articulation marks. The only significant difference in their use that I can detect is that the hook is the preferred shape after τ.

¹ Apart from the usual spelling λΓ·ΓΕΛΟC (cf. Layton, ZPE 11.191), the following instances have been noted: εϚε·εΙ(ω)ϣ 52:33, Ϛετ·Ϛ(ω)τ 53:4, εϣκλ·Ρλϊτ 55:25, λττεϚ·λϣ 77:27, ΔΙλ·/ΘεCIC 130:26-27.

² E.g. ΟΥΝ̄ ΟΛΜ·ΜΕΝ 51:34, λτ·τεϚλϣ 54:21, Πετ·† 106:31, λεν·-ΝΧε 112:11; cf. also Ka. I 14 n. 12.

³ The evidence does not suggest that those letters which also constitute common one-letter prefix morphemes are marked more frequently than letters which do not possess such morphemic qualities (the observation made by Layton, ZPE 11.192 concerning NHC II, 4). Thus, for instance, an explanation of the marking of τ as fundamentally a way to distinguish it from the article is contradicted by the fact that the letters Π and Ν are marked with much less regularity when not used as articles than is τ. Further, one-letter morphemes are

The situation described here makes it impossible to demonstrate conclusively the existence in the MS of a system of punctuation as distinct from a system of syllable and word division, as any point which may be interpreted as a sign of punctuation may also be read as an articulation mark, used organically or by scribal habit.¹ On the other hand, many of the points which may be read as articulation marks may also be interpreted as punctuation marks. This is particularly striking on the first few pages of TriTrac, where not only do the greater number of the points actually occur at the end of segments of text which we should identify as clauses and sentences, but also the majority of such clauses and sentences as the text may be divided into are concluded by a high point. (Possibly even some instances of the hooked apostrophe are to be interpreted as punctuation marks.) Later in the text such correspondences are less regular. This suggests that the scribe actually did make an attempt to punctuate

actually found to be marked in some instances, e.g. λ·/ΤΡΟΥΥΟΥΩΝ̄ 55:31-32, ΕΠ·/ΟΥΩΩΕ 55:39-40, Μ·ΠΩΩ 57:39,]ΕΤ̄·̄ ΝΟΕΙ 58:13, Ν̄·ΛΤΩΤΑ 62:38. It seems that, as far as the system followed by TriTrac is concerned, the reason why some letters are marked more frequently than others is that the letters in question occur very frequently within a syllable (Inlaut) so that a need is felt to mark these letters when they occur at the end of a syllable (Auslaut).

¹ On the inconsistent use of the apostrophe cf. the remarks of Layton, 193.

his text but became less concerned with doing so (perhaps because he was unable fully to understand its contents) in the process of copying.

Signs of text division. The following may be distinguished:

- (1) Punctuation: See above.
- (2) Spaces indicating major divisions of text (paragraph) occur in the MS although not very frequently and at irregular intervals.¹ The initial letter of the following section is, as a rule, slightly enlarged.² Interestingly the majority of the sections following a space are introduced by ΧΕ: This shows that this particle is sometimes felt to indicate a significant change in the text.³
- (3) A diple obelismene (Ϸ) occurs once,⁴ probably

¹ Cf. 55:27, 64:8, 69:3.10.14.31, 70:7.14, 71:7.35, 73:18, 74:18, 75:13, 78:17, 80:30, 112:27. There is no evidence that a space is ever used to signal syllable and word division, or a period, as Ka. I 15 suggests.

² On this usage in early Christian MSS from Egypt cf. Roberts, Manuscript, Society and Belief, 15-17.

³ ΧΕ in TriTrac often corresponds to, and probably translates, οὗν and γάρ; this usage is not well attested elsewhere, in the Sahidic New Testament there are only three instances of ΧΕ = γάρ and none of ΧΕ = οὗν.

⁴ Below 82:9 (Cf. bottom of p. 33). On this sign and its relation to the paragraphus see Turner, Greek Manuscripts, 14-15 with n. 4.

with the same significance as the space.¹

- (4) What may be described as a line of diples ending in an obelus concludes major sections of the tractate (on pages 104 and 108). It must be distinguished from
- (5) what may be described as a line of asterisci, which the scribe uses to close a tractate (pages B, 16, 43, 138). These lines are not exclusively decorative; they should also be read as division marks. Thus the fact that traces of a line of asterisci are discernible on p. 138² allows the inference that there was no fourth part of the Tripartite Tractate.

Diple. Several uses should be distinguished:

- (1) A line of diples closing the part of a tractate (see above).
- (2) Diple obelismene signalling a paragraph (see above).
- (3) "Critical" diple at the beginning of a line;² it more probably points out a passage of special interest than a textual problem.³

¹ 82:10 begins with XE. There was no room for spacing at the end of the preceding line.

² 68:19, 82:2-3, 84:11-13, 119:23-27; cf. 17:1, 40:1-2.

³ The passages marked in this way tend to be general and easily quotable dicta: "He is the All" 68:19; the nature of prayer 82:2-3; on violence 84:11-13; on the double inclination of the psychics 119:23-27. The meaning

- (4) "Diple" used to fill up the end of a line, more often than not at the end of a page.¹ It is not to be understood as a punctuation mark.²

The more significant classes of scribal errors are as follows:

- (1) The most frequent single error is the omission of one, less often of two letters in the course of writing. This includes
- (2) omission of the article: 5 instances were corrected by the scribe,³ 11 were left

of the two instances in GTr seems less explicable in such terms. These diples may also be interpreted as line fillers added as a result of adjustment of the margin. (A line filler at the beginning of a line may be observed in 96:32.) These signs may also have been taken over from the model: On the scribe's tendency to mechanical reproduction see below.

¹ 59 end, 66 end, 75:32-35, 83:21, 85 end, 89 end, 90:13, 93 end, 97 end, 101 end, 118:36. Line fillers were also used in Codices III and XII.

² See in particular 75:32-35 and 89/90, 93-94, 97/98, 101/102 in the translation below. It is clear from a correct translation of these passages and from the study of text division marks above that the statement of Ka. I 15 that "les 'chapitres', si l'on peut en distinguer dans cet ouvrage, sont généralement marqués par des elements en forme de V couché ('chevron') ou d'Y couché (diple), l'ouverture à gauche" is not correct.

³ 55:39, 57:36, 70:4, 126:23, 129:16.

- uncorrected¹ (contractions not counted);²
- (3) omission of the pronominal suffix: 2 instances corrected,³ 5 left uncorrected.⁴
- (4) Confusion of Υ and ϣ. (a) Substitution of ϣ for Υ: 2 instances were corrected,⁵ at least 13 were left uncorrected.⁶ (b) Substitution of Υ for ϣ: 1 instance corrected,⁷ at least 9 instances left uncorrected.⁸ This serious confusion is probably best explained from similarity of the two letters in the script of the model.⁹
- (5) Confusion of Π and Τ. ΕΠ corrected to ΕΤΒ 51:23, 92:25; λϣ2ω{T}Π 62:18; 2ΗΠ for 2ΗΤ 108:27,35; ΠΕΥΕΠΙΚΟΠΗ 91:9. These examples corroborate the hypothesis of Ka. I 16, that the hand of the model used a semi-cursive Τ

¹ 57:4-5, 60:5, 78:29-30, 82:11, 94:31, 106:11, 112:3, 114:14, 116:25-26, 117:14, 118:11.

² This is a not uncommon error in early MSS, cf. Kahle, Bala'izah, ch. VIII, §§ 53a, 94a, 110c.

³ 61:23, 66:20.

⁴ 52:17, 53:4, 116:9, 120:21, 126:21.

⁵ 123:23, 127:3.

⁶ Cf. 59:18, 63:10, 64:21, 93:6, 90:1, 91:8, 110:20, 113:11.13, 117:9-10.11, 119:32, 131:3.

⁷ 54:16.

⁸ Cf. 55:4.10, 59:35, 80:28, 88:30, 89:11.13, 90:23, 94:1.

⁹ Cf. Kahle, *ib.* §§ 60B, 122.

resembling a Γ.

- (6) The frequent haplographies and dittographies are surveyed in Ka. I 18-19.
- (7) Influence from Sahidic spelling and/or pronunciation. The following Sahidicisms were corrected by the scribe: KΩ`Ε' 97:14, 99:7 (as a rule the spelling KΩ only occurs in TriTrac before a syllabic consonant producing elision of e), 2Pλ corrected during writing to 2PHï 68:24, ΕΝΕ2(Ε) corrected to ΕΝ`Η'2Ε (sic) 121:26, 2O corrected to 2ω 129:31. Numerous uncorrected Sahidicisms remain in the MS, but many of them probably originate from earlier stages of the transmission and some may go back to the Coptic archetype itself.

It is suggested by Ka. (I 35) that the copyist was a man "vraisemblablement plus grec que copte," apparently in an attempt to account for the numerous scribal errors and orthographic peculiarities of the text. Now the fact that the other tractates copied by the same scribe do not show the same types and amount of peculiarities as TriTrac would lead one to seek the cause of these peculiarities in the earlier stages of the transmission rather than in the competence of this particular scribe. In support of their view the editors argue that the scribe has in general spelled Greek words correctly. But the treatment of Greek words in TriTrac in fact leads to the opposite conclusion to that of the editors. Consider for example

such forms as ΛΠΟCΤΑCΙΟC (for ἀποκατάστασις) 128:30; ΛΡΧΗΑΓΓΕΛΟC 100:1; ΛΥΤΕΥΕΟΥCΙΟC 75:35; the plural ΓΡΑΦΗΟΥ 112:25, 113:4; ΔΩΔΟΝ (for εἴδωλον) 79:10-11; Ε†ΙΟC (for αἴτως) 81:10; CΙΝΔΥΝΟC 106:37, even treated as fem.; the regular contractions of the indefinite article with ΟΥ in ΟΥCΙΔ and of the definite masculine article with Π in ΠΝΔ, ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC and ΠΛΗΡΩΜΔ . A Hellenist would hardly have treated Greek words in this way, on the contrary they are easily explained as forms produced by a native Egyptian scribe not very well acquainted with Greek.

The question should also be asked whether the scribe has deliberately changed the text of his model. The suggestion of Ka. (I 35) that the scribe attempted, not quite successfully, to translate a Sahidic model into Subachmimic can be disposed of immediately, as it is highly improbable that the text goes back to a Sahidic archetype at all (see below). In a few instances the scribe has in fact first written a Sahidic form and then corrected it into a Subachmimic variant (see above, p. 15 [7]); the likely explanation for this is that the scribe felt more at home with Sahidic than with Subachmimic orthography. Another observation which can be made from these corrections is that rather than trying to replace Subachmimic with Sahidic forms he made an effort to preserve the dialecticisms of his model.

There are also instances of slavish reproduction of graphic forms, as when he writes $\overline{M}/\overline{M}\overline{T}$ $\overline{M}MOC$ in 66:31-32,

and when he corrects his "mistake" ΠΑΡΑΔΙC to ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟC in 101:30 (ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΟC is used throughout, 4 instances). (This is not a spelling peculiarity of the scribe, for in GTr 33:37-38 he copied, twice, ΠΑΡΑΔΙC(OC).)

These few examples suffice to show that the scribe desired to reproduce the text of his model accurately. His aim was to produce a copy, not a translation, a revision or a critical edition.

II The Text

The title of the tractate, if indeed it ever had one, is not known. As the final folio of the text (137/38) has been heavily damaged, it cannot be decided whether the tractate was given a title in the MS or not, although traces of writing which can be discerned below the concluding line on p. 138 may have belonged to a subscript title (cf. above, p. 4). It is quite conceivable that the tractate was not given a title by the scribe, since of the other tractates copied by him, that is, Codex I, 1, 2 and 3, only the first one (the Prayer of Paul) was provided with a title. Thus for I, 5 to be without a title would be in accordance with what is the rule with the tractates copied by this scribe--in contrast to the remainder of the Nag Hammadi tractates, where a title is nearly always indicated.¹ It is also a matter for doubt whether a title is at all to be expected

for a work of the nature of TriTrac. The Valentinian Exposition (NHC XI,2) does not have a title, nor do Irenaeus, Hippolytus or Epiphanius give reason to think that the Valentinian treatises they used bore titles. The same applies, outside Valentinianism, to NHC II,5. What all these texts have in common is that they are comprehensive salvation-historical treatises of a didactic nature. It is easily understandable that titles were not normally applied to works of this genre, unlike apocalypses, which can be attributed to particular revelation mediators giving them authority, and also unlike treatises with a more restricted scope, which can be defined by their subject matter.

That the text is not a treatise but a summary or an excerpt from a treatise has been suggested by H.-M. Schenke (Sch. 135), on the basis of the use of XE to introduce paragraphs in the text, a usage which he assumes is elliptic for ΠΕΧΔΥ XE. If this were the case, however, one should not expect the text to form a continuously flowing discourse, but to exhibit breaks and discontinuity in the argument. Schenke has not tried to argue that this is the case, and I must say, for my own part, that I

¹ Cf. Standaert, VigChr 30.138ff. Instead of attributing this anomaly to the idiosyncrasy of this particular copyist (thus Standaert, 140, 149)--he did, after all, give the title of I,1--one might equally well regard it as deriving from a common source of transmission for I,2, 3 and 5.

can find no indications in the way that the text is laid out that we are not dealing with an author expounding his teaching at first hand. As far as the "introductory ΧΕ" is concerned, it seems to serve to connect paragraphs to one another, in the same way as Greek employs οὖν, γάρ and other particles (Blass-Debrunner §§ 451-52), which it may be assumed to translate in the Vorlage. The ΧΕ which opens the text may be interpreted as a subordinating causal conjunction, in conformity with normal usage.

Ka.'s assumption (I 33-35) that TriTrac is a translation from the Greek has met with no contradiction. In fact, no Gnostic work which exists in Coptic has ever been shown to be anything but a translation of a Greek original,¹ and there is no reason to suspect that TriTrac should be an exception to the rule. In order to make the fact of a Greek Vorlage transparent, however, I submit the following observations:

ⲚⲈⲗⲘ ⲛⲈ Ⲛⲓ̅ ⲙⲛ̅ⲧⲣⲉϥⲙⲙⲈ 110:17-18, "they are glories and theories," is not a very meaningful sentence, but it is easily explainable from a Greek Vorlage: The

¹ Such attempts have been made. G. Fecht thought that the Gospel of Truth was an original Coptic work, while P. Nagel tried to show that it was translated from Syriac; both theories have been convincingly refuted by A. Böhlig, "Zur Ursprache des Evangelium Veritatis," Le Muséon 79 (1966) 317-33, and Ménard, L'Évangile de Vérité, 9-17. Similarly, A. Kragerud's arguments that Pistis Sophia was composed in Coptic have been rebutted by H.L. Jansen in Temenos 3.181-83.

translator, more accustomed to the biblical than to the classical sense of δόξα, has failed to see that ΕΛΥ was no equivalent to the word in this case.

A valuable (but generally unrecognized) clue to a Greek Vorlage in many texts is the mechanical use of the verbal pre-extension $\bar{\rho}$ ω (\bar{o}) $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\pi}$ \bar{N} - "be the first to ...," "do in advance," in translations of compounds with $\pi\rho\omicron$ -, regardless of whether the preposition refers to time, space or preference. In TriTrac the following restorations may be made with some degree of confidence:

- $\bar{\rho}$ ω $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\pi}$ \bar{N} ΕΙ' λβλλ < $\bar{\pi}$ προελθεῖν (62:19)¹
 $\bar{\rho}$ ω λ $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\pi}$ \bar{M} ΜΕΥΕ < $\bar{\pi}$ προνοεῖν (61:1-2, 126:28)
 $\bar{\rho}$ ω λ $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\pi}$ $\bar{\Pi}$ ΜΟΥΚΜΟΥΚ < ? $\bar{\pi}$ προεννοεῖν (107:28)
 $\bar{\rho}$ ω λ $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\pi}$ \bar{N} ΩΤ $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\pi}$ < $\bar{\pi}$ προαίρεσθαι (121:23)
 $\bar{\rho}$ ω λ $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\pi}$ \bar{N} COYΩN < $\bar{\pi}$ προγινώσκειν (82:24)
 $\bar{\rho}$ ω $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\pi}$ \bar{N} ΩOON < $\bar{\pi}$ προεῖναι (for references, cf. Ka. II 335 s.v.)
 $\bar{\rho}$ ω $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\pi}$ \bar{N} ΧOO= < $\bar{\pi}$ προεἰπεῖν (for references, cf. Ka. loc. cit.)

In all these instances the hand of the translator is noticeable; particularly revealing are the mistaken renderings $\bar{\rho}$ ω $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\pi}$ \bar{N} ΕΙ' λβλλ and $\bar{\rho}$ ω λ $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\pi}$ \bar{N} ΩΤ $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\pi}$.

$\bar{\Pi}$ ΛΕΙ ΕΤΛΥ† 20 λΡΛϣ 87:9 is an over-literal translation of ὁ παράκλητος.

\bar{N} ΙΤΥΠΟC \bar{N} Ωλ $\bar{\rho}$ $\bar{\pi}$ 123:15 must represent οἱ ἀρχέτυποι or possibly οἱ πρωτότυποι.

¹ Cf. Crum, Dict., 588a; also Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2, 14 for the Gnostic context.

The milieu of the text is unanimously assumed to be Valentinian, and there can be no serious doubt in this regard. Firstly, the commentary below will provide ample evidence that TriTrac belongs in a Valentinian literary tradition, a tradition which is also exemplified by such writings as the Valentinian sources of Irenaeus, Hippolytus and Epiphanius, as well as by Clement of Alexandria's Excerpts from Theodotus and the Valentinian Exposition of NHC XI,2. Secondly, that the author is not only a "literary" Valentinian, but also a practising member of the Valentinian spiritual Church is borne out by the attention he gives to the spiritual Church in general (especially in the final parts of the treatise from 114:30 onwards), and by the statement "us ... who are his Church" 125:4-5 in particular.

Puech and Quispel thought, in 1955 (P&Q), that they could take one step further, and suggested that the author of TriTrac was Heracleon, who according to Clem. Strom. IV 71:1 was Valentinus' most outstanding pupil and according to Hipp. El. VI 35:6 the main representative, together with Ptolemy, of the "Italic," or "Western" branch of Valentinianism. Heracleon is also known as the author of a commentary on the Fourth Gospel, of which numerous fragments have been preserved through Origen's commentary on the same text. P&Q offer two lines of argument for this view. The first argument starts from the observation that the first principle of TriTrac is unitary, a Father, and not a syzygy (as e.g. in the main

system in Irenaeus), and that this agrees with the position of the Valentinian system in Hippolytus (El. VI 29:5): "L'un et l'autre ... s'accordent à mettre l'accent sur l'unicité du Dieu inconnu, et, s'agissant là d'une attitude qui était loin d'être unanime au sein de l'École, cet accord paraît assez significatif pour donner à penser qu'ils appartenaient tous deux à une même tendance, à une même fraction du Valentinisme. Admettant, d'après une opinion aujourd'hui commune, que la source d'Hippolyte provient de la branche 'italique' de la secte, on sera ainsi amené à classer notre auteur parmi les valentiniens 'occidentaux'" (P&Q 82-83). Since TriTrac apparently is the work of a prominent Valentinian teacher, and cannot be Ptolemy, whose system, it is assumed, is represented by Iren. AH I 1-8, Heracleon is left as the only likely alternative. This argument makes a series of assumptions, each of which is open to serious criticism. It will be sufficient, however, to point out that the basic presupposition is flawed: There is simply no justification for the claim that the notion of a unitary first principle, as opposed to a syzygy (Bythos-Sige, Father-Thought etc.) would be unacceptable within Oriental Valentinianism. In fact, the Western school exhibits both theories (the systems in Irenaeus and Hippolytus), and there is no reason not to expect similar variety in the Eastern school. It should be added that we possess no certain documentation of Oriental Valentinian theories on the subject. The second argument is based upon the

reports on the doctrine of Heracleon in (Ps.-)Tert. Adv. Haer. 4 and Philastrius Div. Her. 41; but as Böhlig points out ("Zum Gottesbegriff," 50-51), these testimonies do not say that Heracleon assumed an initial monad, from which two further entities emanated (which P&Q identify as the Son and the Church), but that the original monad duplicated itself into a duality.

The editing team of Ka. express greater reservation than P&Q with regard to Heracleon as the author, but confidently retain the attribution of TriTrac to Western Valentinianism: "Quoi qu'il en soit, il est clair que notre écrit est d'origine valentinienne, et appartient plus spécialement à l'école dite 'italienne'" (Ka. I 37), a formulation which is echoed by several of the reviewers.¹

The argument for Heracleon as the author has been taken up by Böhlig, "Zum Gottesbegriff," 51, referring to the fragment from Heracleon's commentary on the Gospel of John in Orig. In Ioh. II 14, where, he claims, Heracleon, like the author of TriTrac, uses the name Logos for the figure which other Valentinians refer to as Sophia. But, as the fragments in Orig. In Ioh. VI 20-21 and XIII 44 make evident, Heracleon's Logos is identical with the Saviour, and if the Logos is given a demiurgic function

¹ "[Le traité] se rattache plus particulièrement à la branche 'italique' du valentinisme," J. Daniélou, VigChr 29.70; "certamente di un esponente del valentinianesimo occidentale," D. Devoti, Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa 11.273; "inhaltlich weisen ihn die Herausgeber vermutlich mit Recht der westlichen Schule der Valentinianer zu," U. Luz, ThZ 33.384; cf. also K.-M. Fischer, ThLZ 104.662.

in the fragment cited by Böhlig, this is in full agreement with the description of the activity of the Saviour in other Valentinian documents (e.g. ExcTh 47:1, Iren. AH I 4:5).

Colpe, JbAC 22.105-06, is also favourably disposed towards the hypothesis of Heracleon as the author, because "die Johanneserklärung des Herakleon enthält Parallelen zum TractTrip, die klärender sind als alle anderen." A justification for this assertion is not given, and I can only state that it has not received confirmation through my own commentary on the text. I also fail to perceive any "Defiziënz systeminterner Relationierungen" in the treatise, or that its system should be less tightly structured than the one in Iren. AH I 1-8, which Colpe claims is a common characteristic of TriTrac and Heracleon.

That all arguments put forward so far for a closer definition of the author and milieu of TriTrac can be shown to be inconclusive does not imply that progress in this area cannot be made. First of all closer attention should be given to the evidence that exists concerning the two Valentinian schools. According to Hippolytus what divided the two schools was the interpretation of the nature of the body of the Saviour:

Concerning this there is a great dispute among them-- a cause of dissension and division. Consequently, their teaching is divided and the one is called among them the eastern doctrine, the other the Italian. Those from Italy--and to this group Heracleon and Ptolemaeus belong--say that the body of Jesus was psychic and that because of this at his baptism the Spirit came upon him like a dove--that is, the Logos

of Sophia, the mother from above--and entered into his psychic body, and also raised him from the dead. ... Those from the east--to whom Axionicus and Ardesianes belong--affirm that the body of the Saviour was pneumatic. For there came upon Mary the Holy Spirit, that is, Sophia, and the power of the Most High, the creative art, in order that that which was given to Mary by the Spirit might be formed (El. VI 35:5-7; tr. Hill in Foerster-Wilson).

The significance of the issue is made clear by the texts. In AH I 6:1, after stating that the spirituals were sent down to earth in order to be trained and educated, Irenaeus continues:

The Saviour is said to have come to the psychic, since it possessed free will, in order to save it. For they maintain that he received the first-fruits of those whom he intended to save (ὧν γὰρ ἤμελλε σφῆζειν, τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι); from Achamoth he acquired the spiritual (τὸ πνευματικόν) from the Demiurge he put on the psychic Christ, from the Oikonomia (the dispensation) he was endowed with a body which had a psychic substance, but was so constructed with ineffable art that it was visible, tangible, and capable of suffering. He received nothing whatever material, they say, for matter is not capable of being saved (tr. Hill).

The composition of the Saviour is a function of his salvific task. He receives as increments the substances of those for whose salvation he is appointed, in such a way that by his descent into the world and subsequent ascent from it he prefigures ("first-fruits") the salvation of those whose substances he contains, at the

same time as they on their part, spirituals and psychics, all become part of the totality of the Saviour. In this passage the word "body" is reserved for the empirical (but psychic) body of Jesus, but the context, as well as the use of the word "put on" (ἐνδύσθαι) to describe the Saviour's assumption of his added components, hints that there also exists another "body" of the Saviour, namely the community of the saved. This interpretation is confirmed by ExcTh 1: "What Sophia brought forth as 'flesh' for the Logos, (he says), namely the spiritual seed, that the Saviour put on and descended" (ὁ πρόεβαλε, φησί, σαρκίον τῷ Λόγῳ ἡ Σοφία, τὸ πνευματικὸν σπέρμα, τοῦτο στολισάμενος κατήλθεν ὁ Σωτήρ). Here the body of the Saviour consists of the spiritual seed worn by the Saviour at his descent. The comparison of this fragment with the passage in Iren. AH I 6:1 indicates the correct interpretation of Hippolytus' note about the issue dividing the two schools. Theodotus is, as the superscript to the ExcTh shows, an exponent of the Oriental school, and although not all of the Excerpts can be attributed to him, or at all to Oriental Valentinianism, it can be fairly confidently assumed that this is the case with the first excerpt, which follows immediately upon the superscript and is introduced by φησί. Furthermore, Theodotus is explicitly mentioned in ExcTh 26:1, which clearly implies the same doctrine: "The visible part of Jesus was (the) Wisdom and the church of the superior seed, which he put on through the flesh, as Theodotus

says." Now to Theodotus the body of the Saviour is the spiritual seed, whereas in Iren. AH I 6:1 the Saviour was clothed in both the spiritual and the psychic substance at his descent. This indicates that the controversial issue to which Hippolytus refers did not concern, or at least not primarily, the nature of the Saviour's empirical body, but the composition of that body of his which is the Church, the Westerners including in it the psychics, the Easterners restricting it to the spirituals only.¹ It is easy to understand that this question could become "a cause of dissension and division," as Hippolytus says, being not only a theoretical issue of christology, but one with obvious practical consequences.

The Western position is also attested by ExcTh 58-59: "He [Jesus Christ] took upon himself the Church, that is, the chosen and the called--the spiritual from her who had borne it, but the psychic from the Oikonomia (dispensation)--and bore aloft what he had assumed and thereby what was consubstantial with them" (ἐν ἑαυτῷ οὐνάμει τὴν ἑκκλησίαν ἀναλαβών, τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν καὶ τὸ κλητὸν, τὸ μὲν παρὰ τῆς τεκούσης τὸ πνευματικόν, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς οἰκονομίας τὸ ψυχικόν, [ὁ] ἀνέσωσεν καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν ἄπερ ἀνέλαβεν, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὁμοουσία 58:1),

¹ This is also the conclusion of E. Pagels in her contribution to The Rediscovery of Gnosticism, I 277ff. On the other hand J.-D. Kaestli fails to take account of this aspect altogether in his article in the same volume, 391-403, although he otherwise offers several good observations on the subject.

and elsewhere.¹ Other than in Theodotus the contrasting Eastern view can be found in Epiph. Pan. XXXI 7:4-5: "But they say that his body was brought down from above, and passed through the virgin Mary like water through a pipe, without having received anything from the virgin's womb, but he had a body from above.... they say that he was brought for no other reason than to come and save the spiritual race from above." What allows the attribution of this text to Oriental Valentinianism is above all the final sentence: Since the principle underlying the concept of the Saviour's body is that it contains the substance of that which the Saviour descends to save, the statement that he came in order to save the spiritual race, which stands in striking contrast to Iren. AH I 6:1, where the Saviour is said to have descended in order to save the psychic, can only mean that the body in Epiphanius' source is thought of as exclusively spiritual.

Turning now to TriTrac, it says of the flesh (σάρξ) of the Saviour that "it derives from the spiritual logos" (114:6-7), i.e. from TriTrac's equivalent to Sophia. This flesh is the seed which the logos emitted previously when the Saviour manifested himself to him (114:9-16), a theme which corresponds to the emission of the spiritual seed by Sophia at the vision of the Saviour and his angels in other Valentinian systems. This seed is in

¹ Cf. Iren. AH I 7:2, ?15:1.3, III 16:1, 17:4; ExcTh ?16, ?60, 61:6. The several variations between these texts cannot be discussed in this context. A recent study of the problems involved is provided by Kaestli, loc. cit.

fact the spirituals (115:33-116:8), or the spiritual Church in the sphere of the logos (94:20-21, 97:5-9, 125:4-5) and the body of the Saviour (122:12-15, 123:11-22). In fact the psychics, or the Calling, are not members of the Church as such, but servants and helpers of the Church (119:25-122:1, 134:23ff). Consequently, it was for the sake of the Election, i.e. the spirituals, more than anything else, that the Saviour came (122:17-19), a formulation which agrees as closely with the statement in Epiphanius quoted above as it disagrees with Iren. I 6:1. For further details of TriTrac's views on these matters I refer to the translation below and the relevant notes.

It will now be evident that if one takes Hippolytus' testimony about the distinction between the two Valentinian schools as the point of reference--which is the sole criterion that we possess for judging in the issue--then only one conclusion is possible: TriTrac belongs to the Oriental, not the Western branch of Valentinianism. The significance of this realization for the comparative study of the two Valentinian schools is obvious, since TriTrac then becomes the only extant example of a systematic exposition of Oriental Valentinian doctrine.

About the teachers of this branch of Valentinianism little is known.¹ Hippolytus mentions Axionicus, whom

¹ The available evidence is surveyed by Leisegang in Pauly-Wissowa, VII A 2271-72.

Tert. Adv. Val. 4 describes as a conservative Valentinian teaching in Antioch, and Ardesianes, who is mentioned nowhere else and whose name several scholars have wished to emend to Bardesanes. Further, there is the Theodotus of ExcTh, and, according to some scholars, Marcus the Magician and his teacher Colarbasus. The only conclusion which can be drawn from what is known of these figures, with regard to the authorship of TriTrac, is that the author cannot have been Marcus or Theodotus, the only names on the list of whose teaching enough remains to allow comparison: Marcus appears to have been dominated by an interest in number symbolism, whereas Theodotus applied the conventional name of Sophia to the fallen aeon and Mother of the spirituals, and not as TriTrac does, Logos.

The date of composition was set by P&Q as "entre 150 et 180 environ" (70), on the basis of their assumption that Heracleon was the author. Ka., strangely, adopts this dating, but without accepting the argument about authorship upon which P&Q based it (I 37). Subsequent commentators either accept this dating (Devoti, RivStLettRel 11.273 and 13.328) or leave the question unanswered. Since, however, the hypothesis that Heracleon was the author has to be rejected, the question of the date is thereby left open. What can be said with absolute certainty, of course, is that TriTrac cannot, on the one hand, possibly antedate the activity of Valentinus himself, from 130-40 onwards, and must, on the other, precede by a few years at least, the date of the codex in which

its Coptic version is preserved, i.e. ca. 340, on the other. It should be recalled that there is ample evidence that Valentinianism was still a force to be reckoned with, at least in the East, in the middle of the fourth century,¹ and there is no reason to assume that Valentinian treatises were no longer composed at that time.

The question then arises whether there is any internal evidence which would allow a more precise dating within this two hundred years span. I do not here intend to offer an exhaustive study of such evidence, but restrict my discussion to a certain number of points which have emerged in the course of commenting upon the text, and which suggest, to my mind, that the date should be set at a later, rather than an earlier, stage within the span of time mentioned.

(1) Affinities with Origenism. That such affinities exist was pointed out by P&Q, who noted (a) that the argument from the designation of God as "Father" to the necessary existence of the "Son" in TriTrac 51:12-15 is a characteristic of the Origenist school (see note in loc.), and (b) that this is also the case with the argument from the oneness of the Father to the onlybegottenness of the Son (57:8-23; see note). To

¹ Harnack, Altchristliche Literatur, I 174; Leisegang, op. cit. 2269; A. Vööbus, History of Ascetism in the Syrian Orient, I: The Origin of Ascetism, Early Monasticism in Persia (Corp. Script. Christ. Or., vol. 184; Subsidia, tom. 14), 54ff.

these observations one might add (c) the notion that the Son is eternally generated (esp. 56:30-35, 58:7-8), (d) the idea that the end will be unity, like the beginning (127:23-25, 132:20-23), and (e) the idea that the entire cycle of emission, fall and temporal cosmic existence expresses a providential economy on the part of the Father, and an education process; although this idea is not alien to other Valentinian systems, its striking prominence in TriTrac necessarily invites a comparison with corresponding features of Origen's theodicy.¹ P&Q, it is true, described the affinities between TriTrac and Origenism in terms of an anticipation of Origenist tenets by TriTrac, and also interpreted them to evince an influence exercised upon Origen by Valentinianism in general and the author of TriTrac (Heracleon, whose commentary on John Origen knew) in particular.² But there is no reason why this line of argument could not be reversed, by assuming that the author of TriTrac has been exposed to Origenism, which is intrinsically at least not less plausible.

(2) Rejection of the Catholic notion of a substance of the Father. This occurs in a section where the author is concerned to establish the oneness and simplicity of

¹ The observation is also made by Quispel, "From Mythos to Logos," 167ff.

² This point of view is taken up again by Colpe, JbAC 22.103ff.

the Father. Among such affirmations as cannot be made of the Father is that he should have "a substance (οὐσία) within him, from which he brings forth the things which he brings forth" 53:34-35. I can find no other explanation for this statement than that it refers to the use of the word οὐσία in certain Christian theological contexts, especially in the formula ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς used to express the generation of the Son. This formula, which was to become orthodox with Nicaea, was used by Origen and his pupils Theognostus and Dionysius of Alexandria, as well as by Dionysius of Rome (for all these see Athan. Decr. Nic. Syn. 25), and by Tertullian (Adv. Prax. 4 and 26). As is well known, Origen once, In Ioh. XX 18, and later the Arians, opposed the formula because of its materialist connotations. If this interpretation of the passage in question is correct, and it is both plausible in the context and I can, as I said, see no alternative to it, then it provides an indication of the date of TriTrac, as the term οὐσία did not become a theological issue until the third century, as far as is known.

(3) In 107:11-13 "[the serpent] is more cunning than all the evil powers" we have a paraphrase of Gen. 3:1 which does not make use of the standard LXX text, φρονιμώτατος πάντων τῶν θηρίων, but of a different version. The underlying Gk. seems to have been πανουργότερος ἔστι πάντων τῶν οὐνάμεων τῶν κακῶν. πανουργότερος agrees with Symmachus, but also Aquila and Theodotion had πανοὔργος (see the second

apparatus in the Cambridge or the Göttingen editions of the LXX). In spite of the fact that we are here dealing with a paraphrase and not a verbal quotation, it is hardly conceivable that the author of TriTrac has chanced upon a formulation agreeing with these versions by sheer coincidence, so the question arises how he came to be influenced by this rendering. There is, as far as I am aware, no textual evidence which suggests that Valentinians, or any other Gnostics for that matter, ever adopted any text of the Old Testament other than the LXX, nor is it easy to conceive of any doctrinal reasons which would impel a Valentinian writer to adopt a Jewish rather than a Christian version of the text. It is more likely, therefore, that the passage reflects a text of the LXX emended by readings from one or more other translations, and if so, then more likely than not through the mediation of Origen's Hexapla, by which these translations achieved a certain acceptance and circulation outside purely Jewish communities.¹ If, however, TriTrac presupposes this influence of the Hexapla, then it can hardly be dated earlier than ca. 250.

Although none of these observations may be regarded in itself as absolutely compelling evidence for determining the date of TriTrac, together they constitute

¹ Cf. the discussion of the origin of an interpolation from Aquila in Philo by Katz, JTS 47.32-33.

a case for situating the text in the third century, and more probably in the second than the first half. It will further be observed that while the first group of observations relate more specifically to Origenist doctrine, there is also an Origenist connection involved in (2) and (3). The date suggested falls precisely within the period when Origenism exercised a considerable influence in the East, and it is eo ipso quite reasonable that an Oriental Valentinian writing at that time should display signs of that influence.

III The Language

About the orthography of TriTrac Ka. comments that it agrees for the most part with Subachmimic, but there is also a strong Sahidic element. Furthermore, such features as H and ω instead of Standard Sahidic E and O respectively, are tentatively considered an influence from the dialect of Hermopolis (= Ashmunein), whereas an occasional OY for ω is, according to Ka., an Achmimicism.¹ Before taking up the discussion of the dialect basis of TriTrac, I wish to add, on the subject of the orthography, the following supplementary remarks, concerning some peculiarities, the understanding of which is of some significance for the correct reading

¹ Ka. I 22-29: Sahidicisms 24-25, "Hermopolitanisms" 26, Achmimicisms 27.

of the text.

Of the several possible explanations proposed by Ka. (I 30) for the forms ΕΥΜΑΥ- 53:15, and ΕΥΩΔΥ- 86:33, it is probably correct to regard them as instances of the same phenomenon as in ΔΥΤΕΥΕΟΥCΙΟC 75:35-36 and ΕΤΔΥΧΠΔΥϞ 75:36 (see Ka. I 30 n.5)--consider also ΕΥΕΟΥΝΤΟΥ 75:31--namely diphthongization by influence from a neighbouring syllable. Similar cases are quoted by Kahle (Bala'izah, ch. VIII par. 26A: ΕΥ = Ε) from Budge's Deuteronomy: 2ΕΝΚΕΥΝΟΥΤΕ, and Worrell's Proverbs XXVIII 4: ΕΥΚΤΟ ΕΥΠΟΥ, although in a different context and left unexplained by him.

The spellings of OY for Standard Sahidic OYOY, and YOY for Y, which both occur frequently in TriTrac are orthographic variants and should not be treated as scribal errors.¹ They are also to be found in Sahidic.²

Instability in the writing of N. This remarkable feature was treated neither in its full extent nor systematically in Ka.'s brief introduction, and it may be serviceable to do so here.³

¹ Thus Ka. I 18-19, but cf. Kahle, Bala'izah, ch. VIII par. 58; Hintze-Schenke, Apostelgeschichte, 16-19 (Schenke drew attention to this in Sch. 136). The spelling YOY has not been phonologically explained, but it seems designed to emphasize the consonantic value of w in a situation where the graphic differentiation between consonantic and vocalic w is still unsettled.

² Hintze-Schenke, loc. cit.

³ Cf., in general, Kahle, op. cit., ch. VIII pars. 27, 77, 79A, 80, 82, 90, 94C.

(a) Before dentals: Omitted:¹ ΤΕ = ΝΤΕ 57:31, ΔΕ = ΝΤΕ 60:3, corrected Ν'ΔΕ 117:25, Cλ ΤΠΕ 101:33; ΜΤΜΔΕΙΟΥΕΖCλΖΝΕ 131:26-27; ΧΕ = ΝΧΕ (= ΝδΙ) 108:34, 114:33, 117:36, 126:28. Added: ΝΤΕ = ΤΕ 105:28, ΝΤΕ = ΔΕ 127:14, ΝΔΕ = ΔΕ frequently,² ΟΥΧΔΕΙΝΤΕ 131:13. Interchanging with ε: ΕΤΕ = ΝΤΕ 110:21, 126:31, 128:35; ΝΤΕ = ΕΤΕ 67:38, ?113:37; ΝΔΕ = ΕΤΕ 120:28. The alternation between the forms ΕΝΤλ- and ΕΤλ- in the Perfect Relative may also be seen in this context, as well as the use of ΕΝΤλ- in the Present Relative (see below). Note also the displacement of N in ΕΝΤΕϑ-, for ΕΤΕΝ̄ϑ-, 52:2.

(b) Before gutturals: ΝΓλΡ and ΓλΡ both occur frequently. ΜΟΥΚ ΝΖΟ 87:18.

(c) The Conjunctive forms Νϑ- and ϑ- are equally frequent (restricted to 3. sg.).

(d) Μ̄π̄ for π: ?Μ̄π̄ΕΤΕΜ̄π̄ΕΔλΥΕ Χπ̄λϑ 52:4, Μ̄π̄ΟΥΕ ΠΟΥΕ 79:28, Μ̄π̄ΟΥΕΕΙ ΔΕ ΠΟΥΕΕΙ 94:40-95:1, Μ̄Μ̄ΠΟΥ- (Neg. Perf.) 120:35-36, 121:2.

(e) NN for N: N is regularly doubled before ΟΥ, less consistently before other vowels. The plural article is spelled NNI in 66:29 and 123:15. Other instances: ΝΤλΥ'Ν̄ΝΕ ΝΕΕΙ 116:20; Ν̄ΝΕΕΙ δε 120:20; Ν̄Ν̄ΖΠΗΐ 129:22; Ν̄ΝΕϑ 51:27; Ν̄ΝΕΥ 66:24; Ν̄ΝΗΥ 113:29; ΕCΟΕΐ Ν̄Ν̄ΡΡΟ 117:27; ΠΕΤΝΝΕΕϑ λΡλΥ 111:23; Μ̄Ν̄Ν̄ΝΕΝΕΡΓΙλ 132:5; λΤ̄Ν̄ΝΕΥ 102:33; ΕΤ† ΝΕΥ ΝΝ̄Μ̄ΜΕΥΕ 110:21-22. Cf. also Μ̄Μ̄ΕΝ (for

¹ Cf. in particular Kahle, pp. 109-10.

² See Ka. II 290 s.v. δε.

μέν) 61:10, 62:16, 126:7; λ·ΤΟΥΖΑΜΜΕC (for λΤΟΥΖΜΕC)¹
57:29-30.

(f) N for NN: ΠC(ΟΥ)Ζ'ΑΖΟΥΝ ΝΕΤ̄C(ΑΖΟΥ ΑΡΑΥ 66:25;
ΟΕῙ ΝΑC 79:6; ΕΥΝΤΕΥ ΜΜΕΥ ΝΟΥΕΙΛΑΤΕ 94:13; cf. also 93:32,
96:31, 100:25, 101:26. Strangely, this N only once
(93:32) has the supralinear stroke to mark syllabicity.²
Also cf. M for MM in ΜΠΝΑΤΙΚΟ[101:7.

This instability in the writing of N is associated
in particular with Achmimic, but the phenomenon is also
found in Subachmimic and unstandardized Sahidic.

Contraction of TT is frequent after the relative
ΕΤ- and the prefixes ΜΝΤ- and λΤ-.³ Sometimes T is
doubled in these positions.⁴ T is also occasionally
contracted with X.⁵

Instability of 2. As in many early MSS the use of
2 is not normalized.⁶ As was noted by Ka. (I 29) it is
occasionally "superfluously" added,⁷ and in several

¹ Cf. Hintze-Schenke, 16.

² Contrast Layton, ZPE 11.187-88.

³ 56:21-22, 99:13-14, 117:7, 132:10, 136:6; 87:12,
121:22, 122:19.24; 51:21, 75:14-15, 93:18, 110:34,
132:10; also ΤΑΕΙC 103:10, 110:33.

⁴ ΝΕΤΘΑΥ 99:17, cf. 121:4; ΜΝΤΤΡΜΖΕ 117:28; λΤ·ΤΑΡΧΗ
52:6, cf. 56:15, 57:29-30, 100:9.

⁵ ΜΝΧΑCΙΖΗΤ 78:29-30, 82:21, 110:8; ΜΝΧΑΕΙΡΑΟΥΘ
85:36.

⁶ Cf. Worrell, Coptic Sounds, 110; id. Proverbs,
XIV; Kahle, Bala'izah, ch. VIII pars. 123, 127 F.Gb;
Hintze-Schenke, 19.

⁷ ΖΕΤΖΕ 89:27; ΟΥΑΝΖΟΥ 90:26-27; ΟΥΖΩ 127:14,
130:7. Cf. Crum, JEA 13.21 n.6.

instances displaced by metathesis.¹ In the same context it must be added that it is also frequently omitted, in 7 instances out of 8 in the Achmimic Perfect Relative conversion.²

I pass to some of the grammatical characteristics of the text.

Demonstratives. The demonstrative pronoun is mostly ΠΕΕΙ etc. Of frequent occurrence is also ΠΛΕΙ etc.: this is not necessarily a Sahidicism since it may also be considered an archaic form.³ As in Achmimic the series ΠΗ etc. 'that (one)' does not occur; in its stead ΠΕΤΜΜΕΥ etc. is used,⁴ or even ΠΕΕΙ/ΠΛΕΙ, the latter not without causing a certain ambiguity, as can be seen from the translations: ΠΛΕΙ ΠΕ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΑΡΑϣ ΜΜΑϣ ΧΕ ΩΗΡΕ ... ΠΕΕΙ ΠΕ ΠΕΤΩΟΟΠ ΝΕΙΩΤ 65:28-32, ϣ̄Π ΠΕΕΙ ΤΕΝΟΥ ϣ̄Π ΠΕΕΙ

¹ ΝCΑ2ΤΡΕ = ΝC2ΑΤΡΕ 54:26; 2ΛΕ = 22Ε 57:2; ΑΤ·ΤΟΥ2ΑΜΜΕC = ΑΤΟΥ2Α2ΜΕC 57:29-30; CΑ2ΟΥ = CΑΟΥ2 66:25; CΟΥ2ΟΥ = CΟΥ2ΟΥ 97:16 (cf. Egyptian shw); ΟΥ2Ο = 2ΟΥΟ 72:10; † Α2ΗΤ̄ϣ̄ = † Α2ΤΗϣ̄ 93:7; † 2Ω 124:5, and † ΟΥ2Ω 124:10-11, both = † ΟΥΩ (< w3h).

² ΠΕΝΤΛΕΙ 62:39, ΝΕΤΛΕΙ 67:37-38, ΕΥΟΥΛΛ6 82:37, ΠΕΤΛΟΥΩΝ2 89:8, ΕΤΛΩΤΑ 90:15, ΝΕΤΛΜΕΥΕ 110:26, ΝΕΝΤΛΕΙ 115:30-31, ΕΤΛΑ2ΤΕ 128:4-5.

³ ΠΛΕΙ is the form generally found in Old Coptic. It is likely, however, that in some instances the form ΠΛΕΙ is caused by the scribe's Sahidic background or training; cf. the variant forms ΠΛΕΙ/ΠΕΕΙ in the dittography 129:25-26, and also above, p. 15.

⁴ 74:32, 75:4, 82:17.25, 84:2, 115:19, 127:29, 133:12.

ΛΚΕΡΗΤΕ [1. ΛΚΕΖΛΤΕ] ΕΟΥ(Ω)Τ' ΠΛΕΙ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΛΥ(Ω) ΟΥ(Ω)Τ' ΠΛΕΙ
 ΛΚΕΖΛ[ΤΕ] 67:4-6.

The demonstrative article is mostly spelled ΠΙ- etc., there being only three or four instances of ΠΕΙ-/ΠΕΐ'.¹ As ΠΙ- is also by far the most frequently used form of the definite article, considerable uncertainty is thereby created, in contrast to classical Sahidic, where an underlying system distinguishing Π-, ΠΙ- and ΠΕΙ- is discernible.²

Possessive article. From Ka.'s Index (II 317-18) it can be seen that the forms ΠΕϣ- etc. are in a clear majority, although the collapsed forms often found in Achmimic and Subachmimic are attested also (8 instances of Πḡ-; ΠḠ- and Ṭḡ both occur once). By contrast the Achmimic and Subachmimic forms with the 3. pl. suffix (ΠΟΥ- etc.) predominate strongly throughout.³

Qualitatives with final Ṭ. It was pointed out by Kahle that infinitives that end in O regularly have corresponding qualitatives with final Ṭ in Subachmimic, whereas Achmimic exhibits equal proportions of this

¹ 56:37 (this is probably an error), 99:22, 131:23, correction to Π`ε`ἰ 130:34.

² For the particular uses of ΠΙ- in classical Sahidic see Polotsky, OLZ 52.229-30, and now also (with reference to Subachmimic) Layton, Resurrection, 167-69. Regrettably no attempt was made to distinguish the various meanings of ΠΙ- in the in many ways very useful index of Ka.

³ For the dialectal forms cf. Till, Achm.-kopt. Gr. par. 58a; Shisha-Halevy, Mus. 89.358.

form and the forms ending in -H(O)Y characteristic of Sahidic (Kahle, Bala'izah, 214). TriTrac conforms in this respect with other Subachmimic texts: TΔEΙΔEIT, TOYBΔEIT, TΔMΔEIT, TCΔEΙΔEIT, TCENΔEIT, Θ̄B̄BΙΔEIT, TΔXPΔEIT, Θ̄B̄BΙΔEIT. There are only two exceptions: TΔEIHΥ (once) and TZ̄B̄BIHY (once)--in the last example the spelling TZ suggests that the word as a whole is an intrusion from written Sahidic.

Conjugation forms. (Representation of variants is in square brackets. N = Prenominal form. Only attested forms are tabulated.)

A. Bipartite Pattern forms

Present I: 9
 C
 Cε
 N ∅

Circumstantial: ε9
 εC
 εY
 N ε [5] εPE [1]¹

¹ The indication "passim" after εPE- in Ka. II 301 is misleading. I have only recorded 135:11-12. For ε- see 73:32, 92:14, 93:10, 105:8, 113:7. The entering of the forms λ= and λPE- for the circumstantial Present in Ka. I 29 and II 297, 301, is unfounded: λ9EΙ in 53:25 is Perf. I (see note in loc.). In XΔPENETΨOON 102:2-3 one has to do with the Achmimic Present II (cf. Till, Achm.-kopt. Gr. par. 190); this is also the case with λ9KH 60:35.

Relative: εΤῶ̄ εΝΤᾶϣ [sic 2]¹
 εΤῶ̄
 εΤῆ̄²
 εΤΟΥ εΤᾶΥ [sic 1]³ εΝΤᾶΥ [sic 1]⁴
 Ν εΤε [7] εΤερε [7] εΤαρε [sic 2]

Preterite: Νεϣ [11] Νᾶϣ [1]
 Νεϙ [2] Νᾶϙ [1]
 ΝεΥ [15] ΝᾶΥ [4]
 Ν Νερε

Circumstantial: εΝεϙ

Relative: εΤενεϣ [7] εΤεναϣ [1]
 εΤεναϙ [1]
 εΤενεΥ [5] εΤεναΥ [1] εΤαναΥ [sic 1]

Future I: ϣΝᾶ
 Τῆ̄Νᾶ
 ϙεΝᾶ

Relative, subject form: εΤΝᾶ εΤᾶ [3]⁵ εΤεΝᾶ [sic 1]

Circumstantial: εϣΝᾶ
 εϙΝᾶ
 εΥΝᾶ
 Ν ερε- Νᾶ-⁶

¹ εΝΤᾶϣ: 66:39, 67:3. The entry εΤεϣ in Ka. II 304 (58:38) is to be disregarded; see our note in loc.

² εΤεΝ 94:35, entered in Ka. II 304, must, from the context, be regarded as Relative Perfect.

³ 112:20.

⁴ 97:31.

⁵ 89:36, 120:3, 126:23.

⁶ 137:7.

Relative: ΕΤΨΝΑ
 ΕΤΟΥΝΑ
Ν ΕΤΕ- ΝΑ- [1] ΕΤΕΡΕ- ΝΑ- [2]¹ ΕΤΑΡΕ- ΝΑ-
 [sic 1]

Imperfect: ΝΕΥΝΑ

Circumstantial: ΕΝΕΨΝΑ- [1]²
 ΕΝΑ(ΝΑ)- [1]

Present II: ΕΕΙ
 ΕΨ λΨ [1]³
 ΕΥ
Ν λΡΕ [1]⁴

Relative: ΕΤΕΨ [1]⁵
 ΕΤΑΨ [1]⁶

Future II: ΕΨΝΑ
 λΨΝΑ [1]⁷
 ΕΥΝΑ
Ν ΕΡΕ- ΝΑ-⁸

Relative: ΕΤΑΨΝΑ [1]⁹

¹ 107:24, and by restoring [ΕΤ]ΕΡΕ in 63:3.

² 86:19: circumstantial apodosis. The form may also be interpreted as a second tense; the sentence is negative, with ΕΝ placed after the adverbial complement.

³ 60:35.

⁴ 102:2.

⁵ 58:38.

⁶ 113:36.

⁷ 87:28-29.

⁸ 104:23-24.

⁹ 51:1.

The most remarkable observation which must be made about this inventory of forms is the persistent presence of a-vocalized variants alongside the normal Subachmimic and Sahidic conjugation bases with e. These forms, which conform with Achmimic, Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic, have not previously been found in Subachmimic texts.

B. Tripartite Pattern forms

a. Sentence conjugations

Perfect I: λΕΙ
 λϣ
 λϸ
 λΥ
 Ν λ 2λ [1]

Circumstantial: ελϣ
 ελϸ
 ελΥ
 Ν ελ

Relative:¹ ΝΤλῖ εΝΤλῖ
 ΝΤλϣ εΝΤλϣ εΤλϣ εΤελϣ εΤε2λϣ [1]
 ΝΤλΝ εΝΤλΝ εΤλΝ εΤελΝ
 ΝΤλΥ εΝΤλΥ εΤλΥ εΤελΥ
 Ν εΝΤλ εΤλ εΤελ εΤλ2λ [1] εΝΤλ2λ [2]²

Subject
 form: ΝΤλ2 εΝΤλ2 εΤλ2 εΤλ³ εΝΤλ³

¹ For the statistics see Ka. I 29. Also cf. Kasser in Mus. 80.427.

² 76:34, 105:22.

³ Cf. above, p. 40 with n. 2.

Preterite: ΝΕΛϣ
ΝΕΛΥ

Perfect II: Ν̄ΤΑϣ ΕΝΤΑϣ ΕΡΕΛϣ [3]
Ν̄ΤΑϢ ΕΝΤΑϢ [1]¹ ΕΡΕΝΤΑϢ [1]
Ν̄ΤΑΥ ΕΛΥ [2]² ΕΡΕΛΥ [1] ΕΡΕΝ̄ΤΑΥ [2]
Ν̄ ΕΞΛ [1]³

Circumstantial: ΕΝΤΑϣ⁴

Relative: ΕΡΕΝ̄Ν̄ΤΑϣ⁵
ΕΝΤΑΥ⁶

Negative Perfect I: Μ̄ΠΙ
Μ̄ΠΕϣ [7] Μ̄Πϣ̄ [1] ΕΜ̄Πϣ̄ [1]⁷
Μ̄ΠΟΥ ΕΜΠΟΥ [1]⁸ Μ̄ΜΠΟΥ [2]⁹
Ν̄ Μ̄ΠΕ

Circumstantial:¹⁰ ΕΜ̄ΠΕϣ [2] ΕΜ̄ΠΟΥ [1]
ΕΜΠΕϣ [1] ΕΜΠΟΥ [7]

¹ 115:22.

² 77:31, 130:25.

³ 134:4

⁴ E.g. 62:27, 68:5.

⁵ 114:34.

⁶ 81:11: Negated by ΕΝ after adverbial complement.

⁷ 77:36.

⁸ 80:25.

⁹ See above, p. 38.

¹⁰ With stroke over M: 52:18, 90:13(?); 89:5.

Without: 119:13; 79:18, 83:25, 89:3.22, 109:3, 113:20,
131:2.

Relative: εΤΕ $\overline{\text{MΠ}}\epsilon$ [1] εΤΕ $\overline{\text{MΠ}}\epsilon\epsilon$ [1]
 εΤΕ $\overline{\text{MΠ}}\text{ΟΥ}$ [4]
 Νε $\overline{\text{MΠ}}\text{ΟΥ}$ [1]
Ν Νε $\overline{\text{MΠ}}\epsilon$

It will be seen that in the Perfect system forms corresponding to a variety of dialects are represented. Perfect I λ-, Relative Perfect $\overline{\text{N}}\lambda\text{-}/\epsilon\text{N}\lambda\text{-}$, and Perfect II $\overline{\text{N}}\lambda\text{-}/\epsilon\text{N}\lambda\text{-}$ are the normal Sahidic forms, which are also commonly used in Subachmimic. Perfect I $\lambda\text{-}$, Relative Perfect $\epsilon\text{T}\epsilon\lambda\text{-}$, and Perfect II $\epsilon\lambda\text{-}$, attested by one instance each, are characteristic Middle Egyptian, or Oxyrhynchite, forms.¹ The Relative Perfect $\epsilon\text{T}\lambda\text{-}$ coincides with the form normally used in Achmimic, Fayyumic, and also Bohairic, whereas $\epsilon\text{T}\epsilon\lambda\text{-}$ is previously attested in a Middle Egyptian/Fayyumic context.² I leave it an open question to what extent this variety

¹ The morphology of this dialect has become better known in recent years; cf., most recently, H.-M. Schenke, "On the Middle Egyptian Dialect of the Coptic Language," Enchoria 8 (1978), Sonderband, 43^z (89) - (104) 58^z; W.-P. Funk, "Beiträge des Mittelägyptischen Dialekts zum koptischen Konjugationssystem," Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky, ed. Dwight D. Young, Pirtle and Polson publ., Beacon Hill, East Gloucester, Mass. 1981, 177-210.

² I gather this from Polotsky, OLZ 59.252 (his Collected Papers, 437), who refers to the "second group" of Asmus, presumably his Über Fragmente im Mittelägyptischen Dialekt, not available to me. Cf. also JkC 1922, 3, cited in Kahle, Bala'izah, 173.

actually should be interpreted as caused by the influence of distinct dialect-based scribal **conventions** rather than as examples of the more general orthographic phenomena exhibited by TriTrac, viz. the variations $\bar{N}T/T$ and $2/\emptyset$ (see above, pp. 38 and 39-40).

The form $\varepsilon\lambda-$, which appears in the Index of Ka., other than as the Circumstantial Perfect, as "préf. v. (anormal) du Parfait II (?)" is in fact a rare Sahidic form of the Perfect II, corresponding morphologically and etymologically to the normal Fayyumic Perfect II $\lambda\lambda-$, and also to the Middle Egyptian $\dot{\varepsilon}2\lambda-$, of which there is one instance in TriTrac.¹ The forms $\varepsilon\rho\varepsilon\lambda=$ and $\varepsilon\rho\varepsilon\eta\lambda=$, described by Ka. as "derived" forms of Perfect I and Perfect II respectively,² are likewise both in fact forms of Perfect II; in particular the true nature of $\varepsilon\rho\varepsilon\lambda=$ is shown by the fact that it is negated by $(\bar{N}\bar{\eta}) \dots \varepsilon\eta$: $\varepsilon\rho\varepsilon\lambda\eta\chi\iota \varepsilon\eta \bar{M}\bar{\Pi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\varepsilon}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho} \bar{2}\bar{H}\bar{T}\bar{C} \bar{N}\bar{\omega}\bar{\Pi}\bar{\varepsilon}$ 52:19-20. To my knowledge there exists only one other example of the form $\varepsilon\rho\varepsilon\lambda=$,³

¹ Already Stern (par. 423 end) knew that Sahidic $\varepsilon\lambda-$ could sometimes be used in a main sentence. Polotsky (Études, 48-49; Collected Papers, 152-53) recognized in it a second tense, while complaining that "la documentation est insuffisante." Examples from Shenoute were supplied by Steindorff, Lehrbuch, par. 341; cf. also Till, Kopt. Gr. p. 172 n.57.

² Ka. I 29; similarly Kasser, Mus. 80.427.

³ In the "Old Theban" Proverbs of Bodmer VI: $\varepsilon\rho\lambda\lambda\varepsilon\iota \Gamma\lambda\rho \lambda\tau\theta\theta\theta\theta\gamma \eta\bar{2}\bar{M}\bar{\Pi}\bar{\varepsilon}\bar{\theta}\bar{\theta}\bar{\theta}\bar{\gamma} \varepsilon\tau\beta\varepsilon \Pi\kappa\theta\beta\eta\rho$ 6:3, quoted and read as circumstantial by Kasser, Mus. 80.428.

and no parallel at all to ΕΡΕΝΤΛ=. We shall not here undertake to account for these forms; however they may be explained,¹ it satisfies our purpose to realize that they are in fact variants of Perfect II, and that there do not appear to exist any distinctions of meaning and usage between the various forms of Perfect II utilized in TriTrac.

Attention may also be directed to the form identified above as a Relative Perfect II. I know of no example outside this text of a Relative Perfect II.

¹ It is perhaps possible to interpret ΕΡΕΛϣ as a variant of ΕΛϣ, in analogy with the variation ΕΡΕ : Ε before a nominal subject in the Circumstantial Present attested in TriTrac (see above), which is typical of Achmimic (Polotsky's "Coptic Conjugation System" pars. 47, 55). It may further be that ΕΡΕ-, which otherwise always marks a nominal subject, serves here to indicate a second tense by marking as the nominal subject of an adverbial sentence the conjugated verb to which it is prefixed, in accordance with the syntactic structure of the second tenses, the form ΕΡΕΛϣϣϣΠΕ thereby becoming comparable to ΕΡΕΠΡϣΜΕ. The form ΕΡΕΝΤΛ= might then in turn be considered a pleonastic combination of two methods of forming a second tense. It should be recalled, however, that the element ΕΡΕ- as such in the Coptic conjugation system constitutes a still unsettled problem from both the historical and the structural points of view; more recently it has been discussed by A. I. Elenskaya, "Proishozhdenie predymennogo formanta ΕΡΕ v sisteme koptskogo sprjazhenia," Palestinskij Sbornik 25 (88) (1974) 81-86 (with summary in English).

Mpatfsōtm: ᾠπατῆ
 ᾠπατοῦ
 N ᾠπατε

Circumstantial: εᾠπατῆ εᾠπατε`9`
 εᾠπατοῦ εᾠπαταῦ [sic 1]
 N εᾠπατε

Relative: .ετε ᾠπατῆ
 N ετε ᾠπατε

Preterite: N νε ᾠπατε

Aorist: ᾠπαρε9 [2] ᾠπα9 [1]
 ᾠπαρεC [1]
 ᾠπαροῦ [2] ᾠπαῦ [2]
 N ᾠπαρε"

Circumstantial: εᾠπαC [1]
 εᾠπαροῦ [2] εᾠπαῦ [sic 1]¹ εᾠπα²

Relative: ετεᾠπαροῦ [1] ετεᾠπαῦ [1] ετεᾠπαροῦ [sic 1]
 N ετεᾠπαρε

Preterite: νεᾠπαροῦ [1]

Aorist II: εᾠπαῦ [2]³

Negative Aorist: μα9
 μαC

Circumstantial: εμαC
 εμαῦ [sic 1]¹

Relative: ετεμαῦ
 N ετεμαρε

¹ See above, p. 37.

² 57:6.

³ 92:34, 114:39.

Negative Aorist II: ΕΤΕΜΔΥ¹

The Aorist presuffixal forms with -PE, called "derived" forms in the Index of Ka., are in fact normal Subachmimic variants of the forms without this extension, corresponding to Achmimic ⲪⲁⲢⲈ=.

Negative Future III: NOY
 N̄NOY [1]²

As in Achmimic and Subachmimic in general the affirmative Future III is not used;³ its most frequent function in Sahidic, the use in final clauses introduced by ΧΕΚΛΛC,⁴ is expressed by Future II.⁵

¹ 134:9.

² X̄N̄NOY 98:34: cf. Till, Achm.-kopt. Gr. par. 190; Kahle, Bala'izah, ch. VIII par. 151.

³ λΥⲁⲢⲘⲉ 99:16 does in fact depend on ΧΕΚΛCⲈ in 99:12, but it is more likely that the form is Perfect I and that we have to do with an anacoluthon here. ΕΥⲈⲐⲎⲐⲐⲐⲐ 75:31 probably represents a corruption. ΕΥⲐⲁⲎⲐⲐ̄ 67:32, 70:9 is more probably a distortion of ΕΥⲎⲁⲐⲎⲐⲐ̄ than of ΕΥⲁⲐⲎⲐⲐ̄.

⁴ Lefort, Mus. 61.65-73; Wilson, Coptic Future Tenses, 23-38.

⁵ In two instances, 62:21 and 124:31, ΧΕΚΛC(Ⲉ) is followed by the Conjunctive (in both cases negated). In two cases, 69:20-22 and 128:12-15, it is even connected with a nominal sentence.

b. Clause conjugations

Conjunctive: $\bar{N}\bar{v}$ [10] v [11] $\bar{N}T\bar{v}$ [1]¹ $N\bar{T}PNT\bar{v}$ [1]²
 $\bar{N}T\bar{N}$ [2]³
 $\bar{N}CE$
 N $\bar{N}TE$

The forms without \bar{N} - are typical of Achmimic, but occasional instances have been noted in Subachmimic texts previously.⁴ The form $N\bar{T}PNT\bar{v}$ has probably been produced by a confusion with the Causative Infinitive (which may be introduced by \bar{N} - in TriTrac: 124:24). The same explanation may be given for the isolated form $\bar{N}T\bar{v}$.⁵ (In both these instances a construction using Causative Infinitive might also have been selected.)

Temporal: $\bar{N}T\lambda PE\bar{v}$
 $\bar{N}T\lambda POY$
 N $\bar{N}T\lambda PE$

Šantefsōtm: $\omega\lambda TE\bar{v}$ [2]⁶ $\omega\lambda NTE\bar{v}$ [1]
 $\omega[\lambda T]OY$
 N $\omega\lambda TE$ [1] $\omega\lambda NTE$ [2]

¹ 51:35.

² 107:32.

³ 51:2, 124:31.

⁴ See Kahle, Bala'izah, pp. 161-62.

⁵ The long forms are however attested in non-literary texts from the Theban area: Kahle, loc. cit.

⁶ $\omega\lambda TE[\bar{v}$ 96:13; $\omega\lambda [TE\bar{v}$ 134:33.

Conditional: λCⲟⲗ [1]
 εNⲟⲗ [1]
 λYⲟⲗ [1] εYⲟⲗ [2] εYⲟⲗN [1]

In the Conditional the forms with initial λ are Achmimic; final N is Sahidic; ε=ⲟⲗ is Subachmimic.¹

Causative Infinitive: TPEϥ^f
 TPEC T̄ [1]
 TPOY TOY [3] TPEY [1]
 N TPE

The strong presence of P is **characteristic** of early Achmimic and Subachmimic MSS.² For the 3. pl. ending cf. the possessive article (above).

Negation. In the negation (N̄-) ... εN, N̄- is omitted in 57 instances out of 75. The predominance of the form without N̄- is typical of Achmimic and Subachmimic.³ The negation is used correctly,⁴ as is also the Clause Conjugation negation T̄M̄- (in TriTrac represented with Conjunctive and Conditional).

¹ The A and S forms are identified by Ka. as Aorist II (I 30, II 303): "Cette bévue nous fait entrevoir, chez le traducteur, une singulière méconnaissance de la langue copte." This is unjustified.

² Kahle, Bala'izah, ch. VIII, par. 146.

³ Ib. par. 80g; Shisha-Halevy, Mus. 89.363-64.

⁴ The indications of Ka. I 29 n.12, and II 315, to the contrary can be disregarded: In 52:21 one must emend to εTεN̄ϥ; for 113:38 see my note in loc.

To conclude this morphological survey I shall resume the discussion of three questions: (a) the correct description of the dialect, (b) the degree of grammatical regularity of the text, and (c) the history of the Coptic text.

(a) The language was characterized by Ka. as for the most part "Lycopolitan"--i.e. Subachmimic--with a considerable element of Sahidic, whereas the influence of other dialects is marginal or only apparent. Schenke, apparently relying on the study of Ka., described the text as one "dessen irrales Koptisch (unreine Mischung von S und L) es gar nicht in Wirklichkeit, sondern [!] nur auf dem Papyr(us), u. zw. nur auf diesem, gibt" (Sch. 136). Now these assessments are based exclusively on the vocalization habits of the text. But vocalization is an inadequate, and sometimes even misleading,¹ index to the dialect affiliation of a text. Moreover, orthographic variability is the rule rather than the exception with early Coptic MSS; this probably reflects the mutual interference of concurrent notation systems more often than conditions in the spoken dialect of the scribes. In this sense the language of most early MSS is "artificial."²

¹ Layton, HTR 67.374-79, shows that NHC II,4 (HypArch) while generally exhibiting Sahidic vocalization preserves typically Subachmimic features in its grammar.

² See the appropriate remarks of Shisha-Halevy in Mus. 89.353 n.1.

More fundamental and less concealable marks of dialect than vocalization are provided by the grammatical forms. From the above survey it can be seen that TriTrac invariably conforms to the grammatical characteristics of Subachmimic as against Sahidic. To the list two further characteristic non-Sahidic phenomena can be added: the préformation of Greek verbs with \bar{P} -, and the Achmimic use of \bar{N} -, $\overline{MM}\lambda$ = for Sahidic $2\bar{N}$ -, $\bar{N}2HT$ -. What also emerges is a more substantial portion of Achmimic variants--forms with λ in the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern and the Conditional, $\epsilon\tau\lambda$ in the Perfect Relative, Conjunctive forms without \bar{N} ---than is found in previously known varieties of written Subachmimic. On the other hand, what unequivocally Sahidic influence there is in the text is restricted to its orthographic appearance.

(b) The grammatical correctness as such of the text has been called into question by both Ka. and Sch.--it is believed that its linguistic shape does not represent a language which would have been written by a native speaker.¹ Since the scope of the present investigation

¹ Ka. estimates that the translator was "un homme connaissant peu et mal la langue copte" (I 34), and "un traducteur maladroit, connaissant apparemment mieux le grec que le copte" (I 33). Sch. concludes that "bei der Genesis des Textes, auf welcher oder wieviel Stufen auch immer, auch jemand seine Hand im Spiele gehabt hat, für den Koptisch nur eine Fremdsprache (und noch eine schlecht beherrschte) war" (136).

is restricted to the most elementary aspects of the language, the question of whether TriTrac represents authentic Coptic or not cannot be exhaustively answered here, and I shall consider only the following points.

λ for ε. The text is supposed to disregard the alternation of λ and ε.¹ However, this is limited to a particular **environment**: after τ an λ occasionally is found instead of an expected ε: ετλπε-, ετλνλγ-, ϸτλμ (= ϸωτμ). The rare spellings ετλγ (for ετογ) and μπλτλγ show that the phenomenon is not to be described as a substitution of λ for ε, but is in some way or other motivated by the preceding τ. As regards the forms with λ which occur in the Bipartite Pattern other than ετλπε-, they observe the alternation λ : ε used in Achmimic, Middle Egyptian, Fayyumic and Bohairic to distinguish second tense and circumstantial.

Confusion of the bare and the suffixed forms of the relative pronoun is claimed by Ka. in a number of instances (I 30, II 304). It can be seen from the translation below that satisfactory sense can be derived from all the passages in question without the assumption of anomaly, except for one instance (75:28), which is not significant.

¹ Ka. regards this as a "hyper-lycopolitanicism" (I 29); Sch. speaks of "einer wilden Promiskuität bestimmter Vokalaalternativen."

Use of the Qualitative outside the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern is not as frequent in the text as has been believed previously.¹ ΕΝΤΑΨΩΟΟΠ 66:39, ΕΝΤΑΨΟΕΙ 67:3, ΕΝΤΑΥΤ(ΔΕΙ)ΔΕΙΤ 97:31, ΝΕΤΑΨΩΟΟΠ 112:20 are to be considered as graphic irregularities rather than as syntactic errors, since forms of the Present are required by the context. (The instability in the writing of N before dentals, as well as the curious propensity of the text to follow a T with an λ have been commented upon above.) ΕΝΤΑΨΔΒΕΩ 61:19 appears in fact to be an emploi abusif, but even here the alternative possibility exists of an emendation into ΕΝΤΑΨΔΩΨ. Also ΕΔΨΚΛΛΤ 101:11 is abnormal, but, according to Ka., not unprecedented.² The construction Π ΩΠΠ ΝΩΟΟΠ is well known from other texts.³

Observation of the Stern-Jernstedt rule. Sch. 136 records violations of the rule, but in all cases of ∅ + ϣ + inf. + dir. obj. the form may be plausibly interpreted as the Achmimic Conjunctive. ΕΨΧΙΤΨ 75:1 should be emended to Conjunctive. In ΕΔΨΝΖΟΥΤ ΝΝΕΤΕΔΨΧΟΟΥΕ ΝΕΥΟΥ 128:1 the prenominal form of the verb seems to be used incorrectly, but confusion of N and NN is typical of this text (see above).

¹ Ka. I 30; Sch. 136; Thomassen, VigChr 34.373 n.34.

² Ka. I 30. I have not been able to verify this.

³ See, recently, Layton, Resurrection, 191-92. That Ka. I 30 regards this as an anomaly must be an oversight.

A further syntactic peculiarity may be called attention to in this context; the realization of a second tense through a substantivized relative clause.

Consider the following examples:

1. 76:23-27 ΧΕ ΛΧΝ̄ ΠΟΥ(Ω)Ε ΕΝ Ν̄ΤΕ ΠΙ(Ω)Τ ΠΕΤΑΥΧΠΟ Μ̄ΠΙΛΟΓΟΣ
ΕΤΕ ΠΕΕΙ ΠΕ ΟΥΔΕ ΛΝ ΛΧΝ̄Τ̄ϑ̄. ΕϑΝΔ† ΠΕϑΟΥΔΕΙΕ ΛΛΛΛ ...
"For it is not without the will of the Father that this logos was produced, nor was it without it that he should rush forward, but ..."
2. 82:17-22 ΝΕΤ̄ΜΜΕΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΑ ΠΙΤΑΝΤ̄Ν̄ Ν̄ΤΑΥ ΝΑ ΟΥ<ΟΥ>CΙΑ
Ν̄ΚΕ[ΚΕ] ΝΕ· ΛΒΛΛ Ζ̄ΝΝ ΟΥΦΑΝΤΑCΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΟΥΤΑΝΤ̄Ν̄ Μ̄Ν
ΟΥΜΕΥΕ Μ̄ΜΝ̄[Ν̄] ΧΑCΙΖΗΤ ΕϑΩ[ΟΥΕΙΤ] ΠΕΤΕΛΥ(Ω)ΠΕ "For those--those who belong to the imitation--they are of a substance of darkness. It is of a fantasy of imitation and a presumptuous **and empty** thought that they have come into being."
3. 112:35-113:1 Ζ̄ΝΚΕΚΑΥΕ ΔΕ ΛΝ ΕΥΧ(Ω) Μ̄ΜΟ[C] ΧΕ ΛΒΛΛ
[ΖΙ]Τ̄Ν ΝΕ[ϑΛ]ΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΠΕΤΑϑ̄ Ζ(Ω)Β "Others say that it is through his angels that he has worked."
4. 113:28-31 ΕΝΠΕΟΥΔΑΝ Μ̄ΜΑΥ Μ̄ΜΕ· ΧΕ Εϑ̄Ν̄ΝΗΥ ΛΒΛΛ ΤΩΝ
Η ΛΒΟΛ Ζ̄Ν ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΟΥΝΔΑΧΠΔϑ "and none of them realized whence he would come or from whom he would be born."
5. 115:15-17 ΧΕ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΜ̄ΝΤ̄ΑΤ̄ΡΝΟΒΕ· ΛΥ(Ω) Ζ̄ΝΝ ΟΥΜ̄ΝΤ̄ΑΤ̄ΤΩΔ̄Μ̄
ΛΥ(Ω) Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΜ̄ΝΤ̄ΑΤ̄Χ(Ω)Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΕΝΤΑϑ̄ΤΡΟΥΩ̄ Μ̄ΜΔϑ "because it was in sinlessness, unpollutedness and undefiledness that he let himself be conceived."
6. 115:29-31 Μ̄ΠΙΡΗΤΕ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΧΙ C(Ω)ΜΔ· ΖΙ ΨΥΧΗ Ν̄CΙ
ΝΕΝΤΑΕΙ̂ Ν̄ΜΜΕϑ "It was in this way that those who came with him received body and soul."

Particularly revealing are exx. 1 and 4, where the relative constructions stand parallel to actual second tenses. How to analyse these constructions syntactically need not concern us here once we have recognized their function within the sentence. It may be, however, that these examples also give us the clue to the correct understanding of the difficult first sentence of TriTrac. $\chi\epsilon \bar{\eta}[\epsilon]\bar{\tau}'\bar{\lambda}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\omega} \chi\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\nu} \bar{\zeta}\bar{\lambda} \bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\iota}$ differs, it is true, from the examples above both by the fact that the adverbial element is postposed and because the tense of the relative is a second (for this combination cf. Stern par. 422). But the sentence has in common with them the structure of adverbial sentence with a substantivized relative clause as the subject, and by basing ourselves upon this common structure, and assuming the substantivized relative clause to have the same significance as in those examples, we obtain a highly satisfactory interpretation: "Because it is the superior things that we shall speak about" The use of the Future II within the relative construction may then in turn be interpreted as a double marking of the second tense function.

Varia. $\lambda\bar{b}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda} \bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\gamma} = \lambda\bar{b}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\lambda} \bar{\nu}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{\gamma}$ (cf. Ka. I 33-34); $\bar{\zeta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\iota}' \bar{\zeta}\bar{\nu} \bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu} \bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu} \bar{m}\bar{m}\bar{\lambda}[\bar{\nu}]$ 64:39-65:1 (confusion of object and adverbial complement); $\lambda\bar{\rho}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\gamma} \bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$: 65:12 = $\lambda\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omega}\bar{o}\bar{o}\bar{\nu}$; nominal sentence introduced by Copula (NE): 67:24-25, 69:24-25; reduplication of Copula (chiefly NE) in nominal sentences: passim; $\bar{m}\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}/\bar{\nu}\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}$ + noun + unconverted nominal sentence: 63:29-36.

Conclusion. The majority of the morphosyntactic irregularities previously ascribed to the text can be explained as Achmimic variants, spelling mistakes or scribal errors. Nevertheless, from what has been said above it is clear that the text does present a number of unusual features both grammatically and idiomatically. I am not convinced, however, that these features are such as to warrant the assumption that the translator was unfamiliar with the rules of the Coptic language. On the contrary the translator can be said to display considerable sophistication in his selection of verbal expression, as can be seen from the survey of conjugation forms above. If account is taken of the problems facing the translator when trying to render an ideologically and stylistically complex treatise into a language which possesses few conventions for an undertaking of the sort, of the unsettled state of written Coptic at the time the translation was made, and, last but not least, of our limited knowledge of the dialects involved at the time, then it seems preferable not to put the blame on the incompetence of the translator for our own dissatisfaction with the text.

(c) Ka. (I 35) concluded that the text had first been translated into an archaic variety of Sahidic, and then transposed into Subachmimic. If this were so, TriTrac would be the only witness to such a process, since all other Gnostic Subachmimic texts are generally considered to have been translated directly into that

dialect. On the other hand an instance of the contrary process can be cited: For NHC II,4 it has been shown by Layton that an attempt had been made to make the text conform to Sahidic vocalization while it retained typical Subachmimic grammatical features (HTR 67.374-79). An explanation can also be found for this phenomenon: In the fourth century Sahidic gained ground as the standard written form of Coptic, and Sahidicisms found in a Subachmimic MS of that period can plausibly be ascribed to the growing prestige of Sahidic at the time. For TriTrac a deliberate attempt to make the orthography conform to Sahidic cannot be demonstrated. As was observed above the scribe has occasionally started to write a Sahidic form before correcting it to Subachmimic (above, p. 16). It seems, therefore, that the translation was originally made into a variant of Subachmimic strongly influenced by Achmimic, and that the Sahidic elements which are exhibited by the orthography of the MS are attributable to the greater familiarity of the scribe, and possibly also of previous scribes, with Sahidic than with Subachmimic.

IV The System

Since we study the theological system expounded in TriTrac in the commentary, following the systematic layout of the treatise itself, only a few words are

necessary on the subject here. Briefly summarized, TriTrac explains how the Father, who is One and who existed alone, desired to be known. By this act of will the divine substance was externalized so as to become a congregation of autonomously existing personal entities with cognitive faculties. However, knowledge and perfect existence are not granted the aeons from the beginning; these are goals to be attained through a process of education and formation. This inherent imperfection gives rise to positive deficiency through the presumptuous anticipation of the goal by the last and least advanced aeon, called "the logos." A rupture takes place within the logos: his presumptuous part is cut off and remains outside the world of the Pleroma, while his perfect part reascends there. From the "thought of presumption" originate demonic powers of passions and vices, essentially material in character. The logos himself, cut off from the Pleroma together with the offspring of his presumption, condemns his previous desire, is converted and remembers the Pleroma, praying to the aeons for assistance. This second disposition, and the prayer, become another order of powers, which is psychic and which combats the material one. Then the Saviour is sent forth from the Pleroma as an answer to his prayer, and manifests himself to him. Through this vision the logos is illuminated and formed, and becomes capable of spiritual offspring, brought forth as a thanksgiving prayer of the logos after the image of the Saviour and his angelic retinue, who themselves

manifest the forms of the Pleroma. The logos proceeds, through the medium of a Ruler of all the psychic powers, to shape the world, which becomes a structure composed of the material and the psychic powers and substances previously emitted, while the logos and his spiritual offspring form an aeon in the "Middle" between the cosmos and the Pleroma. Man likewise is created as a mixture of the material and the psychic and with a third element deriving from the logos himself. In the world there exist different categories of men professing varying opinions about the nature of the cosmos, in accordance with and inspired by the powers, the Greeks and barbarians belonging to the material powers and the Hebrews to the psychic ones. Finally the Saviour is sent down to earth, assuming as his body the spiritual offspring of the logos, who thereby become incarnated as a spiritual Church in the world. The purpose of their incarnation is that they shall be trained through living here below and receive the redemption through the ritual of baptism, so as to be reunited, together with the logos, with the Pleroma, where the final unification now takes place.

There does not exist a singular key to the understanding of the system of TriTrac. On the contrary it is essential to realize that this system, as indeed Valentinian thinking as a whole, combines several modes of thought deriving from disparate religious and philosophical backgrounds. From one point of view

TriTrac represents systematized salvation history in the Jewish-Christian sense. It provides an account of a process which unfolds itself in the medium of time and which encompasses the entire history of the world as well as an elaborate "prologue in heaven." The telos of this process is the education and successive formation of the children of the Father towards their perfect Being and their complete knowledge of him. A central concept in this context is that of the Father's will; it is his will to be known, but it is also his will that this take place through a process of gradual training and growth. Thereby the Father has also willed the condition which made the fall possible. Moreover, the actual occurrence of the fall was in accordance with his will as well; it was necessary in a sense, although the text does not explicitly define this necessity (which belongs to the level of philosophical interpretation: see below). The creation of the world was also in accordance with the Father's plan: it is an instrument for the education of the spiritual seed, who receive in it the preparation for their acceptance into the Pleroma. Closely allied to the concept of the will is that of providence, which indicates that the events of the salvation history take place according to a preconceived plan of the Father. In this context belongs also the term oikonomia, which in TriTrac, as in Valentinianism in general, has the specialized meaning of "the world" in its restricted spatio-temporal totality as a precalculated phase in the

realization of the Father's plan for salvation, administered by lower powers who are themselves ignorant that they act only as instruments of a greater design.

From a different point of view TriTrac contains a system of physics in the philosophical sense. The conceptual framework of the treatise is constituted by the opposition of oneness and plurality. While the Father is One, emanation, although willed by the Father, implies plurality, and unlimited plurality at that. This unlimitedness is epitomized in the presumptuous thought of the logos, who as a singular aeon attempts to grasp the Father, whose oneness is also an infinitude transcending the particularity of the individual aeon. But the fall fulfils a necessary function in the process of emanation, for through it unlimitedness is cut off from the Pleroma and a Limit is imposed upon it, which makes possible the conversion of the Pleroma towards the Father which is effected by the Son. The evil aspect of plurality which now has been removed from the Pleroma, represented by the presumptuous thought, now expresses itself as a multitude of powers constantly struggling among themselves, their mutual strife and discord constituting the essence of matter. For the logos this state of affairs implies a condition of passions and sufferings, from which he attempts to liberate himself through his conversion and prayer. The vision of the Saviour brings about this liberation, and the state to which he then attains is characterized as rest and oneness of mind. Similarly the

spiritual offspring which he now brings forth have an aspect of unity, but nevertheless do not possess the oneness of the Pleroma. In the world of men the thinkers among the Greeks and the barbarians reflect the disruption and strife of the material powers, who inspire their thoughts, whereas the Hebrew prophets, who like good psychics are attentive upwards, all proclaim the same message, which derives from the spiritual region of the logos. When the Saviour descends together with the spirituals he effects the final unification by being a single person in whom all the spirituals may participate at their redemption; the apokatastasis being a return to the initial oneness. This pervasive thinking in terms of the opposition of oneness and plurality is attributable to the influence of the Old Academic opposition of Monad and Dyad, as transmitted through Neopythagoreanism, where these two principles were first conceived in such a way as to form a monistic theory of emanation. In my commentary I have attempted to show that such concepts as "extension," "Limit," "cutting off," "presumption" etc. belong within this tradition. The logos of TriTrac, and Sophia in other Valentinian systems, in many ways correspond to the Dyad as the principle of unlimitedness inherent in emanation, and as the origin of matter. However, the logos (and Sophia) also possesses essential traits of the Platonic Soul (with no fundamental distinction being made by the Valentinians between the World Soul and the particular soul), in particular in the

account of the fall and with regard to demiurgic function. In terms of a hierarchic arrangement there is (1) a supreme god, qualified as One as well as Good, and a transcendent world, which does not constitute a level of its own, as in Plotinus, but which is the Father's thoughts, as in Middle Platonism, although in a dynamically conceived way which combines the Pythagorean notion of the Monad as potentially containing all numbers with the Stoic theory of the double logos; (2) the region of the Middle, the aeon of the spiritual logos, corresponding to the Ogdoad where Sophia dwells according to other Valentinian sources; and (3) the cosmos, which is composed of matter and soul and ruled by powers of either material or psychic nature, the demons of the philosophers arranged on a hierarchic scale, one Ruler being placed over all the others. As in Valentinianism in general there are three demiurges: the Saviour, who separates the material and psychic substances, and also manifests the forms of the Pleroma, the logos, who brings about the actual cosmic arrangement, in accordance with the model manifested by the Saviour, and the Ruler, corresponding to "the Demiurge" in other Valentinian systems, who is the instrument used in creation by the logos, but who in addition creates on his own account as well.

From a third point of view, which is also essential for the understanding of Valentinian thinking, the system of TriTrac is what may be called mysteriosophy, or

mythology with a sacramental basis. Valentinianism is of course a religion, promising salvation through ritual acts, and the meaning of these acts is expressed conceptually through the system. Therefore the Pleroma, although philosophically akin to the intelligible world of the Platonists, is called "Church": it is also the ideal, mythologically hypostasized community of the Elect. This is also the background on which it becomes understandable how the most superior form of cognition of the aeons is the singing of hymns, and how the metaphysical concept of oneness is realized through the harmony, or consent, of the communal psalmody. Furthermore, the emanation process itself, conceived as a generation from within the Father, is to be interpreted not exclusively in terms of current philosophical emanation theories, but also as reflecting sacramentally realized regeneration. In this context it should be noted that such a term as "formation," in addition to the significance it has within the salvation historical outlook on the one hand, and Platonist physics on the other, also possesses sacramental connotations, being semantically closely related to "illumination." It should also be pointed out that the myth of fall and restoration, while constituting, on the macrocosmic level, a cosmogonic theory, also provides the paradigm for the condition of the individual, and for his way to salvation.

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¹ For details see D.M. Scholer, Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948-1969, Nag Hammadi Studies, I, Leiden 1971, p. 130.

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P A R T T W O

T R A N S L A T I O N

Analysis

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- I. The original triad (51:8-59:38)
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 2. He is the only true Father (51:19-52:6)
 3. He is eternal (52:6-53:5)
 4. He is good and full/perfect (53:5-54:2)
 5. He is ineffable (54:2-24)
 6. Conclusion: He is unknowable (54:24-35)
 - B. The Son (54:35-57:23)
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- V. Conclusion: The final end (136:24-138:25)

Note

In order to facilitate reference the translation is laid out so as to reproduce the MS line by line. Whenever deviation from the sequence of the Coptic text has been necessary for the sake of English style and syntax, this is indicated by supplying line numbers in round brackets in the margin. In the translation square brackets ([]) indicate restored text, angle brackets (< >) that the translation is based on an emendation, braces ({ }) that a segment of the text is superfluous and should be deleted. Words added in the translation for the sake of greater clarity are enclosed in round brackets.

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Because we shall speak about the superior things
it is proper to begin
with the Father, who is the root of
the All, the one from whom we have received
5 grace so that we may
speak about him. For he existed
before anything apart
from himself alone had yet come into being. The Father
is one, while being like a
10 multitude. For he is first, and he is that which
he alone is, without being like
a single one. (Other-
wise, how could he be a Father?
For whenever there is a "father," it follows that
there must be
15 a "son.") But the single one,
who alone is
the Father, is like a root
with a tree and branches
and fruit. Of him it is said
20 that he is a true
Father, being in-
comparable
and immutable, because
he is truly one
25 and God. For no
one is god for him, and no

one is father to him
 --for he is unbegotten--and no other
 has begotten him, and
 30 no other has created him.
 For whoever is the father of somebody,
 or his creator,
 he has himself a father and a
 creator. It is certainly possible
 35 that he becomes father and creator
 of whoever has come into being from
 him and whom he has created.
 Still he is not a father
 in the true sense, or a
 40 god, because he has

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somebody who has be[gotten him and] who
 has created him. In the true sense, then,
 only the father and God
 is the one whom nobody has begotten,
 5 but who, on the contrary, has begotten the All and
 created them. He is without beginning
 and without end. For not only
 is he without end--he is immortal because of the fact
 that he is unbegotten--
 10 but he is also unwavering in that
 in which he is eternally,
 and that which he is and that in which he

is firm and that in which
he is great. Neither
15 will he remove himself from that in which he is,
nor will any other
violently bring him to
an end against his will:
He has not had
20 anyone who preceded him in coming into being.
Thus he does not himself change,
nor will another
be able to remove him from that in which he
is and that which he
25 is and that in which he exists,
and his greatness. Thus
he cannot be removed. Nor is it possible
for another to change him into a different
form, or to reduce him, or change him,
30 or diminish him, because this is
truly and veritably <the way>
in which he is the unchangeable and immutable one
who is invested with the immutable.
For he is not only
35 called
"without beginning" and "without end"
because he is unbegotten
and immortal, but
just as he has no
40 beginning, and also no

end, according to his manner of being,
he is unattainable

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in his greatness, unsearchable
in his wisdom, uncontainable
in his power,
inscrutable in his
5 sweetness. For in the real sense
he alone, the good one,
the unbegotten Father, the one who is without
deficiency
and perfect, is the full one;
he is full with all his valuable possessions
10 and every excellence and
every valuable quality. And he possesses
more, namely freedom from
evil; thus it will be found that
while (still) possessing, the one who possesses
everything
15 gives it away, while being unaffected
and not suffering by reason of
that which he gives, because he is rich
in the things that he gives,
and he reposes
20 in the things which he freely bestows.
Such, then, is he, and of such a
character and such a magnitude

that no other co-exists with
 him from the beginning, neither (is there) a place
 25 in which he is, or from which he has come forth,
 or to which he will return;
 nor an original form,
 so that he makes use of a model
 while he works; nor a difficulty which exists
 30 for him and pursues him in that which he does;
 nor a matter which lies ready
 for him and from which he creates
 the things which he creates;
 nor a substance within him, from which
 35 he brings forth the things which he brings forth;
 nor a collaborator
 with whom he collaborates on the things at which
 he works.

To speak like this
 is ignorant. But being
 40 good and without deficiency and perfect and

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full he himself is the All.
 For none
 of the names which are conceived
 or spoken or seen
 5 or grasped,
 none of them applies to him,
 not even the most brilliant, venerable

and honourable ones. It is, though,
certainly possible to say them in glorification
10 of him and praise, in accordance with the capacity
of each one of those who glorify
him. But as for himself, such as he is,
such as he exists,
and considering the form in which he is,
15 it is impossible for the mind to conceive him,
nor can word
render him, nor can eye
see him, nor can the corporeal
grasp him, because of
20 his unsearchable greatness
and his unfathomable depth
and his immeasurable height
and his uncontainable will.
This is the nature of the unbegotten;
25 it does not set to work
starting from anything else, nor is it partnered,
in the manner of that which is defined.
But he has being
while having neither
30 figure nor form, those things which
are contemplated by
sensation, so that for this reason he is also the in-
comprehensible one. If he is incomprehensible
then it follows that
35 he is unknowable. For as regards the one who is

inconceivable
 by any thought, invisible
 by any <face>, unutterable
 by any word,
 untouchable by any hand,
 40 only he himself
 knows himself in the manner in which he

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is and his form
 and his greatness and his magnitude.
 And if he is able to conceive of
 himself, to see himself, to take a name
 5 for himself, to grasp himself,
 (13) the inconceivable, the unutterable,
 (14) the incomprehensible, the unchangeable one
 (6) is his own mind, his
 own eye, his
 own mouth, his
 own form, and it is
 (12) himself
 10 that he conceives, that he sees,
 that he utters, that he grasps;
 (17) and that which he conceives
 (18) and that which he sees and that which he utters
 15 is nourishment and delight
 and truth and joy and repose.
 That which he has

20 as thought rises above
 every wisdom and excels
 every mind and excels
 every glory and excels
 every beauty and
 25 every sweetness and every greatness
 and every profundity and every exaltedness.
 For this one, who is unknowable
 in his nature
 having all those greatnesses which I have
 30 mentioned earlier, if out of the abundance of his
 sweetness "
 he wishes to grant knowledge so that
 he may be known,
 he is capable (of doing so).
 He has his power, which
 35 is his will. But now
 he keeps himself back in
 a silence which is he,
 the great one, being cause
 of the generation of the All for their eternal being.

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For it is truly himself
 that he begets
 as ineffable, it being
 himself alone that is begotten,
 5 as he conceives of himself and

knows himself the way he is.
It is one who is worthy of
his admiration and the glorification and the
praise and the honour that he brings
10 forth, because of his endless
greatness and
his inscrutable
wisdom and his immeasurable
power and
15 his sweetness which is beyond tasting.
It is he who exposes himself
in this manner "of generation, receiving
loving and admiring glorification and praise,
and it is
20 also he who gives glorification to himself,
who admires, who
honours, who loves
--he who has
a son indwelling in
25 him, who is silent concerning him--and
this is the ineffable
within the ineffable, the
invisible, the ungraspable,
the inconceivable within
30 the inconceivable. In this way
he exists within him eternally.
The Father, as we have said already,
is, without generation, the one in whom he
knows himself,

35 (and) who has begotten him, because he
exists having a
thought, which is this thought of his,
and this is his perception,

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which is [the]
of his eternal existence.

And this is
truly <the>

5 silence, and the wisdom
and the grace, which it is also called
with justice.

For just as the
Father is truly

10 one before whom there [existed no other],
and [one]
beside [whom] there is no other unbegotten,
so also [the Son]
is truly

15 one before whom there <exists> no other <son>,
(+17) and beside whom there is no other.

Therefore he is first-born
and an only son;

20 the first-born because no other
existed before him, and the only son
because there is no other beside him.
And he has

his fruit,
 25 which was unknown because of
 his overwhelming greatness. And
 he wished to become known
 because of his abundant
 sweetness. And he manifested the inexplicable power,
 30 and
 he mixed it with the multitudinous abundance of his
 generosity.
 For not only the Son existed
 from the beginning, but also the Church
 35 existed from the beginning.
 Whoever now imagines that the discovery
 that the Son is an only son
 contradicts this statement
 --because of the mystery of the matter
 40 this is not so. For just as

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the Father is a single
 one, and was shown
 to be Father to
 himself, so also
 5 the Son is found
 to be brother to himself,
 without generation
 and without beginning. He
 adm[ires] himself

10 [as] Father, and [glo]rifies
and praises and
[loves], and it is also
he <in> whom he conceives of himself
as Son, in accordance with the dispositions
15 of "without
beginning" and "without end." And
this is the way the matter is,
standing firmly. Being
innumerable and immeasurable,
20 his procreations, those who exist, are indivisible.
(+21) They have come into being from
him, the Son and the Father,
in the manner of kisses, out of the abundance
25 of some who embrace one
another in a good and insatiable thought,
the kiss being a single
one even if it consists in
many kisses. This is the
30 Church of many men, which
exists before the aeons, that
which is justly called
the aeons of the aeons.
This is the nature of the
35 holy imperishable spirits, that
which the Son rests
upon, it being like his essence, just as
the Father rests

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upon the Son. For [.....]
 the Church exists in the
 dispositions and the qualities
 in which the Father and Son exist,
 5 in the way that I have said earlier.
 Because of this, it exists
 as the innumerable procreations of aeons.
 And in infinite number they
 also themselves procreate, through [the qua]lities
 [and]
 10 the dispositions in [which]
 These [..... com]munity
 which [.....]
 toward one another, and [.....]
 who have come forth from [.....]
 15 toward the Son, for whom they exist
 as glory. Because of this
 mind is not able to conceive of them.
 It was the perfection of that place.
 Nor can word
 20 express them. For they are ineffable
 and they are unnameable
 (and) they are inconceivable. Only they
 themselves are able
 to name themselves in order to conceive
 25 themselves. For they are not sown
 in these places. For those who belong to that place

are ineffable
 [and] they are innumerable under (the conditions
 imposed by)
 this particular system.

30 And it is the manner and the
 sort, the joy, the delight,
 of the nameless,
 the unnameable,
 the inconceivable, the invisible
 35 the ungraspable unbegotten.

It is the Pleroma of the Fatherhood,
 in such a way that his abundance has
 become procreation.

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[.....] of the aeons
 were eternally in
 the thought of the Father, and he was
 like a thought
 5 and a place for them. After their begettings had
 been established,
 (6+7) the one who possesses all power wished
 to direct (and) to bring
 up [that] which was wanting, from the
 10 [..., to bring] forth those who
 [were] in him. But while remaining
 [the way] he is,
 [he became] a spring which is not

diminished by the water which
15 flows over from it.
As long as they were
in the Father's thought--that
is, when they were in the hidden depths--
the depth certainly knew
20 them, but they on their part
could not know
the depths in which they
were. Nor
could they know
25 themselves, nor
know anything else--that
is, they existed
with the Father, but they did not exist
to themselves--but
30 the being that they had
was like
a seed, so that they in fact
exist like an
embryo. He had brought them forth in the manner of
logos:
35 it exists in a
seminal state before
those things which it will produce have yet come into
being.

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Because of this, the Father had
 provided for them
 not only that they should exist for him,
 but that they should exist for themselves
 5 also; that they should, then, exist in [his]
 thought as thought-substance,
 but that they should exist for themselves also. [He]
 sowed a thought as a seed
 of [.....]ness, so that [they might]
 10 perceive [..... ex]
 ists for them. He showed grace, [and gave the fir-]
 st form, so that they might pe[rceive]
 who the Father is, who ex[ists for them.]
 The name of the Father he gave
 15 them, by means of a voice which called
 to them that he who is is through
 that name, which one has
 when coming into being. The exaltedness
 in the name, however, they did not realize:
 20 Being in the
 form of an embryo, the baby has
 what it needs
 without ever having seen the one who
 sowed it. Therefore they had
 25 this thing only
 as something to search for, perceiving on the one hand
 that he exists, wanting to find, on the other hand,

what is that which exists. But since
 the Father is perfect and good, just
 30 as he had not heard them
 that they should remain forever
 in his thought, but allowed them
 to exist for themselves, so
 he also shows them the grace
 35 of allowing them to understand what exists,
 which he himself knows
 eternally.

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[.....]

form [to know] what exists,
 in the way in which one is brought forth in this
 place: when one is born one is in
 5 the light, so that one sees those who have produced
 one.

For the Father brought forth the All
 like a little child,
 like a drop from a
 spring, like a blossom
 10 from a [vi]ne, like a
 [....., like] a shoot;
 [.....] they were in need of nour-
 [ishment,] of growth and of per-
 [fection.] He withheld the perfection
 15 for a time. The one who thought

it from the beginning certainly
 possesses it from the beginning
 (and) saw it, but he <hid> it
 from those who had come forth from
 20 him--not through jealousy, but
 in order that the aeons should not receive
 their perfection from the beginning
 and raise themselves up to the
 glory towards the Father, thinking to
 25 themselves that it was out of themselves
 that they had this. But
 just as it had pleased him
 to grant them existence, thus
 (29a) also
 30 when it pleased him he bestowed upon them
 a perfect and
 beneficent thought
 (33 in order that they should become perfect. For he
 +29b) whom he caused to appear
 as a light for those who had come forth
 35 from himself, he
 after whom they are named, he
 is the full and faultlessly perfect Son.
 He brought him forth while being
 united with the one who has come forth

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from him [.....]

receiving [glory] together with [him from]
 the All, according [as] each
 one comprehends him;

5 and this is not his greatness,
 for they have not yet comprehended him in him, but
 he remains on the contrary of the magnitude of which
 [he]

is, of his manner and
 his sort and his greatness.

10 Even though they are able to see
 him and speak about that [which the]y kn[ow]
 of him, while they wear
 him (and) he wears them [and]
 they are able to rea[ch him, he]
 15 nevertheless remains the way he is,
 the inimitable one.

In order that the Father may be
 glorified by each one,
 and manifest himself,

20 and because he is in his ineffability
 invisibly hidden,
 he is admired

in mind. Because of that, the great-

(24a) ness of his exaltedness

(26+ becomes manifest when they

24b) speak of him and see him

25

as they sing hymns to him because of his overflowing
 sweetness, in gratitude.

<...> and just
 30 as the marvels
 of the silences
 are eternal procreations
 --they are offspring of mind--
 so also the faculties
 35 of the logos
 are spiritual emissions.
 The two are as those of a logos;

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they are [.....] and
 they are thoughts [of] his begetting;
 and eternally living roots
 which have become manifest. For
 5 they are offspring which have issued from them,
 being minds and
 spiritual offspring to the
 glory of the Father. For there is no need
 of voice--they [are] spi[rits] of mind and of
 10 logos--nor is there any need to do
 [an acti]on for that which they desire to
 [do]. But in the pattern in which
 [he] was so are (also)
 [those] who have come forth from him, bringing
 15 forth all that they wish. And
 that which they think, and that
 which they say, and that towards which they

are moved, and
 that in which they are, and
 20 that which they hymn, glorifying
 it, they have
 as Son. For this is their power
 of procreation--just as
 with those from whom they have come forth;
 25 by mutual help,
 because they have helped one
 another, in the manner of the unbegotten ones.
 For (1) the Father, according to that by which he
 is exalted above the All, is
 30 unknowable and incomprehensible,
 having this greatness
 of such nature and magnitude that
 if he had manifested himself before,
 immediately, to
 35 all of (even) the most exalted ones of the aeons
 who had come forth from him, they
 would have perished. Therefore
 he withheld his power and his impassibility
 in that which he

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is, [remaining]
 ineffable [and] unnameable
 and transcending every mind
 and every word. (2) That one, however, extended

5 himself
and spread himself;
it is he who has given firmness and
a place and a dwelling-place to
the All--which is a name of his,
10 through which he is
father of the All--because of [his]
suffering for those who are; having
sown himself in their thoughts in order that [they]
should search for that which exceeds th[eir],
15 while thinking that he is
and seeking for what
he was. (3) This one, however, was given
to them as delight and
nourishment and joy and abundant
20 illumination, which
is his compassion,
his knowledge and his mingling
towards them. This one (=3)
is called and is
25 the Son; he is the All,
and they know who he
is; and he is clothing himself.
That (=2) is the one through whom he is called
"Son" and who is perceived
30 to exist and who was sought
for. That (=1) is the one who exists,
as Father, and of whom one cannot speak

and whom one does not conceive;
it is he who existed first.

35 For no one can conceive
of him, or think of him; nor can one
approach towards the exalted,
towards the truly pre-existent one.
But every name which is thought

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or spoken
of him is brought
forth in glorification as a trace
of him, according to the capacity of each
5 one of those who glorify him. The one
who dawned forth, then, from him, extending
himself for the All's procreation and
knowledge, he,
[however,] is all these names without
10 falsehood, and he is
truly the Father's only first
man. This is the one whom I
[call] the form of that which has no form,
the body of the incorporeal, the face of
15 the invisible, the logos of the [inex-]
pressible, the mind of the inconceivable,
the spring which flowed forth from
him, the root of those who have been rooted,
the god of those who lie down (?), the light

20 of those whom he illuminates, the will of those
 whom he has willed, the providence of those for
 whom he
 provides, the understanding
 of those whom he has made to understand, the strength
 of those whom he gives strength, the congregation
 25 of those with whom he is present, the revelation
 of that for which they search, the eye
 of those who see, the spirit of those who breathe,
 the life of those who live, the unity
 of those who are mingled. As the All
 30 is entirely in "the single
 one, he being completely clothed with
 himself and within the one and the same name,
 he is never called
 by it. And in
 35 this same way they are, on their part, in
 unification (?),
 the one and the same and the All.
 He is not corporeally divided,
 nor is he split apart by the names
 in which he is, so as to be
 40 one in this manner,

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another in [that manner; nor]
 does he change by [...], nor
 does he alter by [the na]mes which he

is, being this one now, and
5 that one at another <time>, so that he is one now
and another at another time
--but he is permanently whole; [he]
is each one of the All
eternally at the same time; he is
10 what they all are, as
Father of the All, also the All is him.
For it is he who is knowledge
to himself, being
each one of his qualities. He has
15 the powers, <being> the eye
by which he perceives all that he knows,
seeing all of it in himself,
having a
Son and form. Because of that
20 his powers and qualities are innumerable
and inaudible,
because of the procreation by which he
procreates them. Innumerable
and indivisible are
25 the procreations of his logoi and
his commands and his All.
He knows them--which is himself--
as they are in
the single name, all of them
30 being in it, speaking. And
he is productive, so that

they in fact will be found to
 exist in unity, in accordance with each particular
 quality.

And he also did not manifest his multitude
 35 to the All at once,
 and he did not manifest his sameness
 to those who had come forth from him. For all those
 who have come forth from him, that
 is, the aeons of the aeons,

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[being] emissions, the procreations of
 a procreative nature,
 they also **<procreate>** through their own procreative
 nature
 to the glory of
 5 the Father, just as he had
 caused their
 existence. This is what
 we have said earlier, that he makes
 the aeons into roots and
 10 springs and fathers. For he
 whom they glorify they begot. For
 they have knowledge
 and understanding, and
 they realized that
 15 they had come forth from the knowledge
 and the understanding of the All.

They would have brought forth a
 glorification which was (only) a semblance of the
 Father--he
 who is the All--
 20 if they had raised themselves up to give
 glory according to each individual <power(?)> of
 the aeons. Because of that, through the
 singing of hymns in glorification and
 through the power of the oneness
 25 of him from whom they had come forth
 they were drawn into mutual intermingling
 and union and
 oneness.
 They made a glorification that was worthy of
 30 the Father out of the Pleroma
 of the assembly, and it was a
 single image though it was many, because
 they had brought it forth for the glory
 of the single one, and because
 35 they had come forth towards the one who
 is himself the All. This, then,

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was a tribute from the [aeons] to
 the one who had brought forth the All,
 and it was a first-fruit of the immortals,
 and eternal, because when
 5 it came forth from the living aeons,

it left them being (something) perfect and full
because of that which is perfect
and full, since they were full
and perfect, having glorified in
a perfect fashion through fellowship.

10 For in the way that
they glorify the perfect Father, he
<returns> the glory to those who glorify [him],
[so as to] manifest them by that which
he is. For the cause

15 which brought about for them the second glory
is that which was returned
unto them from the Father, when they understood
the grace by which they had borne fruit
through the Father for one

20 another, so that just as they had
been brought forth as a glorification of the Father,
so also in order that they should be manifested
as perfect they were manifested as
producing through glorification. For they are

25 fathers of the third glorification
in accordance with the autonomy and
the power which was produced together with them,
without them being in each individual
so as to glorify in

30 oneness that which he
desires. For they are the first and the
second, and in this way they both are perfect

and full, for they are manifestations
 of the Father who is perfect
 35 and full, and (of) those perfect things which came
 forth
 when they glorified
 the perfect. The fruit of
 the third, however, is glorifications by
 the will of each one of the aeons
 40 and each one of the qualities.
 The Father has indeed power--he exists

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[as] a perfect Pleroma
 [.....] which is
 from a union. As
 from that which is in accordance with each individual
 5 aeon is that which he wills
 and that of which he is capable
 when he glorifies the Father.
 Therefore they are minds
 of minds, and are in fact
 10 logoi of logoi,
 superiors of
 superiors, degrees
 of degrees, being ranked
 one above the other. And each one
 15 of those who glorify has
 his station, his

rank and his dwelling and his
 resting-place, which is the glorification
 that he produces. For
 20 those who glorify the Father all
 have their eternal
 procreation. They procreate with
 mutual assistance,
 and the emissions are unlimited and
 25 immeasurable. There is no
 jealousy on the part
 of the Father towards those who have come forth
 from him as regards their producing his
 equivalent and his image: He is the one who
 30 is in the All, procreating
 and manifesting himself, and who
 wishes to make into a father
 those to whom he himself is their father,
 and into a god those to whom he himself
 35 is their god, as he makes into
 Alls those <whose> All he is.
 And all those

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[great] names dwell there
 authentically
 which are shared
 by the angels who have come into being in
 5 the world, and the archons, although they have no

resemblance
to the eternal. For the whole system
of the aeons has
yearning and seeking
10 after the complete and perfect finding
of the Father, and this is their blameless
union. Although he manifested
himself, the Father
did not desire that they should
15 know him eternally, but he gave himself to be
reflected upon, to be sought after, while keeping
to himself that inscrutable (part) of himself
by which he is pre-existent. For
the Father gave the impulse
20 and root of the aeons, so that they are stations
on the calm road towards him,
as towards a school of
conduct, he having extended to them faith,
and confidence in that which
25 is not seen, and a
strong hope in that which is not
conceived, and a fertile
love longing for that which it does not
see, and an
30 eternally pleasant understanding of the mind,
and a blessing
which is richness and
freedom, and a wisdom of the one

who desires the glory of the Father--for
35 their thought.

For they know the Father, the exalted one

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by his will, which is
the spirit which breathes in the All
and gives them a thought
that they shall seek after the un-
5 known, just as somebody is moved
by a fragrance
to seek the reason
because of which the fragrance exists,
because the fragrance of
10 the Father excels these un-
worthy things. For its sweetness
sets the aeons into an
undescribable pleasure,
and it gives them the thought that
15 they should mingle with him who
desires that they know him
in oneness, and that they should help
one another through the spirit which is
sown in them as they are placed
20 in a great and powerful inbreathing,
being renewed in an ineffable
fashion--for they have no
occasion to separate

in thoughtlessness from that in which they are
 placed,
 25 because they do not speak,
 but are silent about the glory of the
 Father, about [him] who has the power
 to speak--and receive form
 in it. He was manifested, but
 30 it is nevertheless not possible to express him.
 They have <him> as hidden in
 thought, so that because of
 this they are, on the one hand, silent about
 the way the Father is
 35 in his form and his nature and his greatness,

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while, on the other hand, the aeons have become
 worthy of
 knowing this through his spirit.
 For he is unnameable and
 unattainable,
 5 but gives himself to them that they may conceive and
 (+7) speak of him through his spirit, which is the
 trail
 by which he may be sought.
 For each of
 the aeons is a name, being each
 10 of the qualities and the powers of
 the Father. Being in many names,

mingled and in mutual harmony,
it is possible for them to speak of him because of
the wealth of the logos, in such a way that
15 although the Father is a single name because
he is single, he is nevertheless innumerable
in his qualities and
[names]. For the emission of
the All, which is out of the one who
20 is, has not taken place by way of
a cutting off from one another,
as if it were a separation from him who produced
them, but their production was in the form
of a spreading out,
25 the Father spreading himself out
to those whom he wills, so that
those who have come forth from him might
exist as well. For just as
the present aeon is
30 single, yet divided by times,
and times are divided into
years, and the years are divided into
seasons, the seasons into months, the
months into days, the days
35 into hours, and the hours
into moments, so

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also the true aeon

is single
yet many, being glorified by small
and by great names according to that which
5 each is able to comprehend; by way of
imagery, again, like a spring
which remains what it is
while flowing into rivers,
lakes, canals
10 and aqueducts; like a
root which spreads out into
trees and branches and
its fruits; like a
human body, which is indivisibly divided into
15 members
of members, primary members
and subordinate ones, into big ones and
small ones. For the aeons were brought
forth in accordance with the third
20 fruit, through the autonomy
of the will,
and through the wisdom
which he graciously gave them for their thought.
Whenever they desire to give glory [with]
25 that which arises from a union, which
has been produced for words of [glorification]
from each one of the pleromas,
and whenever they desire
to give glory with the All, and whenever

30 they desire (to do so) with somebody
 who has already come higher than
 their own <degree>, or
 station, then
 35 he obtains
 <that which> he has desired from
 (34) the one who is placed in the superior name and
 in the superior station,

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and ascends to that which is higher
 than himself; and he begets
 himself, as it were, and
 begets himself through that one
 5 with that which he is; and he renews
 himself with that which has come to him
 from his brother; and he sees him
 and entreats him about this thing: that
 that to which he has desired to ascend
 10 --that he may succeed in this.
 The one who has
 desired to glorify does not say anything to him
 about this, except this
 only. For there is placed a limit
 to speech within the Pleroma, to
 15 make them keep silent about the unattainability
 of the Father, but speak about the fact that
 they desire to attain him. It came to

one of the aeons that he should undertake
 to grasp the inconceivability (of the Father)
 20 and glorify it, as well as the ineffability
 of the Father;
 and it was a logos of oneness
 although it did not come from
 the union of the All, nor
 25 from him who brought them forth
 --for he who brought forth the All is the Father.
 For this aeon was one of those
 to whom was given wisdom,
 each one of whom pre-existed
 30 in his thought. By the fact that he wills
 they are brought forth. Therefore
 he had received a nature of wisdom,
 so as to inquire into the hidden
 order, since he was an offspring of wisdom.
 35 For the autonomous will
 which was produced with
 the All was a cause
 for this one to do

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what he wished with nothing
 restraining him. For the in-
 tention of this logos
 was good,
 5 because he had rushed forward in order to glorify

the Father, although he had undertaken something which was beyond his power, since he wished to bring forth one who was perfect, by a
10 union, in which he did not share and without anybody having, told him to it. For this aeon was last when he [brought] them forth in their mutual
15 assistance, and he was youngest of age. And before he had yet brought forth anything to the glory of the will in the union of the All, he acted high-
20 mindedly, out of an overflowing love, (and) rushed forwards towards that which is situated within the sphere of the perfect glory. For it is not without the will of the Father
25 that this logos was produced, nor was it without it that he should rush forward, but on the contrary the Father had brought him forth for those things which he knows must of necessity
30 take place--for the Father and the All withdrew from him, in order that the boundary

which the Father had fixed should become firm; for
 35 it is not out of the dwelling of the unattain-
 ability, but by the will

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of the Father--and also in order that
 the things which took place should take place
 for an economy which should take place
 (which ought not to have taken place [?])
 5 in the manifestation of the Pleroma.
 Because of this it is not right to con-
 demn the movement which is the logos,
 but it is right that we should speak of
 the movement of the logos as a cause
 10 of an economy which has been ordained to
 take place. For on the one hand the logos did
 beget
 himself as a perfect single
 one, to the glory of the Father, who had
 willed him and was content with him.
 15 On the other hand, those things which he desired
 to grasp
 [and] attain he brought forth as shadows
 [and] likenesses and imitations,
 because he could not bear the vision of
 [the] light, but looked at
 20 [the] depths. He faltered. Because of
 this he suffered a division

and a turning. Out of the faltering
 and the division <arose> oblivion,
 and ignorance of himself and
 25 <of that> which is. For his raising himself
 upwards and
 his expectation to attain
 the unattainable became firm for him;
 he was in it. But the sicknesses
 which ensued
 30 after he had become beside
 himself, arose
 from his faltering, that is, his
 failure to approach the
 glories of the Father, he whose exaltedness
 35 is without end. That, however,
 he did not attain, because he could not contain him.
 For the one who brought forth himself

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as an aeon of oneness
 hastened upwards to that
 which was his, and to his kin
 in the Pleroma. He abandoned
 5 that which had come into being by means of the
 deficiency
 --those things which had come forth from him
 as a fantasy--as not belonging to him.
 For after he who brought forth himself

had brought himself forth
 10 as more perfect,
 he became weak like a female
 nature which has been abandoned by her male
 (13a) element. For
 15 those things which came into being
 (16+ from his thought and his presumption
 17a) were out of that which itself was deficient;
 (13b +14) therefore
 (17b) his perfect (self) left him (and) ascended
 to those things which were his. He remained
 20 in the Pleromá, it being
 a reminder for him that [he had been]
 saved from the [.....]
 For he who hastened towards the heights and
 that which drew him towards itself were not
 25 barren, but brought
 forth a fruit from the Pleroma
 in order to overturn those who had come into
 being by the deficiency. For the things which had
 come into being by means of the presumptuous
 30 thought do resemble
 the pleromas of
 whom they are imitations,
 but they are likenesses and shadows
 and fantasies because they have been abandoned
 35 by the logos and the light,
 belonging to the vain thought, being

offspring of nobody. Therefore,

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just as

their origin is out of that which

(3+
1a) was not, so also their end will be that they

return to that

which will not exist. But in their

5 own eyes <they> exist

as great and powerful,

more [beauti]ful than the names

which [ado]rn them--the ones [whose] shadows

they are, as they are made beautiful by way of

10 imitation. For [the figure] of the likeness

takes its

beauty from that of which it is a likeness.

For they thought of

themselves that they were the only things in

existence

and without beginning,

15 because they did not see anyone who

existed before them. Therefore they

showed themselves disobedient

[and] rebellious, and did not

submit themselves to the one because of whom

they had come into being.

20 For they desired to command

one another and lord it over them

[in] their vain love of glory,
 and the glory that they had
 had a cause
 25 [of the] system that was to come into being.
 [Being] imitations of those who are superior
 they raised themselves to a lust for
 dominion, each one of
 them in accordance with the magnitude of the name
 30 of which he was a shadow,
 imagining that he should become greater
 than his fellows. For the thought of these
 ones was not barren,
 but in accordance with the model of which they
 35 are shadows, all that they
 think they have as a pledged son.

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That by which they think
 of them they have
 as offspring. Because of this
 it came to pass that many issued from
 5 them as offspring: fighters,
 warriors,
 disturbers, re[bels],
 and disobeyers who
 love domination, and
 10 all the others of the sort
 from these. For the logos, then, [was]

the cause of the things which
 happened. He became even
 more desperate. He was dumbfounded.
 15 Instead of perfection he saw deficiency;
 instead of unification he saw division;
 instead of stability he [saw]
 disturbances, instead of [rest]
 upheavals. And he was not able
 20 to bring their love of disturbance to cease,
 nor could he
 destroy it; he had become powerless [....]
 after his All and his p[erfection] had
 left him. For those who had come into being
 25 did not know them-
 selves, and they did not know
 the pleromas from which they had come forth,
 and they did not know
 the one who had become cause of
 30 their coming into being. For because the logos
 was in such an
 unstable state
 he no longer tried to bring forth (offspring)
 in the manner of (the bringing forth of) emissions,
 35 such as exist <as> pleromas
 of glory who have come into being for the glory
 of the Father, but he brought

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forth little weak things which were
 impeded by those sicknesses
 by which he himself had been impeded.
 It was the solitary [imit]ation of this
 disposition

5 which
 became cause of the things
 which do not themselves exist from the beginning.
 For he produced
 these in such a way as to
 10 cause deficiency, up to the moment when he
 condemned those who had come into being
 because of him contrary to reason. This is the
 condemnation which became a judgment,
 directing itself against them with a view to
 destruction

15 --they are the ones who have opposed the
 judgment--
 as the wrath pursues them. But it is a
 <helper> and a saviour
 from their sentiment and their
 rebellion, because out of it
 20 [arises] the conversion which is
 called repentance,
 as the logos changes
 [to a different] sentiment and a different mind;
 turning away from evil

25 he has turned towards the good.
 After the conversion followed
 the remembrance of those who exist,
 and the prayer on behalf of the one who has
 turned
 to himself by means of that which is good.
 30 It was the one who was in the Pleroma that first
 supplicated for him and
 remembered him; then his brothers,
 one by one, and one part of the All
 with the others; then all of them (together);
 35 but before all these the Father.

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Now the prayer of the supplication
 was a help that [he] might
 turn <towards> himself
 and the All; for it caused
 5 him to remember
 the pre-existent ones, (and)
 them to remember him, and this
 is the thought which calls out
 from afar and makes him turn around.
 10 For all his prayer and
 remembrance were
 numerous powers, although in accordance with
 the aforementioned limit
 For there was nothing

barren in his thought.

15 For these powers were much better
and superior to those who belong to
imitation. For those--those who belong to
imitation--they are of a substance of da[rkness.]
It is of a fantasy
20 of imitation and a presumptuous
and e[mpty] thought
that they have come into being. These ones,
however,
are out of the [thought]
which knew them beforehand.
25 For those ones [.....]
like oblivion
and heavy sleep, being
like those who have troubled
dreams, who are
30 pursued by <someone> while
the dreamers are encircled.
But these (others) are
like beings of light
for him, looking towards
35 the rising of the sun, and it has come to pass
that
they see dreams in it
which are truly sweet. Those ones

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at once <...>

the emissions of the remembrance.

They did not have much

substance, nor did

5 they have much glory.

[For] they are not equal to the pre-

existent ones, even though they are superior

[to] the imitations. This was the only thing

by which they were exalted over them: that

10 they have originated from a good

sentiment--for they have not arisen

out of the sickness which

occurred--which is the good

sentiment of him [...]

15 who sought after the pre-

existent after he prayed and brought him-

self to the good.

And he sowed in them

a predisposition to seek after

20 and pray to the

glorious pre-existent.

And he sowed in them a thought

[....] and a reflection in order that they

should think that something greater than they

existed

25 before them, and that they did not know

what it was. Bringing forth

harmony and mutual
love by means of that thought,
they acted in
30 unity and
one mind, for by the
unity and the oneness
of mind they had received their existence.
For the others lorded it over them
35 in lust for dominion.
For they were more honourable

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than these first ones, who raised themselves
against them. Those had not
submitted themselves. They thought of themselves
that they were self-originated
5 and were
without beginning, having been the first to be
brought forth
when they were born.
The two orders combatted one another,
fighting for
10 command, in such a way
that they were submerged in
violences and cruelties,
in the manner of com-
bat, even they having
15 lust for domination

and all the other things of
 this sort. Because of this
 the vain love of glory draws them all
 towards
 20 the desire of lust
 for dominion, and none
 of them remembers
 [.....] and they do not acknowledge
 it. For the powers
 25 of the remembrance were p[rep]ared
 by the actions of the pre-existent
 ones, of whom they were
 likenesses. For the order
 of these
 30 was thus in harmony
 with itself and with its fellows.
 However, it confronted the order
 of those who belong to the imitation, because
 the order
 of those who belong to the imitation warred
 35 against the likenesses, and it com-
 bated itself because of its wrath.

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Because of this it [.....]
 [.....] them [..... again-]
 st one another for the sake of [.....]
 necessity placed them [.....]

5 [...] that they might prevail [.....]
 he did not want to fall (?) [.....]
 and their envy and their jealousy
 and the wrath and the violence and the
 lust and the ignorance ruled,
 10 and they brought forth with one another various
 matters and
 powers of different kinds, mixed and
 numerous, while the mind of the logos, who had
 caused their production was open
 towards the manifestation of the hope
 15 which was to come to him from above. For the logos,
 who had been moved had
 hope and anticipation of
 that which is superior. Those who belonged to
 the shadow he
 turned away from in every way
 20 because they opposed him and were quite
 unsubmitive.
 But he was content
 with those who belonged to the remembrance. And
 the one who [...]

upwards in this way and who was in the
 superior state remembering
 25 the one who had become deficient--the logos, [....]
 him in an invisible way
 in those who had come into being in accordance
 with the remembrance, in accordance with

that which was present with them
 --until the light should shine forth on him from
 30 above as a giver of life, that which was brought
 forth
 by the thought of brotherly love
 of the pre-existent pleromas.
 For the aeons
 of the Father of the All, (those) who had not suf-
 35 fered, took upon themselves the fall which had
 happened, as if it were their own,
 with concern and beneficence
 and with great kindness.

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[..... the] All, that they should be
 instructed [...]

[.....] by the single one [...]

[..... confi]rm all through him

[.....] to end the deficiency. For the or-
 5 [der which came into] being for him came into
 being by
 <the one> who had hastened upwards and who
 brought it forth for him
 out of himself and out of the perfection as a
 whole.

He who had hastened upwards became
 for the one who had become deficient an
 intercessor with the

10 emission of the aeons who had come into being
in accordance with
the things which are. After he had en-
treated them, they on their part consented with
gladness and
benevolence and the harmony
of consent to help the one who had
15 become deficient. They congregated in one place,
entreating the Father by an agreeable thought
that help might come from
above, from the Father, for his glory.
For the one who had become deficient could not
be made perfect in any other way
20 than if the Pleroma
of the Father, which drew him to itself, consented,
manifested him and gave to the one who had become
deficient. By means of the gladly willed
consent which arose
25 the fruit was brought forth, as an offspring
of the consent, as a single
one yet as belonging to the All, mani-
festing the countenance of
the Father, of whom the aeons thought
30 when they glorified and prayed for help for their
brother--in which sentiment the Father took part
with them--thus
the fruit was willingly and gladly brought
forth. And the consent of

35 the manifestation of his uniting
with them, which is the Son
of his will, manifested itself.

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The Son of the good pleasure of
the All placed himself as a garment
on them, by means of which
he gave perfection to the one who had become
deficient,
5 and firmness to those who are perfect.
He is rightly called
Saviour and Redeemer,
the Well-pleasing one, the Beloved one,
the Paraclete, Christ and
10 the Light of those who are appointed, after
those
from whom he was brought forth, because he had
come into being
clothed in the names of the existences.
Or what further name is there to use
of him, apart from "Son," as we have already
15 said? For he is the knowledge of
the Father, who had desired to become known.
For not only did the aeons
bring forth the countenance of the Father whom
they
glorified, which has already been described, but

20 they brought forth their own as well. For the
 glorifying aeons brought forth their countenance
 and aspect. They brought them forth as an
 army for him as (for) a king,
 so that those who belong to the remembrance
 may have a
 25 common authority and a united
 common consent. They came forth
 in one form which was a multitude of forms, so
 that he whom they were to help should
 see those to whom he had prayed
 30 for help, and also see who had
 given it to him. For the fruit of which we have
 spoken earlier, (that) of the consent
 towards him, represents the power of the All.
 For the Father placed in him
 35 the All; both the pre-existent,
 the existing and that which will be.

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He was competent. He manifested
 those things which he had placed in him
 in his custody(?), after having entrusted (them)
 to him.

He directed the administration of the All
 5 in accordance with the authority which was given
 to him
 from the beginning, and the power (required)

for the task.

In this way he began to carry out
his manifestation. For he
in whom the Father is, and he
10 in whom the All is,
appeared to the one who was lacking
in vision. He showed himself to those who were
seeking after their faculty of vision by means
of the radiation of the perfect light there.
15 He first perfected him
in inexpressible joy. He
made him perfect for himself as a perfect one,
and he gave him also that (which) is one by
one. For this is the nature of
20 the first joy. And we too were sown
in him invisibly,
as a logos which is pre-determined for
knowledge. And he gave him strength
to separate (from) and turn away from
25 those who were disobedient to him.
To him he displayed
himself in this way. But to those
who had come into being because of him he
manifested himself in a mock-form.
30 He directed a stroke
against them as he suddenly manifested himself
to them
and withdrew,

in the way of lightning. And
35 he brought to an end and stopped
(34) the entanglement which they had with one another

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through the sudden manifestation,
of which they were uninformed
and which they did not expect because
they did not know it. Because of this they
became
5 afraid and fell down, for they could not bear
the stroke of the light which came
upon them. For the two orders it was a
stroke. But the order that had appeared
in the manner
of those who belong to the remembrance was named
10 a little one, because they had
a little thought. For they have that which
is superior--it exists before them--because they
have, sown within them, the
wonder about that which is superior which
15 will be manifested. Therefore they greeted
his manifestation and
fell down before him. They became
convinced witnesses of <him> (and) acknowledged
the light which had appeared, being stronger
20 than those who opposed them. Those who belong
to the

imitation, however, were very afraid,
for they had not been able to learn
from the beginning that there existed such a
sight.

Because of this they fell down into
25 the pit of ignorance,
which is called the
Outer Darkness and Chaos and
Hades and the Abyss. He placed above
(them) the order of those who belong to the
30 remembrance because it had proved itself
stronger than they. They were worthy of
becoming rulers over the unspeakable
darkness as their own (domain)
and the lot which was assigned to them. He
turned
35 it over to them so that they too should be
useful in the
economy which was to take place,

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of which they are ignorant. For there is a great
difference between the manifestation to the one
who existed
and who became deficient, (and that to) those
who come into being because
of him. For to him he manifested himself within
5 him; he was with him, was

compassionate with him, relieved
him little by little, made [him]
grow, carried him upwards, and in the end he
gave himself
to him to be enjoyed in
10 vision. But to those who are on the out-
side he manifested himself in a leap and
a stoke, and immediately withdrew,
without having let them see him.
For after the logos who had become deficient
was illuminated,
15 his fullness advanced.
He became free from those who were revolting
against him before and became dis-
entangled from them. He stripped himself of
his former presumptuous thought.
20 He received the unification of the repose by
the subjugation and the submission
to him of those who had formerly been disobedient
to him. And <he> rejoiced
in the visitation of his brothers
25 who had come to see him. He gave
glory and praise to those who had manifested
themselves to help him, and he gave thanks
that he had become free from those who rose
up against him
while he admired and praised the Great-
30 ness and those who had manifested themselves to

him by
 a decree. He brought forth visible images
 of the living forms. As fair (beings)
 of the good, because they are
 of those who exist, they do resemble
 35 these in beauty, but they are not really equal
 to them,
 because they do not originate from a
 union between the one who brought them

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forth and the one who manifested himself to
 him. But
 he works with craft and skill,
 completely uniting logos with
 himself. Therefore those who came
 5 forth from him are great, just as
 that which exists is great.
 For after admiring the beauty
 of those who had manifested themselves to him,
 he acknowledged his thanks for their
 10 visitation. The logos accomplished this
 through those from whom he had obtained
 help, so as to set in order
 those who had come into being because of him, and
 so that they might receive something good, as he
 15 decided to pray that the
 (16+ orderly economy should embrace all those who had

17) come forth from him. Because of
this, those whom he deliberately brought forth
are in chariots, in
20 the manner of those who existed, the ones
who were manifested, so that they may rise past
all stations, these being inferior things (to
them),
in order that each may be given the right
region, in accordance with what he
25 is. This is an overthrow for
those who belong to the imitation, but an act
of beneficence
for those who belong to the remembrance, and a
manifestation
(line cancelled by scribe)
of those things which arose from
30 the decision which was united
and compassionate, being seeds
which have not yet come into being to
themselves. For
that which was manifested was a countenance
of the Father and the consent, and it was a
35 garment (composed) of every grace, and food,
being for those whom the logos brought
forth when he prayed, and it received the glory
and the praise

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which the logos gave as glorification and praise,
 while he beheld those to whom he prayed
 so as to render perfect through them the images
 which he brought forth. For

5 the logos greatly increased
 the mutual co-operation and
 the expectant hope, and
 they had happiness and great
 rest and undefiled pleasures.

10 Those whom he had
 remembered earlier, without them being with
 him providing the perfection,
 (scribal error corrected by
scribe) he now begot having the one of the
 vision with him.

15 remaining in hope for, and
 faith in, the Father, who is perfect throughout
 the All

--he being manifest to him, but not yet
 united with him, in order that those who had
 come into being should not perish by the vision
 20 of the light. For they

cannot sustain the superior
 greatness. For this thought of the logos,
 which he turned towards his consolidation,
 and (which) became master over those who had
 25 come into being because of him, was called

"aeon" and "place" for
 all those whom he brought forth
 in accordance with the decree. And it is also
 called
 "a synagogue of
 30 salvation," because it healed him from
 the dispersion, which is the thought which is
 manifold, (and) made him turn towards
 the one thought. Thus
 it is also called "store-
 35 house," because of the rest which he
 attained and gave himself;

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and it is also called "bride,"
 because of his joy when
 he attained it, in response to the hope of (a)
 fruit
 from the union which was manifested to him.
 5 It is also called "kingdom,"
 because of the consolidation which he received
 when he
 rejoiced in the power over those who opposed him.
 And it is also called "the joy
 of the Lord," because of the delight with [which
 he]
 10 clothed himself when the light was
 before him, giving him recompense for the

good which was in him,
and the thought of freedom.
This aeon of which we have
15 spoken stands above the two orders
of those who combat one another.
It is dissociated from those who hold dominion,
and
it is not implicated in the sicknesses and the
small-
nesses, those who belong to the remembrance and
those who belong to the imitation.
20 For that in which the logos established himself,
perfect in joy,
was an aeon: it had
the form of the real thing, but it also had
the constitution of (its) cause, which
25 is the one who manifested himself, because it
is an image
of the existing ones in the Pleroma,
those who have come into being out of the
abundant
delight of that which is.
Moreover, through rejoicing over the
30 countenance of the one who manifested himself,
through the {delight} and the attentive-
ness and the expectation of the things
for which he had prayed it had
the logos of the Son

35 and his essence and his power and his
 shape. It was him that he desired
 and delighted in,

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the one to whom he prayed in love.
 It was light and it was a desire
 to be set upright, and it was an openness
 for instruction and for the eye it was vision,
 5 (qualities) which it had
 from the superior things. And it was wisdom
 for his thought against those who were at the
 bottom of the
 economy. And it was logos
 for speech, and it is the perfection of things
 10 in this way. And they
 were formed together with it, after the
 image of the Pleroma, having
 fathers, who <are those who manifested themselves,>
 each being a little impress
 15 of one of the forms.
 They are forms of maleness,
 because they are not from the sickness which
 is femaleness, but they are from
 the one who has already left the
 20 sickness behind, possessing the name
 of Church. For in consent
 they resemble the consent in the assembly

of those who manifested themselves. For that
which came into being in accordance with the
image of the
25 light, that in itself is perfect,
because it is an image of the single
light, which exists, (and) which is the
All. It was indeed smaller than that of which
it was an image, but it has
30 its indivisibility,
for it is a countenance of the
indivisible light. But those
who have come into being in accordance with
the image
of each one of the aeons
35 are in essence that which we have
said, but in power they are not equal,
for it exists in each one
of them individually.
United with one another
40 they do have the equality.

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But individually each of them has not cast off
that which is peculiar to him.
Therefore they are passions.
And passion is sickness.
For they are not offspring from the union of
5 the Pleroma, but from him

who has still not received the Father, or
the union with his All and the Will.

It was a good thing for the economy
which was to be, because it had been decided
concerning them

10 that they should pass by the lower stations,
and the stations were not able
quickly to accept their coming
through them unless (they came) one
by one, and

15 their coming was necessary because every
thing was to be fulfilled through them.

(17+ The logos, then, received in full at once all
19b+ these things,
20a)

(18) the pre-existent, those which are now
(19a+ and those which will be, as he had been
20b) entrusted with the economy of all existing
21 things. Some are already
actual, being ready to
come into being; but the seeds which are to
come into being

25 he has within himself, from
the expectation, which was that
by which he conceived, because that consists of
seeds which are to come into being. And
he begot his offspring, which
30 is the manifestation of that by which he
conceived. But the seed of

expectation is preserved for some time,
 in order that those who have been appointed
 shall be
 appointed for a mission
 35 by the advent of the Saviour and those who are
 with him--these are the first ones--
 for the knowledge and the glory of
 the Father. For it is right,

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by the prayer which he made and the con-
 version which took place because of it,
 that some shall perish,
 others benefit,
 5 others still be
 set apart. He prepared
 the punishment for those who were dis-
 obedient, making use of a power
 from the one who was manifested, the one from
 whom he had received
 10 the authority over the all
 so that he should separate from himself [that]
 which is inferior, and place it
 away from that which is superior--until he
 set in order the economy of
 15 all that was on the outside, and gave
 each its appropriate region.
 For first the logos established himself,

setting the all in order, as
 being origin and cause
 20 and ruler of the things which had
 come into being, just like the Father, who
 was cause of the establishment
 which first existed after him.
 He sorted out the already existing images,
 25 which he had brought forth in
 thanksgiving and glorification. Then
 he set in order the abode of those whom he had
 brought forth by glorification, that which is
 called
 "paradise" and "the
 30 enjoyment" and "the delight which is full
 of nourishment" and "the delight <of> the
 pre-existent ones," and
 (34b) he reproduced the image
 (33+ of every good thing which exists in the Pleroma.
 34a) Then he set in order the kingdom, which
 35 was like a city
 filled with every beautiful thing,
 brotherly love and
 great generosity, filled

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with the holy spirits and [the]
 strong powers by which they are governed,
 those whom the logos

brought forth. And it was established
 5 with strength. Then (he set in order) the
 station of
 the church which is assembled in this place,
 having the shape of the
 church which exists among the aeons who glorify
 the Father. After that (he set in order) the
 station
 10 of faith and of the obedience [which arises from]
 hope, these things which the logos received
 after the light had been manifested,
 then the disposition which is prayer [and]
 supplication--upon which follows forgiveness--
 15 and the speaking about
 the one who will appear. For all these spiritual
 stations
 are set apart by a spiritual power from those
 who belong to
 the remembrance, because the power of
 20 an image exists--this image divides(?)
 the Pleroma from the logos--which
 power operates in them so as to make them
 prophecy about
 the things which are to be, and keeps those who
 belong to the remembrance,
 who have come into being, away from that which
 is pre-existent,
 25 and does not let them mix with those who

originated from a direct vision of those who
 were with
 him. For those who belong to the remembrance,
 that
 which is on the outside, they on their part are
 subordinate,
 and reproduce the likeness of the Pleroma,
 30 all the more so because of the par-
 taking in the names by which they are beautiful.
 For the conversion is
 subordinate to those who belong to the remembrance,
 and
 also the law of
 35 the judgment, which is the condemnation and
 wrath, is subordinate to them.
 To these is subordinate
 also the power which separates the ones
 below them, which throws them
 off and does not allow them

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[to stret]ch upwards against those who belong
 to the remembrance [and]
 the conversion. This is the fear and
 desperation and oblivion and <error> and
 ignorance, and the things which came into being
 5 as an imitation from a fantasy.
 And these too are called

by the higher names. These, who are
inferior, <are unable to> know the ones from
whom they have
issued through a presumptuous thought
10 and lust for dominion
and disobedience and [lies.]
For each
of the two orders he named
by a name:
15 Those who belong to the remembrance and to the
likeness are called
"the right" and "psychic" and
"the fires" and "the middles." But those who
belong to the
presumptuous thought and to the
imitation are called "the left,"
20 "hylic," "darknesses" and "the last." For
after the logos had thus established
every one in his rank,
the images, the likenesses and the imitations,
he kept the aeon of the images
25 pure from all those who confront
it, so that it is a place of joy.
But to those who belong to the remembrance he
revealed
the thought of which he had stripped
himself: he wanted it to draw them
30 into association with the material, so that

they would have an
 organization and a dwelling-place,
 and also in order that they should acquire a
 weak foundation by being drawn
 towards evil, until they would cease to
 35 rejoice in the glory
 of their surroundings, and be exiled,
 and instead perceive
 the sickness which they suffered,

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so that they might acquire love
 and a continuous searching after the one who
 is able to heal them
 from the weakness. Again,
 5 over those who belong to the imitation he
 appointed
 the well-ordering logos so that it should
 bring them to a form. He also appointed
 over them the law of the judgment.
 Again, he appointed over them [the]
 10 power[s] which the roots had produced
 [from] the love of dominion. He [appointed
 them to] rule over them, so that
 (16b) the order was kept in check
 by the firmness of the logos which [...
 ..] or by the threat of the l[aw]
 15 or by the power of the love of

(16a) dominion,
as the powers which restrained it in (its)
evilness,
until the logos was pleased with them
as being useful for the economy. For
(21) the logos knows
20 the common love of dominion of the two orders.
To these and all the others he
granted their desire. He gave to
each the appropriate rank,
25 and for him to command,
so that each
should become ruler of one
station and activity, and yield the place
of whoever is superior to himself, in order
that he may
30 command the other stations by his activity,
being in charge of the activity
which it falls to him to control
because of his mode of being. Thus there come to
be commanders and
35 subordinates in positions of dominion
and servitude among the angels

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and archangels, the activities
being of various kinds and different.
Each of the ruler, with the

genus and the rank to which he was
5 appointed according to the way they have
appeared, was on guard, having been given
responsibility
in the economy. And none
is without a command, and
none is without a king (above him), from
10 [the en]ds of the heavens to the ends of the
[earth,] even until the inhabited [earth
and] the subterranean regions. There are
kings and masters and those whom they com-
mand; some to
15 punish, others
to give judgment, others to
relieve and heal, others to
instruct, others still to keep guard. For
over all the images he appointed a ruler
20 who is commanded by no one
because he is the lord of them all.
This is the countenance which the logos
brought forth from his thought
in accordance with the likeness of the Father
of the All.
25 Therefore he is adorned with every <name>
so as to resemble him, possessing all the virtues
and all the glories. For he too is called
father and god and maker
and king and judge and place

30 and abode and law. For this one
 the logos made use of like
 a hand in order to shape and
 work on the things below, and he made
 use of him like a mouth in
 35 order to say the things which are prophesied.
 For after having seen that the things which he
 said and worked
 on were great and
 beautiful and marvellous, he
 rejoiced and was happy as

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if it were he who from his thought
 had spoken them and made
 them, not knowing that the movement
 within him was from the spirit which moved
 5 him in a determined way towards that which it
 wanted.
 For the things which came into being he uttered,
 and they came into being in accordance with the
 likeness of the spiritual
 stations of which we have previously spoken
 in the section about the images. For not only
 10 did he work (up), but he also [himself] produced,
 in the capacity of father, [his] economy
 in accordance with himself, and the seeds--but
 [through

the] superior spirit which descends [through]
him to the inferior stations.

15 Not only did he speak <but he> also <thought>
spiritual words of his own in
an invisible way
through the spirit which calls out
and which produces things greater than his own
nature.

20 For being by
his nature god,
and father, <and> all the other
glorious names, he
thought that they were sprung
25 from his nature. He established
a rest for those who obey
him, but for those who do not obey
him punishments.

With him is also
30 a paradise and a
kingdom and everything else
which is in the aeon
which is before him, those things which are above
the imprints (which these are) because of the
thought with which
35 these are joined, which is like

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a shadow or a veil, in such

a way that he does not see how the things which
exist exist. For he set
up for himself labourers and
5 servants assisting him
in the things he did and the things he said.
For in every place where he worked
he left his countenance
by means of his beautiful name,
10 as he worked at and spoke
the things of which he thought. For [he]
set up in his stations images
of the l[ight]¹
which had been manifested, and of [the] spiritual
[places],
15 deriving from
his nature, in such a way that
in every place they were adorned by him,
being stamped by the countenance
of the one who set them up. And they were estab-
20 lished: paradises,
kingdoms, rests,
promises and multitudes
of servants of his will,
and although they are lords with dominion,
25 they are placed under the one who is
lord, who has set them up. For
after having, in this way, listened to it
well concerning these lights,

which <constitute> the starting-point
 30 and the structure, he set them on top of
 the design of the things below.
 The invisible spirit moved him in such a way
 as to make him

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as well desire to administer by means of
 a servant of his own,
 whom he too made use of
 like a hand and
 5 like a <mouth> and as if
 he had vision. The things which he brings forth
 <are> order and threat and
 fear, in order that those who were
 ignorant [..... may]
 10 hold in line <the> post which [they have been
 appointed to]
 guard, being chained to one place [by the chains of
 the] ruler{s] above them.
 [For] the establishment of matter as a whole
 [is divi]ded into three. The [first] powers,
 15 which the spiritual logos
 brought forth as a fantasy
 and a presumption, he appointed
 to the first, spiritual, rank.
 Again, the ones which these brought forth in the
 20 love of dominion he appointed

5 <has> a cause, which is the in-
visibility which exists because of all the powers
[.....] in it [.....]
[.....] as they are born with them, and
[peri]sh. For the thought which is placed
10 between the ri[ght] and
the left is a power of [.....]
<for> all those things which the [.....]
desire to make, in such a way
that they bring them forth
15 as a shadow (is projected) by a
body which it follows, and these are
the roots of the visible creations.
For the whole establishment and
design of the images, like-
20 nesses and imitations has
come into being for the sake of those who need
nourishment and instruction and formation,
in order that the smallness
may gradually grow,
25 as through the likeness of a mirror.
For it is for this reason that he created
man last, after having pre-
pared and pro-
vided for him the things which he created
30 for his sake. For the creation of
man is like all
the rest:

The spiritual logos moved him
 invisibly, completing
 35 him through the demi-

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urge and his serving angels,
 joined in [their] moulding activity [by]
 the aforementioned thought and its archons, so
 that he became
 like an earthly shadow,
 5 so as to be like [those who]
 are cut off from the All, and [a]
 creation of them all, the right
 as well as the left, each [of the or-]
 ders forming [man in the way]
 10 in which it (itself) is. For the [form]
 which was brought forth by the logos, [who had]
 become deficient in such a way that it [found
 itself]
 in sickness, did not resemble him,
 because he brought it forth into ob[livion,]
 15 ignorance, [...]
 and all the other sicknesses,
 after having given the first form. For
 the logos <brought it forth> by means of the
 demiurge,
 in ignorance, so that he should
 20 come to know that there exists something superior,

and realize that he needed [it].

This is what the prophet called

"breath of life," and "[...]

..] of the superior aeon," and "[the]

25 invisible," and this is the living

soul which has given life to the <substance>

which was dead at first.

For ignorance is that which is dead.

For it is right that we estab-

30 lish that the soul of the first man

derives from the spiritual logos,

although the creator thought

that it was his, because it went through

him as (through) a mouth by which one

35 breathes. The creator also sent

down souls

from his own substance, because he too had

the power of procreation,

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having come into being from the likeness

of the Father. And the left also brought forth

men of a fashion,

of their own, with

5 the imitation of <...>.

For the spiritual substance is a

[na]me and a single image,

[and] its sickness is the condition (of being)

[in man]y forms. However,
10 the condition of the substance of the psychics
is double, as it has understanding
and confession of that which is superior,
and <also> is inclined towards evil, and this
<is> [the] inclination of the thought. The hylic
15 substance, however, its impulses are manifold
and of many shapes. It was a sickness,
which came into being as many kinds of
inclinations. For the first man is a
mixed mould and a
20 mixed creation, and a deposit
of the left and the right
and a spiritual logos,
his sentiments being divided between the two
substances from which he has received
25 his existence. For
this reason it is also said that
a paradise was planted for him, so that he might
eat from the fruit of three
sorts of trees, (this) being a garden of the
30 threefold order,
and the garden which gives enjoyment. For the
nobility of the superior substance
in it was more exalted;
it created and did not strike
35 them. Because of that
a threatening command could be issued,

and [a] great danger was brought over him,

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namely death:

Only the enjoyment of the bad ones

did he allow him to taste,

and from the other tree which

5 had the double (character) [he] was not allowed
to eat--much

less from that of life--so [that they should not]

acquire an honour [equal to]

them[selves], and so that [.....

10] by the evil power [which is]

called the serpent; it is more cunning

than all the evil powers.

It deceived man,

through the ordinance of those who belong to

the thought

15 and the desires, in order to make him transgress

the commandment so that he should die,

and he was expelled from every enjoyment

in that place. For

this is the expulsion which he [suff]ered,

20 when he was expelled from the enjoyments

of those who belong to the imitation and those

who belong to the likeness.

It is a work of providence, in order that

it should be realized that it is a short time

For whenever the two orders
 of the right and the left are
 15 brought together by
 the thought which is placed between them,
 giving them a common economy,
 it comes to pass
 that the two of them act with the
 20 same emulation of works, the right
 copying the left,
 and the left also copying
 the right. And sometimes, when
 (25b+ in a foolish fashion
 26a) the evil order
 25a begins to work some evil,
 (24) the <wise> order emulates (it) with
 (26b unjust behaviour,
 +27) working evil
 30 in the same way, like an unjust
 power. But at other times
 the wise order
 undertakes to work good, and
 the <foolish> order imitates it,
 35 being emulous of doing likewise.
 This is how it is with
 the things which are constituted in th[is wa]y
 by these

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workings which took place, resembling
dissimilar things,
(4b+ for as they had not been instructed
5a) these were not capable of understanding the cause
(4a) of the things which are.
5b Because of this
they also brought forth variously:
Some say that
it is by providence that the things which exist
exist
--these are the ones who observe
10 the stability and the conformity of the movement
of the creation. Others
say that it is alien
--these are the ones who observe the diversity
and the lawlessness of the powers
15 and the evil. Some
say that the things which exist are what is
destined to be
--these are the ones who have
occupied themselves with this matter. Some
say that it is in accordance with (the laws of)
Nature,
20 others say (that it is)
accidental. All the majority, however,
who have reached as far as the visible
elements, do not know more than

these. For those who have become wise
 25 in the manner of the Greeks and the barbarians
 hit upon the powers who have
 come into being as a fantasy and
 a vain thought, and those who
 came forth from these through the mutual strife
 30 and in the form of rebellion;
 and these operated in them
 and they spoke by way of imitation
 and presumption and a thought
 of fantasy about the things
 35 which they were thinking in "wisdom,"
 because the imitaiton had deceived them
 and they thought that they had attained the truth,

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whereas it was illusion that they had attained
 --not merely on account of these small names, but
 the powers imitated in order to hinder
 them, appearing to be the all.
 5 Because of that it came to pass that the
 order, being entangled, fought
 itself because of the
 presumptuous quarrelsomeness of
 [.....] the ruler [...]

10 [.....] who is above
 him. Therefore there was nothing
 which agreed with one another,

neither
 philosophy, nor in medicine
 15 nor in rhetorics nor in
 music nor in
 mechanics, but they are opinions and
 theories. It came to pass that
 <pretentiousness> ruled,
 20 and <they> were confused because of the
 inexplicability
 of those who ruled and gave them
 their thoughts. For the things which have issued
 from the <production(?)> of
 Hebrews, those things have been written from out
 of the
 25 hylic (powers) who speak in the fashion of the
 Greeks,
 the powers of all those who intend to
 attribute them to the powers on the right,
 who move them all to think
 by words and an image of them. And
 30 they set out so as to attain
 the truth. They devoted themselves to the mixed
 powers that operated in them.
 After these they arrived at the sphere
 of the unmixed ones, of the one who is
 established <as> a
 35 single one, who exists as the
 likeness of the {likeness of the} Father. He

is not invisible

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in his nature, but
he is veiled in wisdom, so that
he may reproduce the form of the truly invisible one. Because of that
5 many angels have not been able to see him.
And also the men of
the Hebrew race, of whom we have
already spoken, that is, the righteous
and the prophets, have thought nothing
10 (and) have said nothing
from fantasy or from
imitation or from an obscure
thought, but each one spoke
faithfully by the power which operated in him
15 and was attentive to what he saw
and heard.
And they had united
consent with one another, in accordance with [the]
way of those who operated in them,
20 as they reproduced their unity and the mutual
consent, in particular through
the confession of that which is superior
to themselves. And there is something which is
greater than them,
which has been established because they needed

25 it, and the spiritual logos had
sowed with them something which needed
the superior, as a hope and an anti-
icipation in accordance with the remembrance. This
is the seed of salvation,
30 and it is an illuminating logos, which
is the remembrance, and its offspring and
its emissions are these righteous and
these prophets whom we have already mentioned,
who preserve the confession and the
35 testimony of their fathers concerning
that which is great, the ones who came to

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long after the hope and
the hearing, because in them is sown
the seed of prayer and seeking,
which is sown in many--those
5 who have sought after confirmation.
It is revealed, it draws them to
love that which is superior, to proclaim
these things as about a single
one. And it was a single one
10 who operated in them when they spoke,
yet their visions and words differed,
because of the multiplicity
of those who gave them the vision and
the word. Because of that those who

15 listened to the things which were said
do not reject anything
of them, but
they have accepted the Scriptures variously when
interpreting
them. They set up
20 many sects which
remain even until now among the
Jews. Some
say that
the god who made a proclamation
25 in the ancient Scriptures is one.
Others say that they are many.
Some say
that God is simple
and that he was a single mind
30 in his nature. Others say
that his action joins
the origins of both good
and evil. Some, again,
say that it is he who is the
35 maker of the things which have come into being.

Others

say that

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it is through [his] angels that he has made
(them). For

[...] many deliberations of
this kind, it is the great variety and the multi-
fariousness of the Scriptures which gave
5 them (...) doctor(s) of the Law. The
prophets, however, did not speak anything out
of themselves,
but each one of them from
that which he saw and heard
10 of the proclamation of
the Saviour. He is the one whom he proclaimed
and who is the subject of their pro-
clamation, the one of whom he spoke concerning
the advent of the Saviour, which is the Advent.
15 But sometimes the prophets speak of him
as if he is to come into being,
and sometimes as if the Saviour speaks
through their mouths and will come
and show favour towards those who have not
20 known him; they did not agree with one another
to con-
fess anything, but
each one thought, through the
activity by which he was inspired
to speak of him,
25 and the station which he had happened to see,
that that was where
he would be begotten from and that that was
where he would

come forth from, and
 none of them realized whence he would come
 30 or from whom he would be
 born. But the only thing
 which was granted to them to say was
 that he would be begotten and
 would suffer. But as far as
 35 his pre-existent being is concerned
 and that which he is eternally
 as unbegotten and impassible--which
 <is> not the logos which came to be in the flesh

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--it did not enter their thought. And this
 is the word which they were inspired
 to speak: about his flesh
 which was to appear; and they said that
 5 it was a product from out of all of them,
 but above all that it derives
 from the spiritual logos,
 who is the cause of the things
 which have come into being. The one from whom
 the Saviour received
 10 his flesh had
 indeed conceived by him, seminally, at the mani-
 festation of the light, in accordance with the
 word
 of the expectation of his manifestation.

For <it is a> seed
 15 of those who are,
 which was produced, however, at the end. But the
 one
 whom the Father has appointed for the revelation
 of salvation through him, he
 is the fulfilment of the expectation, and
 20 he was endowed with all these organs
 by which he descended, for the entry into
 (physical) life.
 And his Father is one,
 and he is the only father
 who truly exists for him, the in-
 25 visible, unknowable,
 unattainable one by his nature, who
 is God in his single Will
 and his Grace, and the one who
 gave himself to be seen
 30 and known and attained. For
 this is what our Saviour became
 out of willing com-
 passion, which is that which
 those for whose sake he appeared had become
 35 by involuntary passion:
 They became flesh and soul
 and this is <the> aeon which rules
 them, and with corruptions
 they die. Those, however, who had come into being

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in an invisible manner [as] (an) invisible man
 he also instructed about himself
 in an invisible manner. For not
 only did he accept for them the death
 5 of those whom he had in mind to save,
 but he even accepted the smallness
 to which they had descended when they had
 <inclined>
 downwards into body and soul,
 for he let himself be conceived
 10 and he let himself be begotten as a child with
 body and soul. For into all those conditions
 which they shared with
 those who had fallen, although they possessed
 the light,
 he had come, being superior to them,
 15 because it was in sinlessness,
 unpollutedness and un-
 defiledness that he let himself be conceived.
 He was begotten in life and he was in life
 (19+ because it had been appointed that (both) the
 22a) former and the latter
 (22b+ should become body and soul
 23a) because of a passion and an erratic sentiment
 20 of the logos which had become moved.
 (23b) He, however, assumed
 that which came from those of whom we have

25 spoken above. For it originated from the
 radiant vision and the stable thought
 of the logos, who had converted
 himself after his movement
 for the sake of the economy. In this way
 30 those who came with him received body and soul
 and stability
 and firmness and judgment of the
 works. They too were planned
 to come when the Saviour was planned,
 35 but they came (only) after he had known.
 And they too came as superior in the
 emission according to the flesh to the ones
 who were brought forth in deficiency.

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For in this way they too
 were emitted concorporeally
 with the Saviour, through
 the manifestation and the
 5 union with him. These
 are those of the single essence,
 and that is spiri-
 ritual. The economy, however,
 is variable: this being one thing,
 10 that another. Some
 have proceeded from passion
 and division, and need

healing. Others originate
from a prayer that the sick
15 may be healed, and have been appointed to
treat the ones who have fallen. These
are the apostles and the bringers of good
tidings. But they are the disciples
of the Saviour: these are teachers
20 who themselves need instruction. Why,
then, did they too partake of those
passions in which
those who had been brought forth by passion took
part,
if
25 in accordance with the economy they are produced
in body together with <the> Saviour, who did not
partake of the passions? For
the Saviour himself was in the body an image
of something unitary, namely
30 the All.
For that reason he reproduced the pattern of
undividedness, by which
impassibility exists.
They, however, are images
35 of each individual who was
manifested. Therefore they
receive the division from
the pattern, having received form for the
plantation which

exists below, which also

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partakes of the evil which exists
in the regions to which they have arrived.

For the Will

maintained the all under sin in order that

5 by that Will he might show mercy

on the all and they might be converted, because

only one

is appointed to give life, whereas all the rest
need conversion. There-

fore it was for reasons of this sort that

10 <they> began to receive grace to bestow those
gifts

which were proclaimed

by those whom <Jesus> judged fit

to proclaim to the rest,

(14+ <the> seed of the expectation of Jesus Christ
15)

being deposited (in them), (whose)

16 manifestation and unification we have ministered to.

This expectation provided

their instruction and their return

to that which they were from

20 the beginning--that of which they possess

a drop so that they may return to

it--that which is called

redemption. And it is the release

from captivity and the acquisition
 25 of freedom--the captivity of
 those who were slaves of ignorance,
 which rules in its places,
 whereas the freedom is knowledge of
 the truth which existed before
 30 ignorance came into being, ruling
 eternally without beginning and
 without end, being a benefit
 and a salvation of things
 and a release from
 35 the slave-nature
 in which those suffered
 who had been brought forth by an inferior
 thought of vanity,
 which is what leads to evil

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through this thought, which [dra]ws them
 downwards to the lust for dominion. They acquired
 the possession which is freedom--
 from the abundant grace which looked favourably
 5 upon the children, but which is an overthrow of
 the passion and an annihilation of
 those whom the logos, who had caused them to
 (7a+ 9b+ 10) come into being,
 had previously turned away from himself
 (7b+ 8a) when he separated them from himself,
 (8b+ 9a)

11 because he had withheld their destruction until
the end of the eco-
nomy, allowing them to exist
because they too were useful for the things
which were
ordained. For mankind came to be
15 as three kinds after (their) essence:
spiritual, psychic
and hylic, reproducing the pattern
of the triple disposition of
the logos, by which
20 he hylics, the "psy-
chics and the spirituals were brought forth.
And each
of the essences of the three races
is known by its fruit,
and they were not known at first,
25 but through the advent of the Saviour,
who shed light upon the saints
and made manifest
what each was. For the
spiritual race is
30 like light from light
and like spirit from
spirit. After its head
had appeared it hastened to him
immediately. It immediately became a body
35 of its head. It received knowledge

forthwith by the revelation.

The psychic race, however, is light
from fire, and delayed to receive knowledge

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of the one who had appeared to it, (and) particu-
larly to hasten to him in faith.

Rather, it was instructed by means of voice,
and they were content this way because it was
not far

5 from the hope in accordance with expectation,
because it had received, so to speak in the
form of a pledge, the assurance of the things
which were to be. But the hyllic
race is alien in

10 every respect: Being darkness it
'turns away from the radiation of the light,
for its appearance dissolves
it because it has not accepted its superior <mani-
festation(?)>, and

15 it is hateful towards the Lord because he had
appeared. For the spiritual race
receives complete salvation in
every respect. But the hyllic receives
destruction in every respect, as

20 someone who resists him. The psychic
race, however, since it is in the middle by
its production, and its constitution,

moreover, is double by its disposition
 towards both good and evil, receives
 25 the effluence as being deposited for
 a while, as also the complete advancement
 to the things which are good.
 Those of the logos! remembrance whom he brought
 forth
 in accordance with the pre-existent
 30 when he remembered that which is
 superior and prayed for salvation,
 <they> have the salvation with[out]
 <sickness>. They will be saved completely
 be [cause of]
 this thought of salvation. As it is with that
 35 which was brought forth from him, so it is also
 [with the things] which these brought forth
 from [themselves],

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whether angels or men.
 By the confession that there
 will come one who is superior to themselves,
 and by the prayer and searching
 5 after him, they too will attain the sal-
 vation of those who brought them forth, because
 these are of the disposition
 which <is> good. They were appointed to
 serve the proclamation of the advent

10 of the Saviour who was to come, and
his manifestation which had occurred. Whether
angel or man: having been
sent for the service of these things, they
actually received the substance of their being.

Those,
15 however, who derive from
the thought of lust for
dominion, the ones who have come into being
from the assault of those who oppose
him, those whom the thought
20 brought forth, these
will then, as they are mixed, stay behind
as for a while. Those who have been brought
forth with a lust for
dominion which is given them as for a
25 time and certain periods, and who (subsequently)
give glory to
the Lord of glory and abandon
their wrath, will be recompensed for
their humility by enduring
forever. But those who
30 perversely pride themselves because of the desire
of love of glory, and who love temporary
glory and are unaware that
(34+ it is only for a time and certain periods which
35a) they have
(33) that the power has been entrusted to them,

35b and who for that reason
have not confessed that the Son of God

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is the Lord of the All and
the Saviour, and who have not been brought out
of their wrathfulness and their
imitation of those who are evil--these
5 will be judged for their
ignorance and their senselessness
--which is the suffering--along with those
who have gone astray, all such as
turn away among them. And,
10 even worse, in such a way as to
take part in working those
indignities against the Lord
which the powers on the left worked against him,
even as far as his death, they persevered,
15 (thinking): "We shall become rulers
of the All if
the one who has been proclaimed king of the All
is killed,"
as they strove to work these
things, namely those men and angels
20 who are not of the good disposition
of those on the right, but
of the mixture. And
they have already deliberately chosen for themselves

the temporary honour
 25 and the desire. The
 road of eternal rest leads
 through humility to salvation for
 those among the right who will be saved:
 after having confessed
 30 the Lord, and having recognized what is
 pleasant to the Church, and (having sung)
 together with it the song of those who are humble
 for
 every thing which they are able to do which is
 pleasant
 to it, so that they share its afflictions
 35 and its sufferings, in the manner of
 such (people) as are faithful to that which is
 good
 for the Church, then they will share
 in [the] hope (and this

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concerns both men and angels)
 --just as the road
 of those who derive from the
 order of the left leads to perdition:
 5 not only because they have denied the Lord
 and plotted evil against him,
 (8+ but their hatred, envy and jealousy is
 9)
 (7) directed against the Church as well.

10 And this is the reason for the condemnation
 of those who were agitated and stirred themselves
 to (cause) <trials> for the Church. For the
 Election is concorporeal
 and consubstantial with
 15 the Saviour, being like a bridal
 chamber, because of its oneness
 and union with him. For more than
 anything else it was for her sake that
 Christ came. The Calling, however,
 20 possesses the place
 of those who rejoice over the bridal chamber
 and who are glad and happy
 because of the union of the bridegroom
 and the bride. The station, then,
 25 which the Calling will have, is the aeon
 of the images in the place where
 the logos has not yet been united with the
 Pleroma. And
 (28+ this is what the Man of the Church rejoices in
 30) and is glad
 (29) over and hopes for.
 (31) He was composed of spirit, soul and body through
 the economy of the one who planned (this). For
 the man who was in him was a single one,
 the one who is
 35 the All and who was them all,
 and this one has

the effluence from the [.....] which the

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stations will receive, and he has
the members which we have mentioned
above. After the redemption had been proclaimed,
(4+5) the perfect man immediately received knowledge,
so that he quickly returned to his
unity, to the place from which
he was, so that he returned
once more in joy to the place
10 from which he originated, to the place
from which he had flowed forth. His members,
however, needed a school,
which exists in those stations which were
fashioned so as to make it receive by means of
15 them the likeness of the archetypal images,
in the form of a mirror, until
all the members of the body of
the Church <would be> in a single place
and receive restoration to-
20 gether, after they have been manifested as the
sound body <...> the restor-
ation to the Pleroma <...>
It has a previous consent
and mutual union,
25 which is the consent which exists for the Father,
so that the All acquired a countenance

in accordance with him. The final restoration,

however,

is after the All has been manifested in the one who is the Son,

30 he who is the redemption, which

is the road towards the in-

comprehensible Father, which is the return

to the pre-existent, and after

the All manifest themselves

35 authentically in the one who

is [the in]conceivable one and the ineffable one

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and the invisible one and the

ungraspable one, so that it

receives the redemption. Not only is it a release,

from the dominion <of> those

5 on the left, and not only a letting loose

from the power

of those on the right, to

each of which we imagined

we were slaves and

10 sons, those from whom nobody is let

loose without quickly

becoming theirs again. But

the redemption is also an ascent,

and the degrees which exist in the

15 Pleroma, and all those to whom names have been

given,
 and who conceive them
 in accordance with the power of each
 aeon, and an entrance
 into that which is silent, the place where there
 is no
 20 need of voice or of
 understanding or of conceiving
 or of illumination,
 but all things are
 light and there is no need of being
 25 illuminated. For not only
 earthly men need
 the redemption, but the angels
 also need the redemption and
 the image, and also the Pleromas of
 30 the aeons and those marvellous luminous powers
 (need it)
 --so that we shall not be in doubt as to what
 concerns
 the others. And even
 the Son, who is appointed as a place of
 redemption for the All [neede]d the redemption

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as well, he who is the one who became
 man, as he submitted him-
 self to everything which is needed

by us in the flesh who are
5 his Church. After he, then,
had received the redemption first, through
the logos which came down upon him,
then all the rest who had received him
received redemption through him.
10 For those who received the one who had received
also received that which existed in him. For
among
the men who are in the flesh [he]
went forth to give redemption, the Father's
first-born
and his love, the Son
15 who became incarnate,
the angels in heaven having been deemed worthy
of sojourning, forming a community
through him upon earth. There-
fore he is called
20 the Father's angelic redemption, which has
consoled those who had suffered
for the All for the sake of his knowledge,
for he was given the grace
before anyone else. For the Father
25 knew him in advance, since he existed
in his deliberation before
anything had yet come into being, and he also had
those for whom he manifested him.
He placed the deficiency upon that which

30 lasts for a certain period of time,
 for the glory of his Pleroma. Since
 the fact that they were ignorant of him
 causes
 <their> bringing forth co[n-]
 [sent so that they may receive knowledge],

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of him in such a way that the reception of know-
 ledge about him becomes a manifestation of
 his generosity and the manifestation
 of his abundant sweetness
 5 --which is the second glorification--
 thus it is that he actually happens
 both to be the cause
 of ignorance and to be
 the originator of knowledge. For by
 10 hidden and inscrutable wisdom
 he guarded the knowledge until the end, so that
 the All suffered while they searched for
 God the Father (whom no one has
 found by his own wisdom
 15 and power, because he gives
 himself so that by that which is above thought
 they may receive knowledge
 of the great glory of his which
 he granted, and (its) cause which he
 supplied, which is the ceaseless thanksgiving

to him),
 20 that (knowledge) which
 (22) he manifests for eternity
 (21) out of his immovable counsel,
 (23) to those who have become worthy of the Father
 who is
 unknowable in his nature--so that they should
 25 receive the knowledge of him through his Will:
 For the additional experience of
 ignorance and its pains
 by those for whom he had planned
 that they should attain to knowledge and
 30 the good things which are in it
 was a deliberation of the wisdom of
 the Father, in order that they should taste
 evil things and exer-
 cise themselves by them
 35 like a temporary [.....]
 [so as to] receive the en-
 [joyment of the good thin]gs for ever.

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And they have the distinction from and
 the persistent repudiation by and the accu-
 sations of those who oppose them, as an ornament
 and a marvel of the superior
 5 things, in order for it to become evident
 that the ignorance of

those who do not know the Father was
of their own making, (whereas) that which gave
them
the knowledge of him was a power
10 of his to be attained to. For this know-
ledge is rightly
called the knowledge of
everything which may be thought of, and the
treasury, and furthermore,
15 to be more accurate, it is the manifestation
of those who were known in advance,
and the road towards the
consent and towards the pre-
existent. This is the
20 growth of those who have renounced
their own greatness
in the economy of
the Will, in order that the end may
be like the beginning
25 was. As for the authentically existing baptism,
the one
into which the All will descend
and in which it will be, there is no other bap-
tism apart from this one only:
30 the redemption to
the Father, the Son and
the Holy Spirit,
the confession having arisen from

faith in these names,

35 which are a single name of the good tidings,

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when they believed in the things which were told

(2a) them--that they exist

(4b+ and that those who have believed that they exist

5a)

(3b+ possess their salvation

4a)

(2b+ out of this.

3a)

(5b+ This is the attainment, in an invisible

6)

way, of the Father, the Son

and the Holy Spirit, but by an

unfaltering faith and after they have

10a borne witness to them,

(11b+ and while they grasp them

12a)

(10b+ in a firm hope,

11a)

(12b) so that it may come about

that the perfection of those who have believed

in them will be the return towards them, and

(that)

15 the Father will be one with them--the Father,

God, whom they have confessed

in faith and who has

granted a union with himself in

knowledge. For the baptism of which we have

20 spoken is called

garment of those who do not take

it off. For those who

put it on and who have been
 redeemed wear it. And it is
 25 called the
 unfailling confirmation of truth.
 Without wavering and
 without being moved it holds
 those who have received the restoration, while
 they hold it.

30 It is called
 silence because of
 its quiet and tranquillity.
 It is also called bridal chamber
 because of the consent and the
 35 inseparability of those who <have> known,
 because they have known him. And it is also
 c[alle]d

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the unsinking
 and fireless light; for it does not illuminate,
 but those who have worn it are
 turned into light,
 5 namely those whom it has worn also.
 And it is also called the
 eternal life, that is,
 immortality. And it is called by
 all which is in it simply,
 10 with beautiful legitimacy,

indivisibly,
irreducibly, comprehensively
and unchangeably, including any such (appellations)
as have been left out (here). For what else
15 is there by which to call it,
apart from the appellation that it is the All.
That is, even if it is called
by innumerable names,
they have been spoken in order to express it
20 in this way, while it transcends every word
and it transcends every voice
and it transcends every mind
and it transcends everything
and it transcends every
25 silence. This is how it is
(dittography)
with the things which are in that
which it is. This is what it in fact
is, with an
30 ineffable and
inconceivable character for the coming into
being in those who
know by means of that which they have attained,
which is that to which they have
given glory. Even though on the subject of the
Election

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there are many more things
 we could add which it is fitting to
 mention, it is nevertheless
 (6b+7 necessary that we speak again on
 +8a)
 (4) the subject of those who belong to the Calling
 --for this
 (5+ is how those on the right are called--
 6a)
 (8b) and it is not profitable
 (9) for us to forget them. We spoke
 10 of them as if what is (written) in
 the foregoing at some length were sufficient
 --(so) how is it that we
 spoke (of them) partially (only)?
 Well I said that all those who have originated
 from the logos, either
 15 from the condemnation of
 those who are evil, or from
 the wrath which fought against them, and the
 turning away from them--and this
 is the turning towards
 20 the superior things--and the prayer and
 the remembrance of the pre-existent
 things, and hope and
 faith of receiving the salvation
 of that which is good,
 25 (all these) have become worthy, since
 they originate from these

good dispositions, possessing
the cause of their begetting.
which is a sentiment from that which
30 is. And, further, (I said) that before the logos
himself had yet been concerned with
them, invisibly,
and willingly, that which is superior also supplied
the aforementioned thought, because
35 they had shown themselves [obedient] to it,

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that (thought) which became cause of
their existence. And they did not exalt themselves
because {they} were healed, as if no one
existed before them. But they ac-
5 knowledge that they possess an origin
of their being, and they
desire to know it,
which is what exists before them.
Furthermore (I said) that they greeted
10 the appearance of the light
in the form of lightning, and that
they bore witness that it had appeared
for their salvation.
For it was not only about those who have come forth
15 from the logos that we said
this, namely that
they would attain to that which is good,

but those whom these begot
 in accordance with good dispositions
 20 will also partake
 of the repose, as a result of the abundant
 grace. And the ones who were
 brought forth from the aforementioned desire
 of lust for dominion,
 25 and who have (sown)
 within them the seed which is
 (27a) lust for dominion
 (29) (but) who have done work and
 30 are disposed
 (31a+ towards the good, will receive
 27b) the retribution of the good, provided they are
 (28+ of an
 31b)
 (32) agreeable sentiment and are willing
 to abandon their
 vain love of temporary glory,
 35 and [do] the command of the Lord

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of glory instead of the small momentary honour,
 and they will inherit
 the eternal kingdom. But now
 it is necessary that we join
 5 the grounds and the <illustrations> which justify
 the grace (shown) towards them to the argument,
 it being appropriate that we speak of that

which we mentioned earlier, the salvation
of all those on the right,
10 of all the unmixed and the mixed ones,
in such a way as to join them [to]
one another, and the repose, [which]
is the demonstration of [the]
fashion (in) which they believed. In order
15 to establish this in an
exposition it is appropriate that we
confess the kingdom
which is in Christ for the dissolution of
all diversity and
20 inequality and difference. For the end
will receive a unitary existence,
just as also
the beginning was one, the place where there is no
male and female, nor slave
25 and free man, nor circumcised
and uncircumcised, nor angel
nor man, but Christ is all
in all. How is it
that the one who was not initially
30 can be found to be, unless
<...> the nature of the one who is not a
slave, as he will take a place together with a

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free man. For they will even receive the vision

by nature
 (and) not only as a little word
 by which they believe only by means
 5 of a voice. For this is how
 it is. For
 the restoration back to that
 which was is a oneness. Even though some are
 exalted on account of the economy, having been
 appointed
 10 as cause of the things which have come into being,
 providing multiple physical forces,
 and delighting in those things,
 (13a+ [they] will, angels
 14b)
 (15a+ [as well as] men, receive the kingdom and the
 13b) confirmation
 (14a+ [and] the salvation. These, then, are the
 15b) grounds:
 (16) Those who had been manifested in the flesh
 believed
 unfalteringly
 that he was the son of the unknown
 god, the one who
 20 had not been previously spoken of,
 and whom no one had been able to see. And
 they renounced their gods
 whom they had served before,
 and the lords who are
 25 in heaven and the ones who are upon

the earth. Before
 <he> had yet been taken up and he was still
 an infant, these bore witness that he had already
 begun to preach,
 30 and when he lay in the tomb
 [as a] dead man, the an-
 [gels nevertheless] thought that he was alive,
 [and received] life

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from the one who had died. Their
 numerous previous (kinds of) worship
 and symbolic actions
 which took place in the temple
 5 these gave to another. The confession
 which this implies makes it possible
 for them to do it, on account
 of their hastening towards him. For
 they do not receive this firmness
 10 in order to leave it, '
 because of the one who was not <welcomed>
 here below, but [they received]
 Christ, of whom they thought
 that he came from the [superior] place,
 15 the place from which they had come forth
 with him, a divine
 and sovereign place. The names that the ones
 whom they served,

worshipped
 and ministered to
 20 had received on loan
 they gave to the one who
 is legitimately called by them.
 Those ones, however,
 realized by experience after his assumption
 25 that he was their Lord,
 the one for whom there is no lord.
 They gave him their kingships.
 They rose [from their] thrones.
 They refused their
 30 crowns. But he manifested himself to them
 for the reasons we have given above,
 of salvation and the [turning towards the]
 good thought towards [.....]

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[.....] companion and the angels
 [.....] and the many favours
 which they have done for it. [In] this
 [way] they were entrusted with the services
 5 which benefit the Elect,
 as they bring the iniquity they suffer
 up to heaven to be eternally tried
 by the unquenchable and infallible
 [trial]. And they remain for their
 10 sake, until they all enter into life and

pass out of life, their
 [b]od[ies remaining] upon the earth, as they
 minister to
 all their [.....] and make
 [themselves] partners in their suf-
 15 [fering]s and persecutions, and
 [tribu]llations, which have been brought
 upon the Saints more than anybody
 else. For the servants of evil,
 since evil deserves
 20 destruction, in
 [.....] out of the [...]
 [.....] which is above
 every [wo]rld, which is this good
 thought of theirs,
 25 and fellowship, while
 the Church will remember them
 as good companions
 and faithful servants once it has received
 redemption [.....] retribution,
 30 which is the gl[adness] which is in
 [the] brid[al chamber] and the [...]
 [.. which] is in its house [...]
 [.....] by the tho[ught]
 [.....]

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Christ, the one who is with it [... a]

longing for [the] F[ather of the]
 All, as it will produce for them
 guiding [and]
 5 serving [an]gel[s]. For the aeons will
 remember their pleasant thought
 of service [...] to it [...]
 give them their retribution [for]
 everything which they think.
 10 It is an emission of theirs, in order that
 just as Ch[rist a]
 will which brought [forth the]
 great exaltedness[es](?) of the Ch[urch ..]
 give them to it, thus it [also]
 15 will be [a thoug]ht [for the-]
 se, and a giver to them of [their]
 eternal dwelling-places
 in which they will dwell, [as they aban-]
 don the [downward] attraction
 20 of the deficiency, when
 the power of the Pleroma draws [them] upwards,
 through the great gene-
 rosity and sweetness of
 the pre-existent aeon. This
 25 is the nature of the whole begetting of
 those whom [...] had when he shone
 upon them [with] a [light] which
 manifested [...]

[...] like [.....]

30 [...] which will be [.....]
 [...] just like his [.....]
 [...] the only difference [...] is
 in the ones who have been [.....]

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[.....]
 [.....]
 [.....]
 [...] who [.....] by means
 5 of [the,.....] praise
 in the fash[ion] said,
 while the hylics will be left behind until
 the end in order to be destroyed, because they
 will not give
 [up] their [.....]. If
 10 [.....] return again to that which
 [.....] in the way that they were
 [.....], as they do not exist
 [.....], but they had been useful
 [for the] time [in] which they
 15 were among them, although they are not
 [.....] the beginning, then
 [.....] to do anything more for
 [.....] which they have
 as solidity
 20 [.....]. For though I,
 for my part, continually use

these words I have not [...]
 [...] his thought. Eld[er]s
 [...] him
 25 [...] greatness

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[.....]
 [.....]
 [.....] all
 [.....] angels
 5 [.....] word
 [.....] trumpet-so[und]
 which will proclaim the great,
 complete reconciliation from the
 beautiful East, in [the]
 10 bridal [chamber], which [is] the love
 of God, the F[ather]
 according to the power which ex[tends to them,]
 of the greatness [.....]
 the sweetness of his [.....],
 15 as he manifests him[self]
 to the greatnesses [.....]
 his goodness [.....]
 the praise, the dominion [and the glory]
 through the [.....] the Lord, [the Savi-]
 20 our, the Redeemer of all those of the compassion
 of love [and]
 through [his] Holy Spirit

from now through all
generations for ever
25 and ever. Amen.

P A R T T H R E E

C O M M E N T A R Y

PART ONE

(51:1-104:3: Protology)

51:1-8. Introduction. The exposition must begin with the Father, both because he is ontologically the first principle, "the root" (systematic motive), and because the speaker receives his power to speak from him (religious motive; an element of dedication is present). The words ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα open both Theocritus' Idyll XVII and Aratus' Phaenomena, but these poets rely on even older conventions.¹ The opening words of Aratus were well known and frequently quoted in Roman times (Cic. De legg. II 3; Virg. Ecl. III 60; Quint. Inst. X 1:46; Macrob. Sat. I 18:15; cf. also Theoph. Ad Autol. II 8). TriTrac is not alone in appropriating the formula for Christian purposes, cf. Iren. AH II 1: bene igitur habet a primo et maximo capitulo inchoare nos a Demiurgo Deo, qui fecit coelam et terram et omnia quae in eis sunt; just as TriTrac Irenaeus uses the formula to introduce a comprehensive exposition of Christian doctrine.

51:1-2. ΧΕ Π[Ε]ΤΑΝΝΑΩ ΧΟΟΡ ΖΑ ΝΕΤΧΑΟΙ : The opening words

¹ Cf. A.S.F. Gow, Theocritus (Cambridge 1952) II 327; M. Erren, Die Phainomena des Aratos von Soloi, Hermes Einzelschriften, 19 (Wiesbaden 1967) 10-16.

were a major problem to Ka. (I 287), where one failed both to connect them with the following ΠΕΤΕΩΩΕ etc. and to account for the ΧΕ. Sch. (135) interpreted the particle as elliptic for ΠΕΧΔΥ ΧΕ, inferring that the work as a whole is a series of excerpts; for a discussion of this view see Introd. pp. 19-20. ΕΤΔΝΝΔ is the Achmimic Future II with Relative converter; for this rare combination cf. Stern § 422. For the syntax see Introd. p. 59.

NETXΔCI "the superior things" refers to the transcendent world as opposite to the lower one in which we are living; "superior" has a relative, not an absolute meaning (cf. the passages listed in Ka. Index s.v.). The Greek was probably τὰ ἄνω, cf. Iren. AH I 14:5; Hipp. El. VI 32:9. For the background cf. John 8:23; Col. 3:1-2; Corp. Herm. IV 11; further, TWNT s.v. ἄνω (Büchsel); Lampe, Lex. s.v. ἄνω I.B.6. Although occasionally used as a technical term by the Valentinians the word would be acceptable to non-Gnostic Christians as well.

51:2-3. ΠΕΤΕΩΩΕ ΠΕ ΝΤΝΡ̄ ΩΔΡ̄Π̄: Normally impersonal expressions are followed by the infinitive (ordinary or causative) introduced by λ (less frequently by Ν) in this text, conforming to the rule in Standard Sahidic (cf. Stern § 442). Exceptions to this rule are ΟΥΝ̄ ΔΔΜ̄ ΝΤ̄ΩΩΠ̄Ε 51:34-35 (cf. Introd. p. 52), and ΩΔΡ̄ΕΩΩΠ̄Ε Ν̄ΕΕΙΡ̄Ε 118:18-19.

51:3-4. The expression ΤΝΟΥΝΕ ΜΠΤΗΡῶ occurs in ValExp (22:32-33, 23:19.32, 24:35-36; Attridge); cf. ῥιζαν τῶν πάντων Iren. AH I 1:1, ῥιζαν καὶ ὑπόστασιν τῶν πάντων ib. (Valentinians, here applied to the tetractys-ogdoad); ῥιζα τῶν ὄλων Hipp. EL. V 9:5 (Naassenes), VI 9:4.5 (Simonians); ὁ ... ἀγέννητος ὑπάρχων ἀρχὴ τῶν ὄλων καὶ ῥιζα καὶ βάθος καὶ βύθος VI 30:7 (Valentinians). From a non-Gnostic point of view the phrase is ambiguous since τὰ ὄλα/πάντα are technical terms for the Gnostic Pleroma but otherwise mean "the universe." For a Gnostic, however, this distinction does not exist because the world of images has no real existence, being void and shadows without root in the Father (cf. e.g. GTr 17:29-33, 28:16ff).

51:4-6. "Grace" has here the meaning "that which is bestowed" (χάρις in the sense of χάρισμα). A reference to the gracious gift of gnosis also forms part of the introduction in GTr: "Those who have received grace ... so that they may know him" 16:32-33. The attitude that knowledge derives from grace is also evidenced by Ptol. Ep. Flora ap. Epiph. Pan. XXXIII 3:8.

51:6. KV are justified in translating ΧΕ causally. ΨΕΧΕ with object clause (MPWZ) is rare. The following sentence explains either ΠΕΤΕΨΕ ΠΕ, or ΤΝΟΥΝΕ ... ΠΕ.

51:8-59:38. The original triad.

51:8-54:35. The Father.

51:8-19. The Father is both one and many. ΗΠΕ in line 10 cannot mean "number" in the sense of the numeral 1, as all translations have, for the following reasons: (1) As is well known 1 was usually not regarded as a number in antiquity, but as the first principle of number, cf. Eucl. Elem. 7, Def. 2; Arist. Metaph. 1016a18ff, 1021a13, 1088a5-7; in theological interpretation e.g. Philo Leg. All. II 3, Heres 190.¹ Correspondingly, the Pythagorean Monad as a first principle is never conceived as a numeral.² (2) We have here two parallel constructions; nominal sentences followed by ΕΨΟ ΜΠΡΗΤΕ Ν--this formal parallelism suggests a correspondence of content. ΗΠΕ can in fact mean "number" in the sense of "multitude" (πληθος, cf. Crum s.v.): This must be what is intended here.

The emphasis in this paragraph is thus not on the oneness of the Father but on his being simultaneously one and many: While remaining one the Father contains within him the All in the sense that he contains its origin, as the root contains the tree.³ Exactly the same

¹ For further information see e.g. Burkert, Lore and Science, 265-66.

² See Festugière, Révélation, IV 19ff.

³ The tree, often in inverted position and with the divine principle being associated with the root, is a symbol of the world well known from comparative religion

image is used by Plotinus, cf. in particular III 3:

7:8ff:

For the gathering together of all things into one is the principle, in which all are together and all make a whole. And individual things proceed from this principle while it remains within; they come from it as from a single root which remains static in itself, but they flower out into a divided multiplicity, each one bearing an image of that higher reality, but when they reach this lower world one comes to be in one place and one in another, and some are close to the root and others advance farther and split up to the point of becoming, so to speak, branches and twigs and fruits and leaves" (tr. Armstrong in Loeb Class. Lib.).

See also III 8:10:10-14, IV 4:11:9-11, VI 8:15:35ff.¹

The image reappears in Damascius (ch. 40 Ruelle). For Plotinus "the All" includes the visible world, whereas in TriTrac this term only refers to the transcendent region, but the verbal and conceptual affinities are nevertheless

(aśvattha-tree in the Upaniṣads, kiškanu in Mesopotamia, Yggdrasil in Nordic mythology; as a symbol of the transcendent world the tree also appears in the Kabbalah, etc.), cf. e.g. Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion (London 1958) §§ 95ff, especially §§ 99-101; C.M Edsman, "Arbor inversa," Religion och Bibel 3 (1944) 5-33.

¹ That Plotinus and TriTrac both use the emanation metaphor of the tree (as well as that of the spring: below, 60:11-15, 74:5-10) was also remarked by Zandee, Terminology, 32-33.

such as to suggest a common source. The underlying notion is (Neo-)Pythagorean: the Monad is single while being the dynamic origin of number.¹ Also the term "root" has its strongest background in Pythagoreanism, where it often designates the Monad, cf. Corp. Herm. IV 10: ἡ γὰρ μονάς, οὔσα πάντων ἀρχή καὶ ῥίζα, ἐν πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ὡς ἄν ῥίζα καὶ ἀρχή.² The Pythagorean background is even more manifest in ValExp, where not only the characteristic names of "source" and "root" are applied to the Father (23:18-20, the restorations are certain), but also "Monad" and "Dyad": "Since [he is] Monad, and no [one] existed before him, he is [in the] Dyad and in the Pair. But his Pair is Silence. He had the All, existing [with] in him ..." 22:22-28. In that text, as in TriTrac, the Academic-Pythagorean opposites One:Multitude-Dyad are conceived as existing (potentially) within the single Father--he is consequently without a female partner. This agrees with the view attributed by Irenaeus (AH I 11:5) and Hippolytus (El. VI 29:3) to one Valentinian faction, which held the Father to have the principle of procreation in himself, being either male-female or above sexual distinctions (cf. also AH I 2:4). Others added a female principle alongside the Father with which he formed a first syzygy. The first position is also documented in GTr, in the Valentinian

¹ See Festugière, Révélation, IV 18-31; Krämer, Geistmetaphysik, 346-48.

² See also the texts quoted by Festugière in his and Nock's edition, 56 n. 28; and Krämer, 301 n. 420.

system of Hippolytus, in ExcTh 7, Iren. AH I 11:3, Marcus according to AH I 14:1 and the "Ptolemaean" system of AH I 12:1;¹ the second in Irenaeus' main Valentinian system of AH I 1-8, in AH I 12:3, the explicitly Theodotian piece in ExcTh 29, and in the Valentinian treatise of Epiphanius Pan. XXXI 5-6. The evidence now available suggests that the "monistic" version was the dominant one. The structural correspondences with monistic Neopythagoreanism, Father + Son: Sophia equalling First One + Second One: Dyad, suggests that the hypostatization of the Father's thought, or Silence, into a separate hypostasis is historically secondary in Valentinianism (motivated by analogy of syzygy-model, and, perhaps by influence of "Barbelo Gnosticism").

51:12-15. For this argument cf. Orig. De Princ. I 2:10: pater non potest esse quis si filius non sit (41:11-12 Koetschau; parallel adduced by P&Q 79-80). For Origen this is an argument for eternal generation (De Princ. I 2 passim, esp. §§ 2-3; the argument is common in later Origenists: cf. P&Q 80-81, add George of Laodicea ap. Epiph. Pan. LXXIII 19:3. This is not what is intended here (although the Son for that matter is eternally generated in TriTrac); the author borrows only the formula, and makes his own implications from it.

¹ In Iren. AH I 12:1 the identification $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma = \sigma\acute{\omicron}\zeta\upsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ is probably a misrepresentation by Irenaeus.

The passage is a parenthetical remark. This is typical of the style of this author, cf. e.g. 52:6-10 for the sequence (1) negative statement, (2) parenthetical justification, (3) positive statement.

51:19-52:6. The only true Father. The distinction made between the true and the begotten father is paralleled by Philo (ὁ γεννητὸς πατήρ / ὁ αἰῶνος πατήρ Jos. 265, Virt. 204); for the term γνήσιος πατήρ see Somn. II 273, Aet. M. 83, cf. Migr. Abr. 69; further, Corp. Herm. XIV 4.¹ The notion can also be Stoic (Epict. I 6:40). The language of this section is not particularly Gnostic,² especially the terms "God" and "create" are untypical; this points to a non-Gnostic source.

51:19-20. ΕΥΧΟΥ is Present II; predicate ΛΡΛϞ.

51:20-21. ΟΥΧΛΕΙC NĪŵT is ambiguous, as is ΟΥΧΛΕΙC NŌYŵT in 51:24; in the first case both "a true Father," and "Lord and Father" (κύριος πατήρ) are possible interpretations, in the second case "truly One," and "a single Lord" are equally plausible. The term is untypical of Valentinianism, but this is not decisive for the reading here as this section probably derives from a non-Gnostic source. If the Greek was κύριος

¹ See Festugière, Révélation, IV 62-63.

² In spite of the affirmations of P&Q 73-75 to the contrary.

πατήρ, however, κύριος has been intended in the sense of γνήσιος.

51:21. λΤΡΕ contains privative λΤ (Sch.). For contraction of ΤΤ see Introd. above p. 39.

51:21-23. "incomparable and immutable": possibly < Ɱἀσύγκριτος Ɱκαὶ Ɱἀμετάθετος or Ɱἀμετάβλητος or Ɱἀναλλοίωτος.

51:35. For the form ἸΤϥ see Introd. p. 52 and note on 51:2-3.

52:3-4. The logical conclusion would be "the only father and God is the one whom nobody has begotten." Perhaps, therefore, read ἸΠΕΤΕ as ΠΕΤΕ (cf. Introd. p. 38), and supply ΠΕ.

52:4-6. Cf. Kerygma Petrou in Clem. Strom. VI 39:3: ἀποίητος ὃς τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν; Ps.Clem. Rec. V 22:2.8: a nullo factus est sed ipse fecit uniuersa. For the antithetic form see Festugière, Révélation, IV 67.

52:6-53:5. The eternity of the Father. Having stated that the Father is unbegotten the author proceeds to qualify the nature of his eternity. Eternity is more than being unbegotten and immortal, it is unchangeability as well; it is not merely infinite existence but a mode

of being. The argument is made twice, first in lines 10-19, then repeated in lines 21-33: The Father (1) is immutable (ΟΥΛΤΡΙΚΕ 10 < ?[⊗]ἀκλινης , cf. Corp. Herm. XIII 11; Plot. III 7:11:4; ◁▷[⊗]ΒΒΙΔΪΤ ... ΕΝ 21-22 < [⊗]μη [⊗]ἀλλοιοῦται), (2) is identical with himself, (3) is moved neither by himself nor by another. By way of conclusion the general transcendence of the Father is asserted (52:34-53:6). This is Middle Platonic school argumentation as is shown by the close parallels to the passage in Numenius fr. 6 des Pl. (= Euseb. Praep. Ev. XI 10:6-8): (The name of the incorporeal is "Being")

ἡ δὲ αἷτια τοῦ ὄντος ὀνόματός ἐστι τὸ μὴ γεγονέναι
 μηδὲ φθαρῆσθαι μηδ' ἄλλην μήτε κίνησιν μηδεμίαν
 ἐνδέχασθαι μήτε μεταβολὴν κρείττω ἢ φαύλην,
 εἶναι δὲ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀναλλοιωτον καὶ ἐν ἰδέῃ
 τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ μήτε ἐθελοῦσιον ἐξίστασθαι
 τῆς ταύτοτητος μήθ' ὑφ' ἑτέρου
 προσαναγκάζεσθαι

(parallel noted by Attridge); Asclepius 30:

ipse enim in se est et a se est et circum se totus
est, plenus atque perfectus, isque sua firma
stabilitas est nec alicuius impulsu nec loco moueri
potest (338:18-21 N.-F.);

and Albinus/Alkinoos, Didask. 165:34-37 Herm.

εἰ γὰρ ἀλλοιωθήσεται, ἢ ὑφ' αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑφ' ἑτέρου·
 εἰ μὲν οὖν ὑφ' ἑτέρου, ἐκεῖνο αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρότερον
 ἔσται, εἰ δ' ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἦτοι ἐπὶ τὸ χειρόν
 ἀλλοιωθεῖν ἂν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον.

Attridge refers to Plato Rep. 380de (εἴπερ τι ἐξίσταται τοῦ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἰδέας, ἢ αὐτὸ ὑφ'ἑαυτοῦ μεθίσταται ἢ ὑπ'ἄλλου), and the discussion of God's immutability in these pages of Plato is probably the ultimate source of the tradition. But the more direct source of this school tradition is Aristotle De phil. fr. 16 Ross = Simpl. In De Caelo 288:28-289:15 Heiberg: εἰ οὖν τὸ μεταβάλλον ἢ ὑπ'ἄλλου μεταβάλλει ἢ ὑφ'ἑαυτοῦ κτλ. (cf. Metaph. 1073a24-25 the First Mover is ἀκίνητον καὶ καθ'αὐτὸ καὶ κατὰ συμβεβηκός), with which text the Numenius fragment is clearly in contact (μεταβολὴν κρείττω ἢ φασίην); and taken up by (Ps.-) Philo in terms of cosmic theology Aet. M. 21 = Aristot. De phil. fr. 19a Ross. --In a more general perspective the association of eternity with oneness and immutability goes back to Parmenides fr. 8:3-6.

52:6. "without beginning" < [⊕] ἀναρχος (Ka.).

52:7. "without end" < [⊕] ἀτελεύτητος.

52:10-14. Translation with KV Attridge. As Attridge observes, the ΠΕ which appears three times in 52:12-14 is the pleonastically repeated ΠΕ common in this text.

--The use of \bar{N} -, $M\bar{N}\Delta$ = as equivalent to Standard Sahidic $2\bar{N}$ -, $\bar{N}2HT$ = is an Achmimic trait, cf. Piehl, Sphinx 5.89-92.

52:13. "firm" < [⊕] ἐστῶς ; cf. αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐστῶς

Corp. Herm. II 12.

52:14-16. Or: "Neither will he himself take away that (in) which he is ..."

52:17. Read λΤΡΕ<ϣ>ΧΠΕ (Ka.). On the omission of the suffix see above p. 15.

52:19-20. ΕΡΕΛϣΧΙ ... ΝΩΠΕ. As the verb is Perfect II this is an independent sentence; it is best seen as a parenthetical remark.

52:21. ΕΝΤΕϣ-: read ΕΤΕΝϣ̄ (Ka., Attridge).

52:23-25. ΜΜϣ in lines 16, 24 and 25 is either predicative ("which he is") or complementary (as in this translation); cf. Stern § 496. The parallel with 52:11-14 suggests the latter interpretation, but the matter remains uncertain. The conceptual difference between these interpretations is marginal, as the Father is that which he is in.

52:26. Delete ΠΕ. --"Greatness" (μέγεθος) is a general designation for transcendence in Valentinianism, e.g. Iren. AH I 2:1.2; further Holl's note on Epiph. Pan. XXXI 5:1, and Epistula Iacobi Apocrypha, 84. The word probably derives from the political sphere, cf. Preisigke's Wörterbuch, III, 9: Ehrentitel, s.v.

52:27-28. The choice of expression, ω BIT $\bar{\eta}$ and ω BT $\bar{\eta}$, is perhaps a play on words on the part of the translator.

52:28-29. λ KEPHT $\bar{\epsilon}$ "into a different form" (Attridge; not "in a different way" [Ka.: Eng.; Fr. and Ger. similarly] which would be $\bar{\eta}$ KEPHT $\bar{\epsilon}$); cf. $\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ in the passages quoted from Plato and Numenius above.

52:29. Read $\delta\lambda\chi$ $\bar{\eta}$ (Attridge).

52:30. T $\bar{\epsilon}$ EI T $\bar{\epsilon}$ cannot be made to refer to anything in the preceding text." The best emendation is to supply a $\Theta\bar{\epsilon}$.

52:33. "the immutable" < $\bar{\kappa}$ τὸ $\bar{\kappa}$ ἄνα λοίωτον or similarly.

52:34-53:5. After these clarifying considerations the terms "without beginning" and "without end," which served as a point of departure (52:6-7) are reverted to and it is concluded that they imply a sort of transcendence which is only insufficiently described by the words "unbegotten" and "immortal."

52:34. OY λ EEIT $\bar{\eta}$ EN seems to reflect $\bar{\kappa}$ οὐ $\bar{\kappa}$ μόνον, cf. $\lambda\Lambda\Lambda$

52:39. For this use of OY λ EEIT $\bar{\eta}$ EN cf. 124:3-4.5-6. I leave undecided the question whether this adverbial use of the expression is to be considered a translator's error or is legitimate, like the Bohairic $\text{MM}\lambda\gamma\lambda\tau\eta$ (Crum, Dict. 199a).

52:40-53:5. For the style cf. Theoph. Ad Autol. I 3: δόξη ... ἀχώρητος, μεγέθει ἀκατάληπτος κτλ.

52:42-53:1. "unattainable" < Ⲙ ἀδιάβατος or similarly, cf. Corp. Herm. IV 8 and Festugière, Révélation, IV 61 n. 2. μέγεθος implies unattainability also in Iren. AH I 2:1.2.

53:1-2. "unsearchable" < Ⲙ ἀνεξιχνίαστος, cf. Iren. AH I 2:2, 15:5. The word is Biblical. It is frequently used by Christian writers of divine attributes, cf. Lampe, Lex. s.v. A liturgical Sitz im Leben for the word is suggested by the present formal context (parallelism) and Rom. 11:33, also TWNT I 360:16-18.

53:2-4. "uncontainable" < Ⲙ ἀκράτητος, Ⲙ ἀχώρητος or similarly.

53:4-5. Read ΟΥΛΤΩΕΤ·ΩΤ<ϣ> (Ka.). --"inscrutable" perhaps < Ⲙ ἀνεξερεύνητος. --"sweetness" recurs frequently below, cf. Ka. Index s.v. As Ka. I 314 notes it is well attested for Valentinianism (Iren. AH I 2:2, GTr). The notion is ultimately Biblical, cf. Ps. 34:9, Wisd. 16:21, also 1 Clem. 14:3, and associated with grace, but with the Gnostics it often simply denotes transcendence (as here and in Iren.).

53:5-54:2. The Father's goodness and plenitude. The

structure of this section, like the preceding one, is circular: The author starts out from a set of divine attributes, in this case goodness, perfection and fullness, shows their meaning and implications, and concludes by reaffirming them. Whereas the discussion until now has dwelt on negative attributes, the author now shows not only that the Father has a positive side, but also that his positive aspect, the fact that he is the origin of everything, is a direct consequence of his uniqueness: If there were more than one first principle, the Father would not carry within him the origin of everything, thus he would not be perfect.

53:5-11. MPWZ read $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\lambda\upsilon\ \text{OY}\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\text{T}\bar{\eta}$ $\Pi\text{I}\lambda\Gamma\lambda\theta\text{O}\text{C}$ as a nominal sentence ("he alone is the good"), seeing here a well known formula from contemporary theology. But that kind of construction, where $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\lambda\upsilon\ \text{OY}\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\text{T}\bar{\eta}$ is the predicate, would normally require a copula (cf. Polotsky, Orientalia 31.426 = Collected Papers, 431). The alternative is to regard $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\lambda\upsilon\ \text{OY}\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\text{T}\bar{\eta}$, with the following apposition $\Pi\text{I}\lambda\Gamma\lambda\theta\text{O}\text{C} \dots \epsilon\text{T}\chi\eta\kappa$, as the extraposed predicate of $\Pi\epsilon\text{T}\mu\eta\zeta$; this is in fact what KV Attridge do. (For the construction $\Pi\epsilon\epsilon\text{I}\ \Pi\epsilon\ \Pi\epsilon\text{T}$ - cf. Polotsky, *ib.* § 10.)

53:7-8. "without deficiency," possibly < ⌘ ἀπροσδεής.

53:8. "perfect" < ⌘ τέλειος.

53:8-13. "full" < ϕδϕ πλήρης. Cf. Ascl. 30 plenus atque perfectus; but especially Philo Spec. II 53 μόνος γὰρ εὐδαίμων καὶ μακάριος, παντός μὲν ἀμέτοχος κακοῦ, πλήρης δ'ἀγαθῶν τελείων, with which should be compared the formulas of the Epicurean, anti-Platonic piece in Aëtius I 7:7 (Diels, Dox. 300:7-10): τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον ζῆον, πεπληρωμένον τε πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ κακοῦ παντός ἄδεκτον. A common source is likely but the language is on the whole not specific enough to allow identification of the school. In a Gnostic context, πλήρης of course suggests links with πλήρωμα--the Father' containing within him a plenitude of aeons (note that aeons = divine attributes)--and with the completeness and freedom from deficiency which is the telos of the Gnostic (cf. Corp. Herm. IX 4 ὁ ἐπιγνοῦς πλήρης ... πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν).

53:9. The repetition of ΠΕΤΜΗΖ may be a dittography, but is also explainable as exegetical, exploiting the double meaning of πλήρης; both "perfect" and "full, filled." --ΧΠΟ is ambiguous, it can mean both "birth, offspring" (γέννημα etc.) and (less frequently) "(valuable) possession" (κτῆμα etc.). The presence in the context of the word ϕ πλήρης is unhelpful as this word can have connotations with pregnancy. But since ΧΠΟ is here parallel with ΑΡΕΤΗ and ΠΕΤΡ̄ ΩΕΥ the second interpretation is slightly preferable.

53:12-13. "freedom from evil": either freedom from the evils of the world (< ξ ἀκακία or similarly), cf. the passages from Philo and Aëtius quoted above; or "generosity" (< ξ ἀφθονία), which explains better the following result clause.

53:13-20. This is a clear statement of that doctrine which is referred to as "undiminished giving" in Neoplatonism and bonum est diffusivum sui in Scholastic theology. The image of the source which does not run dry, well known from Plotinus, occurs below 60:11-15, 74:5-10. The material for the history of the idea has been collected by Witt, CQ 24.205-07 and 25.200-01; Dodds, Proclus, 214. Both make the idea originate in the Middle Stoa. Traditionally the doctrine, usually accompanied by the metaphors of the radiation of the sun, or one lamp lighting another, concerns the communication of knowledge, or wisdom. The earliest witness to its use to describe emanation from a first principle is Numenius fr. 14 des Pl. = Euseb. Praep. Ev. XI 18. It must be pointed out, however, that the use of the principle of undiminished giving in TriTrac differs from that of the Neoplatonists on an important point: Whereas the principle for them emphasizes that the cause is unmoved and has no knowledge of the effect, it here describes the providential grace of the Father. It is in accordance with this when the image which is employed here is not that of radiation or kindling of light, but rather that of an inexhaustible

treasury from which the Father gives out. The historical background for this particular aspect of the idea is probably the notion of God's richness in mercy (Ex. 34:4, Eph. 2:4 etc., cf. TWNT s.v. πλοῦτος [Hauck/Kasch] 327).

53:13-15. ΧΕΚΛΩΕ + Fut. II probably introduces a result clause here, as ΧΕΚΛΩΟ with Fut. III sometimes does in Sahidic, cf. M.R. Wilson, Coptic Future Tenses, 4.2.5. --ΕΥΝΔΩΝΤΩ + Circumstantial clause probably < Ⲭεὐρέθη + supplementary participle. The Circumstantial clause governed by ΕΥΝΔΩΝΤΩ is Εϣ† etc.; a circumstantial Ε is "pleonastically" added before the extraposed subject ΠΕΤΕΥΝΤΕϣ ΤΗΡΩ.

53:15-16. Professor Attridge informs me the text reads ΧΛΒ/Εϣ.

53:17-18. "is rich" probably < Ⲭε πλουτεῖν , or Ⲭε πλοῦσιος Ⲭεῖναι. In the present text the relationship with πλήρης should be noted; the Father's richness refers to his perfection (cf. ApJn NHC II 30:15-16: "wealth" and "pleroma" in parallelism; for GThom see the remarks of Puech, En quête de la Gnose, II 138, 142-46). It is also relevant to note that "richness" can be associated with "glory" (e.g. Rom. 9:23, Col. 1:27, AuthLog NHC VI 26:9-10), and with "gnosis" (2 ApocJas NHC V 47:7, 52:10); these words all belong to the same semantic field, cf. also van den Broek in VigChr 33.272.

53:19-20. "reposes" < ἄναπαύεσθαι . This word as well is to be read here in connection with πλήρης: it denotes "freedom from needs, complete satisfaction, fulfilment." It also has connotations of "indwelling," thus it can be used of the relation of the Son to the Father or of the divine attributes to God (Lampe, Lex. s.v.). For the Valentinians ἀνάπαυσις also has a peculiar technical significance related to their understanding of πλήρωμα: The word refers to the harmonious relation between that which generates and that which is generated as these exist in the relation of simultaneous identity and distinctness which is the Valentinian idea of fullness, cf. below 58:36-59:1: the Father reposes on the Son, the Son on the Church; also GTr 38:28-32: the Name/Son and his offspring repose in one another; further the expression πλήρωμα ... τῆς ἀναπαύσεως ExcTh 65:2, and Iren. AH I 2:6: the perfection of the Pleroma after the restoration of Sophia is its ἀνάπαυσις. It is this reciprocal relationship between the Father and his offspring which is the Valentinian ideal of perfection, not the Neoplatonic idea of oneness.

53:21-39. A forceful affirmation of metaphysical monism. Valentinianism is generally monistic in the sense that it regards the Father as the single first principle. (Although in some instances the Father's Thought is hypostatized into an individual mythological character, it is never equivalent to the material principles of the

philosophical schools.) On the other hand there is nothing peculiarly Gnostic about these affirmations, they can all be paralleled in non-Gnostic Christian theology, with one partial exception (e).

(a) 53:24-26: The Father is not in a place (< [⌘] τόπος). cf. above 52:10-14, 23-26: the Father is in himself and immutable. The question of the locality of God, or the gods, was discussed especially by the Epicureans. Among those who affirmed explicitly that God was not to be contained in a place were Platonists, Neopythagoreans, Philo and Christian Fathers; the material is collected in J. Pépin, Théologie cosmique et théologie chrétienne, 108-10; add Corp. Herm. V 10 (64:13 N.-F.) and cf. Hipp. El. VI 29:5 οὐ τόπον ἔχων, also GTr 20:20-22, 22:25-27.

(b) 53:27-29: He did not employ an original form (< [⌘] ἀρχέτυπος). Cf. Plato Tim. 28a7-8 προσχρώμενος παραδειγματι, also 28b2. The equivalence of παράδειγμα and ἀρχέτυπος is well attested by Philo (e.g. Op. 71), Clement (e.g. Strom. V 93:4), Arius Didymus in Diels, Dox. 447:20, Nicomachus, Intr. Ar. I.4:2. What is rejected is a presentation of the current Platonic doctrine of principles (God-Paradigma [Ideal]-Matter) which makes the Idea independent of the demiurge, e.g. Plut. De An. Procr. 1023c: ὁ θεὸς τῆς μὲν ἰδέας ὡς παραδειγματος γέγονε μιμητῆς. This kind of criticism can only be paralleled in comparatively late Christian writers like Ambrose

Exam. I 1:1, 2:5; Greg. Naz. Poem. Dogm. IV 3-6;
Theodoret, Quaest. in Gen. 19 (see PÉpin, Théologie cosmique, first part, ch. I, especially 50-52). The reason that earlier Christian thinkers, and Philo, did not find the Platonic doctrine of ideas incompatible with Christian monotheism is that they accepted the dominant Middle Platonic interpretation of the doctrine which identified the ideas with the divine mind.

(c) 53:29-31: He acts without any difficulty (< $\text{π}^{\text{κ}}$ πόνος). Cf. Philo Sacr. 40: (God) τὸν τοσοῦτον κόσμον ἄνευ πόνων ... εἰργάζετο; Cher. 87: (God's rest is) τὴν ἄνευ κακοπαθείας μετὰ πολλῆς εὐμαρείας ἄπονωτάτην ἐνέργειαν; cf. Leg. All. I 5-6, also Orig. C. Celsum VI 61, Aug. Civ. D. XI 8. The point emphasized by these writers is that God's rest in Gen. 2:2-3 did not imply that creating the world was laborious. Platonists had to face criticism of a similar nature (from the Epicureans, Aëtius I 7:7-9, Cic. Nat. Deor. I 19-22), based on a too anthropomorphizing reading of the Timaeus; see Plot. V 8:7, especially 7:25 ἄπονός ... ἡ δημιουργία. Cf. note on 54:25-26.

(d) 53:31-33: There is no unbegotten matter ("a matter which lies ready for him" < ὅλη κ ὑποκειμένη κ αὐτῷ). The notion of an independent material principle was common to all the philosophical schools up to the Neopythagoreans and the Neoplatonists, but the author

undoubtedly here has in mind (Middle) Platonic physics, according to which the demiurge is confronted by a pre-existent ὕλη. A negative attitude to the pre-existence of matter, usually associated with Plato, is common in Christian writers, e.g. Theoph. Ad Autol. II 4; Tert. Adv. Val. 15, Adv. Hermog. passim; Orig. De Princ. II 1:4; for further documentation see PÉpin, Théologie cosmique, 52-57. The positions of Philo, Justin and Clement are debated.

(e) 53:34-36: He has no internal οὐσία. See Introd. pp. 33-34.

(f) 53:36-38: He has no collaborator (< [⊗] συνεργός). Cf. Corp. Herm. XI 14: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλον ἔχει συνεργόν (Stoic context, cf. Theiler, RAC III 701); also Philo, Op. 72, Deus Imm. 87.

53:25. λϣϵΙ: The change to Perfect is due to the fact that the infinitive of ϵΙ cannot be used in the Bipartite Conjugation Pattern (Polotsky, OLZ 52.229 = Collected Papers, 231; cf. Sch.).

53:26. Both ΝλϷΟΥ= and ;ΝλΟΥϷ= occur in this text, cf. Ka. I 29, 288; and Introd. above pp. 39-40.

53:28. For the expression $\bar{\rho}$ ΧΡλ(ΘλΙ Ϸ $\bar{\nu}$ - cf. 96:8, 137:20-22.

53:32. ΕΤΤΕΝΟ: read ΕΥΤΕΝΟ (Ka.).

53:38-39. Abstract nouns with the indefinite article used as predicate in nominal sentences denote quality, not identity, see Polotsky, "Nominalsatz," § 5.

53:39-54:2. Conclusion: The Father is the All. This is of course not pantheism, nor is it implied that the Father is immanent in the Pleroma (which is true of the Son, but not strictly speaking of the Father an sich). Rather, this is just a traditional way of expressing God's absolute power and the dependence of everything on him, cf. Corp. Herm. V 10-11, Sen. Nat. Quaest. I praef. 13, Philo Leg. All. I 44; see further Norden, Agnostos Theos, 240-50, Theiler, Vorbereitung, (importance of Pösidonius) 127-34, Festugière, Révélation, IV 65-70.

54:2-24. The Father is ineffable: (1) The Father transcends mind, speech, sight and touch, hence he cannot be named. (2) Glorification is nevertheless legitimate.

The main idea is the Father's ineffability, to which the author, out of fondness for parallelism, has added other expressions of divine transcendence as well (not very elegantly, it must be admitted). God's ineffability is a generally accepted notion in Roman times, occurring in Hermetic writings (Festugière, Révélation, IV 70-77), Platonism (ib. 136 under 6b; Lilla, Clement, 220-21) and non-Gnostic Christian writers (Lilla, ib.; Lampe, Lex.

s.v. ὄνομα , A.1.a.) as well as in Gnostic documents (e.g. Eug NHC III 71:13-14, ApJn NHC II 3:14-18, Basilides in Hipp. El. VII 20:3, 21:1). It is generally recognized that Neopythagorean interpretation of Plato Parm. 142a played a considerable part in the development of the idea (Dodds, CQ 22.129-42; id. Proclus, 310-13). Cf. also Orbe, Procesion del verbo, 6-13. The words ἄρητος, ἀνωνόμαστος, ἀκατονόμαστος are also frequently used by the Valentinians (listed in Sagnard, Gnose valentinienne, 333). However, it must be noted that the text does not say that the Father has no name, but that no name which can be conceived by man is applicable. In fact, the Father's name is the Son (66:32-34), in accordance with normal Valentinian teaching (see note in loc.), and gnosis, which implies knowing the Father's name, means knowing him as being the Son. Consequently, although in the present context the influence of Platonic theology is unquestionable, it should be realized that the Jewish notion of the ineffable name of God is an equally fundamental ingredient of Valentinian negative theology, cf. the ὄνομα ἀνωνομάστων of ExcTh 31:3.

The legitimacy of applying doxological names to the ineffable is a consequence of the emphasis placed by the author throughout on glorification as the correct way to relate to the Father. Non-Gnostic Christians also faced the problem of the propriety of using names for the divine, but solved the problem along slightly different lines (the names do not describe God but his relation to

creation and to ourselves, etc., see Orbe, Procesion, 101-10).

54:24-35. Conclusion to the part about the unbegotten Father (the entire preceding discussion): He is single, therefore his being, or essence, (< ⌘ ὑπόστασις) is undefinable ("that which is defined" 54:27 probably < ⌘ διοριζόμενος), therefore he is incomprehensible (< ⌘ ἀκατάληπτος), therefore he is unknowable (< ⌘ ἄγνωστος). This sounds like a school argument, and in fact the method is that of the Platonic dialectic outlined especially in Laws 895dff and Ep. VII 342bff:¹ In order to know the essence (οὐσία) of something one must be able to give a definition (λόγος) of it. In order to define something one must be able to give it a name (ὄνομα). This method, which Plato himself used in a negative way in the first hypothesis of the Parmenides, is used in the reverse by the author of TriTrac: the Father's essence is undefinable because he is above names. Being undefinable he is ⌘ ἀκατάληπτος, and consequently ⌘ ἄγνωστος. The scholastic framework is more evident in TriTrac than in proper Middle Platonic texts dealing with negative theology, but a comparable text, dealing with the nature of matter (the method is of course independent of subject matter), can be found in Numenius fr. 4a des

¹ Cf. Festugière, Révélation, IV 80-84; Krämer, Philologus 110.39-40.

Pl. (= Euseb. Praep. Ev. XV 17:3-8): εἰ ἔστιν ἀπειρος ἡ ὕλη, ἀόριστον εἶναι αὐτήν· εἰ δὲ ἀόριστος, ἄλογος· εἰ δὲ ἄλογος, ἄγνωστος.¹ It must further be observed that ἄγνωστος in the meaning of "unknowable" is not an attribute of the Father used by the Valentinians; in ExcTh 7:1 the word means "unknown." It must therefore be concluded that when the author of TriTrac here calls the Father unknowable, he is influenced by Platonic epistemology and does not follow a Valentinian tradition. Consequently ἄγνωστος means "unknowable" by discursive and philosophical means, it does not mean absolutely unknowable (cf. also 126:15-17).

54:25-26. "set to work" < [⌘] ἐπιχειρεῖν. This is an allusion to Plato's demiurge: The word ἐπεχειρησε Tim. 37d3 (cf. ἐπεχειρεῖτο 53a9) was an object of ridicule for the Epicureans, cf. Aëtius I 7:7-9 (Diels, Dox. 300:15 ἀχθοφορῶν, 301:6 ἐπιχειρεῖν); Cic. Nat. Deor. I 20 manu paene factum. Plotinus rejects this caricature of the demiurge (V 8:7) as well as the word ἐπιχειρεῖν (V 8:7:8); cf. note on 53:21-39 (c).

"from," not (Ka. Attridge) "at": The demiurge works ἐξ ὕλης in Platonism.

The use of the fem. pron. making ΦΥCIC the subject is probably a translation error; both in ΕΝC2ΤΟΥC and in ΝCΑ2ΤΡΕ (line 26) the subject should be "the unbegotten."

¹ Festugière, Révélation, IV 83 saw the connection of this argument in Numenius with academic dialectic.

54:26. $\bar{\text{N}}\text{C}\lambda\text{2TP}\epsilon$: read $\bar{\text{N}}\text{C}\lambda\text{TP}\epsilon$ (QWZ). For metathesis involving 2 see *Introd.* pp. 39-40. Probably < ⌘ $\sigma\acute{\omicron}\zeta\upsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ (or $\sigma\upsilon\zeta\upsilon\gamma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$). This must be directed against Gnostics, including some Valentinians, who gave the Father a female $\sigma\acute{\omicron}\zeta\upsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, cf. note on 51:8-19.

54:27-32. "defined": i.e. "limited." Cf. Corp. Herm. XIII 6: τὸ μὴ διοριζομένον, τὸ ἀχρώματον, τὸ ἀσχημάτιστον. That God has no sensible shape is a commonplace in both Christian and non-Christian writers of the period (already Plato Parm. 137d ἀπειρον καὶ ἄνευ σχήματος). See for comparison the collection of texts in Lilla, Clement, 213-15.

54:29. MMEY (1st): Add, or emend to, $\bar{\text{M}}\text{M}\Delta\epsilon$; cf. 55:19, and Till, Kopt. Gr. § 469 Note. This is either a scribal error or the translator has erroneously read ὑπόστασις as the subject.

54:32-33. "incomprehensible" < ⌘ ἀκατάληπτος , cf. *Iren.* AH I 1:2, ExcTh 29, GTr 20:3 etc.

54:35-57:23. The Son.

54:35-55:27. The Father's Thought. The notion of the Thought, representing archetypal gnosis, is common to most Gnostic systems (Helena in Simonianism, Barbelo in the Apocryphon of John, for Valentinianism see below).

54:35-55:3. The Father is known only to himself. This is a common theme, e.g. Ascl. 34 (344:24-25 N.-F.) inimitabile et ipsi soli sensibile atque intelligibile; cf. Corp. Herm. XIII 6, Tert. Apol. XVII 3, Minuc. Fel. Oct. XVIII, Philo Praem. 40, 45.

54:37. "<face>" (< [⌘] ὄψις) (Cod. "thing"): The emendation 2ω{B}NIM very hesitantly suggested by Ka. is almost certainly to be accepted.

55:3-5. λΥω ... ἸΜΔϑ: This clause may be attached both to the preceding and to the following main sentence.

55:3-27. The Father is the object of his own thought as well as that by which he conceives. The concept is attested in ExcTh 7:1 τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἐγνωκώς. It is hardly conceivable that this idea here is independent of such considerations on the nature of the divine mind as can be found in a well known passage in Albinus/Alkinoos (Didask. X 164:24-27 Herm.):

ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πρῶτος νοῦς κάλλιστος, δεῖ καὶ κάλλιστον αὐτῷ νοητὸν ὑποκεῖσθαι, οὐδὲν δὲ αὐτοῦ κάλλιον· ἑαυτὸν ἂν οὔν καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ νοήματα ἀεὶ νοοίη, καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἐνέργεια αὐτοῦ ἰδέα ὑπάρχει,

and later in Plotinus; on this see A.H. Armstrong in Sources de Plotin, 393-413. It is probable, as Armstrong holds, that the νόησις νοήσεως of Aristotle's First Mover Metaph. Α 7 and 9 played an important part in the

development of this doctrine of Mind in Middle Platonism. It is not likely that the Valentinians of TriTrac and ExcTh were directly inspired by Aristotelianism, and the context of this doctrine here points in a different direction: The affinity of the Father as a first principle with the Pythagorean Monad has been noted above (note on 51:8-19); also, the Thought of the Father by which he thinks himself is a source of generation, constituting a duality within him by which the projection of the Pleroma becomes possible; for this reason the Thought can in other systems be hypostatized into a female principle. Now the concept of a Monad which is at the same time Mind and male-female is (Neo-)Pythagorean ([Iambl.] Theol. Ar. 3:17ff; Nicomachus ap. Phot. Bibl. 143a24-25 Bekker; Macrobius Somn. Scip. I 6:7-8; see also Festugière, Révélation, IV 40-51). Although the notion of a Monad as a mind turned towards itself is not made explicit in the very scanty direct evidence available, it does not appear implausible that in a form of thought in which numbers and ideas are identified so that the derivation of numbers and of the intelligible world are one and the same thing, the combination of the opposites (male-female, odd-even etc.) within a single first principle could also have been represented as a mind thinking itself. Neopythagoreanism is therefore a very likely candidate for being the more direct source of the notion in Albinus/Alkinoos and these Valentinian texts (although in the case of the Platonic school philosopher

an acquaintance with Aristotle's theology must also be presupposed). It is interesting that Pythagorean vocabulary can be detected in the chapter of the Didaskalikos where this notion occurs (Dillon, Middle Platonists, 283).¹ The case is strengthened if one takes into consideration the formulations used to describe the second god of Iambl. Myst. VIII 3: νοῦν αὐτὸν ἑαυτὸν νοοῦντα καὶ τὰς νοήσεις εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφοντα. This god seems originally to have belonged in the same context as the first principle of the texts here referred to, and this is made even more plausible by the association with "silence"; διὰ σιγῆς μόνης θεραπεύεται. Iamblichus is here referring the doctrines of the "Egyptians," i.e. Hermetic ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the Hermetic idea may well go back to Pythagorean sources.

This whole section is open to various interpretations as far as the correlation of main sentences and subordinate clauses is concerned, but this does not affect decisively the understanding of the meaning.

55:4. λΡΕΥ: read λΡΛϣ (Ka.).

¹ Krämer, Geistmetaphysik, 105-15, especially 112-14, sees Xenocrates as the originator of the nous-theology of Didask. and of contemporary Pythagoreans, but his reconstruction of the tradition history has several hypothetical elements.

55:8-9. For the spelling ΦOPMH cf. 61:12, GTr 27:20.

55:10. λPλY: read λPλϞ (Ka.).

55:15-19. The Father's self-knowledge is described in these terms because it is also the production of gnosis in which the Gnostic will participate. There is a blending of two traditions here; one which goes back to Plato's spiritualization of the ambrosia idea in Phaedr. 247d (θεοῦ διάνοια νψ ... τρεφομένη), taken up in OrCh fr. 17 des Pl. (= Proclus In Tim. I 18:25): νψ δὲ νοοῦντι τροφή τὸ νοητόν (see Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 160 and n. 355); and another which connects the acquisition of knowledge with entry into the παράδεισος τῆς τροφῆς of LXX Gen. 3:23, Ez. 28:13 and elsewhere; cf. Diogn. 12:1 and several of the Odes of Solomon, e.g. the 11th. (OYNλϞ probably < [⊗] τροφή, thus there is also a play on words here; cf. 96:30-31.) "repose" 55:16 < [⊗] ἀνάπαυσις. A similar combination is made by Heracleon who describes the Father's will as τροφή καὶ ἀνάπαυσις (Orig. In Ioh. XIII 38; see Ka. I 316).

The predicates are translated as nouns here in spite of the fact referred to concerning 53:38-39 above; the form λΛΗΘΙλ probably reflects a noun in the original.

55:19-27. As the content of the Father's thought is himself and he is unknowable, it follows that his thought is above rational comprehension as well.

55:19. ΠΕΤΕΥΝΤΕϞ ΜΜΕΥ: Add, or emend to, ΜΜΔϞ. Cf. 54:29.

55:22-23. Cf. Poim. 31 (18:10 N.-F.) ὁ κρείττων τῶν ἐπαίνων.

55:26-27. This is theurgic language according to Augustine Civ. D. X 26 altitudinem eius profunditatemque declarent. In both the Chaldean Oracles and Valentinianism the word βυθός is used to describe the first principle. Cf. Theiler, Chaldäische Orakel, 10-11.

55:27-39. The Father's ability to manifest himself.

55:28-29. ΦΥCIC: cf. 54:28 ⌘ ὑπόστασις; the words are practically synonymous in TriTrac.

55:29. "greatnesses" i.e. sublime qualities. < ⌘ μεγέθη.

55:30-39. The Father holds back gnosis for "paedagogical" reasons; cf. 60:1ff, especially 62:14-33.

55:30-35. The Will, then, is a second faculty of the Father (the first being the Thought). The Will refers in TriTrac primarily to the Father's desire to grant knowledge, but as the aeons' acquisition of gnosis is synonymous with their projection it also has a generative function. The Father's Thought, in which he constantly

thinks himself, is not in itself a sufficient cause of generation; the Will provides the necessary dynamic factor which transforms the Thought into a Pleroma of aeons. The notion of the divine Will has not been adequately studied, either as far as Valentinianism is concerned or in contemporary theology. In fact the doctrine of the Thought as an introvert and the Will as an extrovert faculty of the Father forms part of Valentinian theology in several instances; cf. Iren. AH 12:1 on the followers of Ptolemy: The Father has two διαθέσεις, ἔννοια and θέλησις: πρῶτον γὰρ ἐνενοήθη τι προβαλεῖν, ὡς φασιν, ἔπειτα ἠθέλησε; the Will is the necessary δύναμις without which projection from the Thought would be impossible. Similarly, in GTr the All pre-exists in the Thought and Mind of the Father; their projection is conditional upon the Father's Will (e.g. 27:26ff, 37:15ff): Here, the Son is also the manifestation of the Will, cf. TriTrac 66:20-21. In ValExp the Will is one of several faculties of the Father (22:28), and is manifested in the Son for the sake of the All (i.e. to enable their projection); he is therefore "the Will of the All" (24:26-31). In the Valentinian documents used by the Church Fathers the voluntaristic aspect of the Father, though present, is generally not prominent (ἠθέλησε ExcTh 7:1, Marcus in Iren. AH I 14:1; ἐνενοήθη Iren. AH I 1:1; ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ Hipp. EL. VI 29:5; in Epiph. Pan. ~~XXI~~ 5:3ff the Will is placed within the unusually active and personified Thought, similarly ExcTh 29); the only

exceptions to this are the Ptolemaean doctrine reported by Irenaeus quoted above, and a fragment of Heracleon (= Orig. In Ioh. XIII 38) where the Will is a mediator of gnosis; here it is also, as in the present text, identified with δύναμις. That the concept nevertheless was an important part of Valentinian doctrine is shown by the fact that it is referred to as one of their heresies by Athanasius Adv. Ar. III 65. God's Will has an obvious place in the Biblical tradition, and the concept easily entered Christian philosophy, where theological voluntarism was later to play a major part. (See e.g. Pohlenz, Die Stoa, I 417, 419, 435 with the corresponding notes.) But it is also important to realize that God's Will as an instrument of creation was a clearly identified concept in Middle Platonism: Albinus/Alkinoos Didask., 165:1 Herm.; [Plut.] De Fato 572f, 573b; Atticus in Euseb. Praep. Ev. XV 6:7.9-16; Corp. Herm. IV 1; Nemes. Nat. Hom. PG 796A; Calc. Tim. CXLIV, 183:7-9 Wasz. In the form in which it occurs in these passages the concept is clearly derived from the ἐβουλήθη of Plato's Tim. 29e3 and βουληθεῖς 30a1. The long fragment from Atticus preserved by Eusebius provides a motive for the development of the idea: The concept of God's power and will (Atticus identifies βούλησις and δύναμις 6:10) is emphasized in order to counter Peripatetic views denying creation and divine providence; God, or his Will, has the power both to create and to sustain the universe. Now TriTrac seems to echo just such an argument: The

Father is not entirely centered around himself, this would in fact imply a limitation. Rather, he is fully capable (cf. Atticus' ποιῆσαι ... ἱκανός ib. 6:13) of providing knowledge of himself to his offspring, having his Will and Power. There is no question of literary dependence here, but of another example of the influence of Middle Platonic school argumentation on TriTrac. However, the systematic context in which TriTrac and the comparable Valentinian texts use the notion of the Will is clearly not directly dependent on the Timaeus, the Father is not Plato's demiurge. But the Will of God also occurs in contexts in Platonism and Neopythagoreanism where it does not refer to the will to create in the form of demiurgic activity, but either has a more general application (Corp. Herm. X 2; Ascl. 20, 26; Max. Tyr. XXXVIII 6; Firm. Matern. Math. V Praef. 3, Julian Orat. IV 142d; cf. Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 331, n. 69); or --and this is particularly interesting here--refers to the generation from a first principle which is not demiurgic. Thus βουληθεῖς is used of the first One by Moderatus (Simpl. In Phys. 231:7 Diels), and βουλή θεοῦ is a hypostasized generative principle in the Poimandres, whereas in the Chaldaean Oracles a doctrine of the Will is found which is closely related to that of the Valentinian texts here referred to: The Will (βουλή), together with νοῦς and δύναμις, are the faculties of the Father, the Will being the faculty of generation through which the Mind is externalized (see Lewy, 78-83,

329-32). In conclusion, then, the Valentinian concept of the Will is clearly dependent on Platonic tradition, in addition to the evident presuppositions that the concept has in Biblical theology of salvation (cf. *Introd.* p. 64).

55:32-33. $\lambda\text{BOA } \bar{\text{M}}$ - etc.: The complement probably originally belonged to $\text{ϥOY}\omega\text{O}\epsilon$:

55:35-39. "but now" < $\text{Ⲛ} \nu\bar{\text{O}}\nu \delta\epsilon$, i.e. at the stage here described. The Father's manifestation is only to be treated later (57:23-25 and 60:1ff).

$\epsilon\text{T}\epsilon$ most naturally refers to $\text{OYMN}\bar{\text{T}}\text{K}\lambda \text{P}\omega\text{C}$, both because it is closest,¹ because the author probably here wishes to make the point that Silence is no entity separate from the Father himself (cf. above 52:10-14, 53:23ff), and because of the similar construction in 67:27.

Silence is a name for the Thought (57:5, cf. *Iren. AH I 1:1*, *Epiph. Pan. XXXI 5:4*). Like the Thought, Silence can be individualized as the Father's female partner (*Iren. and Epiph., locc. citt.*; *ExcTh 29*, *Iren. AH I 11:1*). The name refers (1) to the fact that the Thought (as archetypal gnosis) is above speech, and (2) to this Thought as being the state of unmanifestedness

¹ For relative nominal sentences with undetermined antecedent see W.C. Till, "Die Satzarten im Koptischen," Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung 2 (1954) 378-402, § 20 b).

in which the Father has not yet revealed himself and in which the aeons find themselves before they "go forth." It thus is ambivalent in character, representing the ineffability of the Father at the same time as it is the source of gnosis: In Iren. AH I 2:1 the function of Silence is primarily negative, she prevents the immediate attainment of knowledge by the aeons; also in ExcTh 29 and TriTrac 75:13-17 limits are set to knowledge by Silence. On the other hand she appears as a revealer in Epiph. Pan. XXXI 5, to Marcus she is the revealing, female aspect of the Father, and the term appears in connection with manifestation in GTr 37:12 and ValExp 24:19-20. In the present context "silence" has both connotations, the (temporary) hiddenness of gnosis as well as potential revelation: the All exists within the Father from eternity (he eternally "causes" them), but has not yet been manifested. The "Silence" is not exclusively Valentinian; the Father, or rather, his mode of being, is called $\sigma\iota\gamma\eta$ in the Chaldaean Oracles ($\tau\eta$ θεοθρέμνονι $\sigma\iota\gamma\eta$ fr. 16 des Pl. = Proclus In Tim. I 18:25); silence is nourishment for the gods; in this context $\sigma\iota\gamma\eta$ equals knowledge. On the basis of this logion later Neoplatonists spoke of the πατρική $\sigma\iota\gamma\eta$ (Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 160, n. 353; Theiler, Chaldäische Orakel, 10). Lewy has suggested that the concept is Pythagorean (ib. 397), but the evidence he adduces is meagre. In Valentinianism ontogony and soteriology are closely related, in the sense that the projection of the

Pleroma may be interpreted as a mythical hypostatization of the salvation experience of the Gnostic. Thus the concept of Silence as it appears in the pleromatogony must be seen in the light of the mystic silence in which the Gnostic is reborn; this explains how "Silence" becomes a name for baptism in 128:30-32. Such a mystic silence can be found in contemporary literature. Thus God is addressed as σιωπῆ φωνούμενε Poim. I 31; cf. δὲ σιγῆς μόνῃς θεραπεύεται Iambl. Myst. VIII 3; On8th9th NHC VI 56:10-12.¹ The historical origin of the notion remains obscure, but it should be remembered that ritual silence always played an important part in Pythagoreanism, see Burkert, Lore and Science, 178-79.

56:1-57:8. The Thought is self-generation. Note the "chiastic" structure of the argument: The author started out by stating the unbegottenness of the Father, moved on to assert his incomprehensibility, then turned to say that he is known to himself, and now arrives at the proposition that he begets himself.

56:1-15. The translation takes ΕΥΧΠΟ line 2 and ΕΥΕΙΝΕ line 9 as Present II. It is not impossible to regard these as circumstantial forms and ΝΤΑϞ... ΠΕΤΜΠΩΛ as the main sentence, but this is not very likely in view of the

¹ Cf. further Festugière, Révélation, IV 76-77; Orbe, Procesion, 62-67; Theiler, Chaldäischen Orakel, 10.

great number of words which in that case would separate the subject from the predicate.

56:1-6. By knowing himself the Father begets himself. The concept of self-generation is widespread in antiquity (cf. Whittaker in De Jamblique à Proclus, 193-230), but the point stressed in the present context is not that the Father is his own cause, but that that which he generates by thinking is not distinct from himself.

56:3-4. MPWZ here see a nominal sentence in the circumstantial, but this requires that <ΠΕ> be supplied; nor, as Sch. remarks, can ΧΠΟ be nomen agentis. KV tacitly emend ΕΥΟΥ to Εϣ. The solution proposed in this translation takes ΕΥΟΥ- (= ΕΥ-: Introd. p. 37) as having a passive meaning, and no emendation is required. It may also be that the translator has mistaken a middle for a passive.

56:7-15. "one who" might also be translated "something which"; at any rate the Son is intended. "worthy of his admiration" etc. has a double significance. On the one hand the Father admires himself as the Son; that is, the hypernoetic Thought is now qualified as glorification, self-thinking is self-glorification, and the object of glorification is the Son ("his admiration" 56:8 interpreted as subjective genitive). On the other hand it is probable that the author chose this form of

expression because he also wanted to include the glorification given to the Father by his offspring, through the Son, who reveals him ("his admiration" interpreted as objective genitive). The idea of a hypernoetic noesis with identity of subject and object is alien to classical philosophy, but can be found in Plotinus (VI 8:16, in particular 16:13 and 25: the One loves itself; cf. Armstrong, Intelligible Universe, 12-13), thus we here have another example of the interaction of Gnostic and Platonic ideas. That the content of the Thought is glorification is traditional Gnostic doctrine, cf. ApJn NHC II 4:36-5:5 Ennoia = Barbelo, "the perfect glory in the aeons, the glory of the revelation, she glorified the virginal Spirit and praised him.... This is the first thought, his image." It is regular Gnostic (and Hermetic) doctrine that gnosis is, or is attained by, glorification. In TriTrac this doctrine is interpreted in more philosophical terms than is usual, therefore the archetypal gnosis which is the glorification of the Father by his own Thought is joined with a more technically philosophical concept of the divine mind, and the idea resulting from this combination becomes quite close to that expressed by Plotinus in the passage referred to.

56:9. ΕΙΝΕ ΑΒΛΑ "bring forth" is not technical here: The projection is to be described later (60:1ff). At this stage the Son is still within the Father (56:23ff).

56:16. ΚΩ ΜΜΟϠ Ε2ΡΗΪ "exposes himself" (< ^κτιθέναι or a compounded form): The word probably alludes to the setting up of images for worship in the temples.

56:21-22. Ε/ΤΑΕΙΟ: cf. Introd. p. 39.

56:22. λN probably goes with the whole sentence ΝΤΑϠ ... ΕΤ̄ λΓΑΠΗ.

56:23-57:8. The Thought and the Son are identified. This corresponds well with ExcTh 7:1 διὰ τῆς ἐνθυμήσεως (not here an individual entity, pace Sagnard) τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἐγνωκῶς, πνεῦμα γνῶσεως οὔσης ἐν γνώσει προέβαλε τὸν Μονογενῆ. GTr also concords with this view, because there the Son is identical with the Logos which is the manifestation of the Father's "thought and mind" (16:35, 19:37, 37:13); as does ValExp "He had him in the νοῦς" 22:34-35. Indeed in ValExp there seems to be a deliberate rejection of an independent Thought: "For even his thought exists by the root of the All" 22:32-33. Elsewhere the Son is distinguished from the Thought, whether the latter is conceived as an independent hypostasis or as a faculty of the Father (see above, note on 51:8-19). As if to complicate things further the Son is regularly identified with Nous. Nous in these instances, however, refers to the Thought as manifested, so that the basic distinction between the various conceptions of the relationship between Thought and Mind

in the Valentinian systems is that in some instances the two stages of the Thought are given different names, in others not. (Contrast TriTrac with the treatise in Epiphanius, where not the Son, but Ennoia-Sige is operating on both levels, as both the internal Thought and the manifested one; ExcTh 29 is similar. By identifying ἔννοια, νοῦς and μονογενῆς υἱός the author has expressed his Valentinianism in terms which do not vary substantially from non-Gnostic Logos christology with its identification of the Son with the mind of God (Athenag. Suppl. 10:1-2, 24:1; Tert. Prax. 5; Theoph. Ad Autol. II 10.22; for Clement see Lilla, Clement, 199-212).

56:26-30. The formula "the ineffable within the ineffable" etc. expresses the simultaneous oneness and duality of the Father and his Thought; it can be found in this way in TriProt, describing the Protennoia: "invisible in the thought of the invisible ... unattainable as I am in the unattainable" NHC XIII 35:7-11, cf. 36:28-30.

56:31. MM9 here and in line 34 is prepositional, as Attridge has seen. Cf. note on 52:10-14.

56:33. "without generation" <[⌘] ἀγεννήτως. . This expression would go more naturally with ϞϞϞϞ, qualifying "eternally" and has probably been displaced by the

translator.

56:37-38. ΕΤΕ ΠΕΞΙΜΕΞΥΕ ΝΤΕϣ ΠΕ is a nominal sentence (wrongly MPKV).

57:1. Emmel transcribes ΕΤΕ . [.]...[.] from Doresse's photographs and Facs. According to his interpretation of the photographs the restoration by Ka. is not likely. But the restorations hesitantly suggested by Emmel do not fit the context very well. From the information he supplies, and Facs., such an interpretation as Π[Ι]Ϛ[ΜΑ]Τ Π[Ε] "form," with the pleonastic copula frequent in this text, does not appear excluded, although it must remain conjectural.

57:2. ΛΛΕ ΡΕΤῶ (= λ2Ε ΡΕΤῶ, cf. *Introd.* pp. 39-40. "existence" < ?[⊕] μονή , cf. ValExp 22:29 Πδω.

57:3-8. The explicit identification Thought = Son = Silence = Wisdom = Grace suggests that the author is here taking a stand on matters which were debated among the Valentinians. The same impression is given by Epiph. Pan. XXXI 5:4 ἐκεῖνη, ἣν τινες "Ἐννοίαν ἔφασαν, ἕτεροι Χάριν· οἰκεῖως ... οἱ δὲ ἀληθεύσαντες Σιγὴν προσηγόρευσαν where a quite different emphasis is made. The identification of Thought, Silence, Wisdom and Grace is of course traditional in Valentinianism (Iren. AH I 1:1). The occurrence of Wisdom in this context is,

however, intriguing, as the term is regularly reserved for the fallen aeon (which in TriTrac is simply called "a logos"). There is one other instance of this usage in a Valentinian text, namely GTr 23:18, where σοφία is an attribute of the Father.¹ Strangely, neither GTr nor TriTrac makes a point out of this being an unusual usage of the word in a Valentinian context. On the other hand Wisdom is a normal name for the divine mind and is also often identified with the Son by Christian writers (Lampe, Lex. s.v. σοφία C.1.a. and 3.), and in Hermeticism it is used for the enlightened, gnostic, state of mind (Corp. Herm. III 1, XI 2.3, XVIII 11, and especially the connection with στυγή as the womb of the regenerated in XIII 2: σοφία νοερά ἐν στυγῷ, cf. note on 55:35-39).

57:5. Read <T>MNTKΛ PΩC (Ka.).

57:6. εγὼ : Circumstantial Aorist; see Introd. p. 50.

57:8-23. He is the first-born (< ⚭ πρωτότοκος MP) and only son (< ⚭ μονογενῆς ⚭ υἱός). This is a quite orthodox and unoriginal statement. It is possible, however, that the author here has in mind certain Gnostic

¹ I think the passages quoted by Stead JTS NS 20.94 to prove the existence of Wisdom as a consort of the Father in Valentinianism are too ambiguous to allow such an interpretation; the "Sophia in the Father" is more probably the one who is restored to the Pleroma.

systems where the Son is subordinate to the Ennoia, such as ApJn and most of the Valentinian systems transmitted by the Church Fathers (cf. note on 56:23-57:8). It should also be recalled that in these systems Monogenes is given a female partner, Truth; there is an implicit rejection of such a view here, just as the notion of a partner for the Father was rejected in 54:26-27. The form of the argument, from the singularity of God to the onlybegotten Son, is paralleled by writers of the Origenist school, Theognostus (Hypotyp. éd. Harnack, Texte und Untersuchungen, IX 3, p. 78:2-9) and later in Eusebius (references in H. Berhof, Die Theologie des Eusebius von Caesarea [Amsterdam 1939] 77 and n. 4), as was noted by P&Q 93-94.

57:10. Here, and in 57:15, one would normally expect $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}}$ ($\bar{\text{N}}$ - of predication).

57:15-17. The text is unacceptable. The emendations suggested by Ka. are ungrammatical. A plausible emendation is $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{I}} \ \bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}} \ \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}} \ \bar{\text{D}}\bar{\text{E}}\langle\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \ \bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}}\rangle \ \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{A}} \ \bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}} \ \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}} \ \bar{\text{D}}\bar{\text{E}} \ \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{P}} \ \{\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}} \cdot \bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{N}} \ \bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{A}} \ \bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{Z}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{A}}\}$.

57:17-23. $\text{M}\bar{\text{o}}\nu\bar{\text{o}}\gamma\bar{\text{e}}\nu\eta\varsigma$ is used regularly by the Valentinians for the Son (for $\mu\bar{\text{o}}\nu\bar{\text{o}}\gamma\bar{\text{e}}\nu\eta\varsigma$ $\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\delta}\bar{\omicron}\varsigma$ in particular see Iren. AH I 8:5, ExcTh 7:3, 26:1); $\pi\rho\omega\tau\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ is not previously attested. The two terms are frequently joined by Christian writers (Lampe, Lex. s.vv.).

57:23-59:38. The Church.

57:23-58:18. The Church exists from the beginning as well.

57:23-32. The Fruit (i.e. the Father's offspring). This is not the Son, but the aeons, at this point still existing within the Father. Biological metaphors are used frequently for processes of generation and acquisition of gnosis by the Valentinians as well as by other Gnostics. For the general framework see above 51:17-19. For the term καρπός used for the Father's offspring see GTr 28:7; Valentinus in Hipp. El. VI 37:7 ἐκ δὲ βυθοῦ καρπούς φερομένους; Marcus in Iren. AH I 14:2; also SophJChr NHC III 97:6. The language recurs in Synesius Hymn IV 8 πατρὸς λοχίους ... καρπούς, presumably going back to the Chaldaean Oracles (Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, I 461-74).

57:25. The fruit is initially unmanifested, cf. 60:1ff; GTr 17:6-9, 27:22ff.

57:27-29. Cf. ExcTh 7:1 ἄγνωστος οὖν ὁ πατὴρ ὦν ἠθέλησεν γνωσθῆναι τοῖς αἰῶσι, also GTr 19:13, Heracleon in Orig. In Ioh. XIII 38 (Ka.). The theme is known from Hermetic writings (ὅς γνωσθῆναι βούλεται καὶ γινώσκειται τοῖς ἰδοῖσι Poim. I 31; cf. Corp. Herm. X 15 and Festugière, Révélation, IV 56-59), as well as from

Platonists like Clement and Porphyry, and the Odes of Solomon; cf. P&Q 95, referring to Bultmann in TWNT I 693. The Father's will here is technical, see note on 55:30-35, and the following note below.

57:29-32. The author here anticipates what is only to be systematically expounded later (60:1ff). Having mentioned the Father's Will, i.e. his desire to be known, he felt called upon to add a remark concerning his Power, before reverting to the main exposition.

For the idea of generation resulting from the blending (κρᾶσις) of principles cf. ExcTh 7:2 τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀγάπης πνεῦμα κέκραται τῷ τῆς γνώσεως (quoted by P&Q 95); the Ptolemaeans in Iren. AH I 12:1 τῆς τε ἐννοίας καὶ τῆς θελήσεως ὡςπερ συγκραθεισῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας κτλ. The notion provides a more philosophical formulation of the generative processes than that of sexual union; probably this is a direct appropriation of the Stoic concept of total mutual interpenetration (κρᾶσις δι' ὅλων), which is explicitly applied in ExcTh 17:1-2.¹

57:29-30. λΤ·ΤΟΥΖΑΜΜΕC : the reading λΤΟΥΛΖΜΕC (MPQWZ) is correct; cf. Hintze-Schenke, Apostelgeschichte, 16. For TT = T see Introd. above p. 39.

¹ Sagnard's attribution of ExcTh 17:2 to Clement cannot be correct.

57:31. ΤΕ = ΝΤΕ (Ka.); cf. Crum, JEA 13.19-20 (Kahle, Bala'izah, 110) and Introd. p. 38.

57:31-32. For the Father's ἀφθονία cf. 62:20, 70:26.

57:33-35. The pre-existence of the ἐκκλησία is well known from early Christian literature; 2 Clem. 14:1-2, Hermas Vis. II 4:1, Ign. Eph. proem., Clem. Strom. IV 89:1 etc.; cf. also Lampe, Lex. s.v. D.; J. Daniélou, Judéo-Christianisme, 317-39; Lamirande, L'Église celeste, passim. The Valentinians used the idea; the seed of Sophia is called ἐκκλησία, it is ἀντίτυπον τῆς ἄνω ἐκκλησίας Iren. AH I 5:6; πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ... ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐκλέλεχθαι ExcTh 41:2. In GTr "the living book of the living, written in the thought and mind of the Father, which from before the foundation of the All was within his incomprehensibility" (19:35-20:3) expresses the same idea, as the book of the living is the register of the citizens of the kingdom of God; cf. also ΛΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΛΡΛΥ 21:27 < [⊕](ἐκ)καλεῖν. . In TriTrac the Church is identical with the Pleroma, whereas in the systems excerpted by the Church Fathers, and in ValExp, this identification has been lost, and Church is only one of the aeons. This makes the interpretation of the passages quoted from Iren. and ExcTh above ambiguous. The idea occurs in the NT: The existence of the ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς of Heb. 12:23 is, if not ab aeterno, nevertheless from before the creation.

Here it is also identified with the heavenly Jerusalem, which occurs by itself in Gal. 4:26, Apoc. 3:12, 21:2ff. The background of the doctrine seems to be the idea of the heavenly congregation found in certain factions of late Judaism: In the Similitudes of 1 Enoch (especially 39:4ff) the visionary sees a congregation in heaven consisting of angels and righteous humans: here an eschatological condition is transformed into an eternally existing ideal. This congregation will also "appear" on the day of judgment (38:1), cf. 2 Clem. 14:3. In the texts from Qumrân there is also a heavenly congregation consisting of the earthly community and the hosts of heaven, here cultic experience forms the basis of the idea.¹

57:36-58:18. The Church is not a second son: The same identity of glorifier and glorified exists between the Son and the Church as between the Father and the Son. The notion "brother to himself" seems to be original. Note that the author does not employ the language of the Church as the bride of the Son; his imagery is masculine throughout, both in his use of "the logos" for Sophia and in his soteriology of unification. In the history of dogma considerations concerning the brother of the

¹ Cf. the material collected in H.-W. Kuhn, Enderwartung, 66-73. A formal characteristic of the idea is the use of the preposition $\alpha\upsilon$, which is also found in 1 En. 39:5: m^e_{sla} ($< \text{μετά}$) $< \text{αυ}$.

μονογενῆς are associated with the "pneumatomachians."¹ It is not to be excluded that the argumentation of TriTrac alludes to early proponents of that position.

58:2. λϥΟΥλNζ̄ϥ: not "revealed himself" (Ka.) in this context.

58:9. The restoration [ε]ϥ[ρ Mλ]ζ̄ε|ε (Ka., ϥ should be dotted) is open to suspicion because of the supralinear stroke. However, the stroke may start earlier than is usual; also the trace under it can be interpreted in several ways. Possible restorations: [ε]ϥ̣[ρ̣; [ε]ϥ̣[ρ̣; [ε]ϥ̣[ρ̣; N/Δε [⟨ε⟩τ]ϥ̣[ρ̣ etc.

58:10. The restoration of Ka. is probably too long for the lacuna. M̄[MOϥ N]ε|ωτ fills the open space and is analogous to the construction in 58:13-14.

58:12-13. Restore N̄τλϥ ζ̄ωωϥ / [λN π]ε̣τϥ̣-.

58:13-14. Read M̄MIN M̄MOϥ <M̄MOϥ>; cf. 56:30-35.

58:15-16. Read M̄N̄τλτ·{λτ}λPXH M̄N̄ OYMN̄τ<τ>ζ̄λH (Ka.).

58:17-18. Cf. note on 53:38-39.

¹ Cf. G. Kretschmar, Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie, Beitr. z. hist. Theol., 21 (Tübingen 1956) 10.

58:18-59:16. The Church is one and many.

58:18-22. "innumerable" < ⲙ ἀνάριθμος or ⲙ ἀναρίθμητος. "unmeasurable" perhaps < ⲙ ἀμέτρητος. "indivisible" < ⲙ ἀμέριστος (or ⲙ ἀδιαβητος or ⲙ ἀδιάστατος). The Pleroma of thirty aeons is not professed by this author. Cf. Iren. AH I 10:3 τότε μὲν τριάκοντα, νῦν δὲ ἀνήριθμον φύλον αἰώνων ... καθὼς λέγουσιν οὗτοι ... διδάσκαλοι, cf. II 7:4. Also cf. Poim. 7 δυνάμεσιν ἀναριθμήτοις. The notion that the Pleroma is ideally indivisible is paralleled by the theory of the Name in Marcus (Iren. AH I 15:5 ἀμέριστον "... οὐσίαν) and ExcTh 31:4 τὸ κατὰ μέρος ὄνομα τῶν αἰώνων ἀμελής ἐστι [my emendation] τοῦ ὀνόματος. The idea of the indivisibility of the intelligible world in Middle Platonism (Alb. Didask. 169:20 H.; Tim. Locr. 205:10 Thesleff) is derived from Plato Tim. 35a τῆς ἀμερίστου καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ ταῦτὰ ἐχούσης οὐσίας. The designation "those who are" (< ⲙ τὰ ⲙ ὄντα) may derive from a paraphrase of the last part of the expression; in any case its Platonic associations should be clear. The combination of infinity and indivisibility is akin to Plotinus' concept of the Mind, e.g. in V 7:1, where Mind is said to be both ἄπειρον and ἐν ἀμερεῖ; also cf. VI 7:14:11ff.

58:22-29. $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{E}}$ is Perfect II; predicate $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{E}}$ etc. The Church is the aspect of plurality involved in the self-knowing, self-glorification and self-loving of the

Father and Son. In Plotinus as well multiplicity is derived from the interaction of One and Mind (e.g. Armstrong, Intelligible Universe, 68-70), but arises from the separation of the two hypostases rather than from their union, as here. As was observed above (note on 53:19-20) the Valentinians did not regard plurality as such as an evil; their notion of perfection is a multiplicity which is simultaneously unity.

58:24. "abundance," cf. 59:37.

58:26. "thought" has technical connotations here: the Son is the Father's Thought.

58:29. Read 2λ2 <M>ΠΕΙΕΙ (MP).

58:29-30. "the church of many men" < ἐκκλησία (ϙ τῶν) ϙ πολλῶν. This formula derives from the Jewish usage ׀יבן for "congregation," see Jeremias in TWNT s.v. πολλοί A.II.1.a.; in apocalyptic: Dan. 12:2, 4 Ezra 4:34 (Harnisch, Verhängnis, 279-80). The Qumran community used it in particular (1QS VI-VII; CD XIV 7, XV 8); especially ׀יבן תצ 1QS VI 16. It was already pointed out above (note on 57:33-35) that there appears to be historical continuity between the Valentinian pre-existent ἐκκλησία and the notion of תצ in Qumran. In the present context the formula is taken as support for the innumerability of the aeons.

58:31. "before the aeons" < ⲡ ρⲟⲃ ⲡ τῶν αἰῶνων. Ka. makes a reference to Prov. 8:23, but the author identifies Wisdom with the Son (57:5) and not with the Church. The use of the expression is not necessarily tied to the Wisdom concept, cf. ρⲟⲃ αἰῶνων Ign. Eph. proem. used of the election of the Church, and Lampe, Lex. s.v. αἰῶν D.3.

58:31-33. "the aeons of the aeons" < ⲡ οἱ ⲡ αἰῶνες ⲡ τῶν ⲡ αἰῶνων. As was pointed out by P&Q 98-100 = Ka. I 322-23 the liturgical formula of Eph. 3:21 etc. was taken by the Valentinians of Irenaeus (AH I 3:1) to refer to the Pleromā. This is no doubt the case here as well; ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ must refer to the liturgic usage of the formula by the Church. However, what the author means by applying it here is a different matter. In GEgyptians the expression ὁ αἰὼν τῶν αἰῶνων is used to refer both to "primacy of origin" and to "the all-comprehensive character of his [i.e. the Revealer's] being," according to Böhlig and Wisse in Nag Hammadi Codices III, 2 and IV, 2, p. 170. Schäfer, "König der Könige," 103-04, however, interprets this type of paronomastic genitive as expressing essence: αἰὼν αἰῶνος means "der innerste Kern des Aions." In TriTrac the expression seems to designate a "first generation" of aeons who themselves are the source of other aeons, see 67:37-68:10. But this is not to be understood as implying a clearly defined taxonomy of aeons as in the 30-aeons systems, as the aeons are here innumerable and indivisible. Rather,

procreation is part of the very nature of the aeons; thus the genitive expresses a more abstract idea, which accords well with the remarks of Schäfer. Cf. also the formula from Dionysius Areopagita quoted by Schäfer, 124.

58:33-36. One may also translate: "... that which is justly called 'the aeons of the aeons'--which is the nature of the holy imperishable spirits--that (sc. the Church) upon which the Son rests ..." attaching ΤΕΕΙ to ΕΚΚΛΗΧΙΑ instead of to ΦΥΣΙΣ.

58:35. The terminology "holy spirits" = aeons is unparalleled in Valentinianism. Cf. 1QH 8:12 רוחות
שקוד.

58:35-59:1. For the concept of rest see note on 53:19-20. The Father "rests upon" the Son, i.e. the Son is his οὐσία, and this is also the relation of the Son to the Church. Cf. ValExp 24:24: The Son is the Father's ὑπόστασις. These ideas seem unrelated to non-Gnostic trinitarian dogmatics. οὐσία here has the meaning of essential character, form, rather than the Aristotelian substance.¹ According to the Platonic argumentation of 54:27-35 the ⚡ ὑπόστασις of the Father is incomprehensible

¹ It corresponds to aspects of senses E and F in the semantic study of Stead, Divine Substance (Oxford 1977) 146-53. (Stead does not discuss the particular usage involved here.)

and unknowable (cf. note). Another, and more usual, way of expressing the same notion in the Platonic tradition is to say that the first principle is above οὐσία altogether, or is ἀνούσιος (Festugière, Révélation, IV 6-17, esp. 7; 70-77; Whittaker, VigChr 23.91-104). That is the underlying idea here: that the Son is the Father's essence is equivalent to saying that he is his form, his mind, his logos, his name etc. (55:3-14-66:5-29), that is, his manifestation as comprehensible. That the Church in turn is the Son's essence I take to mean that it represents the aspect of plurality of the divine essence; the Son's qualities are innumerable.

58:37. For the construction $\omega\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \tau\epsilon\psi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\lambda\alpha \tau\epsilon$ cf. 61:8-9; probably a participle of εἶναι was in the Vorlage.

58:38. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\psi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\lambda\alpha \tau\eta$ is the Relative Perfect II; cf. Stern § 422.

59:1. The restoration of $\kappa\alpha$. is not well motivated by the context and is also rather long. Better in these respects would be $\chi[\epsilon \tau\omicron\psi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\iota\lambda\alpha \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon]$, but any restoration must remain conjectural.

59:1-6. This may mean either that the Church is pre-existent, eternal etc. like the Father and the Son (cf. 58:14-18), or that the Church is nothing but the attributes of the Father which he glorifies himself as

having when objectifying himself as the Son. ΔΙΛΘΕCIC is previously used in the former sense (58:14-15), ΔΡΕTH in the latter (53:10). The latter interpretation is preferable because διδάθεσις probably more easily than ἀρετή is applicable in both contexts, because this sentence explains why (ΧΕ) the Church is the essence of the Son, and the essence very plausibly is equivalent to the divine attributes, and finally because this interpretation seems to be presupposed by the following argument, ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕΕI; the aeons are innumerable because the divine qualities are so.

59:6. CKH MMΞ[Υ] (Emmel).

59:8-11. In the Valentinian systems reported by the Church Fathers, and in ValExp, there are several generations of aeons, younger groups of aeons are generated by the older ones. There the generative process is equivalent to the derivation of ideal numbers (8, 10, 12, 24 [Marcus], 30; in ValExp also 100 and 360). This is not the meaning here (pace Ka. I 323-25); the generated aeons are infinite in number. Rather, the idea concerns the infinite fertility of the aeons as the Father's essence.

59:11-13. πολιτεύμα as a designation of the pre-existent Church has good support in Phil 3:20.

59:14. Attridge's restoration $\bar{M}M[\lambda Y]$, with the reference to 68:35, is better than that of Ka., but seems short. (The second M should be dotted.)

59:16-38. The ineffability of the aeons. Being the Father's essence the aeons are as unattainable by human cognition as he is.

59:17-18. $\bar{M}M\lambda\varrho$ is probably to be emended to $\bar{M}M\lambda Y$ because of the parallel $XOOY$ etc. below (WZ). It may, however, also refer to the $\Pi\Omega\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\lambda$.

59:18-19. The subject of this nominal sentence is probably the affirmation made in the preceding sentence.

59:22-25. Cf. 65:35-67:34, 73:8-18, 74:3-5, 124:15-18.

59:24. $\lambda\bar{\rho}$ is not necessarily final, it may also be connected with $OY\bar{\eta}$ $\delta\lambda M$ and parallel with $\bar{\eta}\chi\bar{\iota}$.

59:24-26. "these places" = "this world," cf. Layton, Resurrection, 168. "sown" < $\text{?}\bar{\alpha}$ $\pi\epsilon\varphi\upsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$; possibly with the connotation "rooted." In any case this is the qualitative of $\chi\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau$ (Crum 791a). As was said above (59:23-24) the Church is the $\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\rho}\omicron\varsigma$ of the Father.

59:29. "system": An exact translation of $\sigma\acute{o}\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ here is difficult. A contrast seems to be made between the

σὺστασις of this world (this use of the word is frequent), and that of the transcendent world of the Pleroma ("that place"). For the meaning of ΕΤΕ ΠΕΕΙ ΠΕ cf. Sch. who refers to 76:3-4.25-26, 134:5; TriProt NHC XIII 42:28.33, 49:29-30. According to Attridge there are no traces of letters after ΤΕ, only a line filler.

59:30-37. The text is not entirely clear; it seems that the subject of these nominal sentences is the sum of what has previously been said about the Church.

59:31. ΛΑΗΛΑ: the meaning of this rare word (not in Crum) is clear from the context, although the etymology is uncertain.

59:35. ΛΡΛΥ: read ΛΡΛΥ; cf. Introd. p. 15.

59:37-38. For the abundance see above 53:5-20. Cf. Plot. V 2:1:8-9 οἷον ὑπερερρύη καὶ τὸ ὑπερπλήρες αὐτοῦ πεποίηκεν ἄλλο; and Macrobian Somn. Scip. I 14:6 superabundanti maiestatis fecunditate de se mentem creauit (for the relation of these two texts cf. Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, I 459, n. 2).

60:1-75:17. The formation of the Pleroma.

60:1-15. Introduction: The Father's plan.

60:1-5. The notion of the pre-existence of the aeons within the Thought (for parallels in Valentinianism see note on 60:16-37) is an instance of the merging of Jewish-Christian and Platonic ideas. The Jewish-Christian background is God's salvation plan, in which the names and/or number of those who will be saved are predetermined (Rom. 8:28-30, Eph. 1:3-14; the "book of life" in Apoc.; the "book of the living" in GTr provides a direct link with Valentinianism); the doctrine of the pre-existent Church belongs in the same context. The Platonic background is the concept of the ideas existing within the mind of God, and, more precisely, in a pythagoreanized version where God is both Mind and the Monad, containing the intelligibles, ideas and numbers within him: Macrob. Somn. Scip. I 6:8 innumeras ... generum species et de se creat et intra se continet; Seneca, Ep. LXV 7

haec exemplaria rerum omnium deus intra se habet numerosque uniuersorum, quae agenda sunt, et modos mente complexus est; plenus his figuris est, quas Plato ideas appellat;

Calc. Tim. XXXVIII, 88:4-5 Wasz. omnes in se formas numerosque continere; Moderatus ap. Simpl. In Phys. 231:16-17 Diels τοῦ ἐνιαίου λόγου ... τοῦ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τῶν ὄντων ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιειληφότος; see also Krämer, Geistmetaphysik, 21-29. The word τύπος belongs in the same Platonic context. τύπος is here not a Jewish designation for God as Ka. assumes. Rather, the word is used in the same technical sense as in Philo Op. 20,

Somn. I 62.127, Cher. 49; Clem. Strom. IV 155:2, V 73:3; Proclus In Parm. 930:11ff Cousin; cf. Plut. De Iside 374f; Corp. Herm. II 12; the mind of God is the place (τόπος, χώρα) containing the ideas.

60:3. ΔΕ = ΝΤΕ (Ka.). Cf. Introd. p. 38.

60:5-6. Read [Ν]ΔΙ ΝΧΠΟΥΕ (Sch.). "their" is objective genitive; -ΟΥΕ is the 3. pl. suffix (cf. 59:27, 102:19.26, 128:1; Kahle, Bala'izah, ch. VIII § 19), not a plural ending (thus Ka. I 32). "established": The Coptic is imprecise; in all likelihood the semination of the aeons is meant (cf. 60:29-37). No inconsistency is perceived with the statement that the aeons/the Church are eternal, cf. the use of ΤCENΔ in GTr 27:33 to denote an establishing of the pre-existence of the All.

60:7-8. According to Attridge the correct reading is ΝΧΙ, not λΧΙ (Ka.). ΝΧΙ is, then, to be read as = ΝΔΙ, not as Ν + ΧΙ (Stern § 458). For the conjunction of Will and Power cf. 55:30-35, 57:29-32 with notes.

60:8-9. "direct" (lit. "take hold of"), "bring up": The generation of the aeons is equivalent to education.

60:9. Attridge: Μ[ΠΕΤ]λϣ·ϠϠωΤ. "from ...": less likely "in ..."; restore possibly ϠΤλ "deficiency," or ΕϠΕ "state of ignorance."

60:11-15. For the metaphor of the source cf. 74:5-10 with note.

60:11-12. Restoring ΕΨΥΟ[ΟΠ ΝΘΕ] ΕΤΨΥΟΟΠ· ΜΜΔC.

60:13. Restoring [λΨΥΩΠ]Ξ.

60:16-37. The pre-existence within the Father. A close correspondence exists here with GTr:

60:16-17 cf. <u>GTr</u> 37:7-8	While they were the depths of his Thought ...
60:19-23 cf. <u>GTr</u> 27:22-25	Even though they are within him they do not know him. But the Father is perfect, and knows every room within him ...
60:26-37 cf. <u>GTr</u> 27:34-28:4	I do not say that those who have not yet come into being are nothing. But they exist in the one who will will that they come into being when he wills, in the manner of the time which will come.

There is literary contact here; either one depends on the other, or they have a common source. In much shorter form the doctrine is also found in Epiph. Pan. XXXI 5:3 αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιεῖχε τὰ πάντα, ὄντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ. A particular theory of generation can be

identified here: the Pleroma is brought from pre-existence within the Father to an autonomous existence outside him, a process described in the following main terms:

Inside the Father	vs.	Outside him
Hidden	vs.	Manifested
Unconscious	vs.	Having knowledge (of oneself and the Father)
Existing like a seed or fetus	vs.	Existing to oneself

Central to the theory is also the concept of the Will as the force of the process. Regarded as a theory of generation it bears a remarkable similarity to theogonic notions found in later Neoplatonism, where the derivation of a lower reality from a higher one is sometimes described as an exteriorization from a pre-existence within the cause (Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, I 305-09; especially quoting Proclus and Damascius, but also Syrian and Julian). The same idea is applied by Synesius and Marius Victorinus in their doctrines of the trinity when describing the generation of the Son (ib. I 208-09, 297-304, 358, 471); as Hadot shows they derive from a common source, Porphyry, in a work where he is strongly influenced by, and transmits teachings from, the Chaldaean Oracles. The following particulars may be quoted as points of contact between this tradition and the present Valentinian doctrine:

(1) "the hidden depths (ΒΛΘΟC)" 60:18-19 (cf. GTr 20:18-19, 37:7-8); cf. the Chaldean term πατρικὸς βυθός Proclus In Crat. 57:25 Pasquali etc. = OrCh fr. 18 des Pl.; for Synesius especially Hymn V 27 (Theiler, Chald. Orakel, 10-11); for Victorinus Hymn I 72 profundum (see Hadot in his and Henry's ed. of Marius Victorinus, II 1069-70). (βάθος and βυθός are used indiscriminately by the Valentinians, cf. Hipp. El. VI 30:7 and Sagnard in his ed. of ExcTh, 123, n. 1.) "Hidden" is used consistently in this tradition for pre-existence within the One; Synesius I 233 κρυφίαν τάξιν; II 70 and IV 13 κρύφιον/κρυπτὸν σπέρμα; ἐξ ἀρρήτων πατρικῶν κόλπων, κρυφίας μονάδος; Victorinus Ad Cand. 14:11-12 absconditum, 14:17 occultum, ib. 16:25; Adv. Ar. I 52:45 in occulto, 54:15, IV 15:24-25, 30:29.30; in Proclus and Damascius the κρύφιος διάκοσμος is actually identified with the πατρικὸς βυθός (as a designation of the intelligible triad). In view of the evidence just quoted from Synesius and Victorinus this identification may well be based on the language of the Oracles.¹ The corresponding notion of manifestation (φαίνεσθαι etc.) is also shared; Synesius I 240-41, IV 9; for Victorinus see Hadot in ed. Marius

¹ In his edition of the fragments des Places enters the expression as Chaldaean (fr. 198), whereas Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 78, n. 45, followed by Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, I 306 n. 4, considers the word κρύφιος to be Orphic (cf. in particular the Orphic hymn 6:5). These two derivations are not mutually exclusive, however.

Victorinus, II 1117; Proclus and Damascius use ἐκφαίνεῖν here, see Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, I 306 n. 3-5, 307 n. 7, 308 n. 4; cf. TriTrac 64:4, 69:13.22.33; GTr 20:6, 27:27, 28:5.8, 34:4-5, 37:9.14, 38:4-5, 41:20.35, 43:9.

(2) Both being and not being. In GTr the existence within the Father is qualified as "being" (a) in the sense that it will be realized in the future, and (b) because it is an object of the Father's thought; and as not-being (a') in the sense that it is not yet realized, and (b') because it is an existence without consciousness. TriTrac has practically identical formulations as far as (b) is concerned; for (a) the model of biological potentiality is applied. Argument (a) can be paralleled in Victorinus, Ad Cand. 14:16-20

etenim grauida occultum habet quod paritura est. non enim fetus non est ante partum, sed in occulto est et generatione prouenit in manifestationem ὅν operatione quod fuit ὅν potentia.

This illustrates to Victorinus one of the four modes of not-being enumerated in 4:1-5, namely that juxta nondum esse, quod futurum est et potest esse. The division as well as the example of biological potentiality derive from Victorinus' source, Porphyry, who must here be reporting a Platonic school tradition which adapts Aristotle's classification of non-being, in which potentiality is listed as one class (Methaph. 1051a34, 1069b27, 1089a26; cf. Hadot, I 168).¹ Argument (b) seems

to be a more peculiarly Gnostic interpretation of the potentiality-actuality concept, but cf. nevertheless Victorinus Adv. Ar. IV 23:33-34 erant quidem haec, sed nondum animaduversa, nondum nominata (cf. GTr 27:28-29).

(3) In the tradition stemming from Porphyry's exegesis of the Oracles, generation is described in accordance with the triad Father (or One, or Existence) --Power (or Will, or Life)--Mind (Hadot, I, ch. V, esp. 297-312; 469-74). The second member of the triad regularly represents the moment of exteriorization, procession, movement and otherness; historically it derives from the $\delta\upsilon\tilde{\nu}\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$ of the Oracles. Similarly the Will = the Power represents the agent of exteriorization etc. in the Valentinian texts mentioned (see further note on 55:30-35 above).

Porphyry is the source of these notions in later Neoplatonism. Whether he in turn took them over en bloc from the Oracles cannot be conclusively decided. In any case they seem to presuppose Middle Platonic theology: the first principle contains the intelligibles. It appears, then, that Porphyry's Middle Platonic source has definite affinities with this group of Valentinian

¹ Other instances of the use of the category not-being according to potentiality for the existence of the All within the first principle are Corp. Herm. X 2, and Plot. V 2:1:2 (Hadot, I 169 n. 4-5); thus the notion existed in Middle Platonism.

documents, and vice versa. It may be possible to determine further the kind of Middle Platonism involved: Hadot has already directed attention towards the fact that in some forms of Neopythagoreanism the monad is conceived as a seminal logos, which, by implication, contains everything within itself in a condition of potentiality (Hadot, I 311-12). In fact, the Neopythagoreans frequently used embryological metaphors as well as a Stoically inspired logos-concept in their thinking about the monad. In addition to the texts cited by Hadot (Moderatus ap. Simpl. In Phys. 231:6ff Diels ὁ ἐνιαῖος λόγος; Nicom. Introd. Ar. II 17:8 ἡ μονὰς δυνάμει σφαιρική κτλ.; Iambl. In Nicom. Ar. 10:12-13 Pist. ἔκτασιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν τῶν ἐν μονάδι σπερματικῶν λόγων; [Iambl.] Theol. Ar. 1:9-10 de F. τῆς πάντα δυνάμει περιεχοῦσης μονάδος ... μήπω ἐνεργεῖα ἀλλ'οὔν σπερματικῶς) one may quote Theol. Ar. 4:18 σπέρμα συλλήβδην ἀπάντων (cf. the texts cited by de Falco), ib. 13:16 οἷον γένεσις τις ἀπὸ λόγου σπερματικοῦ; Anatolius, 29:12 Heiberg γονή, ὕλη οὔσα τῶν ἀριθμῶν (cf. Mart. Cap. VII 731 seminarium); Nicomachus ap. Phot. Bibl. 143a24 Bekker λόγος σπερματικῆς (see also Krämer, Geistmetaphysik, 346-48). Both Porphyry's source and these Valentinian texts are clearly indebted to this kind of thinking about the monad; this is given additional corroboration by the terminological agreement in TriTrac 60:34-37: the pre-existence of the aeons is like that of a λόγος existing ^κ σπερματικῶς (> 2N OYMN̄TCΠEPMΔ).

It must be added that the notions contained in this passage do not exclusively constitute a theory of generation, but also contain a soteriological myth. Generation prefigures regeneration: The state of unconsciousness and not-being within the Father also expresses the condition of the spirituals who have not yet attained gnosis; exteriorization and manifestation means formation and the attainment of true being on the soteriological level. This soteriological aspect is lacking in the Porphyrian tradition and seems to be peculiarly Gnostic; it probably explains the emphasis on knowledge referred to as argument (b) under (2) above.

The question arises how the other Valentinian documents relate to this theory in GTr and TriTrac. It seems that other texts, with the exception of Epiphanius' Lehrbrief, avoid the implication that existence within the Father involves imperfection. On the other hand they retain the notion that the Pleroma is only perfected during a gradual process of learning. The main difference seems to be that TriTrac clearly distinguishes three stages of this process: (1) Potential existence within the Father, (2) the "first form": existence, and perception of the Father's existence, (3) perfection, and knowledge of the Father's essence; whereas in Iren. and Hipp. only the equivalents to stages (2) and (3) are emphasized. On the other hand GTr emphasizes stage (1) but does not appear to make the distinction between (2) and (3).

60:35. $\lambda\eta\kappa\eta$: Present II; predicate $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ OYM. "it":
sc. the logos.

61:1-28. The first form.

61:1-2. $\bar{\rho}$ $\omega\lambda\rho\bar{\pi}$ $\bar{m}\bar{m}\epsilon\gamma[\epsilon]$ "provide": probably
< $\bar{\kappa}$ $\pi\rho\nu\nu\sigma\epsilon\bar{\iota}\nu$ (cf. Introd. p. 21); not "first thought"
(Ka., Attridge). The concept of Providence is not
alien to Valentinian soteriology, see Iren. AH $\bar{\iota}$ 5:6
and Valentinus in Clem. Strom. II 114:6. Providence
is closely related to the Will (cf. 60:6ff, 66:20-22),
as in Middle Platonism and Stoicism. For the
difference between the Gnostic and the Neoplatonic
views on Providence, see Plot. II 9:16:15ff.

61:2. Probably supply < $\bar{\nu}\delta\bar{\iota}$ > $\pi\bar{\iota}\omega\tau$ (Ka.), or read $\pi\bar{\iota}\omega\tau$
as extraposed.

61:6. "thought-substance," possibly < $\bar{\kappa}$ $\nu\sigma\eta\tau\eta$ $\sigma\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha$;
cf. Alb. Didask 169:20 (from Plato Tim. 35a); Atticus
ap. Eus. Praep. Ev. XV 7:6, 13:2; Corp. Herm. XVI 6.

61:7-13. Both the seed and the first form represent
a capability for an initial level of knowledge--as
becomes clear in the following, perception of one's
own and the Father's existence (as opposed to essence).
As becomes clear in 65:4-17 the "first form," the seed
and the name are the Son. The notion of the "first

form" is consistent with the metaphor of the Father as a womb, which dominates the context; the term refers to a certain stage in the development of the embryo; cf. Galen XVIII A. 236:12 Kühn τὴν πρώτην τοῦ κυήματος ἰδέαν; also <Porph.> Ad Gaurum II 2 (35:3 Kalbf1.) ὅταν πλασθῆ ἄρτον; this refers to the stage in which the embryo may be called παιδίον in Hippocratean terminology (cf. Festugière, Révélation, III 268 n. 2, 224 n. 1; E. Lesky in RAC IV 1237-38). Heracleon, ap. Orig. In Ioh. II 21, speaks of a πρώτη μὀρφωσις (Ka. I 326) of that which is sown by the Father. Here the Logos, unlike TriTrac, is the provider of form; the lack of context for the fragment makes its interpretation hazardous. The notion of the seed is less consistent with the metaphoric context; in 60:31-32 the aeons themselves were compared to a seed. Such inconsistency is not significant; cf. VigChr 34.365-66. Also see note on 61:24-28. For the use of embryological metaphors in regeneration soteriology see Festugière, Révélation, IV 220-24; also Clem. Paed. I 48ff.

61:8-9. For the awkward nominal sentence, cf. 58:37.

61:11. ἀγ[†].

61:12. I restore ἀΤΡΟΥΜ[ΜΕ ΧΕ].

61:13. "who the Father is": this is probably an

erroneous translation of some such expression as (ὅτι) τις ἔστι πατήρ "(there is) a father"; the "first form" involves knowledge of the Father's existence, but not of his essence.

61:14-18. Receiving name and acquiring form are associated also in ExcTh 31:3 and GTr 27:15-31. The rationale of this association is not evident; perhaps its Sitz im Leben is to be sought in the "seal." The seal leaves a shape as well as marks what is sealed with a name, cf. ExcTh 86, and in general G.W.F. Lampe, The Seal of the Spirit, 247-60, 284-96. The name is often connected with existence: GTr 27:29-31, 39:11-16, 40:4-9; 1 ApocJas NHC V 27:8-12; ExcTh 31:3; this derives from Ex. 3:14; cf. also below, 65:8-10. In the present context the association of name and existence is given a peculiar turn, as existence is here contrasted with essence. The voice has several connotations in gnosticism; the awakening call, the summons, the call which brings to life, the revealing voice; for documentation see TWNT s.v. φωνή (O. Betz) F. Here the main emphasis is on the revelatory aspect: the voice reveals the Father's existence but not his figure; cf. Betz 273:38-40, 293:21-29; further ApJn NHC II 14:13ff.

61:18. Reading $\bar{\text{M}}\Pi\text{TPOY-}$ as = Standard Sah. $\text{2}\bar{\text{M}}\Pi\text{TPOY-}$ (Attridge), alternatively "as their being," or "as

their coming into being."

61:18-24. The construction of this passage is uncertain, due to $\epsilon\text{NT}\lambda\varphi\lambda\beta\epsilon\omega$, which may be either Relative Perfect I or Perfect II; in the former case $\pi\text{P}\epsilon\text{N}$ must also be the subject of $\epsilon\varphi\omega\omicron\omicron\pi$, in the latter not necessarily so. Further, $\lambda\beta\epsilon\omega$ would normally be the qualitative of $\omega\beta\bar{\omega}$, and the construction with Perfect irregular. A grammatically correct text does not seem possible without emendation; best is $\epsilon\text{NT}\lambda\varphi\lambda\omega\bar{\varphi}$ "which he called." But $\pi\lambda\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ is the likely subject of $\epsilon\varphi\omega\omicron\omicron\pi$, thus $\epsilon\text{NT}\lambda\varphi$ is probably Perfect II and it seems preferable to allow the grammatical irregularity. Cf., although in a different context, Iren. AH I 14:4 $\phi\omega\nu\eta\nu\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu\ \xi\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ (\text{sc.}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma),\ \tau\eta\nu\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\nu\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$; similarly ExcTh 43:1.

61:18-19. $\chi\epsilon\ \dots\ \Delta\epsilon$: perhaps $\langle \text{X} \delta' \omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu} \rangle$, answering to $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ in line 14.

61:22. "what (it) needs" $\langle \text{X} \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\epsilon\iota\alpha \rangle$; the word is technical in embryology, cf. Kalbfleisch's index to Ad Gaurum s.v. $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\eta\varsigma$.

61:24-28. The distinction between knowing the existence and knowing the essence of God, or the gods, is (as was remarked by Ka. I 328) a traditional philosophical theme; the material is collected in Theiler,

Vorbereitung, 142ff, and Festugière, Révélation, IV 6-17, who thinks it was first used by the Sophists. Sometimes it has an anthropological form: all men have an innate notion of the existence of divinity, but its nature must be learned. At other times the distinction represents philosophical method: first the existence of a thing must be assured, then its essence may be studied. These usages explain both the metaphor of "sowing a thought" 61:7-8 (corresponding to the πρώτη ἔννοια; Festugière, 10), and the notion of successive stages. The stage of knowing the existence, the "first form," corresponds to the episode described in Iren. AH I 2:1: Silence prevents the Only-begotten from giving the aeons knowledge of the Father, because they are to attain this through their own searching; the same basic idea is found in ExcTh 29 (on this text see Festugière, VigChr 3.196-98; and Révélation, IV 76).

61:25. ΟΥΛΕΕΤῲ: The same applies as in 52:34.

61:28-62:5. The ultimate formation.

61:30. The correct transcription is ΕΤΕ ΜΠΕϷ-. C(ΩTῄ "hear" gives little meaning in the context, since one expects a verb meaning "intend." Perhaps C(ΩTῄ ...

ϷλΒΟΛ < ἐξακούειν, or C(ΩTῄ < [⊗]ἐννοεῖν, in the sense of "intended," but more probably the text is corrupt.

61:31. Unless one accepts the derivation from ἔξακούειν, $\Psi\lambda\text{BOA}$ must go with $\Psi\chi\text{ΠE}$.

62:1. No restoration can be made with confidence. A possibility is [λqP zMAT λqT MPMEZCNEY M].

62:2-5. The ultimate formation is analogous to the moment of birth, when the child sees its parents. That it is only at the moment of birth that the baby acquires a form which makes it capable of knowledge is asserted in ⟨Porph.⟩ Ad Gaurum VI 4 (43:9-11 K.) τὸ δὲ τοῦ πλαττομένου εἶδος κατὰ τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸ τύπωμα, οὐ κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν (the author defends the "Platonic" view that the soul enters the body at birth); thus the embryological metaphor is well founded; the expression "in the light" is also used with consistency, cf. ib. IX 2 (45:20 K.) εἰς φῶς ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς προσελθεῖν. In the source of Iren. AH I 4:1.5 and ExcTh 45:1 the expressions μὀρφωσις κατ'οὐσίαν and μὀρφωσις κατὰ γνῶσιν are used to describe successive formations of the abortion, Achamoth, or the lower Sophia. Although used in a different context, the terms seem to reflect inspiration by the same type of embryological theory as TriTrac.

62:3-4. "in this place": Cf. 59:25-26.

62:5. "in the light" is a double entendre; the

expression is consistent with the metaphor but also alludes to the fact that $\mu\delta\rho\phi\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and $\phi\omega\tau\iota\sigma\mu\delta\varsigma$ are practically synonymous as soteriological terms (Iren. AH I 8:5; Heracleon ap. Orig. In Ioh. II 21; ExcTh 41:3-4); also the light = the Son, 62:33-34. Possibly the author is also inspired by John 1:9.

62:6-33. The All is not perfect from the beginning. The Father has produced the All in a state of imperfection, not out of jealousy, but in order that they may realize the source of their perfection through gradual education." The same question is discussed in GTr 18:36-19:2, where a different solution seems to be offered. The passage has a strong resemblance to the theodicy of Theoph. Ad Autol. II 25, and Iren. AH IV 38: Man was not created perfect from the beginning, but like a child needing to grow. Generally speaking, the conception of salvation history as a process of education and growth is common to the Valentinians and Irenaeus.

62:6-14. The metaphors can be paralleled e.g. in Plotinus, as can be seen from Ferwerda, Signification. Contrast, however, Plot. II 9:17:52-53 $\tau\tilde{\omega}$ δὲ παντὶ οὐκ ἦν ποτε παιδὶ ὡς ἀτελεῖ εἶναι οὐδὲ προσεγγίνετο αὐτῷ προϊόν τι, clearly directed against this kind of doctrine (on the text see Henry and Schwyzer).

62:11. "a shoot": literally "a piercing through" (interpretation suggested by Ka.).

62:12-13. $\text{C}\lambda[\text{N}\epsilon\omega]$ (Attridge).

62:14. Cf. GTr 18:36-37 $\epsilon\lambda\chi\lambda\mu\alpha\ \zeta\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\pi\iota\chi\omega\kappa\ \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\gamma\ \bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau\bar{\nu}$.

62:18. Reading $\zeta\omega\{\tau\}\pi$, which is to be regarded as almost certain; note the contrast with $\lambda\chi\eta\epsilon\gamma$, and Ka. I 16, and above, pp. 15-16, about confusion of π and τ by the scribe.

62:20-21. For the expression cf. e.g. Clem. Strom. V 24:2 $\omicron\upsilon\ \phi\theta\acute{o}\nu\omega\ \dots\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'\ \acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\varsigma$. The theme of God's $\acute{\alpha}\phi\theta\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$ is common in both non-Christian theology, going back to Plato Tim. 29e;¹ and in Philo and Christian writers.² Note in particular its presence in the texts of Theophilus (ib.) and Irenaeus (IV 38:3) already referred to.

¹ See W.C. van Unnik, ΑΦΘΟΝΩΣ ΜΕΤΑΔΙΔΩΜΙ, Medelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van Belgie, Klasse der Letteren, 1971, no. 4 (Brussels 1971).

² See W.C. van Unnik, De ἀφθονία van God in de oudchristelijke Literatuur, Medelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe reeks, 36, no. 2 (Amsterdam 1973).

62:22. $\chi\iota$ = $\bar{\nu}\delta\iota$; cf. above, p. 38.

62:31. The "perfect thought" contrasts with the seminal thought of 61:8-9.

62:32. "beneficent": $\dagger\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\rho}\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\gamma}$
 $< ?^{\text{X}} \epsilon\bar{\upsilon}\bar{\pi}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\iota}\bar{\tau}\bar{\alpha}$ (Iren. AH I 2:6).

62:33-63:4. The Son, being one with the Father, provides form and knowledge.

62:33-38. The Son is both the provider of, and in a certain sense identical with, the perfect form of the aeons: $\nu\bar{\iota}\bar{\delta}\bar{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\mu\bar{\omicron}\bar{\rho}\bar{\phi}\bar{\eta}$ $\tau\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\bar{\iota}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$ ExcTh 31:4; in Iren. AH I 2:5 the Son is the cause of the coming into being and formation of the aeons. Because formation is equivalent to illumination (see note on 62:5) the Son can also be called "light," cf. in particular ExcTh 41:3 $\tau\bar{\omicron}\bar{\upsilon}$ $\phi\bar{\omega}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\delta}\varsigma$ $\tau\bar{\omicron}\bar{\upsilon}$ $\phi\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\kappa\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}$ $\mu\bar{\omicron}\bar{\rho}\bar{\phi}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\varsigma$. Similarly Christ and/or Jesus may be called "light" because they impart formation to Sophia; Iren. AH I 4:1.5, ExcTh 44; ExcTh 34:1, 35:1, 40.

62:38-63:4. The $\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}$ in 62:39 makes one expect a $\bar{\Delta}\bar{\epsilon}$ in the part of the passage lost in the lacuna; thus the general meaning of the passage probably was that the Father is both one ($\bar{\tau}\bar{\eta}\bar{\tau}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}$) with the Son and distinct from him. This also seems to be presupposed by the

following passage, 63:5-17. There is perhaps some consciousness here of the discussion concerning the implication of the ἐξῆλλθον of John 8:42 recorded in Tert. Prax. 22 and Orig. In Ioh. XX 18 (cf. E. Evans, Praxeas, 301-02).

62:39. ΠΕΝΤΑΕΙ: See Introd., p. 40, n. 2.

63:1. [M]ΜΑΥ[seems certain.

63:3. Restoring ΚΑΤΑ [ΘΕ] Ξ[Τ]ΕΡΕΠΟΥΣ[ΕΙ.

63:5-28. Because of his continued transcendence the Father's greatness becomes accessible only through spiritual acts.

63:5-17. Although he is manifested by the Son, the Father remains the way he is; the two being one from one point of view and yet distinct from another; cf. note on the preceding passage.

63:5. "greatness": see note on 52:26; the greatness is what Sophia fails to grasp in Iren. AH I 2:1-2.

63:6. ΕΜΠΛΤΑΥ(Π)Π̄: Circumstantial. "in him," i.e. through the Son, with ΜΜΟΥ as instrumental, or, perhaps, "as himself."

63:7. ΤΑΕΙΕ must be a variant of the fem. noun ΛΕΙΗC
Crum, Dict. 2a; cf. the A form ΛΙΕΙ.

63:8. ΜΜΔϣ: Read ΜΜΔC.

63:10. ΜΜΔϣ: Read ΜΜΔΥ (WZ). Cf. GTr 38:15-16 ΟΥΝ
ΟΛΜ ΝCΕΝΕΥ ΛΡΛϣ (i.e. the Father through the Son) (Ka.).

63:11. Cf. ExcTh 29 ὁ δὲ κατέλαβεν.

63:12-13. Cf. 129:3-5, where the Saviour and the
baptized are represented as wearing one another: thus
φορεῖν here has baptismal connotations; the generation
of the Pleroma is also to be interpreted as a
soteriological paradigm. According to 66:31-32 the
Son is clothed in the aeons. The idea of mutuality
which is expressed in this way is also found in GTr
38:28-32: the Name and the children of the name rest
in one another (cf. note on 53:19-20), also 18:30-31,
19:32-34, 42:26-28; it expresses the notion of
oneness-in-multiplicity.

63:13. Restoring [ΛΥΩ].

63:16. ΝΔΕ is either misplaced, or corrupted from
ΧΕ, or, perhaps, from ΝΔΙ.

63:17-28. The Father is made manifest through hymnic

glorification. Illumination (62:5, 33-34) is attained by mental, or silent (64:8-10), hymnody; this idea is attested above all in Corp. Herm. XIII 15ff (see the study by Festugière in Révélation, IV 241-57), also cf. On8th9th NHC VI 59:26ff, another instance of regeneration soteriology being turned into protology. It seems likely that the idea reflects cultic realities, "sacraments" of regeneration common to Valentinians and Hermeticists; the account of TriTrac mythically transposes ritual practices, the account of the Hermetic tractate is not merely symbolical.¹ This precise notion is not found elsewhere in Valentinian sources, but the idea of glorification is frequent, thus the superior syzygies produce the inferior ones by acts of glorification in Iren. AH I 1:2, while in I 2:6 the Pleroma engages in a collective hymnody in order to give thanks for their instruction by Christ and Holy Spirit.

63:18. "each one": The manifestation of the aeons also implies their individualization; cf. 63:3-4.

63:19. $\varphi\omicron\Upsilon\lambda\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ can only be the Achmimic Conjunctive.

¹ Festugière's view that Hermeticism was not a cultic phenomenon is criticized by Mahé, Hermes en Haute-Égypte, I 54-56.

63:22. Ka reads ΕϞ̄, but the correct transcription is ΕῩ. The form is Present II.

63:22-23. For silent, or mental, hymns and praise see also 3StSeth NHC VII 119:29-30, On8th9th NHC VI 58:20-21.25-26; the notion is found already in Philo Sacr. 3, Plant. 126.

63:26. The subject in ϞϞ̄ΠΕ ΕϞΟΥΑΝ̄ is strictly speaking ΤΜ̄Ν̄ΤΝᾹ 63:24-25. The masc. suffix is perhaps due to ΠΕϞῙῙΕ 63:24, or to the Gk. Vorlage, μέγεθος.

63:27-28. "sing hymns ... in gratitude" is a quotation from Col. 3:16 (2̄Ν̄ †ΧΑΡῙ with p⁴⁶ BD*G al Cl).

63:29-64:27. Those who are manifested are not separate from that from which they have come forth.

63:29-64:2. Ν̄ΔΕ λῩ(ω) Μ̄ΠΡΗΤΕ {λῩ(ω) Μ̄ΠΡΗΤΕ}. Some text must have been lost before Ν̄ΔΕ; alternatively, emend Ν̄ΔΕ to Ν̄ΘΕ. The "wondrousnesses (< ?[⌘] θαυμασιότητες or perhaps [⌘] θαυμασμοί) of the silences" are the eternally begotten Church described 57:23-59:38.

(One should possibly emend to sg. ΤΜ̄Ν̄ΤΚ. for analogy with ΠΛΟΓΟΣ.) The relation between the Church ("the aeons of the aeons" 58:33) and the manifested aeons is here described in terms of the "Stoic" theory of the double λόγος, λ. ἐνδιάθετος and λ. προφορικός; as

Tertullian explains in Prax. 5, logos first exists silently and mentally before it is emitted as speech (cf. Evans, Praxeas, 211). (The notion of Ka. I 329 that the duality refers to syzygies must be rejected.) The Valentinians were evidently much inspired by this theory, either deriving Logos from Mind (Iren. AH I 1:1, 8:5; Hipp. El. VI 29:7; ExcTh 6) or from Silence (Marcus ap. Iren. AH I 14:1-5, see also AH II 12:5), agreeing with other Christians in applying the theory to the exegesis of the Prologue of John. In the present context the theory is used primarily for illustration; the logos term here is not theologically very significant; cf. the use of the word 60:34-37.

63:32. 2̄N̄MICE{CE} (Ka.).

64:1. Perhaps [2E]N̄O[λXE] NE "they are [words]."

64:3. ῥιζαι: Iren. AH I 14:2.

64:5-6. It is probably unnecessary to emend M̄MAY to M̄MAY (thus MPW); cf. 64:24.

64:7-8. Cf. Iren. AH I 1:2 εἰς δόξαν τοῦ πατρὸς προβεβλημένων. Emission is glorification, see also Hipp. El. VI 29:7-30:2.

64:8-15. The manifestation of the logos, the

glorifying aeons, does not imply their audibility, in contrast to the profane understanding of λόγος προφορικός. For silent hymns see note on 63:22-23. "do a work" refers, from one point of view, to ritual, primarily sacrifice: ἐργάζεσθαι/ἔργον is used in this sense both in Judaism from LXX on (TWNT II 633, 642 [Bertram]); also 1 Cor. 9:13), and in Greek and Hellenistic ritual language--it has a particular terminological significance in theurgy (Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, passim, esp. 196 n. 80). Valentinianism, like currents in late Judaism and Hellenistic religion, did reject sacrifice in favour of more spiritual forms of worship (Ptol. Ep. Flora ap. Epiph. Pan. XXXIII 5:10). But the passage not only describes the aeons' form of worship, it also refers to their particular form of acting; their will does not have to be expressed in action in order to be efficient. This seems to be Stoic, cf. Chrysippus ap. Cic. Nat. Deor. III 92 = SVF II 1107

nihil esse quod deus efficere non possit, et quidem sine labore ullo; ut enim hominum membra nulla contentione mente ipsa ac uoluntate moueantur, sic numine deorum omnia fingi, moueri, mutarique posse hanc (sc. prouidentiam) igitur ... efficere posse quicquid uelit

(on this text see Voelke, L'Idée de volonté, 193-94). The Stoic theory of the causation of action is also employed by ApJn NHC II 7:6ff, in a more mythological form.

64:9. "spirits of mind," probably < πνεύματα (⌘) νοερά
(Iren. AH I 7:1).

64:9-10. Restoring ⋅ 2[⌠⌠]⌠⌠ ⌠⌠⌠⌠⌠ ⌠⌠⌠⌠⌠ ⌠⌠⌠⌠⌠ [⌠⌠ ⌠⌠]
(a parenthetical remark).

64:15-27. Just as with the Thought of the Father himself, the intellectual activity of the aeons in their state of perfect formation implies identity of subject, act and object, and this identity is provided by the Son, who is both the capacity within them to conceive, or glorify, the recipient of their glorification, and the glorification itself. There is thus no contradiction between the representation of the Son as the revealer and illuminator who provides this capacity for glorification, and an object towards which to direct it (62:33ff), and as the outcome of the glorification.

The underlying concept is close to that of Iren. AH I 2:6 and Hipp. El. VI 32:1: The Pleroma engages in hymnic thanksgiving by which the aeons are united with one another, and produces a perfect "fruit."
The context, however, is different: (1) In Iren. and Hipp. the hymnody occurs after the restoration of the first Sophia; it is presented as the response of the aeons to their formation, not identified with it.
(2) TriTrac treats as different functions of the one Son what these systems divide between three separate

figures: In Iren. and Hipp. the Only-begotten is the object of knowledge, but Christ (with his syzygos Holy Spirit) is the provider of formation, while the product of the glorification, the "fruit," is given the name Jesus. (3) Finally, the function of this event in the myth of Iren. and Hipp. is to conclude the perfection of the Pleroma, so that the first and archetypal version of the salvation history is brought to completion, whereas in TriTrac the formation of the Pleroma is an ongoing process which will not be consummated until the final restoration of all things.

64:20-21. "that which they hymn": perhaps "that in which they sing hymns." Similarly perhaps "giving glory through it" instead of "glorifying it": Cf. Lampe, Lex. s.v. ἐν A.3.b.i., Ign. Eph. 4:2, Rom. 2:2.

64:21. OYNTĒŲ: Read OYNTĒY (KV).

64:22. For the use of "Son" without the article cf. ExcTh 31:4, Iren. AH I 2:5 end.

64:22-27. See in particular 59:6-16; also 70:19-23.

64:28-65:35. The distinction of the Father and the two aspects of the Son. For the correct understanding of this passage it is essential to identify the referents of the demonstrative pronouns used. Thus

ΠΙΩΤ ΜΕΝ 64:28 is answered by ΠΛΕΙ ΔΕ 65:4; the latter pronoun therefore refers to the Son (as one with the Father and as sown in the thought of the aeons). ΠΕΕΙ ΔΕ 65:17 in turn refers to the Son as revealed. The point is repeated in 65:23ff, where ΠΛΕΙ 65:23 refers to the Son as revealed, ΠΛΕΙ 65:28 to his hidden aspect, and ΠΕΕΙ 65:31 to the Father.

64:29. 890: Present II.

64:31-37. Cf. note on 62:6-33. That vision of God entails destruction is of course Biblical (Ex. 33:20, Isa. 6:5, cf. 1 En. 14:21, etc.).

64:33-34. Ν̄CΕΖΗΤῘ must, from the context here and in 90:12, 118:34.35 and 123:4, be equivalent to § Ν̄CΛΘΗ.

64:34-35. The text is not entirely clear; perhaps ΤΗΡΟΥ is misplaced, or a mistranslation of πᾶσι or ὅλοις intended technically in the original.

64:37-65:4. Cf. 55:35-39.

64:38. "impassibility" < ^κ ἀπάθεια; this notion is originally Stoic, but was adopted by Philo, Christian theologians, and Neoplatonism (Lilla, Clement, 110-11; Lampe, Lex. s.v.).

65:1. $\omega\omega\omega\bar{\eta}$: This hybrid probably reflects a confusion between the uses of $\bar{\eta}$ -, $\bar{\eta}\eta$ = as a preposition and to introduce the object, possibly committed by a scribe not quite familiar with this double usage typical of Achmimic.

The remainder of the line I restore $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ [$\epsilon\eta\omega\omega\omega\eta$
 $\bar{\eta}$]/ $\lambda\tau\omega\epsilon\chi\epsilon$.

65:4-11. $\zeta\lambda$ [γ] $\bar{\eta}$ $\lambda\beta\lambda\lambda$ "extended" < $\bar{\eta}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$;
 $\eta\lambda\pi\epsilon\omega$ = "spread" < $\bar{\eta}$ $\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$, cf. ValExp 23:30; these words are used (together) by the Sabellians and Marcellus of Ancyra to describe the relation between the Father and the trinity (esp. [Athanasius] Adv. Ar. IV 13; cf. Lampe, Lex. s.vv.). As the illustration used shows (a monad extending and spreading itself, without division, to a triad) these are Pythagorean concepts (see also the passages from Greg. Nyss. and Dion. Alex. quoted by Lampe). This is easily confirmed by Pythagorean sources: $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ [Iamblichus] Theol. Ar. 13:16-17 de F., Iamblichus In Nicom. Ar. 10:12 Pist., Moderatus ap. Simpl. In Phys. 231:20.23 D., also Proclus Elem. Theol. § 128 Dodds; $\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ e.g. Nicom. Introd. Ar. II 7:3. The words are ordinarily used to describe the movement from the monad towards multiplicity. Thus $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ is associated with the dyad Sextus Empiricus X 277

τοῦ μὲν ἑνὸς ἀεὶ περατοῦντος, τῆς δὲ ἀορίστου
 δυάδος δύο γεννώσης καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον πλήθος

τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς ἐκτεινούσης,

also in Moderatus loc. cit; but also the monad itself can be said to extend itself, thus also Ps.-Clem. Hom. 224:34 *κατὰ γὰρ ἕκτασιν καὶ συστολήν ἡ μονὰς δυὰς εἶναι νομίζεται*; ib. 234:18 *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰς ἄπειρον ἕκτασιν*. Consequently TriTrac conceives of the formation of the Pleroma on the model of the Pythagorean derivation of number, the Son providing both the outward movement of extension and plurality connected with the dyad in the Academic-Pythagorean tradition (*ἐκτείνειν* in this sense is used of Sophia in Iren. AH I 2:2, 3:3), and the formative function characteristic of the mind-monad ("he who has given firmness" etc.). This is structurally and historically akin to Plotinus' concept of the emanation of Mind, with its two moments of procession and conversion (cf. e.g. Krämer, Geistmetaphysik, 312-14) (but Plotinus did not use the word *ἕκτασις* and probably rejected it, V 3:12:33.)

"firmness" (65:7) < [⌘] στήριγμα or [⌘] στηριγμός;
Iren. AH I 2:2.4.5.6, 3:5. In Iren. the consolidation of the Pleroma is the function of Christ and Horos; here the Son takes over that role (cf. note on 64:15-27), but the concept remains the same: the movement towards infinity must be counteracted by a limiting and formative force. This is evidently "Neopythagorean" thinking, although *στήριγμα* seems to be a word from

Jewish-Christian sacramental language (confirmation; cf. below, 128:24-30; Orbe, Espiritu Santo, 299-302; Segelberg, Masbūtā, 152-54; Wlosok, Laktanz, 112 n. 139) rather than a Pythagorean term.

For τόπος and "dwelling-place" cf. note on 60:1-5; after their emission the Son, and no longer the Father, is the "place" of the aeons. The "name" is what the aeons exist in; for the relation between the name and existence see note on 61:14-18. The name is the Father's name, which the Son possesses (a Johannine idea), therefore he is one with the Father and can be given the name of Father as well; in general the Son as the active cause of the generation of the aeons may be called their Father (Iren. AH I 1:1, ValExp 23:36), in which case the term προπάτωρ may be applied to the first principle.

65:10. For the split relative construction cf. Browne in BASP 12.103-04 and 2 ApocJas NHC V 60:17-18 (references by Emmel and Attridge).

65:11-23. Whereas the Father remains impassible (64:38) the Son suffers, i.e. shows compassion with the aeons; cf. the shocked remarks by Clement in ExcTh 30 on a Valentinian statement that the Father suffered by showing compassion towards Silence who desired to know him. On the other hand Origen can say that the Father suffers because caritatis est passio (In Ez.

Hom. VI 6 (ed. W.A. Baehrens, GCS, 33, 1925); cf. Orbe, Espiritu Santo, 193-94). The theological problem shared by Origen and the Valentinians seems to be how to reconcile the notions of impassibility and providence: can the Father be impassible and at the same time desire to generate and provide for his offspring? The distinction of the Father and the Son overcomes this difficulty for TriTrac. But it appears that the idea of passion here also has another aspect; extension and passion are linked together in the account of the fall of Sophia in Iren.; the underlying theory is that the monad represents impassibility (cf. Whittaker, VigChr 32.216-19) whereas the dyad, creating extension and plurality, represents passion (Lydus Mens. I 11 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ... λογικὸν ἐκ τῆς μοναδός ... τὸ δὲ θυμικὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμικὸν ἐκ τῆς δυάδος; ὁρμή ib. II 7, [Iambl.] Theol. Ar. 8:1 de F., Anatolius 31:1 Heiberg). The Son here, by the association of πάθος and συμπάθεια, therefore also seems to represent the aspect of passion in the dyadic extension personified by Sophia in the main system of Irenaeus, although the notion is utilized with different emphasis and implications. Finally we have here also an allegorical interpretation of the passion of Christ; the "extension" also alludes to the Saviour stretching out his arms on the cross; and the cross is often associated by the Valentinians with the delimitation and the consolidation of the Pleroma (Iren. AH I 2:4,

3:1.5, 4:1, Hipp. El. VI 31:5-7, ExcTh 42, Epiph. Pan. XXXI 7:3).

65:11. Restoring $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\epsilon\chi\text{M}[\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}]\text{O}\text{O}\text{N}\ \text{Z}\text{I}\text{C}\epsilon$; the restoration of Ka. is ungrammatical.

65:12. "those who are," cf. 58:21-22.

65:12-17. Cf. 61:7-28; this is the Son in his capacity of provider of the first form.

65:17-23. Cf. 62:33ff; this is the manifested Son.

65:22. "mingling" < $\text{μ}\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$; a favourite word with this author (cf. Ka. Index), but not in Valentinianism in general, it is the name of an aeon in Iren. AH I 1:2.

65:27. For the clothing metaphor cf. 63:12-13 and 66:31-32.

65:35-67:34. The Son as the Father's Name and names. While the Father remains unnameable the Son reveals him, possessing his Name and receiving his doxological attributes. In this section the revealed Son is identified with Primal Man (66:10-12); the following features are also to be understood on the background of Primal Man mythology:¹

(a) The Son is the image of the Father (Gen. 1:26); "the form of the formless" 66:13-14 (cf. Col. 1:15), see also 67:19 ΜΟΡΦΗ, 68:18 "semblance," 68:32 "image," 70:28-29 "his equivalent and his image." In this Gnostic interpretation the image is a revelation.

(b) The Son encompasses the All; this derives from the widespread notion of the macrocosmic-microcosmic character of the Primal Man, represented in Judaism by Adam Qadmon and Philo's heavenly Man (Colpe 413-14); the Gnostic applies the idea to the unity-in-multiplicity of the Pleroma.

(c) The revealed Son consists in the glorification of the Pleroma; this idea seems to be based on the traditional notion, arising from the association of Primal Man mythology and royal ideology, of the glory of Man (Ps. 8:5), or his glorification by the angels (Dan. 7:14, VitaAd 12:1, throne visions in the Similitudes of 1 En.; Philo Op. 136ff, etc.); in e.g. the Bruce Codex this is interpreted in terms of consubstantiality with the aeons (cf. the passages

¹ The more recent literature on the subject is H.-M. Schenke, Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis (Göttingen 1962) (emphasizes the importance of Gen. 1:26-27); F.H. Borsch, The Son of Man in Myth and History (London 1967; quoted below as SMMH) (a more comprehensive outlook); id. The Christian and Gnostic Son of Man, Studies in Biblical Theology, Second Series, 14 (London 1970); Colpe in TWNT VIII 411-18, 478-80.

quoted by Borsch, SMMH, 63).

(d) Also the notion that the Son is the Father's Name may be interpreted against the background of Primal Man/Kingship ideology, naming being part of traditional enthronement ritual; cf. Ps. 2:7, 1 En. 71:14, Phil. 2:9 (Borsch, SMMH, 254); also 1 En. 48:2-3, OdSol 15:8, John 8:28.

(e) Certainly the clothing metaphor (63:12-13, 65:27, 66:31-32, cf. 87:2-3.12-13, 129:3-5) seems to be founded upon enthronement ritual in connection with baptism, enrobement symbolizing the status of the reborn man (Borsch, SMMH, 185, 249 n. 2; Segelberg, Maṣbūtā, 115-30, 166, 173; Reitzenstein, Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen, 42-44). The connection with Gnostic Primal Man mythology is clear e.g. in the Hymn of the Pearl, where the robe symbolizes the perfect Man status which the soul must leave when descending to the world, and which it puts on when reascending. That the Son here is clothed in the Pleroma is explainable on the background of the cosmic character of the robe, which derives from sacral kingship ideology and practice combined with the macrocosmos-microcosmos concept of the Primal Man (cf. Widengren, Religionsphänomenologie, 381-83, 495-97, with references).

(f) "dawned forth" (< [⌘] ἀνατέλλειν) 66:6 ~ describes the revelation of the Son by the metaphor of a sunrise; both the idea and the word belong in

a messianic context (see Borsch, SMMH, 109 n. 1, 172, 224; also cf. OdSol 15). Here the idea is interpreted also to imply a process of emanation.

The interpretation of the Pleroma as the Primal Man is not alien to Valentinianism. It is attested that Valentinus himself regarded Adam as a copy of a pre-existent Man (Clem. Strom. II 36:4). Although this fragment does not make clear how Valentinus saw the relationship between Man and the Pleroma, the expression ὁ ἐν πληρώματι ἄνθρωπος used by Clement ib. 38:5 shows that Clement understood the two as co-extensive, and this interpretation must derive from his direct knowledge of Valentinian ideology. In all the systems reported by the Church Fathers, as well as ValExp, Man is the name of one of the aeons. However, the spiritual Man inserted by Sophia into the creature of the Demiurge is often said to be produced by her on the model of Jesus and his attendants, who manifest the Pleroma (cf. Iren. AH I 4:5, 5:6; ExcTh 21:1). Thus Jesus performs the function of Archetypal Man: he shows himself to Sophia; he is a single person, while he is at the same time accompanied by the archetypes of each individual spiritual man (also cf. ExcTh 35:1), or incorporates them (ExcTh 36, 41; Iren. AH I 3:3); he is the "fruit" of the united glorification of the Pleroma; he is light (ExcTh 41, see also note on 62:33-38); thus the figure of Jesus in these systems retains many of the characteristics of the Primal Man

conception which is found in a seemingly more primitive form in TriTrac. Cf. further 90:31-91:6 below.

66:1. {H ΕΥΦ ΝΟ[ΕΙ Μ]ΜΑΥ} (Ka.).

66:2. ΕΥΕΙΝΕ: Present II.

66:3. The metaphor of the "trace," combining the notions of imperfect image and divine guidance is also found in GTr 37:25 and in Plotinus (Ka.); in fact Plotinus frequently says that the lower hypostases possess a trace of the higher ones, cf. Aubin in RSR 41.357, 362, 369; the word also occurs in Clem. Paed. I 98:3 and Strom. I 4:3, thus it is Middle Platonic.

66:13-29. This passage is styled like a hymn, the six first parallel verses ringing the changes of the theme of the First Man as the image of the Father; the next thirteen verses describing his qualities, by which he dwells in the Pleroma. The style, recalling traditional aretology, reflects and underlines the all-pervading and all-embracing character of the Son as the Primal Man, as well as the fact that he receives the doxological names of the Father. (Similar in several respects is the section GTr 23:18ff, describing the Logos as the totality of the powers of the Father and revealing him.) The hymn may be tentatively retranslated thus (the words, or parts of words,

preserved in the Coptic are underlined):

- ἡ μορφή τοῦ ἀμόρφου
 τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀσωμάτου
 τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀοράτου
 ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἀνερμηνεύτου
 5 ὁ νοῦς τοῦ ἀνοήτου
 ἡ πηγή ῥυεῖσα ἐξ αὐτοῦ
 ἡ ῥίζα τῶν πεφυτευμένων
 ὁ θεὸς τῶν (προ)κειμένων (?)
 τὸ φῶς ὧν φωτίζει
 10 ἡ θέλησις ὧν ἠθέλησεν
 ἡ πρόνοια ὧν προνοεῖ
 ἡ σύνεσις ὧν ἐποίησε συνετοῦς
 ἡ δύναμις ὧν διδωσι δύναμιν
 ἡ συναγωγὴ τῶν μεθ' οἷς συνάγεται (?)
 15 ἡ ἀποκάλυψις τῶν ζητουμένων
 ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τῶν ὀρώντων
 τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν πνεόντων
 ἡ ζωὴ τῶν ζώντων
 ἡ ἔνωσις τῶν μιγνυμένων (?)

Comments: (1) μορφή refers to the theme of Gen. 1:26; the selection of this word, rather than εἰκόν, is determined by the contrast to ἀμόρφου. (2) σῶμα, parallel here to μορφή and πρόσωπον, primarily refers to revelation and is probably not terminologically significant. (3) πρόσωπον : cf. Lampe, Lex. s.v., I.B.2. (6) Cf. ValExp 23:18-19 ΟΥΠΗΓΗ] ΕΣΒΕΒΕ. The Father is referred to as "spring" above 61:11-15, but the Son may be given this name as well, just as he can also be called "Father" (cf. note on 65:4-11 end). (8) "lie down" in the sense of "prostrate oneself"?, cf. Lampe, Lex. s.v. κεῖμαι 2.a. (14) συναγωγὴ is a

normal Vorlage for C(OY2 E2OYN; that of CΛ2OY
 (= CΛOY2) λ- is difficult to determine, since the few
 attestations of this construction translate different
 Gk. words (Acts 21:18, Subachmimic John 18:20, also
 cf. 2 Th. 2:1).

66:29-67:34. The Father, even as he is revealed in
 the Son, is indivisible and immutable and knows himself.
 The unity of the Name and the names is now described
 in philosophical terms: Each of the aeons-names not
 only forms part of the Son-Name but is itself the
 Son-Name; therefore "the Pleroma is indivisible,
 immutable and a mind which knows itself. The same
 ontological notion is attested in Iren. AH I 2:6, 14:5;
 cf. also Müller, "Beiträge," 179-84. The concept is
 very similar to the unity-in-multiplicity of Plotinus'
 Mind (e.g. III 8:8:40-45, V 8:4:4-11). Without
 prejudging the question of the origin of this principle
 "all is in all" in Neoplatonism, it must be pointed out
 that the present passage has strong connections with
 the theology of Aristotle; the First Mover is
 incorporeal, indivisible, immutable and self-thinking.¹
 Aristotelian influence has been noted above, notes on
 52:6-53:5, 55:3-27; probably most of this influence

¹ See the summary in E. Zeller, Die Philosophie der
 Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung, 6th. ed.
 (Leipzig 1919-1923) II/ 2, 362-67.

derives from a single, Middle Platonic, source.

66:29-34. $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{2}\text{PHI} \bar{2}\bar{\text{M}} \text{PIPE}\langle\text{N}\rangle \bar{\text{N}}\text{OY}\omega\text{T}$ must go with $\text{EY}\omega\text{OON}$. Cf. 67:28-29. In the Coptic $\text{C}\text{E}\text{M}\text{OY}\text{T}\text{E}$ is the main verb of the sentence, and $\text{EY}\omega\text{OON}$ subordinate; it is tempting to think that in the original text the opposite may have been the case. "the single one" is the Father, who is also the one referred to as "he" in the following; the Father, however, as revealed as a unity-in-multiplicity in the Son. The closest parallel to the notion that the Pleroma as a multiplicity is united in the Name, is found in Marcus, Iren. AH I 14-16; cf. Sagnard in his ed. of ExcTh, 217ff. For the unutterable quality of the Name cf. ExcTh 31:3 $\delta\text{νομα } \acute{\alpha}\text{νωνόμαστον}$; also ib. 26:1b; the Name is the unitary and hidden aspect of the Son (cf. 65:4-17, 28-31) by which he is united with the Father.

66:35. "in unification(?)": No certain interpretation exists of the expression $\lambda\text{Y}\langle\lambda\rangle$. It also occurs in NHC II 28:14; there the translation of Krause and Labib "Gegenstand des Spottes" (adopted by Westendorf s.v. $\langle\omega\rangle$) must be rejected if comparison is made with the present passage. $\langle\lambda\rangle$ is probably related to $\langle\omega\rangle$ "make, be equal."

66:37-67:7. I suspect that this passage is a quotation from a philosophical source, the words $\text{OY}\Delta\text{E} \dots \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\Delta\text{Y}$

66:38-39, and ΟΥΔΕ ... ΜΜΔΥ 67:2-4 having been added by the author in order to make a closer connection with the Valentinian concept of the Name and the names.

66:37-38. Incorporeality and indivisibility imply one another mutually, cf. Albinus/Alkinoos, Didask. 165:30-166:1 H.; Aristot. Metaph. 1073a6-7 ἀμερῆς καὶ ἀδιαίρετος. The text from Didask. is related to Aristotle's De Philosophia; cf. M. Untersteiner, Aristotele: Della filosofia (Rome 1963) 205-07, and above, note on 52:6-53:5. The indivisibility of the Name is accepted Valentinian doctrine, cf. ExcTh 31:4, 36:2.

66:39. The irregular looking forms ΕΝΤΑΨΩΟΟΠ here and ΕΝΤΑΨΟΕΙ in 67:3-4 are best regarded as spelling errors, see Introd. p. 57.

67:1-6. For the transition from indivisibility to immutability cf. Didask. 165:33-34 μέρη γε μὴν οὐκ ἔχων ἀκίνητος ἄν εἴη κατὰ τόπον καὶ ἀλλοίωσιν κτλ.; Aristot. Metaph. 1073a11 ἀναλλοιωτόν. The style and content are reminiscent of Plato Rep. 380d ἄλλοτε ἐν ἄλλαις ἰδέαις, τοτὲ μὲν ... τοτὲ δὲ, the same passage which inspired Aristot. De Phil. fr. 16 Ross.

67:5. ΛΚΕΡΗΤΕ: Read probably ΛΚΕΖΛΤΕ.

67:7. "he is ... whole": lit. "it (or: he) is the whole of him," but Gk. probably had a predicative ὅλος. "permanently": possibly "completely."

67:12-19. Cf. note on 55:3-27. The Pleroma in its manifested state is still a self-thinking mind, but this time under the condition of unity-in-multiplicity; although the objects of thought are the qualities of, and are thought by, a single mind, they are also individual minds and individual thought-contents.

67:15. The text is undoubtedly corrupt. The simplest emendation is λΥω <ΕΨΟ>ΕÎ ÑΒΕΛ, not, however, reading ΒΕΛ as a variant of ΒΟΛ: ΒΛΛ (Ka.), but as "eye," cf. ΕΨΝΕΥ below. The conjecture λΥ{ω}ΕÎ ÑΒΕΛ "to see from afar" (VigChr 34.374 n. 47) is not to be excluded, but awkward after ÑΝΙΣΟΜ (one would expect λΤΡΕΨΟΥΕΙ(Ε), or ΟΥÑ ΣΟΜ ÑΜΔΨ λΟΥΕΙ(Ε)). "by which he perceives": literally "for."

67:19-24. This was anticipated in 58:18-22; cf. note in loc.

67:21-22. "inaudible," cf. 64:8ff.

67:23. Read ΕΤΨΧΠΟ ÑΜΔΥ <ÑΜΔΨ>.

67:24. ΝΕ {ΝΕ}. However, comparison with 69:24ff

suggests that ΝΕ may here be a copula, irregularly introducing the sentence ("They are the procreations ...").

67:26. "commands," probably < [⌘]ἐντολαί.

67:30. "speaking," cf. 63:24-25.

67:31-34. 2Ν ΟΥΜΝΤΟΥΕΙ ΝΟΥΩΤ is probably misplaced; it should go with ΕΥΩΟΠ.

67:32. ΕΥΘΑΝΤ̄, following ΧΕΚΛC, must be a misspelling of ΕΥ(N)ΑΘΝ̄.

67:34-68:36. The fecundity of the All. The author now enlarges on the productive aspect of the formation of the All. Since producing the Son they produce themselves, and the Son is a unity-in-multiplicity, the interrelationship of oneness and plurality may now be expounded from the point of view of the productive activity of the All.

67:34-37. "multitude," probably < [⌘]πληθος. This is the innumerable (67:20.23) qualities of the Father, in which and as which the aeons exist. Cf. also 63:5-20. "sameness," possibly < [⌘]ἰσότης. The aeons' perfect formation implies that they exist as an infinitely multiplying plurality and at the same time

as equal manifestations of the Father's substance.

67:37-38. ΝΕΤΑΕΙ: Cf. Introd. p. 40. ΝΤΕ = ΕΤΕ:
Kahle, Bala'izah, ch. VIII, § 27; Introd. above p. 38.

67:39. "the aeons of the aeons," cf. 58:33.

68:1-10. Cf. 59:6-11; this is probably also what the cross-reference in lines 7-8 refers to. The fertility and the innumerability of the aeons imply one another mutually and arise from the infinity of the Father himself.

68:2.3-4. "procreative nature," < [⊗] γεννητικῆ φύσις
or similarly.

68:4. After ΡΩΜΕ ΕΨΧΠΟ a main verb ΣΕΧΠΟ (cf. 59:9)
has probably fallen out by homoeoteleuton.

68:10-11. The aeons produce the image of the Father
(cf. note on 65:35-67:34 (a)), which is the Father
himself in the sense that it is his manifest form,
and in that in their glorification the aeons themselves
are manifested as the Father's substance.

68:12. ΟΥΝΤΕΨ: Read ΟΥΝΤΕΥ.

68:12-13.15-16. "knowledge and understanding,"

< ἐπιστήμη $\text{\textcircled{K}}$ καὶ $\text{\textcircled{K}}$ σύνεσις ; cf. Bauer, Wörterbuch
s.vv.; Ex. 31:2.

68:14. $\lambda\gamma\bar{\mu}\mu\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\ \{\lambda\gamma\bar{\mu}\mu\epsilon\ \chi\epsilon\}$ (Ka.).

68:15-17. "the knowledge and the understanding of
the All," i.e. the Father's Thought.

68:17-22. The aeons only manifest the Father when
they glorify in unity, preserving his infinite and
indivisible nature. Cf. ExcTh 32:1 (similarly Clem.
Strom. IV 90:2) ὅσα...οὖν ἐκ συζυγίας, φασί, προέρχεται
πληρώματά ἐστίν· ὅσα δὲ ἀπὸ ἐνός, εἰκόνας. According
to TriTrac as well as other Valentinian sources the
crisis which eventually leads to the creation of the
empirical world consists in the singularity of action
of one of the aeons, which can only produce an
inferior image of the Pleroma (cf. 77:15ff).

68:18. ΠΙΩΤ must be joined with what precedes, as
ΠΕ more naturally goes with ΝΕΥΝΔΕΙΝΕ than is the copula
of a nominal sentence. Emendation, then, is necessary,
either <M>ΠΙΩΤ, <A>ΠΙΩΤ, or ΤΝΤΝ ΠΙΩΤ.

68:20. ΕΝΕΘΕ in the protasis of an unfulfilled
condition is also attested by GTr 18:40.

68:21-22. Ka. I 295 is probably right in suggesting

that some text has dropped out between lines 21 and 22; our translation proposes ΤΟΥΕΙΕ ΤΟΥΕΙΕ· Ν̄/<ΣΟΜ Ν̄>ΝΕΩΝ.

68:22-28. For the unification of the Pleroma in hymnody cf. Iren. AH I 2:6, Hipp. El. VI 32:1. This idea seems in part to be based on the apocalyptic idea (1 En. 61:11; 2 En. 19:6; AscIs 7:15, 8:18, 9:28; Mart. Perp. 12:1) that the angels sing with one voice (Michl, RAC, V 70 and 123; Festugière, Révélation, III 137; Scholem, Jewish Gnosticism, 29-30; Flusser in Abraham unser Vater [Festschrift O. Michel; Leiden 1963] 133-37). Peculiarly Gnostic is the metaphysical concept of unity to which this idea is applied. The "fruit" of the hymnody is the Saviour, who in TriTrac is simply the Son. Original to TriTrac seems to be the idea that the singing of hymns actually produces unity, which provides a psychological explanation for the idea.

68:29-36. This is the same phase in the progression of the All as was described in similar terms already at 64:15-27. The glorification is the Son, image of the Father, but also the All itself; by producing the Son the aeons actually also produce themselves.

68:31. "assembly," < ⌘ συναγωγή or ⌘ συναξίς.

68:36-70:19. The three glorifications, or fruits.

In order to understand the association of glorification and fruit it should be recalled that thanksgiving and praise are frequently substituted for material gift sacrifice in late Judaism and early Christianity (Heb. 13:15 θυσίαν αἰνέσεως ... τοῦτ' ἔστιν καρπὸν χειλέων; the idea is well attested in Qumran, see Klinzing, Umdeutung, 93-98, 158, 218-19; for the expression "fruit of the lips" cf. Hos. 14:3, Prov. 18:20 etc.). This current conception of spiritual worship on the model of the offerings of animal and vegetable products is utilized by the author in such a way that the word "καρπός" acquires a double meaning, referring first, in a generative sense, to the emission of aeons, and secondly to the fact that their emission is equivalent to the activity of glorifying the Father, and that this glorification is a sacrifice.

It is not unlikely that the assumption of Ka. I 333-34 is correct, viz. that the distinction between three glorifications, and fruits, is related to the threefold division of the Pleroma in the Valentinian system of Irenaeus. The ogdoad, the decad and the dodecad of that system, as well as the system of Hippolytus, are all brought forth as glorifications of the Father. Another threefold division, of a Pleroma of 24 aeons into an ogdoad, an ennead and a hebdomad, is found in Marcus (Iren. AH I 14:5). Most important in this context, however, is that both in these systems and in TriTrac the subsequent fall, or passion, occurs

as a result of an inherent property of the third element; in TriTrac through the autonomy of the third glorification, and in Marcus (I 14:5-7) and Hipp. El. VI 30:2.6 because of the imperfect nature of the numbers 7 and 12 respectively (also in Iren. AH I 2:2, of course, it is emphasized that Sophia belongs to the dodecad). The link between TriTrac's version and these numerological ones is provided by Marcus in I 14:7: the number 7 manifests τῆς αὐτοβουλήτου βουλήs ... ὁ καρπός, which can only mean "the fruit of the autonomous will," and proves that Marcus conceived of his threefold division in conjunction with an already existing idea closely akin to that of TriTrac.

68:36-69:10. The first-fruit. Two applications of the term first-fruit are here combined: (a) first-fruit as a sacrificial term, spiritualizingly applied to glorification, cf. PsSol 15:5 (Harris-Mingana) ἀπαρχὴν χειλέων, ConstApost VIII 40, Klinzing, Umdeutung, 96 n. 16; (b) the Pauline use of ἀπαρχή for Christ to designate his prefiguration of redemption and his containing potentially within him the elect; the phrase "a first-fruit of the immortals" in particular appears to be an exegetical paraphrase of 1 Cor. 15:20 ἀπαρχή τῶν κεκοιμημένων. Systematically this ἀπαρχή represents the unitary aspect of the Pleroma, i.e. the Son, and in this respect the term corresponds to the τέλειος καρπός of Iren. AH I 2:6 and the κοινός τοῦ πληρώματος

καρπός of Hipp. El. VI 32 passim. The use of the term "first-fruit" in Iren. AH I 6:1, 8:3 has no direct connection with what is referred to in the present context.

69:1. ΤΔΕΙΟ "tribute," probably < [⊕] δώρημα; cf. Epiph. Pan. XXXI 5:9 τὸ τῆς αἰνέσεως (Holl's ἐνέσεως is unacceptable) ... δώρημα.

I restore ΝΝ[ΙΛΙΩΝ]. The restoration of Ka. is probably too short.

69:4-10. Taking both ΕΛΦΕΙ and Ε[Φ]ΧΗΚ ΛΒΛΛ ΕΦΜΗ2 as subordinate to ΛΦΚΛΟΥ is perhaps not the immediately most natural interpretation of the text (ΕΛΦΕΙ may be Perf. II, as Ka. suggests; ΕΦΧΗΚ etc. may be subordinated to ΕΛΦΕΙ, etc.), but provides the most satisfactory interpretation: In glorification the Pleroma is unified, this is its perfect condition; therefore the fruit produced under this condition is also perfect and a fullness, and it is because of (ΛΒΛΛ ΧΕ 69:4) its perfection that it is called a first-fruit. The perfection of the fruit is also emphasized in Iren. AH I 2:6 τελειότατον κάλλος τι ..., τέλειον καρπὸν τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

69:6. "being (something) perfect and full": sc. the first-fruit.

69:10-24. The second glorification: By glorifying the Father the aeons themselves are glorified; the term "second glorification" seems not to refer to a separate event in the system or to a distinct section of the Pleroma (thus Ka.), but to the fact that by producing the Son as a spiritual sacrifice the aeons also manifest themselves as a multiplicity concorporeal with the oneness of the Son. The striking notion that the Father returns to the worshipper the glory given to him seems to be original with TriTrac. However, the participation of the elect in the glory of God is a common feature of apocalyptic and "early Christian eschatology, and that soteriological aspect of the glorification of the worshippers is shared by TriTrac; as we have insisted repeatedly, the Valentinian protology should be understood as a prefiguration of the soteriology. In fact, the term "second glorification" reappears in the eschatology below, 126:5. The association of glorification and manifestation in the present passage is also derived from apocalyptic language; 1 En. 104:2, Herm. Sim. IV 2, Rom. 8:18-19, Col. 3:3-4.

69:12. In the MS ~~ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲤⲉⲩ~~/ⲚⲧⲚ has been corrected by the scribe by diagonal cancelling strokes over ⲚⲧⲚ (the end of a stroke cancelling the letter is visible) and Ⲛ, and by transforming the second T to C, so as to read ~~ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲤⲉⲩ~~/ⲚⲧⲚ. The resulting text, however, adopted by

Ka., cannot be accepted without emendation. This fact, as well as comparison with 69:16 [Ε]ΝΤΑΥΤΟΤΑΥ, suggests that the model actually read ΩΔΡΕΥ/ΤΟΤΟ (or, irregularly, -ΤΟΤΩ, which would account for the confusion), which gives excellent sense without any emendation. The resulting text is then to be transcribed ΩΔΡΕΥ/ΤΟΤΟ ΜΠΕΛΥ ΛΝΕΤ† ΕΛΥ ΝΕ[Υ].

69:13. "by": perhaps "as."

69:14-17. Facs. shows ΠΔΕΙ [Ε]ΝΤΑΥΤΟΤΑΥ in line 16. The sentence does not appear to be grammatically regular; either one has to supply (or understand) a copula (adding ΠΕ after ΠΙΩΤ [transcribed from Facs.] or reading ΠΕ{ΤΕ} in line 16), or ΠΕΤΕ must be deleted and the whole read as a cleft sentence ("For that which was returned unto them was the cause which ..."). Adding, or understanding, <ΠΕ> seems preferable, cf. the construction in 73:9-10. In any circumstance one should read [Ν]ΕΥΟΥ in line 16 with WZ.

69:17-20. The first glorification seems to be spontaneous, the second arises from reflection on the first one.

69:20. ΧΕΚΛ(Ε, which is followed here by a nominal sentence (cf. above, p. 51 n. 5), here introduces result rather than purpose; cf. Wilson, Coptic

Future Tenses, 4.2.5.

69:20-25. The aeons are the divine glory, which when manifested becomes actively glorifying, separately existing entities; under both conditions, pre-manifested and manifested, the essence of the aeons is the glorification of the Father.

69:24. "producing": ΕΙΠΕ is here not merely "act" (cf. Crum, s.v., II.b.).

69:24-70:19. The third glorification.

69:24-31. The text is not entirely clear: ΝΕ in line 24 has the appearance of the preterit converter, but in that case the copula ΝΕ has to be supplied, nor is the context in the preterit; thus the ΝΕ seems more likely to be an irregularly placed copula. Lines 28-31 may be interpreted as saying that the third glorification is produced by each individual aeon without the participation of the Pleroma as a whole (cf. 69:37-40). The "power" in line 27 just designates this autonomy, as is clear from the parallel formulation in 75:35-37.

Whereas the second glorification is caused by the Father's return of the glory first given to him, the third is caused by the autonomous will of the individual aeon. Again, the third glorification, or

its fruit, is to be understood not so much as a separate number of aeons as an aspect of the Pleroma as a whole: in fact the aeons produce themselves; this is implied by the fact that the fruit is said both to possess and to be produced by autonomy (cf. 74:18-23, 75:35-76:2). In the author's logic there is no distinction in the Pleroma between action and its result, between glorification and glory.

The term τὸ αὐτεξούσιον is frequently used by Christian writers to designate the freedom of the soul to choose between alternative actions (cf. Lampe, Lex. s.v., and in particular Tert. De An. 21:6 where liberum arbitrium first appears as the Latin equivalent), and this is the sense in which it is used by the Valentinians to describe the psychics (Iren. AH I 6:1, ExcTh 56:3).¹ However, in the present context it also has a more basic, ontological significance, referring to a stage of individuality arrived at in the procession from oneness to plurality. This is the critical stage where the multiplicity of the Pleroma may become fragmentation because the autonomy of the individual aeon enables it to act on its own accord --thus this autonomy becomes the cause of the fall of one of the aeons (75:35-76:2). This application of

¹ The term seems to originate with the Stoics, who however, did not apply it in this way but as another name for the ἐφ' ἡμῶν "that which is in our power" (Voelke, L'Idée de volonté, 145 n. 8).

the term is the same as that of Plotinus in some passages where he describes the descent of the souls into matter: the fall of the souls from the intelligible world is caused by the self-centred misuse of their autonomy (τῷ δὲ αὐτεξουσίῳ ... ἡσθεῖσαι V 1:1:5-6; ῥοπή αὐτεξουσίῳ IV 8:5:26; cf. also III 2:4:37). Both Plotinus and TriTrac are probably dependent on a Middle Platonic application of the term: According to Iamblichus, quoted by Stobaeus I 375:10 Wachsmuth, Albinus explained the fall of the soul as ἡ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου διημαρτημένη κρίσις (on this text and its relation to the first text of Plotinus quoted above, see Witt, Albinus, 137-38). In Valentinianism the notion of autonomy as an ultimate outcome of the emission-manifestation process is also attested in Iren. AH I 14:7 (see note on 68:36-70:19) and GTr 41:20-23 (unfortunately ending in a lacuna); thus it is not a late, "catholicizing" trait of TriTrac, as Ka. I 334 suggests.

69:31-37. The text is obscure, but the meaning can be inferred: The first and the second glorifications, or their fruits, both preserve the perfection--i.e., basically, the oneness--of the Father whom they manifest.

69:37-38. "of the third": understand "glorification";

however, "the third" with "the first and the second" of 69:31-32 may also be technical terms in their own right.

69:38. Transcribing $\zeta\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\epsilon\lambda\gamma$ with WZ, Attridge (doubling the $\bar{\nu}$ before vowel).

69:39. "each one of the aeons": cf. Iren. AH I 2:6 $\xi\upsilon\alpha$ $\xi\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ $\tau\omega\bar{\nu}$ $\alpha\iota\omega\bar{\nu}\omega\nu$.

69:41. $\bar{\nu}\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ (sic) Ka.: Read $\psi\psi\omicron\omicron\pi$ Facs. (already conjectured by WZ)."

69:41-70:7. The power (= will) of the individual aeon producing the third glorification is contrasted with that of the Father, which dwells in the first and the second. (One misses, it is true, an adversative particle answering $\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}$ 69:41.) The subject in $\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\psi}\omicron\gamma\lambda\psi\bar{\psi}$ "that which he wills" seems to be $\pi\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ $\pi\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\lambda\iota\omega\bar{\nu}$ 69:39; the phrase probably links up with the mention of the will in 69:39.

70:1. Restoring $[\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}]\omicron\upsilon[\pi\lambda\eta\rho]\psi\mu\lambda$. (Ka. $[\zeta\bar{\nu}]$ -, but space should be allowed for doubling of $\bar{\nu}$.)

70:3-5. For the form of the sentence cf. Till § 248. The predicate probably $\langle \acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\xi\kappa$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\theta'$ ($\xi\upsilon\alpha$) $\xi\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\iota\omega\bar{\nu}\alpha$.

70:6. ΠΕΤΕΟΥΝ ΟΛΑΜ Μ<M>Λϣ (Ka.).

70:8-19. The outcome of the third glorification: a hierarchical distribution of the aeons within the Pleroma.

70:8-13. The paronomastic genitives refer to a succession of entities, or a series: "mind on mind" etc. This form of expression is probably a Semiticism: it is well attested in Rabbinic Hebrew, cf. M. Tsevat in JBL 78.202 and Schäfer, König der Könige, 92-93.¹

70:8-9. "minds" (νόες), cf. 64:6; Iren. AH I 2:6.

70:10. "logoi": ExcTh 25:1, Iren. AH I 14:2.3.

70:9. ΕΥΘΑΝΤ̄̄: Cf. 67:32.

70:14-19. The principle stated here is general, and not restricted to the transcendent world, cf. 54:8-11, 66:4-5.

¹ Although Schäfer, when dealing with the form of the paronomastic genitive where both regens and rectum are in the plural ("fruits of fruits" etc.), concentrates on its intensification aspect, it should be pointed out that it may also contain the notion of a succession, as e.g. in Ps. 72:5 דור דורים "generation after generation" (cf. also Schäfer, 104).

70:19-71:7. The difference of the activity of the aeons from that of the cosmic powers, who also attempt to be equal to the Pleroma of the Father.

70:19-25. Similar formulations already 64:15-27.

70:23. "mutual assistance," possibly < ἰσσοῦνέργεια , expresses well the oneness based on individual autonomy which is the ideal of pleromatic perfection, and also contrasts with the discord and competitiveness of the cosmic powers.

70:24. λPHXNOY : For the infixed N see Westendorf, s.v.

70:24-25. Unlimited and immeasurable emissions, manifesting the unlimited nature of the Father himself, are only possible through a united action which transcends the power of the individual aeon.

70:25-37. The same argument is found in GTr 18:38-40: The Father has no $\varphi\theta\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, because the aeons who manifest him are his own essence (GTr: "his members"), the Father is immanent in their activity, thus the manifestation does not imply a self-alienation of the divinity. The argument here is not that the Father is $\acute{\alpha}\varphi\theta\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ in his nature (which, of course, is also true, cf. 62:20-21), but that the behaviour of the

aeons is of such a character as to not cause any ground for φθόνος. This is in contrast with the presumptuousness which characterizes the activity of the inferior powers.

70:27. Read ΝΕΤ<Δ>ΖΕÎ (Ka.).

70:28. λΤΡΟΥ- must, from the context, indicate cause, not finality (thus Ka.).

70:31-37. Cf. 51:19-52:6.

70:31-32. Read ΠΕΤΨΟΥΔΨΨ <Δ>ΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΥ or ΠΕΤΨΟΥΔΨ ΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟΥ.

70:37. Read Π<ΟΥ>ΤΗΡΨ (Ka.).

70:37-71:2. Transcribe ΕΝΙΡΕΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ· ΕΤΝΔ/ΔΟΥ ΚΑΛΤ' ΜΠΜΔ ΕΤΜ/ΜΕΥ (Attridge; for 70:37 see Facs.). In ΕΝΙΡΕΝ, Ε may be taken either as circumstantial or as second tense converter (with ΖΝ· ΟΥΜ. as predicate).

70:37-71:7. Cf. 79:7-9.29-30, 97:30-32. The statement has a polemical edge: the names which are given by non-Gnostics to the rulers of the world do not authentically belong to them but to the hypercosmic orders they emulate. Considerations about the correct use of names are found in GPhil

§§ 11-13, on this see Koschorke, ZNW 64.307-22.

71:6. "resemblance," possibly < [⌘]ὁμοίωσις.

71:7-35. The Pleroma seeks for the Father. This section corresponds systematically to Iren. AH I 2:1: Immediate knowledge of the Father is withheld

βουλήσει τοῦ πατρὸς, διὰ τὸ θέλειν πάντας
αὐτοῦς εἰς ἔννοιαν καὶ πόθον ζητήσεως
τοῦ ... προπάτορος αὐτῶν ἀναγεῖν. ...
ἡσυχῆ πως ἐπεπόθουν τὸν προβολέα τοῦ
σπέρματος αὐτῶν ἰδεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀναρχὸν ῥίζαν
ἱστορησαί.

Thus TriTrac treats as one and the same thing what the system of Iren. represents as two distinct events in the pleromatogonic myth: viz. the aeons' search after knowledge, which incites the passion of Sophia, and the consolidation of the Pleroma with the concluding thanksgiving hymnody after her restoration. This is closely connected with the fact that the structural equivalent to the fall of (the superior) Sophia in TriTrac is the passion of the Son (cf. notes on 65:4-11 and 65:11-23), as both represent the pleromatogonic principle of emission, with its two moments of extension and conversion; TriTrac does not dramatize the opposition between these two moments in the way that the system in Iren. does with its myth of the fall and restoration of Sophia. Cf. further

the note on 64:15-27.

71:7. σύστημα "system": cf. 59:29.

71:8. "yearning and seeking": cf. Iren. AH I 2:1
(quoted above) πόθον ζητήσεως.

71:12. "blameless," undoubtedly < [ⓧ] ἀπόσκοπος. The author probably wishes to emphasize that this unification, which is copied by practices in the earthly community, is of a spiritual nature; cf. Clem. Strom. III 29:3: The Valentinians have πνευματικῶς κοινωνίας, not carnal ones.

71:12-18. Cf. 62:14-33.

71:13-15. MS: "he manifested himself eternally," but the adverb has clearly been misplaced by the translator.

71:18-23. The Father has provided the aeons' capability for knowledge, and pointed the direction towards it, but being autonomous they must actualize it by their own efforts. The notion that the Pleroma is a school is obviously derived from similar ideas about the earthly church of which the Pleroma is the model. Such a conception of the church as a school of gnosis is typical of Alexandrian theology, cf. Clem.

Paed. III 98:1, and for Origen Koch, Pronoia und Paideusis, esp. 78-89. That the progression of understanding of the school's programme is not distinguished from the hierarchical ranking of the aeons who are the pupils of the schools should not be regarded as an inconsistency: the spiritual sphere does not contain the distinctions of being and knowing, and of subject and object, which characterize the empirical world. It does however imply that the Pleroma is basically a process (of knowledge, directed towards the Father) rather than a static structure.

71:21. "calm," cf. Iren. AH I 2:1 (quoted above) ἡσυχῆ.

71:22-23. "school of conduct" (< [⌘]διδασκαλεῖον πολιτείας) does make sense in the context: the aeons learn to do the will of the Father--but not as a metaphor, as such an institution did not, to my knowledge, exist in ancient education. For this reason I suspect that πολιτείας was corrupted already in the Gk. from παιδείας.

71:23-35. "faith" (< [⌘]πίστις)--"hope" (ἐλπῖς)-- "love" (ἀγάπη)--"understanding" (< [⌘]σύνεσις)-- "blessing" (μακαρισμός)--"wisdom" (σοφία): evidently an extension of the Pauline triad (1 Cor. 13:13 and elsewhere; for Gnostic use of the triad see Conzelmann's

commentary in loc.). Furthermore, the qualification of "faith" is adapted from the definition in Heb. 11:1 (πραγμάτων ἔλεγχος οὐ βλεπομένων), on which those of "hope" and "love" are also modelled. It is interesting to note that "faith" is conceived as a directed process whose terminus is gnosis, and as an indispensable preparation, designed by the divine paedagogy, for the attainment of gnosis--and not as something which is limited by nature vis-a-vis gnosis (cf. the appreciation of faith in ExcTh 56:4 and Heracleon ap. Orig. In Ioh. XIII 10); similarly individual autonomy, the proper use of which faith is, is not a characteristic of inferior natures, although Iren. AH I 6:1-2 mentions faith and autonomy only in connection with the psychics.

71:33-35. "for their thoughts" goes with "a wisdom" (understand "he extended"), not with "desire" (cf. 74:22-23). Note the connection of wisdom and will: wisdom consists in the ability to make proper use of autonomy, by turning towards the Father rather than oneself (cf. 74:20-23, 75:26-35).

71:35-73:18. The Spirit. This is not an independent hypostasis but an aspect, one might say an active aspect, of the Son as immanent in the Pleroma, cf. 66:27-28. In contrast, the systems of Iren. and Hipp., where AH I 2:6a and El. VI 31:3-7 provide the systematic

parallels to the teaching about the Spirit in this section, present it as the syzygos of Christ.

71:36. "the exalted one," perhaps < ⲉ ⲟ ⲉ ⲩⲱⲥⲟⲩⲱⲥ.

71:36-72:1. At first sight this seems to contradict GTr 37:24-25 "his Will is incomprehensible (ⲐⲩⲁⲧⲧⲈⲒⲈⲢⲈⲦⲉⲧⲉⲩ)" (thus MacRae in NHLE), but the following sentence in GTr "his trace is the Will" shows that this is not so after all: In both TriTrac and GTr the Will is the externalizing force which manifests the Father, in such a way that it teaches how to search for him: the image of the trace implies that the Father's transcendent being is nevertheless "unattainable" (which is the correct translation of ⲐⲩⲁⲧⲧⲈⲒⲈⲢⲈⲦⲉⲧⲉⲩ in these two passages); cf. 73:4-6.

72:1-2. The identification of Will and Spirit is not explicitly made in other Valentinian documents. Both are, however, aspects of the Son, cf. 66:20-21.27-28.

72:3-5. For the "thought" cf. in particular 62:30-33 and 65:12-14, and also, but with reference to the "first form," 61:7-11.

72:5-11. The fragrance is a common metaphor for the Spirit both in Gnosticism (cf. Foerster-Wilson,

Gnosis, II 330 s.v. Fragrance) and in non-Gnostic Christian writers (cf. Lampe, Lex. s.v. εὐωδία); see also Ka. I 335-36; Orbe, Espiritu Santo, 379-85. In the present context the fragrance has a meaning parallel to that of the trace (73:5), it is a phenomenon which has no real existence of its own but only as a manifestation of its source (this is a frequent implication in the sources referred to; also cf. Plotinus in Ferwerda, Signification, 134-36); at the same time it indicates the direction in which the source is to be sought.

72:5. For the attractive power of the fragrance cf. GTr 34:12-13.

72:9-11. I.e. the things which one already knows cannot have produced the fragrance, it must derive from an external cause.

ΝΕΞΙ ΝΑ[Τ]ΜΠΩΑ: Dem. pron. + attribute is unusual; cf. Stern § 246 last sentence.

72:11. "sweetness" is technical, cf. note on 53:4-5.

72:13. ἡδονή generally has positive connotation in Valentinianism; it is the name of an aeon in the main Valentinian systems of Iren., Hipp. and the Lehrbrief of Epiph.

72:17-18. "that they should help ..." may be attached both to "gives them the thought" and to "desires." Since the "thought" is the more central concept in the context (cf. 72:2ff) the first alternative seems preferable.

72:19. $\text{C}\lambda\text{T}\epsilon$ must be qual. of $\text{C}\text{I}\text{T}\epsilon$ (Till, "Beiträge," 213).

72:20. "inbreathing," without doubt $\langle \text{ἄλκη} \rangle$; cf. Crum s.v. $\text{Ζ}\text{P}\text{H}\text{O}\epsilon$, and Greg. Nyss. In Cant. 34:17 Jaeger-Langerbeck (quoted Lampe, Lex. s.v.) for the use of the word as a metaphor for the attraction of the Spirit (Gregory in this text also uses the fragrance metaphor). $\text{K}\alpha\text{!}\acute{\sigma}$ "coldness" and note I 336 miss the point. The background is probably the solar pneumatology of the Chaldaean Oracles (Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 186 n. 37, 197 n. 85; Tardieu in The Rediscovery of Gnosticism, I 204); cf. also 86:21-22.

72:21-29. "renewed" (probably $\langle \text{ἀνακαινίζειν} \rangle$) and "formed" (receive $\mu\omicron\text{ρ}\phi\acute{\eta}$) are syntactically parallel, and practically synonymous expressions of the work of the Spirit; this is common Christian language. The parenthesis explains "in an ineffable fashion": unity and silence mutually presuppose and imply one another, speech means fragmentation. The text of lines 26-28 is not quite satisfactory and one may also read

"... silent, for the glory of the Father, about ..." in lines 26-27, and "that which [they] are able to say" in lines 27-28.

72:31. Read ΟΥΝ/ΤΕΥ <ΜΜΔ.ϣ> ΜΜΕΥ.

73:7-8. Spiritual speech is of course silent, cf. 63:22-23 and 64:8-15.

73:8-18. For the Name and the names cf. in particular 65:35-67:34.

73:12-13. "mutual harmony," probably < [⌘] συμφωνία, with connotations of singing ("he can be expressed," "logos").

73:14. "the wealth of the logos": For the term logos cf. 63:29-64:2. Here it seems to refer to the hymn produced by the totality of aeons.

73:18-74:18. The nature of the probolē.

73:18-28. "not ... by way of a cutting off (< κατ' [⌘] ἀποκοπήν or κατ' [⌘] ἀποτομήν), but ... in the form of a spreading out." This is a traditional explanation of the meaning of προβολή in Christian writers; cf. Justin Dial. 61:2 and 128:4 οὐ κατ' ἀποτομήν on the emission of the λόγος προφορικῶς; similarly Tatian Ad Graecos 5

κατὰ μερισμόν, οὐ κατὰ ἀποκοπήν (5:24-25 Schw.); Tert. Apol. 21 nec separatur substantia sed extenditur (on the effluence of spirit); also cf. Iren. AH II 13:4; Orig. De Princ. I 2:6; Orbe, Procesion, 577, 584-603; Wolfson, Church Fathers, 296-97. However, TriTrac is hardly dependent on this tradition; rather, there is a shared dependence on Middle Platonism:¹

ὁ νοῦς ... οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποτετμημένος τῆς οὐσιότητος
τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἠπλωμένος καθάπερ τὸ
τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς

Corp. Herm. XII 1; with this should be compared, as does Scott in loc., Plot. V 3:12:40-45 ὡς ἀπὸ ἡλίου φῶς ... οὐδε γὰρ ἀποτέτμηται τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ .²

73:22-23. Reading [2]ωC ε<OY>NOY2E ... ΠE (Sch.).

73:27-28. "might be as well" not "might become him also" (all translations), $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\lambda\eta$ is a particle here. The Father willed that the aeons should be, just as he

¹ Note also the strong kinship between the image of the light in the passages cited from Justin (who does not make a clear distinction between the principle of no separation, and that of undiminished giving [on which see above, note on 53:13-20]) and fr. 14 des Pl. of Numenius.

² As this therefore is a common theme there is no reason to see the formulation of Justin and his successors as directed polemically against Gnostics, as Wolfson, loc. cit., thinks.

himself is "the one who is."

73:28-74:5. This notion of the present aeon is taken from Jewish apocalyptic; cf. 2 En 65:3 (long recension):

And the Lord broke up the aeon (věků) for the sake of man ... and divided into times, and from the times he established years, and from the years he set months, and from the months days. And he set the seven days, and in them he set hours, and minutely measured the hours....¹

One should not stress the parallelism between "the present aeon" and "the true aeon" here, although the Valentinian Pleroma certainly serves as an intelligible paradigm for astronomical periods and numbers; what seems to have been at the top of the author's mind in the present context was to provide a series of metaphors to describe the hierarchical unity-in-multiplicity structure of the Pleroma, and the notion of time, a continuum which nevertheless is divided, is one such metaphor. The "true aeon" is of course eternal and therefore cannot be divisible in the same sense as finite time. Note also the use of the double meaning of αἰών here: Whereas "the present aeon" is a conventional apocalyptic phrase, what it is opposed

¹ Translation, with slight alterations, from S. Pines, "Eschatology and the Concept of Time in the Slavonic Book of Enoch," Suppl. to Numen, 18 (Leiden 1970) 77-78.

to is not the apocalyptic "future aeon," but the Gnostic interpretation of the word.

73:31. Read {λ2}ΕΝΟΥΛΕΙΩ (Attridge; parallel with ΕΝΡΑΜΠΕ 73:32).

73:36. "moments," probably < ⚡στιγμαί.

74:1-2. "the true aeon"; cf. NHC II, 5, 98:23-24. For the use of αἰών in the singular in Valentinianism cf. Valentinus ap. Clem. Strom. IV 89:6, where κόσμος is opposed to ὁ ζῶν αἰών.

74:4. Read ΠΕ<ΤΕ>ΟΥΝ (Ka.).

74:5-10. Cf. Plot. III 8:10:5-7 πηγὴν ..., δοῦσαν δὲ ποταμοῖς πᾶσαν αὐτὴν, οὐκ ἀναλωθεῖσαν τοῖς ποταμοῖς, ἀλλὰ μένουσαν αὐτὴν ἡσυχῶς; Macrob. Somn. Scip. II 16:23 (applied to the soul as the source of motion) de se fluuios et lacus procreet. The metaphor occurred above, 60:11-15.

74:5. Read ΚΑΤΑ <ΤΑ>ΝΤΝ (Ka.).

74:8. λ2̄ΝΙΡ(Ω)ΟΥ must be accepted (Sch.). However, a spelling indicating initial ī in this word is not previously attested.

74:10. The previously unattested form ΒΛΕΙΕ seems from the context to be a variant of 90:9(ω)Ι (Ka. I 30). Note Černy's etymology for this word in his dictionary: < ? L.E. bzy.

74:10-13. Cf. 51:17-19 and note on 51:8-19.

74:13-18. The metaphor of the human body to describe the unity-in-multiplicity of the intelligible world is used also by Plotinus, VI 7:10, but there is no verbal contact as is the case with the two preceding metaphors. Traditions like the one exemplified by GTr 18:40, that the aeons are the Father's μέλη, and Pauline σῶμα-μέλη soteriology (Rom. 12:4ff, 1 Cor. 12:12ff) may also have inspired the author to this image, but it should be remembered that what is intended is merely a structural analogy (ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΝΤΝ), thus the terminology is not to be stressed.

74:18-75:17. The autonomy and wisdom of the aeons.

74:18-23. The third fruit: 69:24-70:19. The σοφία which is given together with the autonomy I take to be the classical cardinal virtue φρόνησις = σοφία (both terms are frequently used), often defined as the ability of the soul to distinguish good and evil, what to do and what not to do (Aristot. Eth. Nic. 1140a25-27; SVF III 262, 266, 280; Cic. Nat. Deor.

III 38; Apul. De Plat. II 6; Alb. Didask. 182:24, 183:7 Herm.; etc.). This fits excellently with the $\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ as the freedom of action: The aeons have been granted not only the power to act freely, but also the wisdom which enables them to apply their freedom for good. In Platonic thought (cf. already Phaedo 79d) the wisdom of the soul is also its receptivity for instruction, which enables it to ascend to and be reborn by the intelligible; the Hermetic usage of σοφία belongs here (Poim. 29; tractates III 1, XVIII 11, and especially XIII 2, where silent wisdom is the womb from which the Gnostic is reborn [on this see Festugière, Révélation, IV 200ff.]), as well as Plotinus I 2:6-7: wisdom is the highest virtue, by which the soul is turned towards mind. The following section shows that the usage of σοφία here is similar: having wisdom means being able to turn oneself towards a higher level of gnosis in order to be fertilized by it.

74:24-75:10. This passage describes, on the level of the Pleroma, what the Valentinian sources usually call the conjunction or the syzygy; the idea behind this is that the soul is reborn as a spiritual being by being inseminated by gnosis coming from a more advanced figure acting as its partner in a sacred marriage between soul and mind. Such conjunctions regularly exist on all levels: between the individual

aeons in the Pleroma, between the Saviour--or fruit of the Pleroma--and the fallen aeon, between the attendants of the Saviour and the individual members of the cosmic church, and finally between these members themselves in what is sometimes described as the sacrament of the bridal chamber (cf. Foerster-Wilson, Gnosis, II 326 s.v. Bridal chamber). Contrary to the sources used by the Church Fathers TriTrac does not develop a specific system of pleromatic syzygies but restricts itself to stating the principle: The Pleroma is a hierarchy where each aeon occupies a station according to a certain level of gnosis. The individual aeon may, however, ascend to a superior level by willing to glorify the Father together with the Pleroma as a whole or with a more advanced aeon --the emphasis on the will here seems intended to imply both that such an act of worship originates in a free decision proper to the soul, and that, since a silent worship is meant, the internal disposition of the worshipper is therefore all the more important. During this ascent, which is equivalent to a rebirth, the superior aeon plays the role of partner in a sacred marriage and of mystagogue. The passage also conveys an impression of Valentinian community life (which Clement, who also informs us that Valentinus wrote a homily on friendship, says was characterized by their emphasis on κοινότης [Strom. VI 52:3] and by spiritual, as opposed to carnal, κοινωνία [ib. III

29:3]). Communal prayer and the singing of hymns must have been highly valued. Also one gets the impression that an obligation was placed on the more advanced members of the community to share their knowledge with the less advanced, whereas the latter are recommended a discipline of silence--this is the teacher-pupil relationship exemplified by Corp. Herm. XIII: the silence of the candidate for initiation is so to speak the womb which is fertilized by the words of instruction, effecting his rebirth.

74:24. Restoring M[\bar{N} at the end of the line for analogy with lines 29 and 30.

74:25. "that which arises from a union" is the Pleroma, cf. 70:1-3.

74:26. "for words of glorification" is quite uncertain, especially since there is no supralinear stroke over N in N ϵ [λ Y; also from what is left of the papyrus after ϵ it may be doubted that there was any text at all after that letter.

74:28-29. "and whenever ... the All": I take this to be just a different formulation of what has already been said in lines 24-28.

74:32. "degree": Emending to B λ @<M>OC (cf. 70:12-13).

74:35. $\varphi\chi\iota$: The conjugation here and in the following series of infinitives prefixed with φ -, must be Conjunctive because of the presuffixal form of the infinitive used in 75:2.4; the preceding $\varepsilon\iota\text{MHTI}$ and $\varepsilon\iota\text{MH}$ give a further indication.¹ "he": sc. the individual aeon who has expressed this desire.

74:36. Emendation to $\Pi\text{E}\tau\lambda\text{Z}\text{OY}\omega\text{U}\varepsilon$ $\langle\overline{\text{MM}}\lambda\varphi\rangle$ seems unavoidable here because the subject in the series of Conjunctives can only (if the statements made are to give any sense) refer to the lower aeon and not the one in the superior position; consequently the lower aeon cannot be identical with the antecedent (Π -) of the relative pronoun in $\Pi\text{E}\tau\lambda\text{Z}\text{OY}\omega\text{U}\varepsilon$. This also implies an incorrect use of the form $\varepsilon\tau\lambda\text{Z}$ -. Such misuse is not unprecedented, however (Kahle, Bala'izah, 176-77), and another instance can be seen immediately below in 75:9. It is not improbable that these deficiencies in the text are due to misinterpretation of the passage by the translator or a copyist.

75:1-2. The form $\varepsilon\varphi\chi\iota\text{T}\overline{\varphi}$, which violates the Stern-Jernstedt rule, is best emended to $(\overline{\text{N}})\varphi\chi\iota\text{T}\overline{\varphi}$. The meaning of the expression can be seen from 78:18-19, also cf. 79:27.

¹ $\varepsilon\iota\text{MHTI}$ translating $\varepsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \mu\acute{\eta}$ is regularly followed by the Conjunctive in the Sahidic New Testament (Lefort, Mus. 61.163-64).

75:2-7. $\chi\pi\lambda \overline{MN}$:- Crum, Dict. 779b. Inseminated by what comes to him from his more advanced brother the aeon effects his own rebirth and renewal.

75:5. The ink between \overline{q} and \overline{p} is best interpreted as the vertical stroke of an uncompleted letter left uncanceled by the scribe.

75:7. Cf. the soul's contemplation of mind in Neoplatonism; Plot. I 2:7:7-8, VI 2:22:29-30, and Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, I 182 n. 3.

75:9-10. Anacoluthon.

75:10-17. The horos is a regular feature of Valentinian ideology, see Foerster-Wilson, Gnosis, II 334 s.v. Limit; also ValExp 26:30-34, 27:30-38. Its most common functions are to separate the Pleroma from the Kenoma of the cosmos and to fortify those who are within the Pleroma, but there is a tendency to multiply its epithets in the texts and ValExp gives the horos quite a comprehensive soteriological significance, in self-conscious opposition to other views. By contrast TriTrac gives no prominence to the horos: the firm boundary separating the Pleroma from what is on the outside is mentioned once (76:33--the reference in 82:13 is more ambiguous). One reason for this is that the strengthening and formgiving function of

horos in these systems is filled by the Son in TriTrac (cf. note on 65:4-11). The expression "limit to speech" is not found elsewhere, and it may represent an interpretation of the horos-concept on the part of the author, the word here being practically made to mean "discipline." This use of the concept also seems to refer to a boundary between the aeons and the Father. In fact, as Ka. I 336-37 points out, the version in Iren. AH I 11:1 has two horoi, one between the Father and the aeons, another between the Pleroma and the inferior region. However, Irenaeus' main system sees the separation of the Father and the aeons as another aspect of the one horos, ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἀρρήτου μεγέθους φυλασσούση τὰ ὅλα I 2:2, and this is closer to the idea here.

75:16-17. "the fact that they desire to attain him": In normal usage the phrase should mean "that which they desire to know," but the translation offered is required by the context, and is given support by the similar formulation in 75:30-31 below. This use of the substantivized relative clause seems related to the one by which it may function as a second tense (Introd. pp. 58-59).

75:17-85:12. The fall.

75:17-76:23. The presumptuous glorification by the

last aeon.

75:17-18. "it came to ..." < ἐπέρχεσθαι + dat., or similarly; as in the Valentinian accounts of the fall of Sophia (Iren. AH I 2:2, Hipp. El. VI 30:6ff) the fall originates in a sudden impulse.

75:18-19. "undertake," cf. Iren. AH I 2:2 ἐπιβαλεῖν, 2:3 ἐπιχειρήσασαν.

75:19-21. Cf. Iren. AH I 2:2 τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ καταλαβεῖν; ExcTh 31:3 τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆν γνῶσιν λαβεῖν. This cognitive aspect of the error of Sophia is rare and I know no example of it outside these Valentinian texts. In the various versions of the myth of the fall the error is regularly qualified as the acting on an independent initiative rather than as the attempt to know the unknowable. This also is the central aspect of the fall here, as is clear from the following; also 81:4-8. The error does not consist in the attempt to acquire perfect knowledge in itself, but in the premature, independent and unguided nature of the attempt.

75:20. 9† I take to be the Achmimic Conjunctive.

75:22-26. These are probably subordinate clauses, as one expects a nominal main sentence here to be

in the preterit; consequently it is preferable to restore a circumstantial [ε] at the beginning both of 75:22 and of 75:23. The translation also reads ΠΙΩΤ in 75:24, but this will have to be checked against the papyrus.

The subject of the nominal sentence in 75:22 is either ΕΛΥ in 75:20 or (more likely) the glorification which is implied in the whole preceding sentence--the two alternatives produce practically the same interpretation: the logos is the glorification brought forth by this aeon (cf. 74:26). It is also, of course, the aeon himself because the aeons, being pure mental substance, are the glory they bring forth (70:14-19). The circumstantial clause in 75:23-26 is probably concessive: The logos has an aspect of oneness (cf. 77:11-13, 78:1-2), but is nevertheless not perfectly one like the logos produced by the Pleroma in cooperation, or by the Father.

75:26. Read ΠΙΩΤ <ΠΕ>.

75:27-76:2. What has been said shortly before (74:18ff) about the wisdom and autonomy of the aeons is now applied to explain the error: it came about because of the individual aeon's autonomy of decision and action. As already noted (on 69:24-31) this explanation is closely related to that given by

Albinus and Plotinus for the fall of the soul. The qualification of the αὐτεξούσιον as a cause (75:37, cf. Stob. I 375:11 W. αἰτίας, Plot. V 1:1:1 τὸ πεποιηκός, ib. line 3 ἀρχή) is explained by Orig. De Princ. III 1:3-5: the cause of the actions, good or bad, of rational animals is their will. This theory, will as αὐτοτελής αἰτία, is Stoic (cf. Jackson, Church History 35.19). The element of will is fundamental in the descriptions of the error of Sophia: ἐνθύμησις Iren. AH I 2:4; ἔννοια ExcTh 32:2,¹ 33:3; ἠθέλησε Hipp. EL. VI 30:7; βουληθεῖς ExcTh 31:3; ValExp 31:33-34; perhaps also the fact that Sophia's syzygos is named Θελητός (as the proper object of Sophia's will?) is significant here. Outside Valentinianism the immediate efficacy of Sophia's volition is sometimes stressed; cf. ApJn NHC II 9:26-10:3; NHC II, 5, 98:14-18; also cf. HypArch 94:6-8. In the first place, then, the error consists in an aberration of the will which causes deficiency as an effect. TriTrac takes the argument a further step back by explaining how aberrant volition is possible. This is not a late expansion of the argument, as the use of the autonomy concept to explain the fall was known by Marcus, and the concept itself by the author of GTr (cf. notes on

¹ Sagnard's statements in loc., that the term equals both the ἐνθύμησις of AH I 2:4 and the μνήμη ib. 11:1, are irreconcilable.

68:36-70:19 and 69:24-31). On the contrary it seems probable that the emphasis on the will in the texts just cited presupposes a more elaborated theory of volition. It is premature to conclude that the autonomy theory of TriTrac is the background on which to read these texts. However, contrary to them TriTrac at least provides a comprehensible reason for combining the concepts of σοφία and will: both are, in philosophical psychology, essential characteristics of the soul, placing it in a neutral position between good and evil, enabling it to choose one or the other (cf. note on 74:18-23), to turn upwards to knowledge, or downwards to passions and matter. It seems therefore that unless some plausible alternative interpretation can be found for the association of Sophia and volition in these texts, TriTrac's usage of these terms will have to be taken into account in the interpretation even of those texts where Sophia appears as a mythological entity.

75:28. Read probably $\epsilon\tau\{\bar{\alpha}\}\bar{\rho}$ (Ka.).

75:30-31. For the translation cf. 75:16-17 with note. Contamination of $\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ and $\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ - seems to be what has caused the hybrid $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\gamma$; this is probably also the explanation of the apparent violation of the Stern-Jernstedt rule exhibited by this form.

75:33. ΝΕ (Νϸ ?) must be deleted (Ka.). From the photographs it is not possible to decide whether the two letters were actually cancelled by the scribe.

75:33-34. "to inquire into the hidden order" can only mean ascending the successive levels of gnosis towards the Father.

76:2-7. Though the αὐτεξούσιον was the cause of the fall the aeon's prohairesis was not guilty. The clear distinction between the two terms contrasts with Stoic usage (Epictetus), where they are closely related to one another, and also to the ἐφ' ἡμῶν (Voelke, L'Idée de volont  , 145, with n. 8). Plotinus, on the other hand, is careful in distinguishing the terms when accounting for the fall of the soul; the fall is caused by an act of will, but is never described as the result of a prohairesis, which for him implies a rationally deliberated decision; cf. Rist in De Jamblique    Proclus, 103-17. The attitude of TriTrac agrees with that of other Valentinian documents. There is never condemnation of Sophia's intention, the fall is the result of a mistaken desire. In Iren. AH I 2:2 προφ  σει μ  ν ἀγάπης, τ  λμης δ  , προφ  σει does not mean "on the pretext of" (Hill in Foerster-Wilson), but refers to Sophia's subjective conviction (cf. LSJ s.v.) as can be seen from the uncondemning qualifications of the passion in the context (τ   δ  

πάθος εἶναι ζήτησιν τοῦ πατρὸς; τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν
στοργήν.

76:5. "rushed forward" (also 76:21): Iren AH I 2:2
προήλατο, Hipp. E1. VI 30:6 ἀνέδραμεν; also Plot. V
1:1:7 δραμοῦσαι. The expressions evoke the charioteer
myth of the Phaedrus; however, for the Valentinians
the movement, because of the good prohairesis, is
initially directed upwards (this is the meaning of
προ- and ἀνα- here), and not away from the good.

λϣ†: Read λ†, as the following concessive clause
probably depends on "ΝΕΟΥΠΕΤΝΔΝΟΥϣ ΠΕ.

76:6-7. Iren. AH I 2:2 τὸ ἀδυνατῶ ἐπιβαλεῖν πράγματι;
ib. 3 ἀδυνατῶ καὶ ἀκαταλήπτῶ πράγματι αὐτὴν
ἐπιχειρήσασαν (Ka.).

76:8-9. Facs. shows that there is no text between
λβλλ and εϣχhk. A distinction is to be made between
the volitional act of the erring aeon and the effect
of this act, which the non-Valentinian texts cited in
the note on 75:27-76:2 call the ἔργον, and which
TriTrac names the λόγος, the glorification brought
forth. TriTrac gives attention to both these aspects,¹
unlike, on the one hand, the main system in Irenaeus,
which subsumes the second under the first, making the
ἔκτρομα merely a concretization of the ἐνθύμησις, and,
on the other hand, the system in Hippolytus, where the

emphasis is placed upon Sophia's product--as being a copy of the Pleroma--rather than upon her volition.

76:9-12. The will to act independently, and not in a union with that which is superior, the Pleroma (74:24-75:10), is the most important aspect of the erroneous use of the autonomy. This is a regular feature of the myth of Sophia, in Valentinianism as well as in other Gnostic systems; ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιπλοκῆς τοῦ συζύγου τοῦ Θελήτου Iren. AH I 2:2; καθ' ἑαυτὴν δέχα τοῦ συζύγου Hipp. El. VI 20:7; "she was in herself alone without her syzygos" (ΕCΩOON NΓAP N2PHI N2HTC [OYλ]EET<<> OYΩ NΠECCYZY[ΓO]C) ValExp 36:36-38; φωνὴν προήκατο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Iren. AH I 14:2; also cf. ExcTh 32:1. It is also in accordance with what Plotinus says about the cause of the fall of the souls: rejoicing in their αὐτεξούσιον and willing to be their own masters (τὸ βουληθῆναι ... ἑαυτῶν εἶναι) rather than turning towards the intelligible they are carried downwards, V 1:1, cf. IV 8:4:11, III 7:11:16 (cf. Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, 192 with notes 2 and 5).

76:12-16. Iren. AH I 2:2 ὁ πολὺ τελευταῖος καὶ νεώτατος (WZ): ib. 14:2 τοῦ ἑσχάτου στοιχείου τὸ ὕστερον γράμμα; Hipp. El. VI 30:7 ὁ δωδέκατος καὶ νεώτατος.

76:13-14. ΕΛϞ̅/ΤΟΥ (WZ). "he": sc. the Father.

76:16-19. This point is not made in other variants of the fall myth, Valentinian and non-Valentinian, and it is explicitly contradicted by ValExp 34:29-31, where the fallen Sophia laments "I was in the Pleroma, bringing forth aeons and giving fruit with my syzygos." This reflects the general tendency of the author of TriTrac to think in terms of a Pleroma not stabilized prior to the oikonomia so that the salvation history becomes an element of the perfection of the Pleroma itself (cf. note on 64:15-27 end).

76:18. Unless the trace of ink on the fragment placed here in Facs. is a blotting from the facing page there was additional text at the end of this line; perhaps [λ]N.

76:19-21. "highmindedly," lit. "in a greatness of thought." Gk. in uncertain, but the expression qualifies the volition, the ἔννοια and ἐνθύμησις in the other systems, and is in intent practically equivalent to the τόλμη of Iren. AH I 2:2; the juxtaposition of ἀγάπη and τόλμη in Iren.--ἀγάπη turning into τόλμη --makes the affinity between the two texts even greater. τόλμα, as is well known, is sometimes used by Plotinus to describe the self-positing of a lower hypostasis as distinct

from the higher.¹ It also serves as an explanation of the fall of individual souls; here it belongs together with the will to be one's own master and the rejoicing in autonomy in V 1:1,² thus providing a further point of contact between the Valentinian and Plotinian concepts of the fall. This use of *τόλμα* derives from Neopythagoreanism, where it is an epithet of the Dyad, referring to the fact that the Dyad represents separation and otherness (cf. the texts cited in Henry-Schwyzler's apparatus of the ed. minor in loc.). Thus *τόλμα* is equated with ἡ πρώτη ἑτερότης in line 4 of the Plotinus-passage, and in Iren. AH I 4:1 (end) the passions of Sophia are characterized as ἑτεροίωσις.³

¹ A comprehensive treatment is found in N. Baladi, La Pensée de Plotin (Paris 1970).

² See further Baladi, 70-77.

³ In fact this ἑτεροίωσις is contrasted with the ἐναντιότης of the passions of Achamoth, who has been cut off from Sophia by the horos, terminology which is distinctly reminiscent of Old Academic diaeresis (Hermodorus ap. Simplicius, In Phys. 248:2-4 Diels), which was also cultivated by the Neopythagoreans (Sextus Empiricus X 261ff). Further discussion of this point, for which a study of the extensive literature on the esoteric Plato would be required, is out of place here. Cf. however τὴν ἐναντίαν in Plot. V 1:1:7, which may allude to the same diaeretically inspired doctrine as the distinction in Iren.: a *τόλμα* which begins as otherness and ends as contrariness.

76:22-23. "sphere," < $\text{κ}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, or perhaps $\text{π}\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\chi\acute{\eta}$. This astrological metaphor, for which parallels may be observed in Corp. Herm. XIII 17 and Papyri Graecae Magicae, ed. K. Preisendanz, IV 1014-15, probably refers to the Limit.

76:23-77:11. The fall occurred in accordance with the Father's will. This optimistic view of the fall is singular in comparison with other Valentinian sources, although there is no foundation for characterizing these as strongly pessimistic (see note on 76:2-7).¹ The pessimist position is explicitly rejected in 77:6-11. TriTrac's own position is an adaptation of a particular Middle Platonic theory on the descent of the souls, namely that attributed by Iamblichus ap. Stob. I 378:25ff Wachsm. to the school of Calvenus Taurus, who flourished in Athens circa 145:² the souls descend by the will of the gods ($\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\nu\ \tau\omicron\omega\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omega\nu$; this position is also alluded to in Alb. Didask. 178:30 $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \theta\epsilon\omega\nu$) in order to manifest the divine life ($\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \zeta\omega\acute{\eta}\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\acute{\xi}\iota\nu$; $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\phi\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\omicron\omega\nu\ \psi\upsilon\chi\omega\nu$; cf. [2]M ΠΟΥΩΝΩ̄ ΛΒΛΛ

¹ GTr is an exception to this (cf. Ka. I 340), but the strong dualism of that text is for a substantial part, I think, attributable to its parænetic intent.

² For the historical evidence see now J. Glucker, Antiochus and the Late Academy, Hypomnemata, 56 (Göttingen 1978) 142-43.

ΜΑΡΤΑΡΩΝ below 77:5). The Taurian view was previously thought to be singular in Middle Platonism;¹ however, R. van den Broek has recently identified it in AuthLog NHC VI 26:6-20 (VigChr 33.270-72), and its further appearance in TriTrac shows that it did enjoy a certain circulation, either through the influence of the school of Taurus, or, as seems more plausible, as a doctrine discussed in several Platonic circles. This explanation of the descent, which attributes it to the divine will, does not seem entirely compatible with the theory that the fall was caused by the autonomy of the soul-aeon, and Iamblichus reports them as distinct theories. This is probably why the author chooses a negative formulation to describe the function of the divine will in 76:23-27 instead of the positive Middle Platonic formulations quoted above, so as to suggest that the Father allows the fall to take place (he also has foreknowledge of it: 76:29-30) rather than actively causes it. Thus there is hardly more of a conflict between divine determinism and free will here than e.g. in Origen; for whom see Koch, Pronoia und Paideusis, 113ff. This also means that there is not such a sharp disagreement with GTr as Ka. I 340

¹ See Festugière, Révélation, III 77, 219 n. 6; Dillon, Middle Platonists, 245-46; id. in The Rediscovery of Gnosticism, 359-60.

thinks; cf. also note on 76:34-77:1.

In addition to the idea of the manifestation of the transcendent world as a vindication of the descent TriTrac introduces a second divine motive, that of the oikonomia. This word here refers to the Father's design for the education of the Pleroma to perfect gnosis, and specifically to the realm of the psyche. The latter is the most common of the various applications of oikonomia in Valentinianism (Sagnard, Gnose valentinienne, 649; Ka. I 340). The present use of the term for a theodicy of the fall (cf. Origen: Koch, Pronoia und Paideusis, 120-21) is not paralleled by other Valentinians and is due to a particular tendency of this author, cf. note on 76:16-19 etc.

76:23-26. For the syntax see Introd. pp. 58-59.

76:26-27. ΕϞΝΔ† carries the full weight of a second tense here. I fail to understand the suggestion of Sch. that it should be connected with XE line 23, interpreted finally.

76:30-34. This is TriTrac's version of the myth of the horos in the Valentinian systems known from the Church Fathers. As usual in TriTrac the concept is not mythologically personified, and it is thought of rather as a power which pervades the Pleroma (cf. 75:13-14) than one which encircles it. Nor does

horos have the actively bisecting power which characterizes it in these systems; cf. note on 77:11-36. Nevertheless the two basic functions assigned to the horos in Iren. AH I 3:5, separating the Pleroma from what is inferior, and strengthening it (cf. ValExp 26:31-34, 27:30ff, where this is further expanded upon), are clearly both referred to in this passage.

76:33. Read {λ}ΠΖΟΡΟC (Ka.).

76:34. "fixed": Hipp. El. VI 31:6 πέπηγεν.

76:34-77:1. The subject of this sentence may be the horos, but is more likely the logos. The point made may be a distinction between the logos as willed by the Father and as originating in him, cf. 75:23-24.

76:35-36. "of the dwelling of the unattainability" is probably corrupt. Read perhaps "of the unattainability," deleting ΝΤΕΖΩ.

77:1. The final clause introduced by ΧΕΚΛCΕ λN is best connected with ΝΕλϣΝΤ̄ϣ "he had brought him forth" in 76:28. ΧΕ ΠΙΩΤ ΔΕ ... ΜΠΙΩΤ 76:30-77:1 is then to be regarded as a parenthetical remark.

77:4. Ωλ(Ω)Ε appears to be the affirmative counterpart

of ΜΑ(Ω)Ε (77:6). (ΜΑ(Ω)Ε must be = ΜΑ(Ω)Ε. The aff. aor. form is not previously attested, the counterpart of ΜΕ(Ω)Ε:ΜΑ(Ω)Ε normally being (Ω)Ε:(Ω)Ε .) However, the sentence does not give good sense in the context, it would seem to contradict the views expressed in the paragraph as a whole, in particular 76:29-30. The sentence has the form of a parenthetical remark and may conceivably be a later interpolation (a gloss), but emendation may also be considered, e.g. to ΕΜΑ(Ω)Ε etc., or to Ε(Ω)Α(Ω)Ε ΕΝ <ΕΝ>Λ(Ν)Α(Ω)ΠΕ ΕΝ ΠΕ.

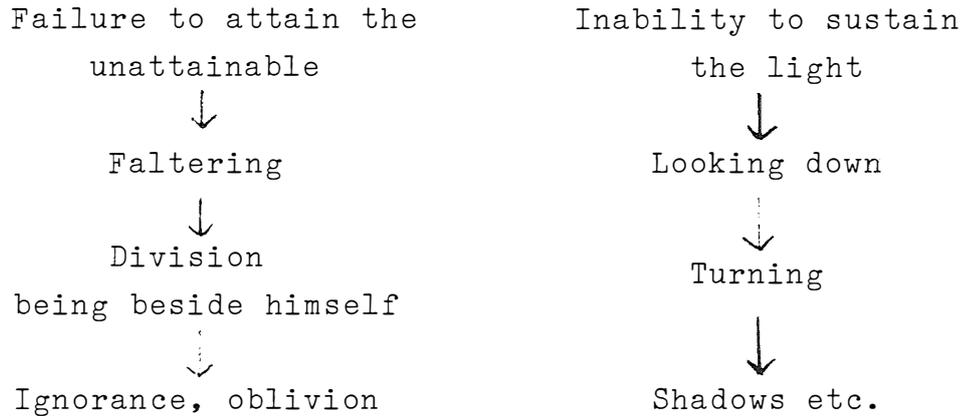
77:6-11. The "movement" is a technical term for the passion in comparable accounts of the fall; "after she had seen the wickedness ... she became ashamed and moved (Λ(Α)ΡΧΕΙ Ν(Ω)ΠΕ 2Ν ΟΥΚΙΜ). But the movement, that is the going to and fro (Π(Ω)ΕΕΙ)" ApJn NHC II 13:21-26 (here applied to Gen. 1:2);¹ "All spaces shook (ΚΙΜ) and were disturbed ... Plane (= Error) is agitated ..." GTr 26:15-19; τῆν φόβου κίνησιν Iren. AH 5:4. But the technical character of the term is hardly based upon its being a designation of emotional agitation, nor can it, in the case of ApJn, be explained simply as a paraphrase of ἐπιφρέσθαι in the Genesis text. In the present context the "movement" can only refer to the volitional cause of the fall:

¹ This is clear from the parallel version in BG. Cf. also Kragerud in NoTT 66.27-28.

the desire to act independently, the rushing forward, the "highmindedness," or what in Irenaeus' account is called the ἐνθύμησις and τόλμη; for which extensive agreement with the explanation of the fall of the souls in Plot. V 1:1 has already been noted. In fact, the soul's self-movement is another aspect of the fall referred to by Plotinus in that passage: πολλῶ τῷ κινεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν κεχρημέναι (lines 6-7). κίνησις, like ἑτεροτης and τόλμα (cf. note on 76:19-21), with which it is closely connected, is a term applied to the Dyad in the Pythagorean tradition (cf. Krämer, Geistmetaphysik, 322 n. 487), perhaps going back to the two-principles doctrine of the Old Academy.¹

77:11-36. The logos is divided. Realizing the impossibility of his project the aeon falters and as a consequence suffers a split between his perfect self and his other ailing part, ignorant and afflicted by deficiency and oblivion. The idea is also expressed by using the metaphors of light, darkness and vision: unable to sustain the light the aeon looks down, inclines downwards, and creates shadows, likenesses and imitations. The elements of each theme correspond roughly to one another in the following way:

¹ Cf. e.g. Krämer, 196 n. 5. Note the play on the opposition στάσις/κίνησις in Iren. AH I 5:4.



Like other Valentinian writers dealing with the origin of the material the author thinks in terms of a semantic development rather than a definite chain of causality. The factors between the arrows merge into rather than effect one another. Thus the "sicknesses" correspond both to the suffering of the split (77:21-22) and to the inferior part of the result of the split.--In Valentinianism this division corresponds to the separation of the higher and the lower Sophia in the main systems of Irenaeus and Hippolytus, and to Christ's cutting himself off from the inferior part of Sophia's emission in Iren. AH I 11:1 and ExcTh 32-33. Philosophically it corresponds to the descent of the lower part of the soul into matter, and also to the production of the primordial material substance itself. The passage is best commented upon systematically:

Failure to attain the unattainable (77:15-16. 25-27.32-34.35-36): see notes on 75:19-21 and 76:6-7.

Inability to sustain the light (77:18-19.26)

ϸΝϸϸϸϸϸ ϸΒϸϸ): This idea did occur in some Valentinian accounts of the fall, as is attested by Cyr. H. Catech. VI 18, Didym. Trin. III 42 (noted by Ka.). As Ka. aptly remarks, joining an earlier observation by Quispel,¹ the theme is found already in Philo's descriptions of the human mind's attempt to reach God. Equally important, however, is the fact that it occurs in Plotinus' account of the fall of the souls (modelled upon the Phaedrus) in V 8:10:4 ἐστράφησαν ἰδεῖν οὐ δεδυνημένοι οἷα ἥλιον. A direct connection with Philo is therefore not to be assumed.

Faltering (77:20.22-23.32), lit. "being of two hearts (minds)": precise Gk. Vorlage is uncertain, but comparable as descriptive of Sophia's first reaction upon realizing her failure is Iren. AH I 2:2 ἐν πολλῷ πάνυ ἀγῶνι γενόμενον = τοῦ ἐκπλήκτου ἐκείνου θαύματος; ἐκπληξις also ib. 2:3, ἀπορία 4:4; also cf. 5:4 ≈ ExcTh 48:3; Hipp. El. VI 32:5; see also Orbe, Espiritu Santo, 418-20.

Division (77:21.23), "beside himself" (77:30-31, cf. ἐξίστημι Iren. AH I 2:3, 4:2). This corresponds to the separation (χωρισθείσης ... ἀπ'αὐτῆς ; ἀφορισθῆναι) by the horos of the irrational ἐνθύμησις and πάθος from Sophia, who is then restored to the Pleroma, Iren. AH I 2:4.5, 4:1; and to the separation

¹ G. Quispel, Gnosis als Weltreligion (Zürich 1951) 86.

of Sophia's abortion in Hippolytus (Stair El. VI 31:2, ἀποχωρίζειν ib. 31:4). Whereas in these two systems the myth is duplicated by turning what is separated from Sophia into a second Sophia, whose passions in turn are cut off to become the matter from which the world is created (cf. note on 88:23-25), Iren. AH I 11:1 has a simpler version: Sophia emits Christ "with a certain shadow," which Christ proceeds to cut off from himself (ἀποκόψαντα) before ascending to the Pleroma. Theodotus (ExcTh 32-33) gives a similar version: here the word ἀποτομία used of the demiurge in 33:4 refers to the fact that he derives from passion which is cut off from its object, the Pleroma. The term also occurs in ValExp 34:38: here Sophia is cut off (ἀποκόπτει) from her syzygos. These texts show the persistent occurrence, and hence the importance of the concept in Valentinianism. However, the originality of TriTrac's "psychological" interpretation of the term should be pointed out: Whereas in other versions the division is caused by an external agent (the horos) or by the superior part separating itself from the inferior, in TriTrac it is produced directly by the "schizophrenic" nature of the passion-experience itself.

Parallels are also found outside Valentinianism: In HypArch NHC II 95:9-15, and NHC II, 5, 98:17-27 Sophia's product comes to exist as a shadow and

darkness on the lower side of a veil separating the transcendent world from the nether regions. Poim. 4 also describes a separation of light and darkness: σκότος κατωφερὲς ἦν ἐν μέρει γεγεννημένον ; on this text see Festugière, Révélation, IV 40-43.

This notion of a division whereby the first source of matter is cut off from the divine plenitude probably comes from a Neopythagorean theory of the derivation of the principle of matter from the One: Moderatus ap. Simpl. In Phys. 231:7-12 Diels:

ὁ ἐνιαῖος λόγος ... κατὰ στέρησιν αὐτοῦ ἐχώρισε [Zeller, Festugière; ἐχώρησε MSS] τὴν ποσότητα πάντων αὐτὴν στερήσας τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων καὶ εἰδῶν. τοῦτο δὲ ποσότητα ἐκάλεσεν ἄμορφον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον.

The division refers to the deprivation of rationality which the production of the fundamentally negative material principle requires. Festugière, Révélation, IV 38-40, has pointed out the affinity between this text and Iambl. Myst. VIII 3 ὕλην δὲ παρήγαγεν ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσιότητος ὑποσχισθείσης ὑλότητος: God has produced the principle of matter by cutting it off from the principle of substance. The notion of a διαχωρισμὸς of the Dyad from the Monad also appears in the arithmological tradition, cf. Krämer, Geistmetaphysik, 320 n. 479.

Looking down ("towards the ΒΛΘΟC" 77:19-20) and "turning" (77:22, probably < [⌘]νεῦσις or [⌘]ρόπή) are

Platonic terms which refer to the descent of the soul into matter; Poim. 14 παρέκυψεν (of Primal Man), Numenius fr. 11 des Pl. = Euseb. Praep. Ev. XI 18:3 τὴν ὕλην βλέπειν; in inferiora respicit Mar. Vict. Adv. Ar. I 61:15; for νεύειν and νεῦσις, ῥέπειν and ῥοπή (Plato Phaedrus 247b4) see Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 293-95 esp. n. 136; note that νεύειν is used by Plotinus to describe the fate of the Gnostic Sophia in II 9:10:19.¹ With βάθος as matter is to be compared the use of βυθός in OrCh fr. 163 des Pl. = p. 62 Kroll = Dam. Princ. II 317:4 Ruelle and subsequently in Neoplatonism (Lewy, 296 n. 139).

Shadows, likenesses and imitations (77:16-17) are the products of the solitary act of the fallen aeon. Cf. ExcTh 32:1, Clem. Strom. IV 90:2: what is produced by a single aeon is images, cf. Iren. AH I 13:6; κένωμα γνώσεως εἰργάσατο, ὅπερ ἐστὶ σκιὰ τοῦ Ὀνόματος ExcTh 31:4; σκιά also designates the inferior part of Sophia's emission in Iren. AH I 11:1; ἐν σκιᾷ καὶ κενώματος τόποις ἐκβεβράσθαι ib. 4:1; in ValExp 35:28-29, 36:12-13 "shadows" and "likenesses" describe the material cosmos. These terms are designations of matter, like the "dark-glowing world" of the Oracle cited above, "beneath which is spread the Deep, for

¹ Cf. also Festugière, Révélation, III 91-92; Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, I 186 n. 3; Orbe, Espiritu Santo, 386 n. 1. Cremer, Chaldäische Orakel, 82.

ever devoid of structure and form, dark all round, foul, joying in images (εἰδωλοχαρής)" tr. Lewy. Even closer to Valentinianism, however, is the description of the descent of the soul and the creation of matter in Plot. III 9:3: the partial soul is able to move either towards the universal soul and be illuminated by it; or downwards towards non-Being: this happens when its will is turned towards itself (πρὸς αὐτὴν γὰρ βουλομένη, cf. note on 76:9-12). In the latter case "it produces its lower, an image of itself--a non-Being--and so is wandering into the void, stripping itself of its own determined form. And this image, this undetermined thing, is blank darkness (τὸ μετ' αὐτὴν ποιεῖ εἶδωλον αὐτῆς, τὸ μὴ ὄν, ... καὶ τούτου τὸ εἶδωλον τὸ ἀόριστον πάντη σκοτεινόν)" tr. MacKenna-Page. The same doctrine occurs in V 2:1:18-21: "its [the Soul's] image is generated from its movement [cf. note on 77:6-11]. It takes fullness by looking to its source; but it generates its image by adopting another, a downward, movement."¹ The self-centering of the will as the cause of the movement, the inclination downwards, the subsequent creation of images as the material principle of the cosmos, the identification of the descent into matter with the actual creation of matter--all these elements

¹ Cf. Hadot, I 182 n. 2-3; D. O'Brien in Le Neoplatonisme, 113-46, esp. 127-28.

are shared between the Plotinian and the Valentinian accounts of the fall, indicating a common Middle Platonic source-basis. Another version is found in Poim. 14: Desiring, like the Gnostic aeon, to create by himself, Primal Man looks down, his image is reflected in the water and his shadow upon the earth, and he descends to be united with Physis. There matter exists prior to the descent and is not actually produced by it--the image-shadow being distinct from Physis, in which it is merely reflected--as in Plotinus and Valentinianism.

Now the adventure of the erring aeon in Valentinianism results in a separation of the spiritual element of the aeon from that part which has become subject to passion. Our hypothesis is that this idea of a division is based upon a certain Neopythagorean representation of the derivation of the material principle, the Dyad, from the One. Plotinus, who analogously to the Valentinians derives matter from the fallen soul, and also conceives of the fall in terms of the procession of the Pythagorean Dyad, does not adopt this idea in his account of the descent. But it seems that he may have known and rejected the application of the concept of division to the soul, for precisely when speaking of the creation of matter by the soul he emphasizes that "nothing, however, is completely severed from its prior (οὐδὲν δὲ τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπῆρτηται

οὐδ' ἀποτέμνεται)" V 2:1:22; there is no break in the flow of emanation (cf. also Sleeman-Pollet, Lex. Plot. s.v. ἀποτέμνειν). However, such an application of the idea can be attested in the Platonist tradition, interestingly in the pythagoreanizing Numenius, who in the already cited fr. 11 des Pl. speaks of a separation of the second and third gods caused by matter:

The second and third god is one; but brought together with matter, which is dyad, he unifies it, but is split by it, because it has a character of desire and is flowing (σχίζεται δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ἐπιθυμητικὸν ἦθος ἐχούσης καὶ ῥεούσης). Not being with the intelligible (he would then be with himself), by looking towards matter he becomes preoccupied with it and forgets himself. He touches the sensible, handles it and lifts it up to his own character, having directed his desire towards matter.¹

For Numenius there is no question of a derivation of matter as such, as he strongly holds the material principle to be unoriginated. In this text, however, matter and the soul by their contact receive each the character of the other: as matter is unified by the oneness of the second and third god, so this is divided by the dyadic nature of matter. This dyadic nature is further qualified as desire and "flowing"; the latter

¹ In the following interpretation we are substantially in agreement with Krämer, Geistmetaphysik, 79-80.

characteristic derives perhaps from Xenocrates (Krämer), the former is common in connection with the Dyad (ἐπιθυμικόν Lydus Mens. I 11, ὄρμη and τόλμα frequent). As it bends over matter in desire the soul acquires the dyadic nature of matter, and its separation from the intelligible can be described in terms of the cutting off of the dyad from its source. Taken together, then, the testimonies of Numenius and Plotinus suggest that applying the theory of the derivation of matter by a "cutting off" to the fall of the soul is not a Valentinian, or Gnostic, invention, but was already used by the Neopythagoreans.¹

Sicknesses originate in the faltering (77:28-32); the split which follows the faltering is already a suffering (77:21-22). Passion is a polyvalent concept in Valentinianism; in the accounts of the fall (1) it can be a technical designation of the fall as a whole (Iren. AH I 2:3, ExcTh 30:2); (2) in Iren. AH I 2:2 it describes the volitional cause of the fall (ἐνθύμησις = πάθος), in this context it is close to the Pythagorean τόλμα etc.; (3) in AH I 2:2.4, however, πάθος is also employed for Sophia's reaction upon seeing the unintended effect of her desire, similarly in Hipp. El.

¹ That Numenius' σχίζεται is to be related to the text from Iambl. Myst. VIII 3 quoted above, has been observed by des Places' n. 5 to fr. 11 (p. 107). In a more general form the doctrine reoccurs in Corp. Herm. X 15 διαλύσασα (sc. ἡ ψυχὴ) δὲ ἑαυτήν.

VI 31:2, also cf. ApJn NHC II 13:13-14:1 parr., NHC II, 5, 99:29-30; (4) finally it can describe the desire of the Sophia who is cut off from the Pleroma, for formation and union with her syzygos (i.e. the lower Sophia in Iren. and Hipp., ExcTh 33:4) here it primarily refers to the negative, deficient nature of matter, cf. τοῦ πάθους τοῦ ὑστερήματος Iren. AH I 18:4. The usage in TriTrac in this passage is related to (3), the split being a suffering, but also to (4), since the outcome of the split is a deficient offspring. In fact, the way in which the origin of the sicknesses is formulated in 77:25-32 seems to imply a deliberate rejection of interpretation (2): the desire of the aeon is not itself the passions; these only arise subsequently.

Correspondingly the words "became firm" (77:27), which refer to the concretization of the desire (volition) of the fallen aeon (cf. ApJn NHC II 10:2-3 parr.; NHC II, 5, 98:17-18) are used neutrally, including both the superior and the inferior part of the aeon's emission, and not to describe the materialization of the passions, as in GTr 17:11-14 (pace Ka.) and Iren. AH I 4:5 ἐκτικὰ ... καὶ δυνατά.

Oblivion and ignorance (77:22-25; probably < ἄληθη and ἄγνοια or ἄγνωστα) is the cognitive counterpart to the shadows and images. It arises from the separation: Cut off from its superior self the soul is ignorant of itself and its origin; cf.

Corp. Herm. X 15 διαλύσασα (sc. ἡ ψυχὴ) δὲ ἐαυτὴν ἐγεννᾷ λήθην; for the double ignorance cf. Plot. V 1:1:3 ἀγνοῆσαι καὶ ἐαυτὰς καὶ ἐκεῖνον (sc. God the Father), cf. lines 10-11; also GTr 17:10ff and Sagnard, Gnose valentinienne, 627-28. As descriptions of the state of the fallen soul these terms derive from Plato's Phaedrus 248c, 250a (λήθη); they are frequently used in this sense in the Platonic tradition: Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 190 n. 53.

For the further commentary on this section I revert to the order of the text.

77:11-14. For the self-generation see 75:2-3. "a perfect single one": cf. 75:22. The product possesses the monadic perfection of the Father, whom it glorifies. Comparatively, the superior part of Sophia's emission in Iren. AH I 11:1, i.e. Christ, is called ἀπνευματικὴ ὑπόστασις; elsewhere this point is not stressed.

77:16. Emmel reads 2N̄ OYTE2O.

77:17. Emmel reads M[N̄]2ENEIΔΩAON.

77:21-22. Reading M/[M̄]q (Sch., but interpreting the word as object complement, not prepositionally).

77:23. Probably emend to ΟΥΒΩΕ <ΑΥΩΠΕ>.

77:25. Emending to <ΜΠ>ΕΤΩΟΠ (Ka.). --"his raising himself upwards": cf. 62:23, 68:20.

77:31. ΕΛΥΩΠΕ: Perfect II; see *Introd.* p. 48.

77:33. Emend to ΠΙ/ΤΜΤΡΕΥΤΕΖΟ ΜΠΙΖΟΥ ΤΟΟΤῆ (Z); read probably "his not attaining the approaching of [[⊕]ἐπιβαλεῖν or [⊕]ἐπιχειρεῖν, cf. 75:18-19, 76:6-7] the glories."

77:35. "That": possibly "him," i.e. the Father.

77:37-78:28. The ascent of the superior part.

78:2. "hastened upwards," probably < [⊕]σπεύδειν or [⊕]φεύγειν. In symmetric contrast with the sinking downwards, the νεύειν and ῥέπειν, these terms refer to the soul's liberation from matter and its ascent towards the intelligible in Platonism; cf. Norden, Agnostos Theos, 107 with n. 2; Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, ch. II notes 395, 396 and 403; Festugière, Révélation, III 120 n. 1; Tardieu in The Rediscovery of Gnosticism, I 203. The source of the idea is Plato Theaet. 176ab (Norden). In Valentinianism it is used in a general sense ExcTh 78:2 ποῦ σπεύδομεν, GTr 41:7, *Iren.* I 16:2, and in the special sense with which we are

concerned here, in ExcTh 33:3 χριστοῦ ... τὸ ἀνοίκειον φύγοντος, similarly ValExp 33:36 ΠΩΤ ΛΤΠΕ, cf. 32:38; here the closely related version in Iren. AH I 11:1 has ἀναδραμεῖν, which is repeated in Iren. AH I 4:1 (Christ leaves Achamoth) and Hipp. El. VI 31:8.

78:2-3. "to that which was his," probably < ⲙⲧ τὸ ⲙⲧδῖον, or, perhaps, ⲙⲧ τὰ ⲙⲧδῖα; cf. Iren. AH I 21:5 πορεύομεν πάλιν εἰς τὰ ἴδια, ὅθεν ἐλήλυθα; same source in 1 ApocJas NHC V 34:8-9, also GTr 21:12-13.22-23, 22:19.

78:3. "kin": As Coptic regularly only employs the masc. form of Gk. adjectives of the 3rd declension (Böhlig, Lehnwörter, 128) ΠΙCΥΝΓΕΝΗC may represent either τὸ συγγενές or ὁ συγγενής. The former would mean practically the same as τὸ ἴδιον (cf. Plot. V 1:1:34-35), the latter could refer to the aeon superior to the fallen one (74:30ff), the one who draws the aeon to himself in 78:24 (cf. note). At any rate the ultimate source here seems to be Plato Tim. 90a πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ ξυγγενεῖαν ἀπὸ γῆC ἡμᾶC ἀΐρειν.

78:4. "abandoned": καταλείψας ExcTh 23:2, 32:3; Iren. AH I 4:5 καταλιπόντος; Hipp. El. VI 32:3 ἀπολιπόντος.

78:5. "deficiency," < ⲙⲧδῖστημα, is another

many-faceted word in Valentinianism.¹ Here it describes the nature of the erring aeon's volition, cf. below 78:13-17.

I conjecture that there was no additional text after $\Omega\Gamma\Delta$ and that the traces of ink visible on the photographs are merely blottings from the facing page.

78:6. Ka. [2N] at the end of the line is both unnecessary and breaks the general profile of the right hand margin.

78:6-7. "fantasy": cf. 78:32-35; like "shadows, likenesses" etc. 77:16-17, "fantasy" describes the unreality and negativity of matter. Also cf. Iren. AH I 13:6 φαντασιασθεΐσα (of Sophia) with Ka.

78:7-8. "as not belonging to him": ἀνοΐκειον ExcTh 33:3.

78:11-13. Cf. Iren. AH I 11:1 (Χριστόν), ἄτε ἄρρενα ὑπάρχοντα, ... ἀναδραμεῖν... τὴν δὲ μητέρα ὑπολειφθεΐσαν ... κεκενωμένην τε τῆς πνευματικῆς ὑποστάσεως ...; this becomes κενωθεΐσαν τοῦ ἀοράτως ἀβτῆ συνόντος λόγου, τουτέστιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ in the more

¹ For a study see Booth, K.N., "'Deficiency': A Gnostic Technical Term," *Studia Patristica*, 14, Part 3, = Texte und Untersuchungen, 117 (Berlin 1976) 191-202.

developed version ib. 4:1. The weakness (ἀσθένεια) of the soul which is united with matter is also a Plotinian theme (I 8:14). Contrary to, and perhaps in opposition to the Gnostic view, Plotinus regards the weakness as caused not by a privation, but by the accretion of matter. For the association of "weak" and "female" cf. καρπὸν ἀσθενῆ καὶ θῆλυν ib. 2:4, similarly ExcTh 67:1; for the weaker sex in general see Bauer, Wörterbuch, s.v. ἀσθενής 1.b.; TWNT I 489:23-26.

78:13-17. The effect retains the nature of its cause, cf. 69:4-10. The deficient cause is the presumptuous thought: ΜΕΟΥΕ "thought" corresponds to the ἐνθύμησις of Irenaeus' main system and the ἔννοια of ExcTh 32:3, 33:3, cf. ExcTh 22:7 ἔννοια τοῦ ὑστερήματος, and note on 75:27-76:2; ΧΙΕ ΝΖΗΤ "presumption" belongs to the same semantic field as τόλμα, cf. note on 76:19-21.

78:14. Restoring Ν[ΕΥ] (Sch., Emmel).

78:15. Reading Ν<61> ΝΕΤΔ ΖΟΥ[ΠΕ (Ka.); cf., with due caution, Kahle, Bala'izah, ch. VIII, § 79 Ae.

78:20-22. After its ascent the superior part becomes wiser than before: ἐπιστρέψαντα εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ πεισθέντα ὅτι ἀκατάληπτός ἐστιν ὁ πατήρ Iren. AH I 2:2; τῆς τοῦ δωδεκάτου αἰῶνος πίσεως ExcTh 31:2. TriTrac combines this theme with that of the

recollection of one's origin and true being (ἀνάμνησις etc., cf. Theiler, RAC VI 46-47), which recurs several times below (cf. Ka. II 312 s.v. Π ΠΜΕΥΕ) in connection with the conversion upwards. Its structural semantic opposite in the present passage is the oblivion and ignorance of 77:23-25.

78:21. Restoration after ΧΕ is uncertain (cf. Emmel); perhaps [λϣ.

78:23-28. Anticipation of 86:23ff.

78:24. "that which drew ...," i.e. probably the Pleroma, cf. 86:21; but one may also see here a reference to the aeon superior to the fallen one and translate: "he who drew ...," cf. note on 78:3.

78:28-80:11. The nature of the inferior part of the logos' emission: (1) the unreality of the material powers (78:28-79:16), (2) their vainglory and division (79:16-80:11).

78:33-34. Cf. 77:16-17, and note on 77:11-36; further, note on 78:6-7, and GTr 28:27 "shadows and fantasies."

78:34-35. Cf. note on 78:11-13. Also cf. Iren. AH I 4:1 τοῦ καταλιπόντος αὐτὴν φωτός. Here φῶς =

λόγος = Χριστός as the separated and absent formative cause.

78:36-79:4. Cf. GTr 28:16-20: Matter is not brought forth (GTr: it has no root, cf. 17:29-30; it was not manifested, 17:36-37) the nature of its existence is purely negative. Cf. also 80:30-81:3.

79:3-4. Cf. Iren. AH I 7:1 πᾶσαν ὕλην ... εἰς τὸ μηκέτ' εἶναι χωρήσειν (Ka.).

79:4-10. The material powers subjectively exist by assuming the names and beauty of the Pleroma of which they are imitations. That the material powers assume the names of the aeons (cf. also 70:37-71:7) is probably also the meaning of GPhil § 13:

The archons wanted to deceive man ... They took the name of those that are good (and) gave it to those that are not good, that they might deceive him by the names ..." tr. Kuhn in Foerster-Wilson.

A similar idea is found in ApJn: NHC II, 12:26-33, cf. BG 40:19ff. The idea was used by Valentinus himself, in a fragment in Clem. Strom. IV 89:6-90:1 on which the present passage now casts additional light: The world is the living aeon's εἰκὼν, whose deficiency is filled by its assuming the name of its model (οὐ γὰρ αὐθεντικῶς εὐρέθη μορφή, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπλήρωσεν τὸ ὑστερήσαν ἐν πλάσει); the unauthentic character

of the world refers to its secondary, derived, nature. This secondariness is the deficiency which in Valentinianism characterizes the negativity and nothingness of the world (the term "shadow," or "shadows," refers to this, see note on 77:11-36; cf. GTr 17:23-25: the πλάσμα is nothing). The appropriation of the name of the model, however, disguises this deficiency. This is also the meaning in the present passage: By assuming the names of the aeons the material powers try to compensate for the fact that they are negatively derived shadows and likenesses with "no authentic Being.

79:5. ΕΤΥΩΟΠ: Emendation to ΕΥΥΩΟΠ (Present II) seems unavoidable.

79:7. Restoring ΕΥ(ΛΕ)]ΙΛΕΙΤ; for the amount of documented text cf. Emmel.

79:12-16. Ironically, the material powers, which are not originated in the proper sense because they only exist negatively, conceive of themselves as the only things in existence. Cf. NHC II, 5, 100:29-33:

When the ruler [Ialdabaoth, representing matter] saw his greatness--and he saw only himself; he did not see another one except water and darkness--then he thought that [he] alone existed;

the blind arrogance of the world-ruler in general is a common Gnostic theme (ApJn NHC II 11:19-23, HypArch 86:27-87:4, 2TrSeth 53:28-31, Iren. AH I 5:4).

79:16-80:11. The nature of the material powers is the inverse of that of the aeons of which they are shadows: whereas the constitutive dimension of the Pleroma is the mutual assistance of the aeons, and their unity, the material powers are characterized by their rebelliousness, strife and disagreement. This reflects their origin, as they are derived from the presumptuous individualism of the erring aeon and his subsequent division. The presentation here is built upon descriptions of the fallen angels and their bad government of the world in the Jewish-Christian and Gnostic tradition (references below). However, the author here describes a pre-cosmic state, a disorderly chaos which is not alien to certain philosophical conceptions of matter. Platonists generally considered the formation of the world not merely as a shaping of a neutral matter, but as the bringing to order of a previously existing $\delta\tau\alpha\chi\iota\alpha$ and $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\iota\alpha$. In De facie 926ef Plutarch connects this Platonic chaos with the Empedoclean $\nu\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$: in the pre-cosmic state the elements repel one another, and this is mythologically represented by the war of the

giants.¹ Also the poets knew of a pre-cosmic chaos characterized by strife and discord; best known is Ovid Met. I 9 non bene iunctarum discordia semina rerum.² Whereas the type of cosmogony to which these texts belong is probably Platonic,³ the notion of strife seems ultimately to derive from Empedocles, in whom both Plutarch and later Platonists took a strong interest.⁴ By representing pre-cosmic matter as a chaos of mutually struggling powers the author of TriTrac therefore remains within the conceptual framework of Platonist physics, in spite of the fact that he employs for this purpose the language of

¹ This allegory is attested elsewhere and may go back to Empedocles himself; cf. Bignone, Empedocle (Turin 1916) 599 n. 1, followed by O'Brien, Empedocles' Cosmic Cycle (Cambridge 1969) 228 n. 4. A somewhat similar interpretation of the Titans is given by Celsus ap. Orig. C. Celsum VI 42.

² For parallels cf. F. Bömer, P. Ovidius Naso: Metamorphosen, Buch I-III (Heidelberg 1969) 17-18, 19-20. Also in the cosmogony of the Strassbourg papyrus 481 (iv A.D.) the demiurge commands the elements to cease their strife (ἔρις): D.L. Page, Greek Literary Papyri (Loeb Class. Lib.) I 544-45; Spoerri, Späthellenistische Berichte, 45-46.

³ Cf. Spoerri, 107ff.

⁴ On the Neoplatonic interpretation Love/Strife = Unity/Plurality (first instance Hipp. El. VII 29) see e.g. O'Brien. 100-01. Also cf. Plot. IV 8:1:20: the fallen soul becomes a slave to μαυνομένην νεύκει.

apocalyptic cosmology. However, the emphasis placed on the notion of struggle in connection with matter seems to be caused by a desire to merge the concept of matter in general with that of maleficent demons; this identification is not infrequent in later Platonism, see Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 304-08, 375-94.

79:16-20. The rebelliousness of the powers. The argument is slightly forced, as the material powers are ignorant of what exists before and above them and therefore have not in the proper sense revolted against it: this incongruousness shows that the author is here incorporating traditional material. In fact the ἀπειθεια and ἀποστασία referred to here is that of the fallen angels in the apocalyptic tradition; cf. Michl, RAC V 80-82, 91, 188-93 Maier, ib. IX 630-31, 671; Kallis, ib. 702-03; Lampe, Lex. s.v. ἀποστασία 1.a.

79:20-32. The mutual strife of the powers: Cf. AscIs 10:29, Simonians in Iren. AH I 23:3 = Hipp. El. VI 19:6, and Sethians in Epiph. Pan. XXXIX 1:2-5; Danielou in Le origini dello gnosticismo, 448-56; K. Beyschlag, Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis (Tübingen 1974) 203-05.

"vain love of glory" 79:22-23 probably < [⌘]κενοδοξία. This word, which is common in

discussions of ethics (cf. F. Wilhelm, RhM 70.188 [reference in Bauer, Wörterbuch, s.v.]; Lampe, Lex., s.v.), is given a peculiar interpretation in the following: The material powers possess the glory of the aeons (just as they possess their names) in the negative way (κενός) proper to their unreal existence as shadows and images. This glory is the "cause" of the systasis = the world, because the world is the image of the Pleroma.

79:26. Reading ΕΖΝΤΑΝΤΝ.

79:27. Emending to λ<Υ>ΨΙΤΟΥ.

79:27-29. Cf. Iren. AH I 23:3 quoniam unusquisque eorum concupisceret principatum: διὰ τὸ φιλαρχεῖν αὐτούς Hipp. E1. VI 19:6.

79:28. ΜΠΟΥΕ ΠΟΥΕ: cf. Introd. above p. 38.

79:29-32. The powers reflect the hierarchical structure of the Pleroma (e.g. 69:41-70:19), but the effect of this structure is inverted, as it provokes conflict rather than mutual love.

79:34-35. In spite of Ka. no emendation is necessary here: ΤΑΝΤῪ may refer to the model as well as to the copy, and in fact does so here; the plural ΝΕΥ is

grammatically incorrect, but is to be understood ad sensum, the model as well as the copy is a plurality.

79:34-80:1. Cf. 64:15-22. "a pledged son" seems to refer to the unauthentic nature of the material powers' procreation. However, the text is not entirely certain, since λΥω as a variant of ΕΥω is not previously attested in Subachmimic, only in Fayyumic, there is no supralinear stroke over N (this occurs elsewhere in TriTrac, however), and a connective particle is expected in 80:1, thus one should perhaps read {N}λΥω.

80:3. I restore λΒλΛ ΜΠΞ[ΕΙ, as Attridge and Mueller in NHLE apparently do.

80:3-11. The material powers become the origin of all strife and discord. For the demonology cf., for Judaism, the texts quoted by Maier, RAC IX 629; for Hellenistic traditions Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 304-08.

80:7. I restore Ε2ΝΔ[ΠΟCΤΛ]ΤΗC with WZ and NHLE; cf. 79:18.

80:11-81:26. The conversion of the logos.

80:12. "cause": cf. 75:37.

80:13-14. $\bar{\rho}$ $\lambda\pi\omicron\rho\iota\varsigma$ must be caused by confusion between $\bar{\rho}$ $\lambda\pi\omicron\rho\iota$ and $\bar{\rho}$ $\lambda\pi\omicron\rho\iota\varsigma\theta\epsilon$ (cf. Böhlig, Lehnwörter, 217). For the $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\rho\iota\alpha$ as an element of the suffering of Sophia see note on 77:11-36, concerning the "faltering." The relevant Valentinian passages are quoted by Stead, JTS N.S. 20.83. "even more": the emotion suffered by the logos when it sees its offspring is the same as that described in 77:20-22.30-31. "dumbfounded": probably < ἐξίσταναι or ἐκπληκτος εἶναι (Iren. AH I 2:3, 4:2).

80:16. Restoring $\lambda\text{[}\gamma\pi\text{]}\omega\theta\epsilon$ with MPWZ and NHLE.

80:17-19. For the $\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\acute{\xi}\iota\alpha$ and the $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}$ of the evil demons cf. Corp. Herm. XVI 14, Iamb1. Myst. II 3.

80:19-24. Having itself lost its formative element the logos is unable to impose order on the chaos (cf. 78:11-13).

80:22. $\lambda\tau\epsilon\kappa\lambda\varsigma$: The context gives no antecedent for the fem. suffix. Most probably the gender of the suffix is due to imperfect translation: the suffix reflects an $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ which referred to a fem. noun which is rendered by the caus. inf. in 80:21, e.g. $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\iota\alpha$.

80:23. Reading $\pi\bar{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\bar{\alpha}\ \lambda\gamma(\omega)\ \pi\bar{\alpha}\chi\text{[}\omega\text{]}\kappa$. Emmel: $\pi\bar{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\bar{\alpha}\ \lambda\gamma(\omega)\ \pi\bar{\alpha}\chi\text{[}\iota\text{]}\zeta\text{[}\epsilon\text{]}$, but cf. 78:10 $\epsilon\psi\chi\eta\kappa$.

80:31-32. "such an unstable state," this refers to the ἀπορία just mentioned above, 80:13-14. Cf. also 77:28-36.

80:32-33. "he no longer tried to bring forth": understand "he was no longer capable of bringing forth"; a period of perfect, pleromatic procreation prior to the fall was denied in 76:16-23.

80:34-35. Although in a sense "gone forth" from the Pleroma (80:27-28), the material powers are not προβολαί; cf. note on 78:36-79:4.

80:35-36. MS reads "... those who exist in the Pleroma of glory, which has come into being ...," but it seems preferable to emend to <N>2NΠΛΗΡΟΥΜΑ (following a suggestion made by Ka.).

80:37. ΕΡΕΛΥΘΕΙΝΕ: a Perfect II form, see Introd. pp. 48-49.

81:1. Transcribing [λB]QA <N>2N{2I}MNTΩB (Fac.). 2I may be explained as a not completed, uncanceled, dittography of 2N. For the "weakness" (ἀσθένεια) of the fallen aeon and its offspring cf. note on 78:11-13.

81:2-3. "impeded" sounds technical here; cf. Plot. I 8:14:44-46: the soul which falls into matter and

becomes weak (ἀσθενεῖν) is impeded in the use of its faculties by matter (κωλυούσης ὕλης).

81:4. "of this disposition," i.e. inherent in it.

"this condition" refers to "such an unstable state"

81:31-32. διὰθεσις hardly refers to the Pleroma, as all translations seem to imply: the Valentinians regularly apply this word to faculties and qualities (of the Father: Ka. Index, s.v.; Iren. AH I 12:1) or states of mind (of the falling aeon: Iren. AH I 4:1, ExcTh 45:2)--the latter usage is that found here.

81:8. Ωλ is probably an erroneous anticipation of Ωλ in 81:10, committed by either the translator or a copyist.

81:10-26. Whereas the main Valentinian systems reported by the Church Fathers generally follow the pattern

Passions λύπη, φόβος, ἀπορία	→	Conversion ἐπιστροφή, ¹
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TriTrac has

ἀπορία →	{ (Condemnation) κρισις Wrath }	→	Conversion μετάνοια.
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¹ For details cf. Stead, JTS N.S. 20.83. The

TriTrac does not differentiate the passions, but makes, on the other hand, a distinction between two moments in the process of conversion: conversion is preceded by condemnation of the passions and their product. Although absent from other Valentinian versions of the myth that we possess, the condemnation (καταγινώσκειν) is attested in HypArch 95:15-16; NHC II, 5, 103:35 etc. Unlike other Valentinian systems TriTrac also distinguishes the conversion from the remembrance and supplication (below 81:26ff). The passions are essentially hylic, whereas the conversion is psychic; from it arises the god and the religion of the Jews and their scriptures. This also applies to TriTrac: conversion, "the law of the judgment," condemnation and wrath characterize the lower group of psychic powers (97:32-36; the higher one deriving from the remembrance and supplication).

The theme of the ἐπιστροφή (which probably is the Vorlage of ΠΙΝΟΥΟΥΖ ΛΖΟΥΝ 81:20) and the μετάνοια (ValExp 34:23, Clem. Paed. VI 32:1, cf. GTr 35:22-23) is another example of the Valentinian merging of Jewish-Christian and philosophical vocabulary: While

extension of the term πάθος varies. It sometimes includes the conversion (Hipp. El. VI 32:5-6); in other instances this is avoided and the term διάθεσις is used for the conversion (Iren. AH I 4:1, ExcTh 45:2).

retaining the religious connotation of repentance of sins, these words also have the metaphysical significance of the Neoplatonic ἐπιστροφή, denoting the point at which the alienation from the form-giving and unifying realm of the Pleroma is arrested so as to enable the fallen aeon to return to it and to be formed by it. On the concept see further Puech's note in Evangelium Veritatis, Supplementum, 17; Orbe, Espiritu Santo, 406-15; Ka. I 352-53, 354; Witt, CQ 25.202-03; and Dodds, Proclus, 218.

81:17. Reading [P]ΞϞΩΠ{Ε} < [⌘]ἀντιλήπτωρ, following a good suggestion by MPWZ. ΔΕ probably = δε, not ΤΕ (Ka.), since a contrastive particle fits well into the context.

81:20 Perhaps [ΠΕ] at the beginning of the line (syntax: Till, Kopt. Gr. § 249).

81:23. λ[ΚΕ]ΓΝΩΜΗ. (Facs.).

81:24. ΞϞΝΔΟΥΖῶ (Facs.).

81:25. λϞΝΔΟΥΖῶ (Facs.).

81:26-82:9. The remembrance and supplication. The sources frequently include a δέησις and a ἱκετεία in the conversion of Sophia (Iren. AH I 2:3, 4:5; Hipp.

El. VI 32:5.6; cf. ExcTh 40 ἀΐτησις; ValExp 34:24
 λ]ΞΙΤΕΙ ΜΠΙΩΤ ΝΤΜ[ΗΕ).

However, in TriTrac the doctrine has the following characteristics:

(a) The supplication is linked with the concept of remembrance, which does not occur in other Valentinian documents.

(b) The supplication and remembrance are distinguished from the conversion as a more advanced stage in the return towards the Pleroma. As a consequence there are two levels of the psychic, a lower level deriving from the conversion, and a higher one which belongs to the remembrance (97:16-36).

(c) The δέησις/ἵκετεία is here not only that of the fallen aeon himself, but also the intercessory prayer of the Pleroma on his behalf; the Pleroma responds to and joins in in the supplication. The idea is attested in Iren. AH I 2:3 ἵκέτιν τοῦ πατρὸς γενέσθαι, συνδεηθῆναι δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς αἰῶνας; also cf. Hipp. El. VI 31:2 where δέησις is used of the pleading of the rest of the aeons for Sophia,¹ and ApJn NHC III 21:2-4 (quoted by Ka.). (For the general background, angels as paracletes in late Judaism, cf.

¹ In addition it may be noted that the intercessory prayer (δέομαι) by one's angelic syzygoi figures as part of Valentinian soteriology in general in ExcTh 35:3.4.

Mowinckel, ZNW 32.109-18; Michl, RAC V 73-75, 88; Michel, RAC IX 9; Betz, Paraklet, 60-64.)

(d) The "remembrance" seems not only to refer to the familiar theme of the ἀνάμνησις (Theiler, RAC VI 46-47), but also to belong as a technical term in the forensic context of the supplication and the paraclesis: the suppliant or paraclete brings essential facts to the attention of his audience, making it "remember" them (cf. Betz, 94-100). In the present passage the "reminding" is mutual: the fallen aeon reminds the Pleroma of his situation, asking for assistance; they give attention to him and in turn remind him of his own being and the things which truly exist.

81:30-32. The identification of subj. and obj. here is open to discussion. With ΕΤΑ2- the rel. pron. and the subj. of the rel. clause should normally be the same--hence our translation--but this rule is not followed invariably, and other possibilities are "that he first remembered and prayed to" (cf. note on 81:35) and "that he first prayed to--and he remembered." "The one who is in the Pleroma" must be the perfect and reascended part of the fallen aeon.

81:33-34. "one ... others": conjectural, reading CE as = Cλ; cf. NCE for NCλ Ka. II 314.

81:35. The inclusion of the Father in this context would be more easily understandable if one of the alternative interpretations given in the note on 81:30-32 were accepted for the main sentence.

82:1. Read ΝΤΕ ΠΙΤΩΒ[2 (Fac.).

82:2. "help" (βοήθεια): ExcTh 23:2, Iren. AH I 14:8 end. Ka. I 355 seems to be mistaken in explaining this βοήθεια by the βοήθεια = the Son/Saviour whose production by the paraclesis of the Pleroma is described in 86:8-21. The present "help" assists the remembrance and supplication which is the precondition for the reception of the Saviour, it is not to be confused with the mission of the Saviour itself.

82:3. For ΤΑΨ ΕΞΟΥΝ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΨ to mean "return to himself" (all translations), or "turn towards himself," as the present translation adopts, emendation to ΕΞΟΥΝ <ΑΨ> is required.

82:7-9. For the "call" see e.g. Jonas, The Gnostic Religion, 74-75; for Valentinianism in particular GTr 21:25ff.

82:10-83:33. The remembrance and prayer becomes an order of powers superior to that of the imitation.

Just as TriTrac portrays the passions as a chaos of struggling powers, it also represents the contrary sentiment of remembrance and supplication as personified into a class of powers. Such personification does not occur in previously known Valentinian sources, and is probably caused by the influence of the systematized demonology and the distinction between good and evil demons which is found in the Chaldaean Oracles and their Neoplatonic interpreters (on this subject see now Zintzen in RAC IX 640-68, esp. 647ff). Ka.'s note on 82:15-83:15, which says that the text describes the difference between the material powers and the Pleroma, misses the point.

82:12-13. Read $\text{K}\lambda\langle\text{T}\lambda\rangle$ (Ka.). The boundary: 76:33-34; probably the number or the strength of the powers is limited by the fact that they belong on the outside of the transcendent sphere.

82:18. "the imitation": the reference is in particular to 81:4. I read $\text{N}\lambda \text{OYCI}\lambda \text{NK}\xi[\text{KE}$ (OYCI λ for OYOYC.). This removes the basis for the lexicographical note on $\text{P}\lambda\text{NK}^-$ in Ka. I 31.

82:21. Transcribe $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{[\text{N}]}\chi\lambda\text{C}\text{I}\text{ZHT}$: N^2 cancelled by scribe. The remainder of the line I restore $\epsilon\varphi\omega[\text{OY}\epsilon\text{I}\text{T}$; cf. 78:36.

82:23-24. Reading $\text{ΖΝΝΑΒΛΛ ΝΕ ΖΜΠ[Μ]ΕΥΕ ΕΝΤΑΨΠ ΩΔΡΠ}$
 ΝCOYΩ[NO]Υ .

82:25-32. The oblivion caused by the descent of the soul into matter is like sleep, and the existence belonging to the hylic is similar to that of dreams: this is common Gnostic doctrine, cf. e.g. Jonas, The Gnostic Religion, 68-71; for Middle Platonism cf. Witt, Albinus, 131-32; for Plotinus Ferwerda, Signification, 129-31 (assuming the influence of Heraclitus). The particular qualification of the dreams as "troubled," and the image of the nightmare of pursuit and combat as a description of the material powers, I otherwise only know from GTr 29:1ff--the affinities between these two texts are on this point sufficiently strong to suggest a literary relationship (references of detail will be given below).

82:25-26. The restoration of the end of line 25 is problematic. Facs. shows ΕΤΜΜΕΥ..λΥ/ω , with what may be interpreted as the traces of two letters between Υ^1 and λ . The solution adopted by all translations "(they) are like oblivion ..." is possible if one restores ΕΥΟΥΩ ΜΠΡΗΤΕ etc. (for $\omega = \text{OEI}$ see 102:3) and deletes ΝΕ at the end of 82:26.

OY(Ω)Ε : Read $\text{OY\bar{B}(Ω)Ε}$.

82:28-29. "troubled dreams": GTr 29:10-11 ΝΡΕCΟΥΕ
ΕΥΩΤΡΑΡΤ.

82:29-32. ΟΥ2ΙΝΗΒ in line 30 is probably due to
the distraction of the scribe; I emend to ΟΥΕΕ!. Cf.
GTr. 29:11ff.

82:33. "beings of light": contrast with ΝΑ ΟΥCΙΑ
ΝΚΕ[ΚΕ 82:18.

82:34. "looking towards": This is an aspect of
the faith, which is "inherent in the sentiment of
conversion, from which these (psychic) powers originate,
and which characterizes the psychic in general; cf.
85:17, 112:1, 136:2.

82:35. "the rising of the sun": Also GTr 30:4-6
opposes the light of day to the darkness of the
visions of the night. More specifically the sunrise
alludes to the manifestation of the Saviour.

82:35-37. The "sweet dreams" do not occur in GTr. A
distinction between ordinary dreams of illusion, and
good dreams which produce wisdom, is made by Maximus
of Tyre 111:15-112:4 (cf. Witt, loc. cit.), but there
may be no direct connection.

81:37. ΕΥΟΥΛΛΑ6: Cf. Introd. pp. 39-40.

82:37-83:2. $\bar{\text{NTOY}}$ may be read with the preceding sentence as the Verstärker of the pers. pron. in either $\lambda\text{TPOYNEY}$ or $\text{EYOY}\lambda\lambda\delta$, but it is equally plausible that it should go with the following, as a word is needed before MEN and judging from the photographs there does not seem to have been any text (I agree with WZ) preceding this word in 83:1. However, a preposed $\bar{\text{NTOY}}$ is not resumed by a pronoun in this sentence; instead a fem. pron. seems to appear in $\lambda\text{C}\{\omega\}\text{XNE}$ for which there is no antecedent. None of the translations previously offered is satisfactory, because it makes no sense to speak of the destruction, and especially not at this point of the exposition, of the "emissions of the remembrance," which are the psychic powers; nor is it possible to regard the fem. suffix as in any way impersonal. Various emendations are possible, such as $\langle\lambda\text{Y}\bar{\text{P}}\text{ΠEIP}\bar{\text{E}}\rangle$ $\lambda\{\text{C}\}\omega\text{XNE}$ [$\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\text{I}\text{ΠP.}$], or $\lambda\text{YC}\{\omega\}\text{XE}$ (A^2 for S $\omega\text{X}\bar{\text{E}}$) [$\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{I}}\text{ΠP.}$], etc., but probably a more extensive lacuna occurs here, and this is perhaps indicated by the spaces left at the beginning and end of 83:1. Another possibility is to regard $\bar{\text{N}}\text{I}\text{ΠPOBOΛH}\bar{\text{OY}} \bar{\text{NTE}} \bar{\text{N}}\text{I}\text{M}\bar{\text{EY}}\bar{\text{E}}$ as the subj. of the following sentence.

83:3.5. "much": possibly "more" (i.e. than the material powers). There is no temporal usage of ZOYO which can justify the rendering of this phrase in the Eng. and Fr. translation of Ka., or that of NHLE.

83:6. ΕΨΩΗΩ: Read ΕΥΩΗΩ (WZ).

83:7. For ΕΩΧΠΕ ... ΛΝ cf. ΕΩΧΕ ... ΟΝ 2 Cor. 5:3.14, 12:11.

83:9-16. Emmel (259) has given a basically correct transcription of these lines which I reproduce with a couple of minor adjustments:

ΧΕ

10 [2]Ν̄ΝΑΒΛΑ 2Ν̄Ν ΟΥΓ̄ΝΩΜΗ ΕΝ·
 {Ν̄}ΛΝΟΥC ΝΕ· ΧΕ Ν̄Τ[Λ]ΥΕΤ̄ Ε
 ΒΟΛ ΕΝ .2Ν̄ ΠΩΩΝΕ Ν̄ΤΑ 2
 ΩΩΠΕ· ΕΤΕ †ΓΝΩΜΗ· ΕΤ·
 ΝΑΝΟΥC Ν̄ΤΟΟΤ̄ .C. ΤΕ·

15 [Ε]ΤΑ 2ΩΙΝΕ Ν̄CΕ ΠΕΤΡ̄ ΩΑΡΠ̄
 Ν̄ΩΩΠΕ

The end of 83:14 still presents a problem. ΤΕ may be the copula, but the three preceding letters I am at a loss to interpret (the first of them need not have a supralinear stroke as Emmel indicates). One misses an antecedent for the rel. pron. in [Ε]ΤΑ 2ΩΙΝΕ, whose subject is identical with that of ΕΛΨΤΩΒ̄2 and ΛΨΙΤ̄, that is, the fallen logos, rather than †ΓΝΩΜΗ, thus there may well be a lacuna in 83:14.

83:18-26. The condition of the psychic powers is similar to the first form of the All as described in 61:7ff: they perceive the existence of a superior

level of reality but do not know its nature, which becomes an object of seeking. This similarity, together with the use of the terms $\mu\delta\rho\alpha\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\tau'\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\nu$ and $\mu. \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha} \gamma\nu\omega\sigma\iota\nu$ to describe the progressive formations of Achamoth in the main system of Irenaeus, probably reflects a general soteriological theory being used in different contexts: the psychic level, or stage, and the knowledge according to existence = potential being, seem to be correlated with one another; correspondingly the pneumatic has both knowledge of the essence of the divine and complete being. See further note on 61:24-28.--The Coptic text gives the impression that the thought/remembrance is sown into his psychic offspring by the logos himself; in 130:30-131:2, however, this seed is said to be sown by "that which is superior" (= the Pleroma) independently of the logos.

83:26-33. Just as the ones who issued from the division and the sickness (cf. note on 79:16-80:11) the powers who originated in the conversion retain the nature of their origin: the unification with oneself which is implied in the conversion, the turning towards oneself, is reflected in the harmonious union of the psychic powers.

83:29. $\epsilon\tau\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon\gamma$ { $\epsilon\tau\bar{\iota}\mu\epsilon\gamma$ } (Ka.).

83:34-85:12. The two orders fight. The appearance of a superior reality arising from the conversion provokes the material powers to attack: a version of this motif, involving Sabaoth as the personification of the conversion, occurs in NHC II, 5, 104:13-17. In Manichaeism the war of the powers of darkness, or matter, against the light is an essential part of the system (cf. e.g. Die Gnosis III, Index, p. 410 s.v. Kampf, Krieg). But also Platonic philosophers who think in terms of an opposition between good and evil demons can represent this opposition as a war (cf. Numenius, Origen the Platonist and Porphyry as reported by Proclus In Tim. 76:30-77:23 Diehl [= Num. fr. 37 des Pl.]; in the report on the Chaldaean Oracles in Psellus Hypotyp. 23 = p. 200:22-27 in des Places' edition of the Oracles, and in Porph. De Abstin. II 37ff the opposition does not explicitly amount to a war; cf. the discussion in Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 497-508); for these thinkers the struggle expresses the opposition between the downward and the upward movement of the soul, which agrees well with TriTrac's association of the material powers with the descent and the psychic powers with the conversion: on this interpretation the war represents the struggle of opposite forces in the soul. However, TriTrac adds a motif for which I know no parallel: By confronting the material powers and engaging in combat with them the psychic powers seem to fall victim to the same

kind of irrational passions which dominate their enemies, list for dominion (perhaps < ϕιλαρχία) and vainglory (κενοδοξία). The outcome is a mutual entanglement of the orders, which must wait until the intervention of the Saviour to be brought to cease.

83:34-35. Cf. 79:21-22.

83:35. Read $\overline{MNT}\{\overline{MN}\}M\Delta E[IO]Y\epsilon Z C\lambda ZNE$; cf. Sch.

84:2-3. Cf. 79:18-19.

84:3-7. Cf. 79:4-16.

84:7. Read $N[\epsilon Y$.

84:8. Read $\overline{\eta}[IT\lambda]/\Gamma M\lambda$ (Sch.).

84:9-10. "fighting for command": with NHLE. Perhaps "fighting without command" (Ka.: all transl.) but $M\overline{I}\overline{O}\epsilon \epsilon XN-$ is a fixed expression (Crum 203a).

84:10-11. "in such a way that" is only a tentative interpretation of $\lambda B\lambda\lambda \overline{M}\overline{N}\overline{I}C\overline{M}\overline{A}\overline{T}$ $[N]O\omega\overline{N}\epsilon \lambda-$ + inf., which is otherwise unattested, as far as I know.

84:11. "submerged": perhaps < καταπίνειν . For the image cf. Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 277 n. 77, 303 n. 171.

84:15. "even they": Possibly the psychic powers, but these are not explicitly mentioned in the immediately preceding text, and it may well be that Gk. read: "having both lust for domination and . . .," the translator having misinterpreted a καί.

84:25-26. "p[re]pared by the actions": C[BT]ΛΕΙΤ' cannot be considered certain and is not quite clear in the context. "by the actions" is explained by 84:28-31: the powers of the remembrance possess the same mode of action (harmony and unity, cf. 83:26ff) as the Pleroma of which they are images.

84:27-28. The word ΕΙΝΕ (perhaps < [⊕]εἰκῶν) generally has good connotations in TriTrac (cf. Ka., Index, s.v.), whereas ΤΑΝΤῆΝ (perhaps < [⊕]εἰδωλον) is always used in a negative sense, referring to a characteristic of matter. The latter usage was commented upon above (note on 77:11-36); also the description of the psychic powers as images of the Pleroma is in accordance with Valentinian sources (cf. Sagnard, La Gnose valentinienne, 638, s.v. εἰκῶν, 2.), although it there only applies to them after the demiurgic activity of Sophia, their pre-cosmic existence being merely in the form of a substance. It must be added that the clear-cut and terminologically deliberate distinction between the two usages of the notion of image is peculiar to TriTrac.

84:35-36. "it combatted itself" may refer both to the images and to the imitations. In the former case the implication would be that the harmonious nature of the psychic powers is lost in their struggle with the powers of matter. The wrath is inherent in the conversion according to 81:16 (cf. also 97:36), and the reference may well be to this fact.

85:6. ΝΑΨΟΥΛΩΖΕ ΕΝ ΠΕ· Ε[.

85:7-9. The style of vice catalogues, on which see e.g. Lietzmann's commentary on Rom. 1:29-30 (Hdb. z. NT, III, 1, p. 11).

85:10-12. Out of the fight between the two orders emerge numerous and variegated powers possessing qualities from both orders. For these mixed powers cf. below 100:1-2, 110:31-32, 120:21, 132:10. For "various matters" cf. ExcTh 50:1 τῆς πολυμεροῦς καὶ ποικίλης ὕλης; Iren. AH I 4:1 τοῦ πάθους ... πολυμεροῦς καὶ πολυποικίλου ὑπάρχοντος; OrCh fr. 34 des Pl. = p. 20 Kroll = Proclus In Tim. I 451:19 D. πολυποικίλου ὕλης. The likely source of this conception of matter is Plato Tim. 50d5 ποικίλου πάσας ποικιλίας (Cremer, Chaldäischen Orakel, 78 n. 345); cf. also the description of chaos in Tim. 52d παντοδαπήν κτλ.; further: Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 297 n. 143; Zintzen in RAC IX 650.

85:12-90:13. The mission of the Son.

85:12-32. The hope of the logos. The logos continues his attitude of conversion, which is now further qualified as hope (ἐλπίς) and anticipation (perhaps < ⚡προσδοκία), terms which are not applied in other Valentinian variants of the Sophia myth, but which are essentially in harmony with the psychic nature of the conversion.

85:14. "the manifestation of the hope" ("hope" in the sense of the object of hope) = GTr 17:2-3.

85:16. "who had been moved": see note on 77:6-11.

85:22-25. The reference is undoubtedly to the fallen logos' superior and reascended self, of whose "remembrance" we were told 81:30-32. The reading of the letters following ET in 85:22 is quite uncertain; ETΠΗ[Τ] WZ, though, unlike the Fr. and Ger. translations of Ka., based on a correct understanding of the passage, is not acceptable. From the photograph it looks as if the doubtful letters may have been cancelled.

85:25. A tentative reconstruction: ΛΠΛΟΓΟΣ<ΕΙΡΕ>
ΜΠ<Μ>ΕΥ[Ε].

85:26-28. Cf. Iren. AH I 4:1 τοῦ ἀοράτως αὐτῆ συνόντος λόγου. "that which was present with them" probably refers to the fact that "those of the remembrance" partake of the transcendent world in so far as they are images of it.

85:29-32. Those who have been converted may receive the light. The light-sunrise metaphor was used in this sense above, 82:34-35. The light is identified with the Saviour; 87:10; ExcTh 34:1, 35:1, 40, 41:2.3, 44:1; Iren. AH I 4:1.5, 8:2. His manifestation in the form of the radiation of light is described below, 88:12-15. The longing for the light: Iren. AH I 4:1 ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ὀρμῆσαι τοῦ καταλιπόντος αὐτὴν φωτός, ExcTh 40 τῆς τοῦ φωτός αἰτήσεως. "giver of life": Iren. I 4:1 τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ζωοποιήσαντα. ζωοποιεῖν here, as in the NT (TWNT II 877) refers to the infusion of spirit (cf. ExcTh 3:2).

85:33-86:23. The intercessory prayer of the Pleroma.

85:33-37. The compassion of the rest of the aeons with the one who fell ("fall" perhaps < ^κσφάλμα: Plot. II 9:4, Hipp. El. VI 36:1 [cited in Ka. I 356]). In $\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\omega$ [N λ^1 probably is not a preposition but the Perf. I conj. base which recurs in $\lambda\chi\iota\tau\bar{\eta}$ 85:35--the phenomenon may be described either as an anticipation, or extraposition, of the base, or as a pleonastic

repetition of it (in λΥΧΙΤῚ) caused by the large number of intervening words between subject and predicate--cf. e.g. 85:12-13 and 87:1-2. Thus there is no question here of a fall having occurred to the aeons, as all translations and the note in Ka. I 356-57 assume. The compassion, or sympathy, of the Pleroma with the fallen aeon is referred to by ExcTh 30:2 τοῦ πάθους γενομένου, τὸ ὅλον συνεπάθησεν καὶ αὐτούς [sic MSS; κατ'αὐτούς Bernays, Casey; καὶ αὐτὸ Wachter, Sagnard], εἰς διόρθωσιν τοῦ παθόντος; ib. 31:2 διὰ τῆς δωδεκάτου αἰῶνος πείσεως τὰ ὅλα παιδευθέντα, ὡς φασί, συνεπάθησεν; cf. Hipp. El. VI 32:4 κατηλέησεν κτλ. Clement, commenting polemically on these excerpts, argues that compassion implies passion and that thus the whole Pleroma suffered with the fallen aeon. But no Valentinian system states that the All partook in the fall, or that the protohylic passion, or passions, of Sophia was also suffered by the Pleroma. On the other hand Hipp. El. VI 31:1 (quoted by Ka., loc. cit.) speaks of the uproar (θόρυβος) in the Pleroma caused by the fall of Sophia, and it seems that in the two passages quoted from ExcTh, and especially the second one, συμπαθεῖν does imply that the Pleroma is directly affected by the passion of Sophia. The reason for this ambivalence is probably to be sought in the fact that on the one hand the fall of the last aeon is merely the manifestation of a drive towards alienation from the

Father-source implicit in the very idea of aeonic procession, and that on the other hand the concentration of the illegitimate aspect of this drive in a single aeon removes the illegitimacy from the procession of the remainder of the Pleroma. Therefore, paradoxically, the fallen aeon in a sense suffers instead of the rest of the aeons, whereas they, for this very reason, also can be said to suffer with it. The present text empahsizes that the aeons did not suffer, and the implication may be that other writers are less clear on this point. The words "concern," "beneficence," and "great kindness" seem to circumscribe the author's understanding of the word συμπάσχειν, which itself, perhaps deliberately, in order to avoid misinterpretation, is not used.

86:4-7. This τᾶζις can only be that of the remembrance, as the term is used exclusively for the two lower orders, and to interpret it as the material powers is excluded here. How this order can be said to have been brought forth by the reascended self of the aeon and the Pleroma is not entirely clear, as it has previously (82:10ff) been said to originate in the prayer and supplication of the fallen aeon. However, it is intrinsic to the idea of the prayer in TriTrac that it is responded to by the reascended self and the rest of the Pleroma, and amplified by their intercessory prayer. Therefore the order of the remembrance is not

the product of the fallen aeon in isolation but also retains characteristics of the form of action of the Pleroma (cf. 84:24ff, 85:28ff).

86:6. ΝΕΤΑΖΠΩ[Τ: Probably emend to ΝΕΤΑΖΠΩΤ (WZ);
cf. 86:8. ΝΕΤΑΖΝΤ̄: Although the suffix is masculine it can only refer to †ΤΑΕΙC.

86:8-11. Cf. ExcTh 23:2: Christ, after leaving the Mother and ascending to the Pleroma, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἕξω καταλειφθείσης Σοφίας ἤτήσατο τὴν βοήθειαν; ib. 41:2 ὁ αἰτησάμενος τοὺς αἰῶνας Χριστός. In the system which forms the source of those two excerpts "Christ" is the name given to the superior self of the fallen aeon. To assume, as Ka. I 357 does, that TriTrac is here actually alluding to Christ is misplaced; this mythologoumenon does not rely on a specific nomenclature.

86:11-15. † ΜΕΤΕ probably < [⌘]εὐδοκεῖν; cf., for the translation, Nag Hammadi Codices III, 2 and IV, 2, p. 13; and, for the use of the concept in Valentinianism, ExcTh 23:2 and the texts quoted in Sagnard's note in loc., also cf. Hipp. El. VI 31:2, 32:1; further, Sagnard, Gnose valentinienne, 542 n. 1. As in the passage cited from ExcTh the εὐδοκία is here represented as the response of the Pleroma to the intercession of the re-ascended part of the fallen

aeon. In other Valentinian texts the εὐδοκία is the mutual agreement of the aeons with one another, and there is no longer a functional connection with the supplication. The outcome of the εὐδοκία is always the Saviour-Paraclete whose singularity as a person manifests the unanimity of the Pleroma.

86:15. "congregated in one place," probably < ⲙⲥⲟⲩⲛⲉⲣⲭⲉⲥⲑⲁⲓ ⲙⲥⲉⲡⲓ ⲙⲥⲧⲟ ⲙⲥⲁⲃⲧⲟ: Crum, Dict. 154a; a Jewish-Christian idiom, cf. Bauer, Wörterbuch, s.v. αὐτόσ 4.b.; Blass-Debrunner § 233,1.

86:16-18. The εὐδοκία here also has an aspect of αἰτήσις ("entreating" < αἰτεῖν)--intercessory prayer on behalf of the supplicating aeon. The combination of these two notions, which each occurs separately (on the intercession see note on 81:26-82:9, (c)) is not made by other Valentinian systems. The effect is that the Father is more directly involved in the production and mission of the Paraclete-Saviour than in these other systems, where the first principle is, at least as far as the soteriology is concerned, more of a deus otiosus than in TriTrac (cf. 86:29-32).

86:21-22. "drew," probably < ⲙⲥⲉⲗⲕⲉⲓⲛ, and "manifested," < ⲙⲥⲫⲁⲛⲉⲣⲟϥ or similarly, seem to allude to a soteriological concept known from Res. 45:28-39 and Julian, Orat. V 172a, perhaps most at home in the

Chaldaean Oracles (cf. note on 72:20): like the sun the Pleroma both illuminates and attracts that which is of its own substance.

86:23-88:8. The consent of the Pleroma brings forth the Son-Fruit. Cf. 78:23-28. Valentinian parallels, also noted by Ka. in. loc.: Iren. AH I 2:6b, ExcTh 23:2, Hipp. El. VI 32:1-2. This figure--which the sources of Iren. and Hipp. agree to name καρπός, and which is generally identified as Jesus--manifests the transcendent world in the inferior region, and may be regarded as the Valentinian appropriation of the Middle Platonists' second, demiurgic mind,¹ acting on the material substance provided by the fallen aeon, as well as Archetypal Man (cf. note on 65:35-67:34 [end]).

86:26-29. Cf. Hipp. El. VI 32:1 μόνος ὑπὸ πάντων αἰώνων; προσαγορευθῆναι ... καὶ τὰ πάντα, διὰ τὸ ἄπὸ πάντων εἶναι Iren. AH I 2:6, cf. 3:4. The Fruit manifests the unity-in-multiplicity (cf. especially 66:29ff, with note) of the Pleroma in its perfect, i.e. glorifying, state. It is in this state that the Pleroma is able to generate the image of the Father (note on 65:35-67:34 (a)); this is a Primal Man

¹See e.g. the presentation in Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 316ff.

mythologoumenon. This aspect, that the Fruit is a manifestation of the countenance of the Father, is absent in the systems reported by Iren. and Hipp.: we have already remarked that the Primal Man background of this episode in the myth has been weakened in these variants (note on 65:35-67:34 [end]).

86:31. γνώμη occurs in the same general context Iren. AH I 2:6.

86:31-32. In other Valentinian sources the Father is not represented as "directly taking part in the production of the Son; cf. note on 86:16-18. The meaning seems to be that the participation of the Father in the εὐδοκία, his acceptance of the ἀΐτησις, is implied in the unity of the aeons: By their united agreement they manifest the essential character of the Father, his oneness. This unity is also reflected in the Fruit being the countenance of the Father,

86:33. ΕΥΧΑΡΕΙΝΕ: Cf. Introd. p. 37.

86:36-37. "the Son of his will": For the divine Will cf. notes on 55:30-35 and 71:36-72:1. In the present context the concept is semantically linked with the εὐδοκία, but it also entails the usual association with manifestation and procession. The Will was already associated with the Son 66:20-21. The present "Son"

is probably not to be interpreted as an entity completely distinct from the Son described above who is immanent in the Pleroma, but rather, in accordance with TriTrac's general "telescoping" concept of hypostases, as his revelational aspect outside the Pleroma.

87:2-6. The Son clothes the Pleroma, but the inverse is also the case (87:12-13); cf. 63:12-13. For the significance of the garment metaphor, which is soteriological as well as connected with Primal Man mythology, see note "on 65:35-67:34 (e). The son as the garment gives perfection to the one who is deficient and firmness to those who are already perfect: this principle doubtless has a wider application than the present mythological context. A sacramental Sitz im Leben (baptism and confirmation) is easily conceivable. The giving of firmness to the undescended Pleroma is attributed to Christ and Holy Spirit in Iren. AH I 2:6 στηριχθέντα ... τὰ ὅλα, and the perfection of the deficiency to the Fruit-Jesus, but TriTrac, which described the giving of firmness to the Pleroma by the Son already in 65:7, does not separate these two characters. GTr 24:3 as well gives the Son both functions.

87:7-17. The names of the Son.

(a) Saviour (σωτήρ): This title also occurs in

Iren. AH I 2:6, 3:1, 4:5, 5:1; ExcTh 43:4, 45:1.3;
GTr 16:38.

(b) Redeemer: perhaps < Ⲛ λυτρωτής; which, although not attested elsewhere in the present context, is nevertheless current in Valentinianism: It is a name of the horos in Iren. AH I 2:4, see further Orbe, Espiritu Santo, 603-13.

(c) "the Well-pleasing one" (εὐδοκητός), and
 (d) "the Beloved one" (probably < Ⲛ ἀγαπητός) allude to the messianic enthronement formula of Mk. 1:11 σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα parr. In addition εὐδοκητός "refers to the origin of the Saviour in the εὐδοκία of the divine Pleroma, as is explained, with a quotation from Col. 1:19, in Iren. AH I 12:4 (εὐδοκητὸν καλεῖσθαι, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα ἠὲδοκῆσεν δι' αὐτοῦ δοξάσαι τὸν πατέρα).

(e) Paraclete: Iren. AH I 4:5, ExcTh 23:1.2; Orbe, Espiritu Santo, 434-39. Other than its general background in the NT, the significance of this title as used by the Valentinians is peculiar to them, as it is directly correlated to the αἴτησις of the fallen aeon and of its intercessors: the Paraclete is the answer to the prayer for help, the one for whom one prayed when one prayed for help. The original forensic connotations of the term are absent.

(f) Christ: Although this title more properly belongs either to the figure who confirms the Pleroma after the fall (in the systems which duplicate the

myth of the passion), or to the reascending part of the fallen aeon (in the systems which retain the simple version), it can also be applied to the Saviour-Jesus, as in Iren. AH I 2:6, and 3:1, where Jesus is named "the second Christ" (cf. also "Jesus Christ" ExcTh 43:4, 58:1). TriTrac makes no distinction in terms of mythological characters corresponding to that between Christ and Jesus in Iren. and Hipp., nor does it give a mythological name to the reascending part of the fallen logos. As a consequence "Christ" is free to be used as a name for the Saviour.

(g) "Light": "ExcTh ed. Sagnard, p. 269 s.v. φῶς; also Iren. AH I 8:5 φῶς εἴρηκεν αὐτόν (sc. τὸν σωτήρα). This epithet refers to his formative power. "those who are appointed" implies the predestination of those who will receive the Light. For comparison ExcTh 41:2-4 may be helpful: the Light illuminates, forms and manifests those who themselves have the light as an innate capacity.

As Ka. I 358 notes, neither of the designations Logos and Jesus is applied to this mythological character by TriTrac. The explanation for this is probably that the name logos is already occupied by the fallen aeon (what Ka., ib., says about 90:14 is incorrect: cf. the Fr. and Eng. translations of that passage in Ka., as well as the present translation), and that TriTrac reserves "Jesus" for the incarnate Saviour (117:12-15).

87:10-13. The implication of $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ here is not quite certain. It seems that the names of the aeons of 87:12 and the list of names of the Saviour are related. Most likely what is intended is not that the names of the Saviour actually are names of aeons, but simply the general point that the Saviour incorporates all the qualities and various aspects of the Pleroma which produces him. Similar formulations were used of the Son, in his aspect as immanent in the Pleroma, above, 66:29ff.

87:11-12. $\bar{\text{N}}/\text{NIPEN}$: I emend to ENIPEN .

87:15-16. The Son is the gnosis of the Father because he reveals him, being his image. For the Son as the personification of gnosis: ExcTh 7:1, 31:3; GTr 20:38; cf. Ka.

87:16-17. Cf. note on 57:27-29.

87:17-31. The Son as the manifestation of the All: The Son not only reveals the oneness of the Father, but also the multiplicity of the Pleroma.

87:17. $\Sigma\text{ΑΝΝΑΙΩΝ ΧΡΙΟ}$: For the conjugation base cf. Introd. pp. 45, 47, and Kahle, Bala'izah, 171-75.

87:22-26. Irenaeus as well (AH I 2:6 [end], 4:5)

makes the Pleroma provide the Saviour with a military escort of angels (δορυφόρους ... ἀγγέλους).

Accompanying angels are also mentioned by ExcTh 35-36, 44:1-2, but not by Hipp. Their mythological function is to manifest the multiplicity of the Pleroma so as to serve as the model for the generation of the spiritual race. The military nature of the escort is more accentuated in TriTrac than elsewhere; this is an effect of the characteristic cosmogonic outlook of the treatise, which, unlike these other texts, conceives of a pre-cosmic chaos of war and strife, and of the Saviour's demiurgic activity as a military operation to end this state (88:30ff). A more particular explanation is given in 87:24-26: The Saviour is revealed as a military commander in order to unite the previously emitted order of the remembrance (i.e. the psychic powers), which in its enraged struggle with the powers of the imitation has lost control of itself and begun fighting itself (83:34-84:36). (As ΝΛ ΠΙΜΕΥΕ consistently refers to the psychic powers in TriTrac [see Ka. II 317 s.v.] the circumstantial clause can hardly be other than one of result. The versions of Ka. and NHLE all miss the point.)

87:27. Ε90 Ν2λ2 {N2λ2} Ν20 (Ka. I 18 n. 3).

87:30. 9NEY is Conjunctive (Introd. p. 52).

87:31-88:8. The authority of the "Fruit." As Ka. I 360 notes there is strong verbal agreement between 87:33-36 and Iren. AH I 4:5 and ExcTh 43:2. The agreement derives from an exegetical tradition in Valentinianism, which applies the theme of Matt. 28:18 etc. to the mission of the Saviour to the fallen aeon.

87:31-34. An adverbial sentence. λ I take in the meaning of "on behalf of, representing." "the power (ἐξουσία) of the All" is an interpretation of πᾶσα ἐξουσία in Matt. 28:18 etc.

87:34. "The Father placed in him the All": ἐνδόντος αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ πατρὸς Iren. AH I 4:5.

87:35-36. This echoes Eph. 1:21 οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

88:3. ΤΕΤΟΥ: The meaning "custody, charge" is suggested by the context. "entrusted" (ἐπιτρέπειν) is a semi-technical word: an ἐπίτροπος is someone who is officially in charge of another's possessions, either economically or politically. The word is practically synonymous with οἰκονομος (Gal. 4:2; TWNT, III 784 n. 37) into which the following sentence makes the Saviour, putting him in charge of the οἰκονομία.

88:4. "the administration (οἰκονομία) of the All" is ambiguous, and probably deliberately so. There are (1) a cosmological reference: the Son provides the world with an organized structure (the All = the cosmos); (2) an apocalyptic reference: The Son supervises the salvation history (the All = the present aeon); (3) a peculiarly Gnostic reference to the Son as the one who has been entrusted with the Pleroma in order to manifest it to that which has become deficient and remedy the deficiency (the All = the Pleroma).

88:7. ΠΕΞΙ <ΠΕ> ΠΡΗΤΕ (Ka.).

88:8-89:4. The manifestation of the Son.

88:8-25. The manifestation to the logos.

88:10-11. λϥΞΕΙϥ ΝΩΔΡΠ̄ "appeared": Uncertain; in particular because of the otherwise unattested reflexive use of ΕΙΠΕ. Our interpretation is based on the conjecture that the Gk. was προϋφινεσθατ (cf. LSJ), and the observation that visual metaphors dominate the description of the manifestation in the present paragraph.

88:11-12. "was lacking in vision": The inability to see characterizes existence in the lower region.

For a general statement cf. GTr 17:13-14. One effect of this deficiency is the arrogant illusion of the material powers that they alone exist (79:12-16). The name Samael for the chief archon in some (non-Valentinian) texts expresses this characteristic (cf. Tardieu, Trois mythes, 130 n. 285). By contrast the converted logos and the psychic powers who derive from the conversion are characterized by their submission to a superior power which they no more than the others have seen, but whose luminous manifestation they hope for, trust and believe in, and seek after (82:34-35, 83:18-26, 85:12-18.25-32).

88:12-15. The illumination of, and appearance of light to those who are in the light is well known from both the soteriology of the mysteries and Jewish-Christian messianism. Compared with other Valentinian systems TriTrac places an unusually strong emphasis on this aspect of the Saviour's manifestation to the fallen aeon; cf. also the preceding note, and the note on 85:29-32.

88:13-15. The adverbial complement "by means of ... there" may also be read with the following main verb "he first perfected."

88:15-16. "he first perfected him": Either: "he gave him a first perfection," i.e. a provisional one,

until the ultimate reabsorption into the Pleroma; or: "he was the first one that he perfected," i.e. before the Saviour attended to the psychic powers that are his offspring; or: he first perfected him, and then gave him "that which is one by one (87:18-19). The first interpretation seems preferable from the context: the perfection is here closely related to the "inexpressible joy," which is qualified as "the first joy" in 88:20. This joy refers to the emotion by which the hopefully expectant logos responds to the appearance of the light (cf. also Iren. AH I 4:5, ExcTh 44:1), and which is one of the characteristics of the region which is subsequently organized immediately below the Pleroma, above the psychic sphere (93:2.8-9.21). Thus this joy represents a preliminary state in the process of salvation: the bride has seen the bridegroom for whom she prayed and hoped, but has not yet been united with him in the bridal chamber of the Pleroma. This preliminary state is what "the first joy" refers to, and it is plausible that this also is what is implied by the word "first" in 88:15.

88:16-19. The logos becomes a perfect individual and also receives the aspect of multiplicity of the Pleroma ("that (which) is one by one"). Specifically, this aspect is represented by the Saviour's angelic retinue.

88:17. "for himself": ΝΕϣ may be interpreted as ethical dative, but may also be a scribal error influenced by ΝΕϣ in 88:18.

88:20-23. "We" are the spirituals. In Iren. AH I 4:5 Sophia conceives (ἐγκτισήσασαν) by the vision of the lights of the Saviour's accompanying angels. These angels are the models of her spiritual offspring. In ExcTh 21:1, 26:1.2, 35:1, 41:1 the expression "the superior seed" (τὸ διαφέρον σπέρμα, also in the pl.) 35:1 connects this seed specifically with the appearing angels. As Ka. notes, Hipp. El. VI 34:3.6 calls this seed λόγοι, but there is no need, as Ka. does, to stress the terminology here, as σπέρματα and λόγοι are almost interchangeable as technical terms in the broad philosophical context of Valentinianism.

"sown ... invisibly," i.e. invisible to cosmic powers who do not recognize the latent superiority of the seed; cf. (although in an anthropogonic context) Valentinus ap. Clem. Strom. II 36:2; Iren. AH I 5:1, 7:2.

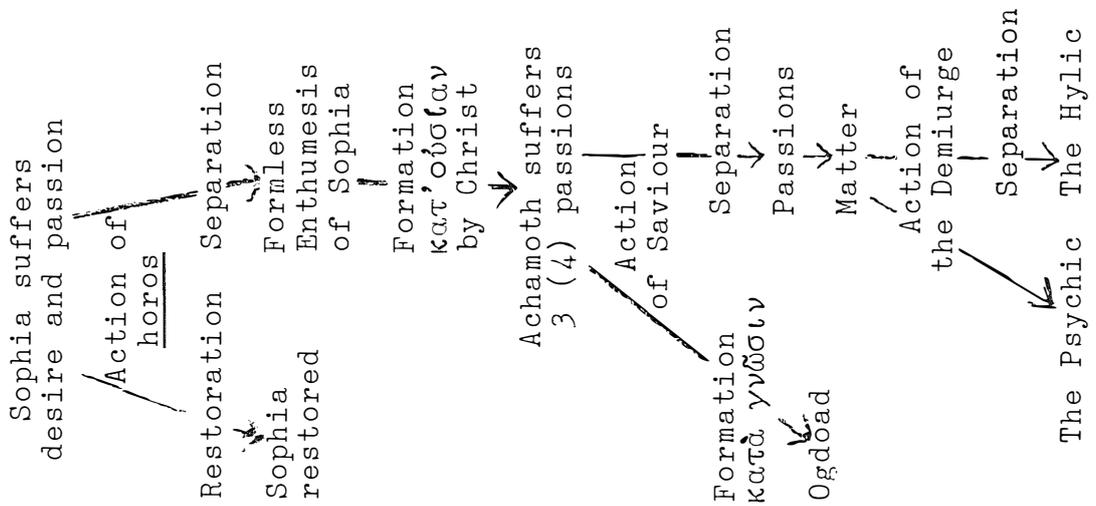
"as a logos ..." is metaphorical (cf. 60:34-37) rather than technical, as is shown by the use of the general and untechnical word ἐπιστήμη rather than γνῶσις/ΓΛΥΝΕ.

88:23-25. In 81:24-25 and 85:18-20 the turning away was represented as already taking place in the

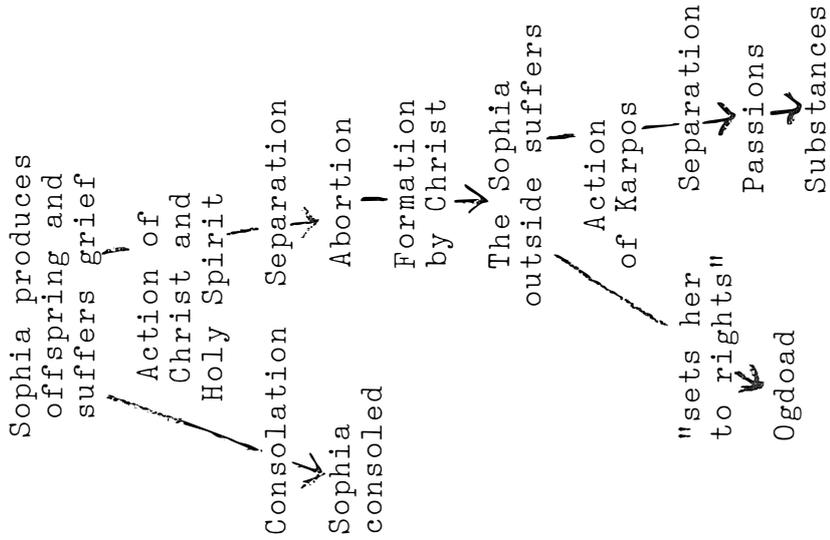
conversion. This apparent inconsistency is at least partly removed if one assumes that the emphasis in the present passage rests on the notion of separation --previously the turning away from the material powers has been only a mental disposition, the aeon not yet having actually separated himself from them--and regards the event described here as parallel to the separation of the passions from Sophia by the Saviour in Iren. AH I 4:5 (χωρίσαντα αὐτὰ [sc. τὰ πάθη] αὐτῆς; ἀποκρίναντα χωρίσει), ExcTh 45:2 (ἀποστήσας δὲ τὰ πάθη τῆς πεπονθυίας; διακρίνας) and Hipp. El. VI 32:6 (ἐκστῆναι τὰ πάθη ἀπ'αὐτῆς); cf. also 96:8-16. This separation is conceptually the same as that studied at some length above in the note on 77:11-36, where it referred to the split between the perfect and the deficient part of the fallen aeon. We then adduced some evidence which indicate that the notion derived from a Neopythagorean theory of the derivation of the material principle from the single first principle. Now the same process of division takes place, in both Iren., Hipp. and TriTrac, on a lower level, in a way which is formally strongly reminiscent of Old Academic diaeretic method, as may be seen from the diagram on the following page.

88:26-89:4. The manifestation to the material and psychic powers. Whereas the Saviour manifests himself to the logos in order to save it, the purpose

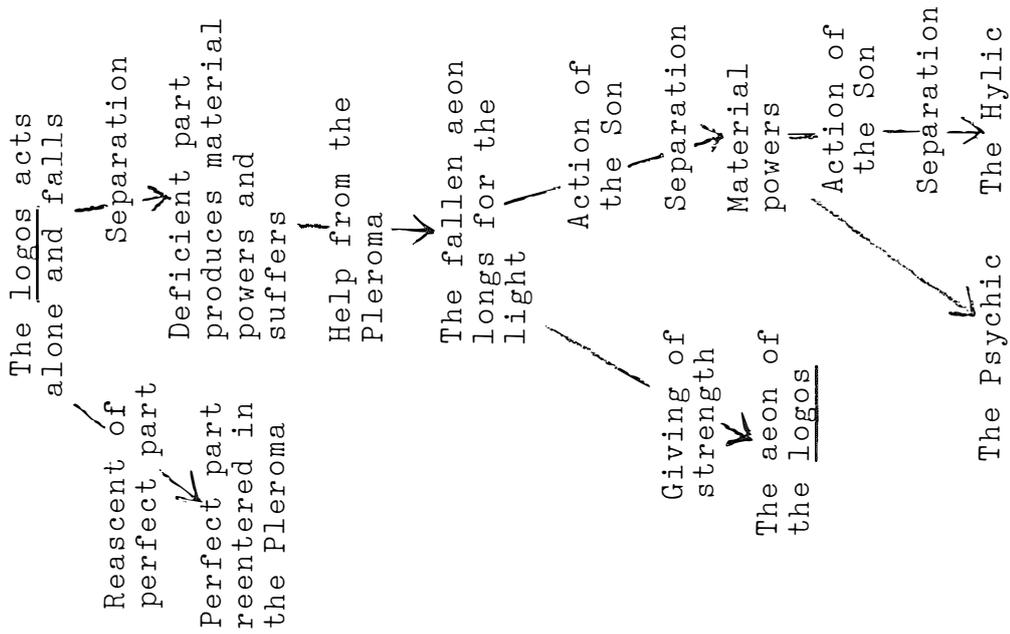
Iren.



Hipp.



TriTrac



DIAGRAM

of his manifestation to the psychic and material powers, although depicted in the colours of apocalyptic eschatology, is cosmogonical: he brings their chaotic struggle to cease and separates the two fighting parties.

88:29. "in a mock-form": quite uncertain. I read $\zeta(\omega)\text{BE}$, interpreting the horizontal stroke above ζ as an offset from H in ζPHI of 89:29. $\chi(\omega)\text{BE WZ}$, NHLE I think is impossible. Possibly we here have the docetic theme of "the laughing saviour."

88:30. Emend to $\lambda\varphi\epsilon\iota\text{PE}$ with WZ: In 89:6.8 the "stroke" is attributed to the Saviour.

88:30-33. The motif of the sudden appearance here is related to that of the rapid manifestation of Primal Man to the archons in certain Gnostic texts (e.g. ApJn NHC II 14:13ff; NHC II, 5, 103:15ff, esp. 103:28-32). In common with that motif are the unexpectedness of the revelation, the consternation of the powers who see it and the withdrawal of the revealer. In NHC II, 5 the revelation also provokes two different reactions, as in TriTrac. But the Saviour in TriTrac does not display himself (cf. 90:13: they did not see him) to be anthropogonically reproduced, and the purpose of his manifestation is exclusively that of pacifying, subjecting and

separating the powers.

The lightning theophany here stands in the Son of Man-tradition of Matt. 24:27 (cf. also Strack-Billerbeck in loc), but also in a Hellenistic tradition: Orig. C. Celsum. I 60, Iambl. Myst. III 13 (Dodds, Proclus, 275).

88:33-89:1. "entanglement": As Ka. I 304 suggests, 2ΛHM here and in 110:6, 111:18 has the same meaning as the reduplicated form 2ΛOMAM̄; cf. also Westendorf, and Černy, Dict., s.vv. Here very probably < [⊕]συμπλοκή (Ka., referring, with justice, to ExcTh 47:3 τὴν συμπλοκὴν τῶν δύο οὐσίων, [i.e. the psychic and the hylic]; cf. also Crum s.v. 2ΛOMAM̄). The entanglement is that of the battle between the psychic and the hylic orders. The intervention of the Saviour therefore serves both to abate the battle and to separate the two orders. This cosmogonic myth is not without parallels: In the cosmogony of Ovid's Metamorphoses the demiurge brings the discord of the pre-cosmic chaos to an end by an act which separates the elements:

hanc deus et melior litem natura diremit.
nam caelo terras et terris abscidit undas
et liquidum spisso secrevit ab aere caelum

I 21-23; the same idea is found in the Strassbourg papyrus 481 (λη]γέμεναι προτέρης ἔριδος στοιχε[ῖα κελεύει, / δαι]μονίης πείθεσθε διακρίνεσθέ (τ')

[ἐφεστῆς vv. 13-14; cf. note on 79:16-80:11). The general category to which these creation myths belong is that of the διάκρισις-cosmogonies which have been studied by Spoerri, Späthellenistische Berichte, ch. I, in which the elements are derived (frequently by the action of a transcendent demiurge) by διάκρισις from a chaos characterized by their undifferentiated mixture with one another. It has previously escaped the commentators, and also Spoerri, that the Valentinians also applied the theory of cosmogonic διάκρισις; not however, for the differentiation of the elements, but for the separation of the hylic (which includes all the elements) and the psychic natures (Iren. AH I 5:2 διακρίναντα γὰρ τὰς δύο οὐσίας, ExcTh 48:1 διακρίνας δὲ ὁ δημιουργὸς τὰ καθαρὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμβριθοῦς, ValExp 35:30-34

This Jesus created the creation and he fashioned out of the passions which surround the seeds, and he separated [ΠΩΡΧ] them from one another.)

However, it must also be pointed out that the separation of the psychic from the hylic constitutes a further branch in the system of division through which the Valentinians are able to account for the origin of matter (cf. the diagram above). Thus the cosmogonic διάκρισις in these systems forms part of a more general system of derivation by bipartition. Such a system can be found in Philo Heres 133ff, where the Logos performs its demiurgic task through

a series of divisions: beings into the animate and the inanimate, the inanimate into light and heavy, coarse and fine etc., so as in this way to produce the elements. It has long been recognized that Philo's procedure is based on the dialectic method of the Academy (cf. e.g. U. Früchtel, Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen bei Philo von Alexandrien [Leiden 1968] 41-52). The Valentinians clearly also made use of this type of cosmogonic diaeresis,¹ but in a version which is more concerned with the derivation of matter than with the comprehensive description of reality--we may conjecture that this represents a "Pythagorean" appropriation of the method, since the derivation of matter within the framework of a metaphysical monism was precisely a Neopythagorean concern (cf. also note on 77:11-36).²

¹ The divisions light/heavy and coarse/fine are used in Iren. AH I 5:2 and ExcTh 47:3, but to distinguish the psychic and the hylic substances rather than the light and the heavy elements.

² Spoerri deliberately excludes Philo from his survey of the δαδκροσις-cosmogonies, and does not discuss their relation to the division concept of Academic dialectic, although he does suggest that Platonism was instrumental in their circulation (107ff). It seems plausible that the cosmogonic notion of a process of division, differentiation or secretion as such, which can be found already in the Pre-socratics (Spoerri, 12 n. 7), was no more the property of a single school in late Hellenism or

89:4-90:13. The different reactions of the two orders.

89:4-7. The epiphany of the Saviour provokes fear among the cosmic powers. See note on 88:30-33. The mythologoumenon is elaborated on in GTr 26:4ff.

89:8-15. "little" is not pejorative here, as Ka. thinks, but means rather "humble" (cf. Crum, s.v.): the psychics have been given a predisposition to submit themselves to what is superior. The "little thought" refers to their humbleness, as opposed to the presumptive and vain self-estimation of the hylics. However, the introduction of "little" as a name, as well as the context as a whole, suggests that the author is here giving a particular interpretation of a more generally applied designation for the psychics, and in this respect the remarks of Ka. are not without relevance. That this is so is supported by the fact that "the little ones, who believe" (with allusion to Matt. 10:42 parr) refer

under the Empire than earlier, but that Platonists of various kinds assimilated this general physical idea to their own particular theoretical framework. This explains how the διάκρισις of Philo and the Valentinians may be seen both as a physical process and as the Platonic διάκρισις κατὰ γένη.

to the catechumens in Manichaeism (Keph. I 189:6-19, 201:30; after Bauer, Wörterbuch, s.v. μικρός 1.c.).

89:8-10. Emendation is necessary. Simplest is λΥ† PEN <ΑΡΛΥ> N̄NOYΩHM, and this is adopted here. But N̄NOYΩHM may also have been corrupted by the following N̄NOYMEYE ΩHM, and more extensive emendations should be considered.

89:12-15. Cf. 83:22-26.

89:13. ΕΥCITE: Reāđ ΕϞCITE (Ka.).

89:15-17. For the greeting (ἀσπάζεσθαι) of the Saviour cf. GTr 26:30. The proskynesis is a sign of submission; for ἀσπάζεσθαι = προσκυνεῖν cf. TWNT I 494:20.

89:17-20. Emend NEY to NEϞ in 89:18 (NHLE). That the psychic powers become witnesses and confess (ὁμολογεῖν) the Saviour corresponds to their basic nature, as they originate in repentance and conversion.

89:24-28. The scene is that of the eschatological punishment of Jewish-Christian apocalyptic: the Saviour's opponents are relegated to the abyss. The "Outer Darkness" is the τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον of

Matt. 8:12, 22:13, 25:30. But in a Gnostic context such an expression takes on a peculiar meaning; here darkness is associated with matter, the shadows and the void, the realm of non-being which exists only as the negative outside of the delimited Pleroma. The implicit identification of Hades with matter represents a Middle Platonic theory (Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 378ff).

89:27. 2ET2E: Cf. *Introd.* pp. 39-40.

89:28-90:1. The hylic powers are subordinated to the psychic ones, whose task becomes that of ruling the material sphere in the service of the salvation economy. One may compare *Iren. AH I 7:4*, where the Demiurge is said to be in charge of the cosmic oikonomia; also the expression τὸν τῆς οἰκονομίας ... ἄρχοντα. The entire raison d'être of the Demiurge and the psychic powers is that of temporarily and vicariously administering the world of matter, which is too far removed from the world of perfection to be acted on by it directly, but which nevertheless serves a necessary function in the plan of salvation.

89:36. ET<N>AΩΠE (Ka.).

90:1. I emend to ENTAYABOY and take ABOY to be reflexive. The ignorance of the Demiurge is a

common Valentinian theme (e.g. Iren. AH I 5:4, 7:4; Hipp. El. VI 33, 34:8; ExcTh 49:1).

90:1-13. The author emphasizes the soteriological nature of the manifestation to the logos, by describing it in terms of mystery theology: The Saviour is both god and mystagogue, gradually preparing the mystes for his ascent and the epopteia of the divinity which is the ultimate purpose of the initiation in the mysteries (cf. E. Pax in RAC V 848-49, E. Fascher, ib. 977-83). The utilization of these notions from the mysteries to describe philosophical cognition goes back to Plato; the history of this tradition has been written by A. Wlosok, Laktanz, who concentrates on Philo, Clement of Alexandria and the Hermetica. The mystagogic role of the Saviour in TriTrac corresponds to that of Logos in the two first mentioned and of Nous in the latter, whereas the mystes, TriTrac's logos, is the equivalent of the still impure and unilluminated soul.

90:4-5. Similarly Nous is present in the Hermetic devotees:

παράγινομαι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὁ Νοῦς τοῖς ὁσίοις ...
καὶ ἡ παρουσία μου γίνεται βοήθεια; καὶ εὐθὺς
τὰ πάντα γνωρίζουσι

Poim. 22. The idea of the παρουσία of mind as a

formative power in the soul is Middle Platonic, cf. Atticus ap. Proclus In Tim. I 382:12 Diehl, also cf. Iambl. Myst. II 6 ἡ ... τῶν θεῶν παρουσία.

90:5-7. The Saviour-mystagogue shows compassion and heals the passions of the soul. The ζασις τῶν παθῶν also occurs in both Iren. AH I 4:5 and ExcTh 45:1. Similarly both Philo and Clement of Alexandria portray the Logos as the healer of the passions (see Lilla, Clement, 96-99); and in Corp. Herm. XII 3 Nous is the surgeon who gradually removes the sick parts of the soul (cf. also Festugière, Révélation, III 116).

90:10-11. "those who are on the outside" seems to stand in antithesis to "he manifested himself within him" in 90:4-5, but it is not quite clear what is implied in this antithesis. In any case "the outside" refers to the cosmic region outside the Pleroma and comprises both psychic and hyllic spheres (cf. 96:14-15, 97:27-28).

90:12. CE2HTC: Cf. note on 64:33-34.

90:14-104:3. The creation of the world.

90:14-91:6. The logos gives thanks. This section is a much fuller statement of the passage Iren. AH

I 4:5

τὴν δὲ Ἀχαμῶθ ἐκτὸς τοῦ πάθους γενομένην [καὶ]
 συλλαβοῦσαν τῇ χαρᾷ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ φώτων τὴν θεωρίαν

90:14. There is no justification for the assumption of Ka. I 363 that logos here, at variance with the use of the term everywhere else in TriTrac, refers to the Saviour; the English translation of Ka., and NHLE correctly disregard this interpretation.

90:15. "advanced":... the meaning of \bar{P} 2HT \bar{C} here is uncertain. All translations have "made a beginning," but this meaning fits the context badly, and is in addition only attested in Bohairic. Our interpretation regards the word as an expression of the progress towards gnosis and perfection induced by the Saviour.

90:16-18. Cf. 88:23-25.

90:18-19. A parallel to this particular form of the garment metaphor¹ is OdSol 11:10: "And I rejected the folly ($\kappa\alpha\alpha\lambda\alpha$) cast upon the earth [the folly is that of the choic body],/ And stripped it off and cast it from me" (tr. Charlesworth). The

¹ For this metaphor in general cf. now Kehl's article "Gewand" in RAC X 945-1025.

"presumptuous thought" is that from which the passions and matter originate (78:29-30, 82:20-21).

90:20-23. The "repose" (perhaps < ἡ ἀνάπαυσις) is the healed state, the freedom from passions; semantically close is the description of Sophia as ἀπαθής ExcTh 45:2. Since passion, represented by the hylic powers, means division, strife and discord (cf. note on 79:16-80:11), freedom from passion is also unity, the essential characteristic of the Father and of pleromatic perfection. This association of ἀπάθεια and oneness can also be found in Clement of Alexandria (esp. Strom. IV 152:1; cf. Lilla, Clement, 112; Krämer, Geistmetaphysik, 283), and is probably of Neopythagorean origin (Whittaker, VigChr 32.216-19; cf. also the note on 65:11-23). The submissive attitude of the hylic powers which accompanies the logos' liberation from them implies that he has now become their ruler, master over the passions and, in a sense, king over the material cosmos; in the background one may discern both a common Gnostic utilization of the ἀνάπαυσις-motif from the Biblical cosmogony (GThomas log. 2; further Marcovich in JTS 20.56-57, Helderan in Nag Hammadi and Gnosis, 40-42) and the Stoic application of the philosopher-king idea.

90:21. "subjugation": I derive this from ΚΩΒΞ

"bind (?)" Crum, Dict., XVII b.

90:23. λΥΡΕΩΕ: Emend to λϞΡΕΩΕ with MPQZ, NHLE.

90:24. "the visitation of his brothers": i.e. the manifestation of the Pleroma through the Saviour and his accompanying angels. ἐπισκοπή here probably has the connotation of "providentian care" (Lampe, Lex. A.2.).

90:29-30. "Greatness": Cf. note on 52:26.

90:30-31. "by a decree" must refer to the εὐδοκία of the Pleroma (note on 86:11-15), connoting the portrayal of the Pleroma as a heavenly council, cf. the Hymn of the Pearl 39a ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲕ ... ⲁⲓⲗⲁ "they took a decision."

90:31-91:6. The thanksgiving is images of the aeons. Similarly Sophia, responding to the manifestation of the Saviour and his angels produces a new class of offspring, κεκυηκέναι καρπὸς κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα, κύημα πνευματικῶν καθ' ὁμοίωσιν γέγονος τῶν δορυφόρων τοῦ Σωτῆρος. Iren. AH I 4:5, cf. 5:6. The passage quoted alludes to Gen. 1:27, as is confirmed by ExcTh 21:1. The Valentinian conception is that by manifesting the Pleroma the Saviour reveals the Archetypal Man, himself the image of the Father, and that the fallen

aeon when receiving the manifestation produces the spiritual man as the copy of that which has been revealed; cf. note on 65:35-67:34. TriTrac, however, is here also clearly influenced by Platonic cosmogony. The logos is depicted as the demiurge-artist who employs his skill in the fabrication of a beautiful image. "works" 91:3, < ?[ⓧ]ἐργάζεσθαι, belongs characteristically in this Platonic context, and sounds foreign to this particular Valentinian mythologoumenon, where metaphors of biological generation usually dominate (cf. 90:31 ΧΠΟ "bring forth").¹ The emphasis on the beauty of the copy is also traditional in Platonism, and also the designation "those who exist" (τὰ ὄντα) for the intelligible model, which is rarely used elsewhere in TriTrac fits well into the Platonic context. For the cosmogonic function of the spiritual emission see note on 91:6-92:22.

90:31-32. It is tempting to see in the "living forms" the νοητὰ ζῶα of Tim. 30c7, 31a5 etc., but more probably "living" here, as in Valentinus ap. Clem. Strom. IV 89:6, refers to the real existence of the model, as contrasted with the derived nature of the image.

¹ Cf. ExcTh 41:1 τὰ διαφέροντα σπέρματά φησι μήτε ὡς πάθη ... μήτε ὡς κτίσιν προεληλυθέναι, ἀλλ' ὡς τέκνα.

90:32-91:1. That the spirituals are equal to the aeons in appearance, but not in essence, reflects their production as images, which, in accordance with Platonic ontology, are always inferior to the model. The fallen aeon will only achieve unification with the Saviour in the ultimate restoration, when also the spirituals will receive their perfection by being united with their superior angelic counterparts (Iren. AH I 7:5). Cf. also the note on 95:2-7.

90:36-37. $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}$.v. EN : Supply NE.

91:2. Read $\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{N}}$ OY{NEY}ΕΠΙCΤΗΜΗ (WZ).

91:3-4. λόγος has here clearly no mythological significance (as Ka. thinks, regarding it as a name of the Saviour) but must be seen in the context of σοφία and ἐπιστήμη as designating the intellectual competence of the aeon for his work. Contrast 81:12, where the defective emissions of the aeon's vain presumption are said to be produced not $\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{F}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}}$. As becomes clear from 93:34 this λόγος, which might not inappropriately be rendered "rationality," is the formative power communicated to the aeon by the manifestation of the Son. One should not really think of the aeon and his offspring as separate entities; in a sense the offspring represent the

state into which the aeon shapes himself through the agency of the internally manifested Saviour-Son, so that "uniting logos with himself" refers both to the result of, and the pre-condition for the aeon's formative activity. In philosophical terms: the aeon is the irrational soul being formed, as much as he is the demiurge who himself confers shape on the amorphous.

91:6-92:22. The purpose of this emission is to set in order his previous offspring. Whereas the purpose of the spiritual emission in the Valentinian systems reported by the Church Fathers, as far as they have been transmitted, is entirely anthropogonical (the seed is inserted into the psychic Adam), it has here also a cosmogonic function: mirroring the perfection of its pleromatic model it imposes order and rationality upon the cosmos. Iren. AH I 5:1 and ExcTh 47 also portray Sophia as demiurge; after the Saviour as "first demiurge" has separated the substances, Sophia as "second demiurge" shapes the psychic realm, on top of which she places herself. But this demiurgic activity is distinct from the emission of the spiritual seed. TriTrac, on the other hand, makes no distinction between the aeon's emission of spiritual beings, his installation in a hyper-psychic sphere, and his demiurgic activity: the images of the Pleroma which have been emitted

in fact constitute this sphere, in which the aeon-logos resides and from which he creates and supervises the visible world.

91:8. ⲈⲚⲦⲗⲞⲢⲟⲩⲰⲚ̅: Read ⲈⲚⲦⲗⲞⲢⲟⲩⲰⲚ̅ (WZ).

91:15-17. The Coptic text is confused here; our translation attempts to reconstruct the original meaning of the passage.

91:17-25. The idea of a chariot in which one ascends above the world and towards God is at home both in Jewish-Christian apocalyptic and mysticism on the one hand (chariots of fire; merkabah), and in Graeco-Roman religion on the other (the vehicle of the soul); for surveys of this idea cf. Dodds, Proclus, 313-21; Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 178-84; Epistula Iacobi Apocrypha, 75-78. In the present context the chariots undoubtedly refer to the spiritual nature of this race, since the chariots enable them to rise above both the psychic and the hylic spheres (i.e. the entire cosmic realm); cf. EpIac 18:33-34 ⲠⲮⲗⲠⲠⲙⲗ ... ⲠⲠⲠⲠⲗ (< ἄρμα πνευματικόν); Lewy, 184 n. 30. As with the aeons of the Pleroma (cf. esp. 69:24ff), of whom this spiritual offspring are images, spiritual nature is a matter of individual competence, so that each chariot brings its charioteer to a particular level within a

spiritual hierarchy.

91:18-19. "deliberately" (< κατὰ ^ἄτὴν προαίρεσιν):
 The Coptic makes this go with "brought forth." This makes sense, since the hylic powers do not originate from the prohairesis (cf. 76:2-7), or, as 81:12 says, they did not come into being κατὰ λόγον; thus the author may well have desired to imply that the spiritual offspring, in contrast to the hylic powers, have come into being in accordance with the rational deliberation proper to the nature of the aeon who produces them. But there is also some likelihood, I think, that the expression in the Gk. went with "are in chariots," so that προαίρεσις here, in Stoic fashion, would mean the essential nature of each spiritual resulting from the consequences of his free choice, which earns him the appropriate "chariot."

91:19. 2N̄ 2N̄2λPMA NE is confused and one must delete either one 2N̄ (which yields "they are chariots"), or, which seems conceptually preferable, delete NE ("they are in chariots").

91:25-32. "This" must refer to the generation of the spiritual race, through which order and form is imposed upon the two inferior natures. The imposition of order is an "overthrow" for the hylic

order because its very nature is chaotic. The psychics, however, originating from conversion and remembrance, possess a nature which is essentially turned towards what is superior, and are therefore susceptible to improvement; the manifestation is a "beneficence" to them because it aids them to fulfil their good potential. The "seed" is a common name for Sophia's spiritual offspring (cf. e.g. Sagnard, Gnose valentinienne, 654 s.v. σπέρμα 1.). The name implies something not yet actualized, and TriTrac, unlike other Valentinian documents, explicitly says that they have not yet attained subjective existence. Obviously this implies that only through fulfilling their cosmic and salvation-historical function, by being educated through taking part in the soteriological oikonomia, will they achieve full existence. The same words were used in the description of the embryonic aeons in 60:28-29, 61:4.7; the theory of the generation of the Pleroma mythologically prefigures the (individual and collective) salvation history (cf. notes on 60:16-37 and 61:7-13).

91:25. ΔΕ = ΝΤΕ; the nomen regens in indefinite, cf. also Introd. p. 38. The following pleonastic Ν- is perhaps added by a scribe who misinterpreted the ΔΕ.

91:32-92:4. This passage probably does not deal (once more) with the manifestation of the Son, as previous translations imply, but, like the rest of this section, concerns the function of the spiritual seed vis-à-vis the lower orders, and specifically "those whom the logos brought forth when he prayed," i.e. the (psychic) powers of the remembrance (82:10-83:35). The idea is that what the Son reveals to the logos is in turn manifested to the powers of the remembrance through the "visible images" (90:31-32) generated by the logos. The description of the Son's revelation in 86:23-87:5 is now (91:32-35) transferred to the spiritual seed, which in fact is the image of the image of the Father and the Pleroma. Soteriologically the relation between the psychic powers and the spirituals of the logos is analogous to that between the logos and the revealed Son: the imperfect and disorderly inferior being is brought to order and formed by the superior power, thus the spirituals are in a sense the saviours of the psychics. From a different point of view, the spirituals are merely the mediators on to a lower level of the one formative revelation of the Saviour-Son and his satellites, whose images they are.

91:37-92:4. Cf. 90:25ff: the spirituals whom the logos brings forward are the concretization of the

glorification offered in thanksgiving.

92:2-4. Whereas "those who belong to the remembrance" were brought forth without the logos' direct contemplation of their model, but from memory, so to speak, the emission of the spirituals did benefit from such contemplation; cf. 92:10-14. For the creative function of the contemplation of a higher hypostasis in Neoplatonism cf. the references in the note on 75:7.

92:4-10. The mutual harmony (83:26-33, 84:28-31), and the hope (82:34-35, 83:18-26), which the psychic powers have already is fortified by the emission of the spirituals.

92:10-14. The Coptic syntax is confused, but there must be an antithesis between ΝΟΥΛΡΠ̄ and †ΝΟΥ, and †ΝΟΥ most naturally goes with λϣΧΠΟ. The point made concerns the contrast between the previous images of the Pleroma brought forth by a remembrance, and the present ones, who derive from a vision.

92:16-17. "throughout the All": perhaps < ⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲗⲟⲩⲛⲁⲥ; cf. Ps. 9:18 S (quoted in Crum, Dict. 424 a).

92:17-22. This paedagogical theodicy was also used

as a designation for the hypercosmic, spiritual sphere of Sophia, the ogdoad. But the use of the term here is entirely in agreement with its religious and physical connotations under the Empire:¹ it is the principle of permanence which both transcends the temporal and changing cosmos and provides it with stability by enclosing it. It thus has a cosmological function, being creator, ruler and upholder of the orderly world (cf. also 100:18-30). But it also has a soteriological function, being the realm that is entered by whoever rises above the cosmos, and the permanence and self-identity achieved by the one who has overcome the dispersion and disharmony of corporeal existence. Finally it has, both cosmologically and soteriologically, a mediating function, being situated below the realm of divine perfection but above the cosmic heavens as the link between the superior and the inferior things, and also the image of the true aeon and its tool and agent vis-à-vis the oikonomia.

τόπος must be read in close conjunction with αἰών, and carries with it much the same polyvalence as that word: (1) Cosmologically it represents the space in which the cosmos is contained, as in Corp. Herm. II 3-4.12 and in Philo (references by Köster

¹ For a survey of the multiple meanings of αἰών in this period see esp. Festugière, Révélation, IV 152-99.

in TWNT VIII 201:22-35, cf. also Festugière's note in Nock's and his edition, I 39 n. 14)--here is, basically, the spatial counterpart to the temporal αἰών. (2) Soteriologically it is the place appropriate to the nature of the spirituals, their homeland, or the place for which they are destined. Here Zion-tradition can be discerned in the background: τόπος represents the מקום in which the Lord dwells with his saints (cf. Köster, 197:17-33, 198:20ff, 204:35ff); the presence of this tradition is made evident by Iren. AH I 5:3, where Sophia, dwelling in her supracelestial "place" is named γῆ (i.e. the Biblical יְרוּשָׁלַיִם) and "Jerusalem," and Hipp. El. VI 32:7, cf. 34:4, where she is likewise called "the heavenly Jerusalem." (3) τόπος also has the eminent sense of the place in the "middle." The term is, however, used in different ways by the Valentinians: Whereas τόπος in Hipp. El. VI 32:7-9, ExcTh passim, and probably Heracleon ap. Orig. In Ioh. XIII 49, refers to the psychic demiurge, due, as Hipp. makes clear, to the traditional intermediary position of the soul,¹ TriTrac agrees with the main system of Irenaeus which identifies ὁ μεσότητος τόπος with the sphere of Sophia (AH I 5:3.4, 7:1), situated

¹ Especially in ExcTh the Jewish use of מקום as a name for the Lord (Köster, 201:5ff) is also behind the designation of the Demiurge as ὁ Τόπος.

below the Pleroma but above the psychic cosmos, as the ὑπερουράνιος τόπος of the Platonic tradition.¹ That system tries to reconcile the two usages of the intermediary τόπος by distinguishing between the ὑπερουράνιος τόπος of the Ogdoad and the ἐπουράνιος τόπος of the Hebdomad; TriTrac also notes that the demiurge is called Τόπος (100:29), but without commenting on this double usage (if asked to explain the author might have answered that the sphere of the demiurge is an image of the aeon of the logos, 101:29ff).

92:28-36. "synagogue of salvation" (< συναγωγή σωτηρίας): (1) The use of συναγωγή here is on the one hand to be regarded on the background of the soteriological use of τόπος commented upon above; it is the holy place in which the saints are congregated, thus συναγωγή here is used within the tradition of the heavenly Zion. A heavenly συναγωγή, or its normal Hebrew and Aramaic equivalents, is not attested within orthodox Judaism, so TriTrac is here probably more within the tradition of sectarian Judaism, where the idea of a heavenly congregation did exist (cf. note on 57:33-34), than that of rabbinism. (2) On

¹ Ib. 5:4; cf. Phaedrus 247c2; Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 328 n. 57-58; Tardieu in The Rediscovery of Gnosticism, I 209ff.

the other hand the author contrasts συναγωγή with διασπορά, making an ethical and psychological pun on two well known Jewish terms: συναγωγή is the state of mental unity, διασπορά that of psychic dispersion. διασπορά is used in the same sense by Philo Praem. 115 and Clem. Prot. 88:3; cf. TWNT II 98, 101-02 [K.L. Schmidt]. I know no parallel to the corresponding metaphorical use of συναγωγή, but συνάγειν, like συλλέγεσθαι, is frequently used for the "gathering together of oneself" in the religious philosophy of the Empire; cf. e.g. Puech, En quête de la Gnose, II, Index p. 302 s.v. "rassembler"; Sleeman-Pollet, Lex. Plot. s.vv. συλλέγεσθαι, συνάγειν; Puech in Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha, I 273, 275; also cf. note on 90:20-23.

The word συνάγειν is also used by the Valentinians (ExcTh 26:3 [cf. Sagnard's note in loc.]; Heracleon ap. Orig. In Ioh. XIII 41, 44, 46, 49), but in a sense which is primarily collective: at the end of the oikonomia the spiritual seed will be reaped and gathered together into the ἀποθήκη. The author of TriTrac has reinterpreted this doctrine by individualizing it and bringing it into agreement with philosophical psychology and ethics. That this is so is made evident by his subsequent use of the term ἀποθήκη, the meaning of which, he implies (ΜΠΡΗΤΕ "as, thus"), is closely related to that of συναγωγή. That is, the notions of "gathering

together" and "storehouse" belong together, and the rationale of this association is obviously the harvesting and gathering of the seed, and not the idea of mental concentration. The latter idea must therefore be a secondary interpretation superimposed upon the terms συνάγειν and ἀποθήκη, already current in Valentinian eschatology. By this reinterpretation he has not only interpreted συνάγειν individually, but he has also been able to exploit a connotation of the term ἀποθήκη already utilized (as Ka. notes) by Heracleon ap. Orig. In Ioh. XIII 41, 44: the storehouse is the place where one obtains rest (for the "rest" also cf. note on 90:20-23).

92:33-34. Ka. wishes to emend to $\bar{M}\Pi<I>PHT\epsilon$, apparently regarding $\epsilon\Omega\lambda\gamma\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ as Aorist II.. Although this suggestion is not implausible, the present text, when interpreted as $\bar{M}\Pi PHT\epsilon$ + circumstantial clause, yields sufficient sense to be acceptable.

92:36. $\epsilon\psi\uparrow$: sc. $\bar{M}\tau\lambda\alpha\bar{N}$ (cf. Crum, Dict. 195a).

93:1-4. The chain of associations continues: The "storehouse" introduced the concept of "rest," in parallel with the interpretation of συναγωγή as the place of mental sanity; the "rest" introduces the notion of "joy," which in turn is linked with the hopeful expectation of unification with the Pleroma

(cf. note on 88:15-16, and 92:7-10), which then is described as the state of a bride who has been appointed for her bridegroom, but who has not yet been united with him. The author thus arrives at the mythologoumenon of the bride and the bridegroom, which has a general application in the theory of the syzygies (note on 64:24-75:10), but which also has an eminent significance as a description of the relationship between Sophia and the Saviour, and correspondingly between her spiritual offspring and the "angels" accompanying him (Iren. AH I 7:1.5; ExcTh 44:1 (κάλυμμα), 64-65, 79; Hipp. El. VI 34:4; Epiph. Pan. XXXI 7:11; frequently in GPhil). In the present text, where "logos" is substituted for Sophia, the bride, it is true, becomes a male mythological figure, but it would imply an inappropriately realistic view of the nature of mythic imagery to regard this as an inconsistency.

93:3. ENTΔ2TEE19: The same applies as in 92:36.

93:4-7. The term "kingdom" is introduced by the same process of association as the previous names: the "joy" is not only the anticipation of the union with the Saviour, but also the satisfaction of ruling over one's previous enemies. No more than with the other terms surveyed in this section does the interpretation given by the author represent the

original meaning of the term. The name "kingdom" is not attested by other Valentinian sources for the ogdoad, thus there is no direct basis for comparison. But as the name of the sphere immediately above the cosmos it obviously alludes to the notion that this sphere is the abode of the cosmokrator, i.e. both the Αἰών of Hellenistic religion and the Lord of the Old Testament; above all one would be justified in regarding it as an appropriation of the Biblical notion of the kingdom of heavens, or, of God. Cf. also 96:35-97:5.

93:8-14. "the joy of the Lord" is taken from Matt. 25:21.23 εἴσελθε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ κυρίου σου, the χαρὰ being interpreted as that of 88:15-20 etc. But the author retains elements from the Matthaean context (the parable of the talents): the joy is a reward "for the good which was in him," just as it is a reward for the profitable use of the talents in Matt.; further, the "thought of freedom," which seems to refer to another reward implied in the joy, perhaps reflects an interpretation that the invitation of the slave to come in to the joy of the master in the parable means that he obtains his freedom and becomes the master's equal.

93:14-94:10. The superiority of this aeon.

93:15. ΔΙΔΥΓΜΑ: This word here refers to what is elsewhere in the text designated by ΤΥΓΜΑ, or ΤΥΕΙΣ. Since such a usage of διδύγμα is otherwise unattested, as far as I am aware, and this is the only instance of the word in this text, it is reasonable to assume, as Ka. I 306 does, that the word originated by corruption, either in the Greek phase of transmission or, possibly, at the point of translation into Coptic, from δύο τάγματα.

93:17-20. "those who hold dominion" are probably "those who belong to the remembrance" (cf. 89:31-35), whereas "the illnesses and the smallnesses" refers to "those who belong to the imitation" (e.g. 81:1ff).

93:20-29. This aeon is equal with its cause, the Pleroma. By "cause" the author evidently means the Platonic paradigmatic cause: the aeon of the logos is caused by the aeon of the Pleroma in the sense of having it as model. The relationship between cause and effect is such that the effect retains not only the "form," i.e. the outward appearance, of the cause, but also the "constitution" (Gk. uncertain), i.e. the internal structure, of the cause. The author probably has in mind the "joy" which is an essential aspect of both the Pleroma and its copy (cf. the following note). "the real thing" (2ωB) probably < ἔργον, with a double meaning here: it

both refers to the real aeon model and stands antithetically to "cause," representing a play on the twin concepts of cause and effect.

93:27-29. The ἀπόλαυσις-aspect of the Pleroma is probably emphasized here in order to indicate the parallelism between the Pleroma and the aeon of the logos, thus the joy of the logos when he receives the vision and creates his aeon (93:21.29) is a reflection of the joy and delight in the Pleroma itself.

93:31. <delight>: Read 2N ΠΙ{X}ΩΚ N2HT.

93:34. logos: Cf. 91:3-4 and note in loc.

94:1. ΠΕΤΑΥΤΩΒZ̄: Read ΠΕΤΑΥΤΩΒZ̄.

94:2. For the contraction ΟΥ<ΟΥ>ΛΕΙΝΕ cf. 124:30; further, Kahle, Bala'izah, ch. VIII § 53b); Hintze-Schenke, Apostelgeschichte, 18.

94:4. Perhaps emend to ΛΥΩ ΟΥΒΕΛ ΠΕ ΛΥ6NNEY N2O.
"and it was an eye for vision," for conformity with the preceding and following phrases.

94:7. "at the bottom of": The prepositional expression 2I ΠCΛ NΠI T̄N λ-, previously unattested,

probably does not mean "below" in this context, as the psychic and the hylic spheres do not exist outside the oikonomia but form part of it.

94:9. "the perfection of things": As has been exemplified in the immediately preceding lines the aeon of the logos represents the realization and consummation of every human potential and faculty.

94:10-95:16. The individual members of this aeon.

94:10. It is not clear what ΝΕΕΙ refers back to in the text. It can hardly be ΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ in 94:9, as ΝΕΕΙ in reality must be the spiritual offspring with which this section as a whole deals. Possible solutions, which I nevertheless hesitate to adopt, are to delete ΝΕ, or read Ν<Δ>Ε, and subordinate the resulting relative clause either to ΕΥΝ̄ΤΕΥ as the main verb of the sentence, or to the cleft sentence ΝΕΕΙ ΕΤΕ Ζ̄Ν̄ΜΟΡΦΗ ΝΕ etc.

94:11-12. Cf. 90:31-91:6, and note in loc.

94:12-13. As Sch. points out the Cod. probably reads ΕΤΕ ΝΕΤΑΝΖΟΥΑΝ/ΖΟΥΝ and the text must be corrupt. The corruption seems to involve the verbs ωΝ̄ and/or ΟΥΩΝ̄ (both in q., or presuffixal form), cf. 90:31-32, but the exact restoration remains dubious,

and our suggestion, ΕΤΕ ΝΕΤΑΖΟΥΑΝΖΟΥ ΝΕ (cf. 94:23), is not the only one possible.

94:16-18. ΝΕΕΙ undoubtedly refers back to ΝΕΕΙ in 94:10. The passage alludes to Gen. 1:27: although the spirituals are brought forth "after the image (κατὰ, εἰκῶν) of the Pleroma," (94:11-12) they are only male and not female. Femaleness is deficiency and cannot be originated in the Pleroma, cf. 78:11-13. A related Valentinian interpretation of Gen. 1:27 is found in ExcTh 21:1, which, however, seems to contain some misunderstanding by Clement (see following note).

For the denial that the "superior seed" is passions cf. ExcTh 41:1 (μήτε ὡς πάθη ... προσληλυθέναι), but see also 95:2-7.

94:20-21. ExcTh 21:1 identifies the males of Gen. 1:27 with the ἐκλογή, and the females with the κλησῖς. These terms regularly refer in Valentinianism to the spiritual and the psychic sections of the Church (Iren. AH I 14:4; ExcTh 21-22, where the ἐκλογή represents the angels and the κλησῖς the spirituals is peculiarly isolated. Nevertheless the interpretation of Gen. 1:27 in terms of ἐκλογή and κλησῖς may well have been common Valentinian exegesis, and this is confirmed by the present passage, which presupposes the equivalence of males, spirituals and ἐκκλησία. ἐκκλησία is here used in the narrow sense

as equivalent to ἐκλογή/τὸ ἐκλεκτόν (On the usages of the word cf. Müller "Beiträge," 200-04.) The special significance attributed by the author to the name of ἐκκλησία depends, as is made clear in the following sentence, on the fact that this class of beings, as a unified congregation, is a replica of the ἐκκλησία of the aeons of the Pleroma (cf. 97:5-9).

94:23-95:2. Like the Pleroma, its model, the aeon of the logos is both a unity and a multiplicity, a structure which was transmitted through the revealing Son and his accompanying angels (cf. 87:22-26), However, on this lower level the indivisible nature of the aspect of multiplicity cannot be retained, the multiplicity of the images produced by the logos is influenced by the particularism which characterizes the lower regions. The notions of indivisible and divisible are found in Platonism of the period (e.g. Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 317 n. 16, citing Albinus, the Oracles, and Plotinus) and derive from the psychogony of Tim. 35a. By using these notions TriTrac defines the aeon of the logos along the lines of the world-soul of the Timaeus, as interpreted by Platonists from Xenocrates on: being intermediary between the intelligible and the corporeal the soul combines the indivisibility and oneness of the former with the plurality and

division of the later. To the extent that it is directed towards the intelligible above it it is formed by it and reflects its unity, but by its association with the corporeal below it it also exists under the conditions of empirical particularity. See further the note on 95:8-16.

94:28. $\bar{\text{N}}\lambda\text{q}\delta\lambda\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{B}}$ is the Achmimic Preterit. The supralinear stroke is a scribal error.

94:34-38. Although they belong to the same class of being ontologically, some are more advanced than others in perfection and understanding (cf. 91:17-25).

94:35. $2\bar{\text{N}}$ here is undoubtedly the article.

94:39. NEN : Read MEN ; cf. 96:3, and Ka. I 16.

94:40. Read $\{\bar{\text{M}}\}\text{NOY}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{E}}\text{I}$, the error probably derives from $\bar{\text{M}}\text{NOY}\bar{\text{N}}\lambda\bar{\text{Q}}$ in the following line.

95:2-7. The description of the spirituals as passions and sickness is surprising, especially when compared with 94:17, where it was affirmed that they did not originate from the sickness of femininity. Nor am I aware that Sophia's spiritual offspring is ever designated in this way in other Valentinian

sources; in ExcTh 41:1 it is even explicitly denied that they are generated as $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$. There is nevertheless no logical inconsistency here on the part of the author: impassibility and sanity are closely associated with unity, whereas passion and sickness are fundamentally related to division and dispersion (cf. e.g. 90:20-23, 92:28-36). Because the aeon of the logos not only reflects the oneness of the Pleroma above it, but also the divisibility of the inferior regions, it follows that it also, through its plurality, contains an aspect of passibility. In the passage before us an explanation is also given for the presence of this divisibility: it originates from the fact that the logos is separated from the Pleroma, that the logos did not participate in true oneness while producing his aeon (cf. 90:35-91:1). The inconsistency there is, is thus not a structural one, but at most one of terminology, the concept of passion being used with two different meanings. On the one hand there is "passion" in a relative sense: division, separatedness, or singleness, every kind of non-conformity to the pattern of unity in the Pleroma, is passion, and likewise all that derives from this condition. On the other hand there is "passion" in an eminent sense: it is a fall, the moving away from, the negation of, the revolt against pleromatic unity; this is the passion from which the hylic powers originate. The

inconsistency arises when the fallen aeon is described as converted, and subsequently healed, from the passions in the second sense, but remains in a state of passion in the first sense.

95:6. $\epsilon\iota$ = $\epsilon\iota\epsilon$, but in the meaning of "or" ($\langle \text{?}\epsilon\eta \rangle$).

95:8-16. The divisibility of the spirituals is justified by the salvation economy; because the sensible world exists under the condition of (spatio-temporal) divisibility, the spirituals, who are designed to enter this world so as to act as saviours in it, must have the same nature. In a slightly different form the same idea is attested in ExcTh 36, whose mythological and somewhat elliptical form of expression may be interpreted as follows: by being baptized--i.e. incarnated--Jesus is divided ($\tau\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\ \mu\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$)--i.e. he becomes a plurality, which must refer to the fact that his angels are transmitted to the world in a divided form--in order for "us" to be able to receive him and in turn to become one and united with the angels. The theme is resumed in the eschatological section below, 115:36-117:8.

95:9. "decided concerning them": $\text{NEY}\epsilon$ is probably $\nu\sigma\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ (Sch. 140), although to read NEY in the meaning "provide" is also possible.

95:17-96:16. The mandate of the logos.

95:17-22. Cf. 87:34ff, where similar expressions were used of the Saviour-Son. Both the Saviour and the logos are deputies of the Pleroma and put in charge of the oikonomia, and to a certain extent this idea has been duplicated for two mythological characters. But a difference in the way in which these two are conceived as deputies is nevertheless discernible: While the Saviour incorporates the oikonomia, the Pleroma being placed in him to be transmitted to the "cosmos, the logos receives his authority from above (cf. 96:8ff). Unlike the Saviour the logos does not himself participate in the power that is given to him, he remains a subordinate servant of the superior level. The Son, on the other hand, is in his very essence the power and authority of the Pleroma as manifested unto the lower level.

"the pre-existent [things], those which are now and those which will be" are enlarged upon in the following.

95:19-20. "received ... in full (ΜΠΝΕΥ)": possibly "received ... in vision."

95:22-24. This takes up "those (things) which are now" 95:18-19 and refers to the demiurgic aspect of

the logos' activity described especially in 91:6-92:22 above.

95:24-28. Cf. 91:31-32 and the corresponding note. The as yet unconsummated existence of the spiritual seed derives from the nature of their conception. They do not originate from a union of logos and the Saviour, but only from the hope and expectation of this union. The seed can attain its perfection only when this hope has become a reality. Cf. also 92:15ff.

95:26-27. "that by which he conceived": or: "that which he conceived."

95:30-31. The same alternative reading is possible here as in 95:26-27, but in support of the translation adopted cf. 91:27ff: the offspring manifests that which came to the logos.

95:31-38. As Sch. points out ΕΥΧΛΥ in 95:33 is the prep. Ε + indef. art. + noun. Because of the following λΒΛΛ the noun is probably to be identified as the inf. "to send," cf. ἐκπέμπεσθαι Iren. AH I 6:1, 7:5. Thus the spiritual seed is stored in the aeon of the logos in order to fulfil a soteriological mission at the time of the incarnation of the Saviour. The advent of the Saviour is described below, 114:30ff.

Those who accompany him (95:35-36, cf. 115:30-31), being incarnated together with him (116:2-3), are this spiritual see, described as "apostles and evangelists" (116:17-18); thus "those who are with him" and those who are "appointed for a mission" are in fact the same. Further comments on the idea will be given in the notes on the passages referred to.

95:36-37. "these are the first ones": it is not altogether clear what this parenthetical remark refers to. The expression "the first ones" sounds technical, but there are to the best of my knowledge no parallels to it in Valentinianism. However, in 2 Clem. 14:1-3 we hear of ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ πρώτη, ἡ πνευματικὴ, which was manifested ἵνα ἡμᾶς σώσῃ. The idea is quite close to the soteriological notions we are concerned with in this section, and it may well be that TriTrac's ⚡πρῶτοι refers, like πρώτη in 2 Clem., to the archetypal pre-existence of the spiritual Church.

96:3. ΝΕΝ: Read ΜΕΝ; cf. 94:39.

96:3-6. The three destinies are those of the material, the psychic (cf. 91:14.26-27) and the spiritual (93:14-20) classes of beings.

96:6-7. The punishment is the cosmogonic act of reducing the chaos to order. Cf. 91:25ff.

96:8-16. This sums up the soteriological and cosmogonical processes of separation commented upon at 88:23-25 and 88:33-89:1. At the same time the sentence serves as an introduction to the more detailed cosmogony in the following.

96:13-15. Cf. ExcTh 45:3.

96:17-97:27. The establishment of the spiritual region.

96:17-23. The object in $\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon\zeta\lambda\eta\lambda\ \lambda\pi\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}$ is not the psychic demiurge (thus Ka. I 372-77), of whom there has been no mention whatsoever in the preceding text, but can only be reflexive (correctly NHLE). The passage must be interpreted in the light of the entire preceding discussion, from 90:31 onwards, of the aeon of the logos and his spiritual offspring as images of the Pleroma. This idea is here taken up from a different angle: the aeon of the logos is not only an iconic image of the superior region, but also a functional counterpart on a lower level as far as the divine functions of creation and lordship are concerned. The Valentinians did make use of this idea of a second god, but just as with the term "the place of the middle" (note on 92:22) they wavered between applying it to Sophia (Iren. I 5:1) and to the demiurge (ExcTh 47:2-3, Hipp. El.

VI 33); the exoteric Ptol. Ep. Fl. ap. Epiph. Pan. XXXIII 7:7 does not invite such finer distinctions.¹ TriTrac is closer to the main system of Irenaeus on this point, as can be seen from 100:18ff.

96:18. "setting ... in order" < ?[⊠]κοσμεῖν.

96:19.22. "cause": This word, which creates the impression of philosophical technicality, was used in the same context 55:38.

96:26-32. This "abode" is identical with the aeon, topos etc. described in 92:22-93:14. The sphere of Sophia is not called "paradise" elsewhere in Valentinianism. (In Iren. AH I 5:2 and ExcTh 51:1 the name refers to the region above the third heaven where Adam is created.) The present use of the term for the blissful abode of the saints is based, as Ka. aptly notes, on the LXX notion of the παράδεισος τῆς τρυφῆς, and reflects a common idea in Christian writers; cf. Lampe, Lex., s.v. παράδεισος C. 5., τρυφή 4.b. and c.; see also the note on 55:15-19.

96:30. Read Ε{ϣ}ΤΜΗ2 (Ka.). --There probably was a word-play in the Gk.: [⊠]ἡ [⊠]τρυφή [⊠]πλήρης [⊠]τῆς τροφῆς.

¹ Clem. Strom. IV 90:2 cannot be taken, as Ka. takes it, as a trustworthy testimony of Valentinus' view on the matter. It represents Clement's own interpretation of "Valentinian" doctrine and probably even contradicts the fragment he himself quotes.

96:31. Read probably <N>NEEI; I suspect, however, that M̄N̄ ΠΟΥΝΔϚ (96:31) ... ΠΔHPΩMΔ as a whole may be out of order.

96:35-97:5. For the "kingdom" cf. 93:4-7. The notion of a heavenly or spiritual πόλις, identified with the Church, and/or the heavenly Jerusalem, is quite common in early Christian literature; cf. Lampe, Lex. s.v. 2.a.&b.

96:39-97:2. The Coptic translation obscures the fact that the relative clause introduced by ΕΤΜΗϚ "filled" must, as is evident from its content, go with ΟΥΠΟΛΙC in 96:36.

97:1. "holy spirits": Cf. 58:35.

97:4-5. The Coptic translator apparently understood the λόγος to be the subject of the Gk. Vorlage (which must remain uncertain) for ΤΩΚ ΔΡΕΤ= ("was established"). The context, however, makes it natural to assume that the author was here referring back to the "kingdom" (96:35).

97:5-9. Ka.'s assumption that this ἐκκλησία is psychic is unjustified; like the preceding terms "paradise" and "kingdom," "church" refers to an aspect of the spiritual region. The term was introduced with this meaning above, 94:20-21. Moreover it is testified by Iren. AH I 5:6 that the spiritual church is an image of the one in the Pleroma: (τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῆς [sc. τῆς Σοφίας]) ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀντίτυπον τῆς ἄνω ἐκκλησίας. See further the note on 57:33-35.

97:9-16. This station (or stations: it is not clear whether the author counts the διόθεσις of prayer and supplication as a separate τόπος) is also spiritual; it represents the state of expectation and hope of the eschatological reunion with the Saviour and the Pleroma. This state expresses itself in prayer (which is to be distinguished from the fallen aeon's prayer for help described above, 81:26ff, which is peculiar to the psychic stage) and prophecy (Cf. 111:23ff).

97:18. "set apart": cf. 93:14-20, 96:5-6.

97:20-21. "divides(?)": I am unable to ascertain the exact meaning of ΠΩP̄X̄ here, in particular because of the frequent confusion (though not elsewhere in TriTrac) of ΠΩP̄X̄ and ΠΩP̄Ω̄, and the defective end of line 97:20, where one may read either λ̄ (Ka.), or ζ̄[M]. In any case the power which separates the spirituals from the inferior levels of being and which inspires them to prophecy cannot be simply identical with Sophia (or her equivalent, the logos) as Ka. I 378 states, but is rather to be identified with the power imparted by the Son-Saviour to the logos in 88:23-25 and 96:8-9, enabling him to rise above and shape the realms of the psychic and the hylic.

97:24. "that which is pre-existent" is not the demiurge (thus Ka.), but the Pleroma, as can be seen from the contrast with (those who belong to

the remembrance) "who have come into being," and from the usual meaning of the expression in TriTrac.

97:26-27. "with him": i.e. with the logos; cf. 92:11-12.14, 93:11.

97:27-98:20. The subordination of the two lower orders.

97:29. 2ωNOY = 2ωOY λN. Cf. 98:6, 99:4; Westendorf, 352 n. 7. Here it is a pleonastic repetition of 2ωOY λN in 97:27.

97:29-30. Read probably ΠΛΗΡΩ/ΜΛ{ΤΙΚΟΝ}.

97:30-32. Cf. the note on 70:37-71:7. The "partaking" is probably borrowed from the Platonic conception of the relation between the empirical object and the Idea.

For ΕΝΤΑΥΤΟΙΣΙΔΕΙΤ see Introd. p. 57.

97:32-36. This kind of stratification of the psychic sphere is unknown in other Valentinian systems and is a sign of the scholastic nature of the author's work. See also the note on 81:10-26.

97:36. Read C{Ε}ΘΒΒΙΔΕΙΤ, as presupposed by all translations.

97:36-98:5. The power separating the psychic and the hylic spheres, which does not occur in other Valentinian systems, is derived from the manifestation of the Son-Saviour to the two lower orders (88:34-35) and the terror of the lowest order (89:4-7.20-28). As Ka. remarks, this terror is elaborated so as to describe the passions which characterize hylic existence: ϕόβος is thus accompanied by ἀπορία (cf. 80:13-14), λήθη (cf. 77:23, and note on 77:11-36 above [end]), πλάνη (emending †ΔΡΜΕC to ΨΔΡΜΕC [cf. Ka. I 16]); the reading $\text{ΕΙΔΡΜΕC} = \text{ΕΙΩΡΜ}$ [Ka: Eng, Fr.; NHLE; accepted by Till, BSAC 17.207 and in Westendorf] is very attractive in the context [ἐκπληξίς], but is made questionable by the fact that a fem. nominal form with final -C is not otherwise attested for this stem), ἄγνοια .

98:8. M̄N̄N OYCΔYNE : I emend, after some hesitation, to M̄N̄TOY CΔYNE (cf. Sethe ZAS 57.138; Till, Kopt. Gr. § 295).

98:14-20. The names of the two lower orders:

Right and left: Iren. AH I 5:1-2, 6:1; Hipp. El. VI 32:6; ExcTh 34:1, 37, 40, 43:1, 47:2; the names recur frequently below. The opposition between right and left is frequently also used in a more dualistic sense to distinguish between the spiritual and the non-spiritual (e.g. the Ophites in Iren. AH

I 30:2-3, HypArch NHC II 95:32ff, in Valentinianism Iren. AH I 11:1-2, 16:2; GPhil 10, 40, 67; ExcTh 23:2, 28); and the use of it for psychics and hylics is probably a scholastic specialization of that more general usage.

Psychic and hylic need no special comment here; information may be obtained from Sagnard, Gnose valentinienne, Index s.vv. ψυχικός, ὑλικός.

Fires and darknesses: The pl. art. shows that the Gk. was not πῦρ, but probably φλόγες. The contrasting of fire and darkness presupposes a third term, that of light, as the opposite pole of darkness, and "light" is in fact a designation for the spiritual (94:2.23-32). Fire then occupies the intermediate position and one may divine the underlying logic of that arrangement: fire contrasts with darkness by its luminosity, but also with light by its association with matter. The fiery nature of the psychic is explicitly stated by Hipp. El. VI 32:7 ἔστι δὲ πυρώδης, φησίν, ἡ ψυχικὴ οὐσία, καλεῖται δὲ καὶ τόπος; similarly ExcTh 38:1 καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τόπος πύρινός ἐστι (the association of πῦρ and fire is paralleled in the Hebrew Enoch, cf. Edsman, Baptême de feu, 19 n. 2); cf. also e.g. ApJn NHC II 10:24-25, 11:7-8 parr. and Poim. 13 for the relation of the demiurge to fire. Especially important for the Valentinian association of the psychic with fire is the traditional view that fire is the substance

of the heavenly bodies: the planetary hebdomad is psychic according to the Valentinians (Iren. AH I 5:4, Hipp. El. VI 32:7-9). In contradiction to this allocation of fire stands the view of Iren. AH I 5:4 and ExcTh 48:4 where fire, being an element, is situated among matter.

The middle (probably < Ξ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\iota$) and the last: In accordance with the traditional Platonic position of the soul as intermediate between the intelligible and the sensible the Valentinians frequently accord the psychic powers the name "middle" ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, $\mu\epsilon\sigma\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$) to describe their status vis-à-vis the spiritual and the material (Ptol. Ep. Fl. ap Epiph. Pan. XXXIII 7:4, Hipp. El. VI 32:8, Clem. Strom. IV 90:3, cf. Heracleon ap. Orig. In Ioh. XIII 60; see also note on $\tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ 92:26. On the other hand "the last ones" is not attested elsewhere and one suspects that the term is a secondary derivation from "the middle."

98:20-99:19. The union of the psychic and the hylic.

98:20-99:4. The psychics are attached to matter by the same psychic disposition which caused the aeon's fall from the Pleroma: the "presumptuous thought" (cf. 90:18-19 and see the notes on 76:19-21 and 78:13-17). The author applies the same theory for the descent of soul into body on both levels: that erroneous act of will (see the note on 75:27-76:2)

which brought matter into being in the first place, and caused the logos to be associated with it, is also that which attracts the individual psychic elements into unification with the bodily. That the logos "reveals" (98:27) to the psychics this "thought," the disposition to enter into matter means that after he has himself been converted and purified from this thought, it now becomes effective within the lower and still not definitively converted region where the effects of his transgression still remain. The word "reveals" further implies that the "presumptuous thought" is set before the psychics as a kind of temptation which attracts them but which they nevertheless may be able to overcome. The passage as a whole states that the purpose of this revelation is educational: the souls are exposed to matter in order that they may realize its weakness and pathological condition and subsequently be healed and liberated from it. We have previously indicated the extent of the author's familiarity with current Platonic theories concerning the cause and purpose of the soul's descent into bodies (notes cited, see also the note on 76:23-77:11), and the argument used in this passage is also derived from such sources: Iamblichus, surveying in his De Anima opinions about the cause, purpose and nature of the descent (conveniently laid out in Festugière, Révélation, III 72) says that some hold

the souls to have descended here below for their moral training and correction (διὰ γυμνασίαν καὶ ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν οἰκεῖων ἡθῶν Stob. I 380:10 W.). Even closer in language and attitude is Porphyry, who said that the souls were given to the world in order to get to know the evils and suffering of matter and then return, purified, to the Father

(animam mundo dedisse, ut materiae cognoscens mala ad Patrem recurreret nec aliquando iam talium polluta contagione teneretur,

Regr. An. 39*: 4 Bidez = Aug. Civ. D. X 30;

animam propter cognoscenda mala traditam mundo, ut ab eis liberata atque purgata, cum ad Patrem redierit, nihil ulterius tale patiatur,

ib. 41*: 22 = Civ. D. XII 21; cf. Festugière, Révélation, III 80).

98:34-36. The "dwelling-place" (98:31) of the souls in matter is not their proper home; they are in fact exiled in the world. This is a common theme both in Gnosticism (Jonas, The Gnostic Religion, 55-56) and in Neoplatonism (e.g. Plot. IV 8 passim; V 1:1; Festugière, Révélation, III 63ff).

99:1-2. "love": Read perhaps Μ[2]/ΕΙΕ or Μ<2>ΕΙΕ (cf. Introd. pp. 39-40) "wonder."

99:2-4. Cf. 83:13-26 and the note on 83:18-26.

99:4-19. The realm of matter is formed, subjected and kept in place by powers deriving from each of the spiritual, the psychic and the material spheres. The spiritual sphere of the logos provides the formative power, from the psychic sphere derives the power which keeps the material forces in check by its ability to punish (cf. 97:34-35), and finally there is the power which is derived from their own weakness, the love of dominion (perhaps < ϕιλανρχία or ϕιλονέκτα), which undoubtedly is the same power as that described in 97:36-98:5.

99:10-11. Obscure. But 99:15-16 makes the meaning clear: the power, or powers, in question is or are derived from the love of dominion. The "roots" perhaps refer to the mechanism of causality which produces this power: by their mutual struggle the material forces are kept in place by one another as if by a power which is stronger than each of them individually.

99:19-100:18. The ranks of the cosmic (psychic and hylic) powers. The psychic and hylic powers, brought together in their cosmic function, now appear in the role of archons, cosmic rulers. The emphasis laid upon the hierarchical arrangement of the archons,

conveying the impression of a heavenly bureaucracy, reflects a similar interest in the description both of the Pleroma (69:24ff) and the congregation of the spirituals (91:17-25)--of course, just as the spirituals are εἰκόνες of the aeons, the psychic and hylic powers are their "likenesses" and "imitations," and that relationship also applies to the internal organization of the spheres.

99:28. Read ϠΚΩΕ (Conj.): There is no Ε before the Ϡ, only traces of letters obliterated by the scribe.

99:30. "the other stations": An archon not only rules his own sphere, but also, by implication, all the inferior spheres.

100:1-2. The variable (ποικίλος) nature of the demons is a prominent feature of Iamblichus' teachings in book II of De Mysteriis, cf. in particular II 3, and the summary by Zintzen in RAC IX 662. TriTrac links this notion with its conception of matter (85:10-12); that conception, which is shared between the Valentinians and the Chaldaean Oracles (cf. the note in loc.) is probably also the background of the idea in Iamblichus (Cremer, Chaldäischen Orakel, 78; Zintzen, ib. 650). Cf. also Procl. In Tim. III 165:17-19 D.

τὸ δὲ δαιμόνιον πρὸς τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἄπειρον,
 διὸ πανταχοῦ πρόεισι κατὰ πολλὰς τάξεις καὶ
 πολυειδῆς ἐστὶ καὶ πολύμορφον.

100:9-12. These expressions are built upon well-known Biblical formulae: ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως [τῶν] ἄκρων αὐτῶν Matt. 24:31 (cf. Deut. 30:4), ΧΙΝΔΡΗΧῶ ΝΜΠΗΥΕ ΩΛΛΡΗΧΝΟΥ in the Sahidic NT; ΩΛΛΡΗΧῶ ΜΠΚΛΖ is found in Acts 1:8, 13:47; cf. further Bauer, Wörterbuch s.vv. ἄκρον, ἕσχατος 1., πέρασ 1.

100:14-18. The functions of the archons:

(a) Punishment and judgment have already been mentioned as proper functions of the psychic powers (97:34-35, 99:8). The object of the punishment is, of course, the passions. Punishing demons are quite common in Platonist demonology: Plut. Quaest. Rom. 277a (with reference to Chrysippus), Def. Or. 417b; Plot. IV 8:5:23-24; Iambl. Myst. II 7/84:1 τιμωρῶν δαιμόνων, cf. Procl. In Tim. I 113:24 D.; Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 298-99, 307-08; Cremer, Chaldäischen Orakel, 77-78, 81; Zintzen RAC IX 646. For the idea in the Jewish-Christian tradition see Michl, RAC V 75-76, 139-40.

(b) Relief and healing; i.e. primarily of the passions. This function is attributed in various ways to the gods, archangels and angels by Iambl. Myst. II 6. Cf. also 90:5-7 and note.

(c) Instruction: The archons inspire the opinions and sciences among men (108:13ff).

(d) Keeping guard (probably < [⌘]φυλάσσειν): Either guardian spirits or watchers of the planetary spheres are meant.

The archons are regarded in a much more positive fashion here than is usual in Gnostic texts, where they ordinarily appear as deceivers and oppressors; this is probably due to the influence of Platonist demonology on this author.

100:18-101:5. The ruler. As in all Gnostic systems the cosmic powers have a leader. The Valentinians usually referred to this figure as ὁ δημιουργός, the name ὁ ἄρχων, which is frequently found in other branches of Gnostic literature, is only attested in ExcTh 33:3 τὸν τῆς οἰκονομίας ... ἄρχοντα.

100:18-19. "images": εἰκόνες cannot here have its technical reference, the spiritual offspring, but probably refers to the "likenesses" and the "imitations."

100:22-27. Cf. εἰκόνα τοῦ πατρὸς θεοῦ ExcTh 47:2, ὡς εἰκὼν πατρὸς πατὴρ γίνεται ib. 47:3; τὸν μὲν γὰρ δημιουργὸν ὡς θεὸν καὶ πατέρα κληθέντα εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ καὶ προφήτην προσεῖπεν (sc. Valentinus) Clem. Strom. IV 90:2, also Ptol. Ep. Fl.

ap. Epiph. Pan. XXXIII 7:7. A variant is ExcTh 33:3, where the archon is emitted εἰς τύπον of Christ after he left his mother, and Christ himself is the τύπος τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὄλων. By contrast the demiurge of Iren. AH I 5:1 (cf. II 7:2, ExcTh 7:5) is the image of the Son, Sophia being that of the Father.

100:25. 2N̄ 2PE NIM: Read 2N̄ PEN NIM (WZ, NHLE).

100:26. I understand ΕΥΟΥΕΙΝΕ as the prep. ε + indef. art. + noun.

100:27-30. The words "he too is called" show that the purpose of the following series of titles is to demonstrate how the archon possesses the same attributes as the Father. Towards the end ("judge" etc.) this purpose seems to have been lost sight of, and the author includes epithets which are appropriate only for the archon himself.

Father and god: cf. the texts quoted in the note on 100:22-27, also e.g. Iren. AH I 5:2 πατέρα οὗν καὶ θεὸν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι.

Maker: PE9 P̄ 2WB is more probably Ⲡποιητής (Iren. AH I 5:2, 19:2; Ptol. Ep. Fl. ap Epiph. Pan. XXXIII 7:4) than Ⲡδημιουργός, as the latter word seems to be left untranslated elsewhere in TriTrac, and also is less suited as a name both for the Father and his archontic image.

King: συμπάντων δὲ βασιλέα Iren. AH I 5:1.

For his kingdom see 101:30-31.

κριτής: This is rarely used by the Valentinians as a title of the demiurge, but it is implied e.g. in Ptol. Ep. Fl.: esp. Epiph. Pan. XXXIII 7:2-6; also cf. Marcus in Iren. AH I 13:6. This is, of course, the god of the Jews.

τόπος: See note on 92:26.

μονή is probably closely related in meaning to the immediately preceding τόπος (cf. Clem. Strom. V 4:4 ὁ τόπος καὶ ἡ μονή τοῦ παντοκράτορος). As with that word μονή seems to represent a confluence of Hellenistic and Jewish ideas: on the one hand it connotes "permanence" and is associated with the notion of αἰών (from Plato Tim. 37d6 μένοντος αἰῶνος ἐν ἐνί; cf. further Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 402, n. 7); on the other hand, since the portrayal of the archon here and of the spiritual sphere where he belongs, in 92:22-93:14, abounds in allusions to Jewish theology, and since τόπος has connections with the concept of the Magom, it is not unlikely that μονή also refers to the Jewish Shekhinah (although I know no other example of μονή being used with this meaning).

νόμος: The god of the Old Testament. The distinctive Valentinian views on the Law are set forth by Ptolemy in his Epistle to Flora.

100:30-36. Ka. refers to a Jewish-Christian tradition that Logos, or Sophia, or both, is the hand of God which he used in the creation of the world (Ps.-Clem. Hom. XVI 12) or of man (Theoph. Ad Autol. II 18, Iren. AH IV 20:1); cf. also Lampe, Lex. s.v. χεῖρ 11.i. It is more to the point, I think, to realize that the occurrence of Π ΧΡΛ(Θ)Λ here is related to a technical philosophical use of (προσ)χρησθαι to describe how a higher hypostasis acts through a lower one which it uses as an instrument. The term is found in Philo: Leg. All. III 96 ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ (sc. θεοῦ) ... ᾧ καθάπερ ὄργανῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποιεῖ, in Quod Deus 57 he says that instead of having hands in order to take and give away God has the Logos, δίδωσι δὲ λόγῳ χρώμενος ὑπηρέτη δωρεῶν, ᾧ καὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰργάσατο, cf. also Mutat. 116; it later appears in Numenius fr. 22 des Pl. = Procl. In Tim. III 103:28-32 D.: the first god ἐν προσχρήσει τοῦ δευτέρου νοεῖν ... καὶ τοῦτον αὖ ἐν προσχρήσει τοῦ τρίτου δημιουργεῖν; see further des Places' n. 3 on the fragment.¹

That the Demiurge is only an instrument used by Sophia in creation is common Valentinian doctrine (Iren. AH I 5:1.3.6; ExcTh 47:2 [δι' οἴ], 49:1, 53:4; Hipp. El. VI 33, 34:8; cf. also Heracleon ap. Orig.

¹ The comparison with Numenius was made by Zandee, Terminology, 25.

In Ioh. II 14). That he is a medium for prophecy: Iren. AH I 7:3.4 (a different view of the prophets is found in Hipp. El. VI 35:1-2, perhaps polemically distorted by Hipp.).

100:36-101:5. A traditional topos in Gnostic cosmogony: The Demiurge looks at the beauty of the creation and is filled with joy and pride of his divine power, but in fact he is ignorant of his subordinate status; cf. ApJn NHC II 13:5-9; NHC II, 5, 103:8-13. The background is probably the formula καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν from Gen. 1.¹

100:36. "said" undoubtedly refers to God's creation through his word (καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός) in Gen. 1.

101:1-2. The archon is merely the mouth (100:34, 103:5) through which the creative and prophetic words pass. The mind in which these words originate belongs to the logos.

101:3-5. Iren. AH I 5:1 λεληθότως κινούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς, cf. 5:3.6; for the movement of the Demiurge by the prophetic spirit ib. 7:4. Further, ExcTh 49:1, 53:4; Hipp. El. VI 33, 34:8.

¹ A. Kragerud, NoTT 66.27, makes this assumption as far as ApJn is concerned.

101:5-102:26. The organization of the psychic region.

101:8-9. The cross-reference is in particular to 96:17-97:27 (cf. "all these spiritual stations" in 97:16-17).

101:9-20. The earlier statement that the archon was only an hand and a mouth is modified: he also possesses the ability to generate the things which he shapes and to think that which he shapes and to think that which he says. The reason for this modification is probably the realization that if the archon was only a hand and a mouth it would be difficult to explain how he could believe himself to be the cause of his productions. In fact the archon not only shapes pre-existent matter, like the Platonic demiurge, but as an image of the transcendent Father he appears as the sole cause, father, of his offspring; similarly he also possesses a mind with which he thinks what he subsequently enunciates. The inspiration by the logos occurs within the archon, at the roots of his procreative and prophetic powers.

101:11. I restore ΝΕΨΧΠΟ λΝ Ζω[ωΨ.

101:15. A few words must have slipped out here: I conjecture ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΨΧΟΥ <ΔΔΔ ΝΕΨΜΕΕΨΕ> λΝ.

101:22. Read probably Μ<Ν>ΠΚΕΩΩΣΠ̄.

101:25-33. The realm of the archon is an image of the aeon of the logos (cf. esp. 92:22-93:14, 96:17-97:27); for the "paradise" of that sphere see 96:29, for the "kingdom" see 93:5, 96:35. "The aeon which is before him" (in the sense of being temporally and ontologically prior) is thus not the Pleroma, as Ka. assumes. The "rest" established by the archon copies an essential aspect of the hypercosmic abode (90:20-23 with note, 92:22-93:14 with notes). Thus the author is implying that central characteristics of the god of the Old Testament are of a derived nature: he is a just god who punishes but also, in complementary fashion, a god who receives his obedient followers to the rest where he himself abides. But this rest, the κατάπαυσις of Gen. 2:2-3, is merely a copy of the true rest, the freedom from hyllic passions in the hypercosmic sphere.

101:27-29. This sentence is somewhat confused; the simplest emendation is to read Ν̄Ζ̄Ν̄ΚΟΛΛΙCΙC instead of λ̄Ζ̄Ν̄Κ.

101:33. ΖΑΤΗΘ•ΕΖΗ: Read ΖΑ ΤΕΘΕΖΗ (Ka.).

ϸΑΤΠΕ is probably the composite preposition ϸΑ + Τ + ΠΕ and not the q. of ϸΩΠ̄ (although the

form is attested in NHC VII 70:22), as the latter would have required a following ε- rather than Ν.

101:34. "imprints": It is said below (102:8-9, 16-9) that the archon-demiurge leaves his countenance in his creation. The formative activity of the demiurge, since it has matter as its object, results in forms of a fundamentally negative nature, analogous to shadows (cf. 102:1; for the image of shadows, imitations etc. in general see the note on 77:11-36).

101:34-102:3. For the "thought" cf. 98:20-99:4 with note.

102:2-3. The negative mode of existence of the cosmos is derived from the creator's lack of knowledge of the truly existent, and this ignorance in turn springs from his partaking in the "presumptuous thought."

102:7-11. The idea seems to be that the demiurge imposes form on matter by applying his name to it like a seal. A combination of motifs seems to be involved here; first, the Late Jewish idea that God created the world by means of his name (1 En. 69:16ff; Jub. 36:7, 41:6; 1 Clem. 59:3, Did. 10:3);¹ secondly, the common association of the name of God

and seal;² thirdly, the Platonic notion that the forms in matter are like imprints (cf. 101:34) made by a seal (from Theat. 191cff, cf. Dillon, Middle Platonists, 200). By this description the author also seems to be representing the form-giving activity of the archon as a copy of that of the true Father: the aeons are formed and brought into existence by means of the Name (i.e. the Son): 61:14-18 with note.

102:11. "the things of which he thought": i.e. the things which thē logos sowed in his mind (101:15-20 with note).

102:12-14. "the light which had been manifested" is the Saviour and his accompanying angels who manifest the Pleroma; cf. esp. 89:19, 97:12. The images of this light are probably the heavenly luminaries, and in particular the planetary hebdomad, cf. below, 102:28-30.

¹ cf. G. Quispel in The Jung Codex, ed. F.L. Cross (London 1955), 69ff; Daniélou, Judéo-Christianisme, 200ff; J.-D. Dubois in RThPh 24, 198-216, esp. 213-14.

² Lampe, The Seal of the Spirit, 284-96; Daniélou, 206ff.

102:14. I restore ΝΤΕ [NIMΔ] / ΜΤΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟC with MP.

Cf. 97:16-17, 101:7-8.

102:18. "stamped": ΤΒΒΟ gives a much more satisfactory meaning in this context if it is related to ΤΟΥΒΕ (101:34) than if it is read as the inf. (S) ΤΒΒΟ (thus Ka., all transl; NHLE). Moreover, in the context one expects a qual. form (cf. ΝΑΥΤΑΞΙΛΑΞΙΤ). Whether one should emend to ΤΟΟΒΕ (or similarly), or regard ΤΒΒΟ as a genuine variant of the qual. of ΤΩΩΒΕ : ΤΟΥΒΕ I leave undecided.

102:20-21. "paradises, kingdoms, rests": Each of the archontic spheres reproduces, as an "imprint," the sphere of the chief archon.

102:26-104:3. The organization of the material region.

102:27. "it": i.e. the spirit which inspires his creative work.

102:29-30. <constitute>: Copula (NE) must be supplied.

102:31. "the things below": i.e. the material region below the moon.

102:32-103:6. This hylic ruler corresponds to the

figure called the διάβολος and the κοσμοκράτωρ in Iren. AH I 5:4, διάβολος and ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου in Hipp. El. VI 33, 34:1; cf. also Ptol. Ep. Fl. ap. Epiph. Pan. XXXIII 3:2, 7:3.6-7; Heracleon ap. Orig. In Ioh. XIII 16, XX 20.23.24; ExcTh 53:1, 81:1, 85:3; Iren. AH I 11:1; ValExp 38:13.25-26.33. For the "use" of the hylic ruler by the archon cf. the note on 100:30-36.

103:5. Understand $\bar{\text{N}}\text{NOY}\{\bar{\text{P}}\}\text{PO}$, as Ka. suggests.

103:6-12. The hylic ruler represents the power which keeps the chaotic activities of the hylic powers in check: cf. 97:36-98:5, 99:9-11.15-16. Note that this figure, the chief of the hylic powers, is not regarded as essentially a chaotic and evil power; on the contrary his function is positive, since he is a tool employed by the superior powers to give shape to the realm of matter, and thus contributes to the general oikonomia.

103:6-8. A copula (NE) must be supplied in this sentence.

103:8. Reading $\text{ENT}\lambda[\text{Y}\text{E}1]$; I fail to see how Emmel, on the basis of Facs., can read $\text{ENT}\lambda\eta[.$

103:10. "hold in line <the> post": A conjectural

interpretation of $\Psi\Omega\zeta <\dagger>\tau\lambda\epsilon\iota\zeta$, taking $\Psi\Omega\zeta$ as a variant of $\Psi\Omega\Omega$ "make straight" etc. (rather than "despise"; Ka., NHLE), and the expression as a whole as a piece of military terminology.

The end of the line I restore $\epsilon\text{NT}\lambda[\text{YK}\lambda\lambda\text{Y}\lambda]$ (equally possible: $\epsilon\text{Y}]$)/ $\lambda\text{P}\text{H}2\lambda\text{P}\lambda\text{C}$.

103:11-12. The idea that the hylic powers are held in place by "chains" ($< \text{?}^{\text{X}} \delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\text{f} >$) is probably influenced by the Middle Platonic idea, deriving from a couple of well-known passages in the Timaeus, that the continuing order of the world is brought about by chains which hold it together; see Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 345ff.

103:13-14. I restore $[\chi\epsilon] \text{ΠΤΩΚ ΛΡΕΤ}\bar{\eta} \text{ΤΗΡ}\bar{\eta} \bar{\text{N}}\Delta\epsilon \dagger\text{ΖΥ-}$
 $[\Delta\text{H} / \eta\text{Π}]\lambda\omega\cdot \lambda\omega\omega\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}$ (NHLE seems to adopt a similar restoration).

The division of matter into three categories seems to be a Valentinian tradition: Iren. AH I 5:4 divides in accordance with the passions of Sophia, $\tau\eta\nu \upsilon\lambda\iota\kappa\eta\nu \omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\nu \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\rho\iota\omega\nu \text{παθ}\omega\nu \text{συστ}\eta\nu\alpha\iota \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$, $\phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\upsilon \tau\epsilon \text{κα}\iota \lambda\acute{o}\pi\eta\varsigma \text{κα}\iota \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$, and the same idea is found in ExcTh 48:2-4. TriTrac also derives the three parts of matter from different categories of passions, but seems to be alone in ranking them hierarchically (cf. the same propensity with regard to the psychics, 97:32-36), and in representing their

organization as a copy, on the hylic level, of the more general division into spiritual, psychic and hylic. (Traces of such classifications can, however, be discerned in other systems: see below.)

103:14-15. I suggest the restoration ΝΙΣΟΜ ΜΕΝ [ΝΝΙΩΛ/Π̄]; cf. ΤΜΗΤΕ 103:21, ΝΝΩΛΕΟΥ 103:30.

103:14-18. The Valentinians frequently refer to one class of hylic powers as πνεύματα (Valentinus ap. Clem. Strom. II 20:2-3; Iren. AH I 5:4; ExcTh 48:2, 77:3, 83; ValExp 38:22); this is in conformity with NT usage (cf. e.g. Bauer, Wörterbuch, s.v. πνεῦμα, 4.c.). It is not said explicitly elsewhere that the name "spiritual" refers to the fact that they originate from a spiritual being (the fallen aeon), nor that they occupy a privileged position among the hylic powers. But at least the latter interpretation can be reasonably assumed in AH I 5:4, where the chief of the hylic powers is said to belong to this class.

103:19-25. The term "middle region" suggests that this class of hylic powers represents the psychic element within the hylic, just as the first rank represents the spiritual and the lowest rank the hylic ("the last" 103:30; cf. the note on 98:14-20, end). A similar notion is found in Iren. AH I 5:4

and ExcTh 48:3, where one of Sophia's three passions of which matter is composed, φόβος, is said to be the source of irrational souls.

103:25-104:3. This class of powers would, from the preceding, represent the hylic within the hylic. For comparison it may be noted that both Iren. AH I 5:4 and ExcTh 48:2-3 say that one of the three passions (ἔκπληξις etc.) was the cause of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου; the elements (in AH qualified as σωματικά) are there clearly set off from the spiritual and the psychic components of matter.

103:32-36. AH and ExcTh (loc. cit.) also associate coming into and passing out of being with this part of matter. Whereas they express this by means of the Stoic notion of fire, saying that this element pervades the other three, kindling and destroying, TriTrac appears to be using a Platonic theme: the "place" of 103:35 seems to be the χώρα, or the receptacle of Becoming, of the Timaeus, that in which things come into being and disappear (cf. Tim. 49e7-8, 52a6-7). The rapidity and eagerness with which this takes place refer to the constant flux in which the realm of Becoming finds itself, but probably also to the transitoriness of human life and death on the corporeal level.

103:33-34. "are eager to come into being": Perhaps "eagerly desire to procreate" but the last part of the sentence makes this less plausible.

103:38. "commanding powers": cf. 103:22-24.

103:39. Restore ΕΥ[Μ]ΗΝ & ΤΖΥΔΗ (KVVZ, NHLE).

PART TWO

(104:4-108:12: Anthropogony)

104:1-18. The nature of the visible world. This section actually belongs more immediately to the discussion of the realm of matter which concluded Part One, than to the anthropogony which is the theme of Part Two. This suggests that the divisions indicated by the lines of diple on pp. 104 and 108 may not be an original feature of the tractate but have been introduced somewhat arbitrarily at some point in the transmission.

104:4-9. The reading is uncertain, both on account of the incomplete state of preservation of the MS and because the sentence almost certainly has been corrupted. I propose the following emendations:
XΕ †ΖΥΔΗ ΕΤΖΕΤΕ ΟΥΤΕ †ΜΟΡΦΗ· ΝΤΕC <ΟΥΝΤΕC> ΟΥΔΔΕΙΔΕ
ΕΤΕ †ΜΝΤΑΤΝΕΥ <ΤΕ> etc. (for the latter omission cf. 102:29-30 and 103:6-8).

104:4. The "flowing" (here probably <ῥευστός>), i.e. constantly and endlessly changing, nature of matter is an old theme, which goes back to the Presocratics (cf. Pépin, Idées grecques sur l'homme et sur Dieu, 156 n. 3), but was particularly

popular in the Platonist and Pythagorean traditions, where it may sometimes describe the unlimited dyad (references also in Lewy, Chaldaean Oracles, 303 n. 170; des Places in n. 1 to fr. 4a in his edition of Numenius; cf. also Hadot, Porphyre et Victorinus, I 400-01, and Tardieu in The Rediscovery of Gnosticism, I 218-19). As pointed out by P&Q 67 n. 4, the term is previously attested for Valentinianism by Iren. AH I 5:5 τοῦ κεχυμένου καὶ ῥευστοῦ τῆς ὕλης, cf. ib. II 18:7.

104:5-6. "invisibility": †MNTΛTNEY, like the Gk. ἀόρασις, may refer to the inability to see, or blindness, equally well as to the invisibility of an object. That means that in the present context the word may refer either to the blindness of the material powers (cf. the note on 79:12-16--the inability to see also produces matter in GTr 17:13-14), or to the fact that matter by nature possesses no qualities (this is the interpretation of Ka., referring to the explanation of ἀόρατος in Gen. 1:2 in ExcTh 47:4; cf. also Iren. AH I 5:5 and Hipp. El. VI 30:9), or perhaps the author is implying both ideas.

104:9-18. For the "thought" see the note on 98:20-99:4; cf. also 101:34-102:3. This thought is the power which makes the psychic and the hylic

interact so as to bring forth between them the visible world. The production of the visible world is expressed by the metaphor of a body casting a shadow, alluding to the fact that the hylic powers, and the psychic powers which are brought together with them, are beings of a corporeal nature. The shadow is the usual term for material creations.

104:12. I read <N>NΔEΙ (cf. Introd., p. 39), or <A>NΔEΙ.

104:14. I read ΧΕΟΨΕΙΝΕ as ΧΕ ΕΥΕΙΝΕ.

104:18-30. The purpose of creation is man. In ancient philosophy the idea that the world exists for the sake of man through divine providence is originally Stoic (cf. e.g. Pohlenz, Die Stoa, I 81, 99, with the corresponding notes in vol. II). The idea was extensively adopted by Philo and Christian writers (cf. Aristides, Apol. I 3, with Geffcken's note in Zwei griechische Apologeten, 36; and the discussion between Origen and Celsus in Orig. C. Celsum IV 74-99, cf. Chadwick in JTS 48.36-37). Like Origen, TriTrac spiritualizes the idea: the world was made not for man's physical sustenance but for his spiritual growth (cf. Koch, Pronoia und Paideusis, 41ff). For Valentinianism cf. Iren. AH 6:1 ἔδει (sc. τὸ πνευματικόν) γὰρ τῶν ψυχικῶν

καὶ αἰσθητῶν παιδευμάτων· διὸ καὶ κόσμον κατεσκευάσθαι λέγουσιν; ValExp 37:28-31. This view of creation is also implicit in the use of the word oikonomia as a designation of the cosmos; also cf. ExcTh 41:4 (quoted below), and ValExp 38:12.

104:21-25. Note the similarity with 62:12-14: The same soteriological notions are used for both protological and eschatological fulfilment (cf. above pp. 64-65).

104:25. "as through the likeness of a mirror" alludes to 1 Cor. 13:12 βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι' ἑσόπτρου, as is made evident by the association of the mirror with the imperfect knowledge of a child. For the figure of the mirror in general see Conzelmann's commentary in loc. For its Platonic usage, with which the present passage is obviously related, see Ferwerda, Signification, 9-23. Here both negative and positive attitudes to the mirror-image can be cited, and this passage belongs in the latter category: the world is a reflection of the divine and may therefore serve as a medium for knowledge about its transcendent model for those who are as yet unable to behold it in direct vision. A closely related figure is that of the "trace" (cf. 66:3, 73:5).

104:26-30. Cf. ExcTh 41:4 καὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ὁ δημιουργὸς

ἐννοίᾳ προσχῶν ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς δημιουργίας αὐτὸν
προήγαγεν (quoted by Ka.). This is, of course, an
observation on the sequence of creation in Gen. 1.

104:30-105:10. Man was created by the logos through the
demiurge and the powers subordinate to him.

104:30-105:2. This passage is not exactly parallel
to the accounts of how Sophia secretly inserts the
spiritual seed into the first man, to which Ka.
refers (II 194-95), but contains an anthropogonical
version of the theme of 101:3-5. Cf. Iren. AH 5:3.

105:1. Various views can be found in Gnostic sources
as to whether psychic man was created by the
demiurge alone (the view normally found in extant
Valentinian systems), by the demiurge together with
his subordinate powers (here, and in NHC II, 5.
114:29-115:3),¹ or by the subordinate powers alone
(the more archaic Gnostic view also represented by
Valentinus ap. Clem. Strom. II 36:2-4).²

¹ However, ExcTh 50:2 (δι' ἀγγέλων; quoted by
Ka.) suggests that the second version may, at least
in some instances, be implied in the first.

² For the two last versions see R. van den
Broek, "The Creation of Adam's Psychic Body in the
Apocryphon of John," in Studies in Gnosticism and
Hellenistic Religions presented to Gilles Quispel on

105:2-3. I restore ΕΥΡ̄ ΩΒΗΡ· ΜΠΛΑCCE ΝΜΜΗΘ[Υ Ν]ΧΙ
ΠΙΜΕΥΕ· ΜΝΝΕΦΑΡΧΩΝ. The "thought" (of presumption)
causes the psychic creation of the demiurge and
his angels to be joined with the choic body.

105:3-4. "earthly" probably < [⌘]χοϊκός (e.g. Iren.
AH I 5:5 ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ χοϊκός; ExcTh 50:1, 51:1, 55:1;
Heracleon ap. Orig. In Ioh. XX 24; the reference is,
of course, to Gen. 2:7. The shadow is a favourite
metaphor for matter with this author (Ka. Index s.v.
ΖΛΕΙΒΕC).

105:5-6. "like [those who] are cut off": In the
immediate context this alludes to the shadow: this
is essential negativeness and deficiency. For the
deeper technical significance of the "cutting off"
see pp. 359ff above, and the note on 88:23-25.

105:8-10. I restore ΕΦ† ΜΟΡΦΗ Μ[ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΘΕ] ΕΤΦΩΟΠ
ΜΜΟC. Other restorations are possible but the meaning
seems certain: The psychic and the hylic orders
both contribute of their essence to the composition

the Occasion of his 65th Birthday, ed. R. van den
Broek and M.J. Vermaseren (Études Préliminaires aux
Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain, 91)
(Leiden 1981) 42-43.

of man.¹

105:10-106:25. The contributions of the logos, the demiurge and the hylic powers to the creation of man.

105:10-35. The contribution of the logos. Iren. AH I 5:6, ExcTh 53:2-5, Hipp. El. VI 34:6, ExcTh 2, Valentinus ap. Clem. Strom. II 36:2 agree in saying that a spiritual seed was deposited by Sophia and/or the Saviour, unbeknownst to the demiurge and/or the angels, into psycho-choic man. TriTrac's version, if I understand it correctly, is more elaborate than what is found in the reports of the Church Fathers, and has a different emphasis: Developing the point that the elements deriving from the logos are incarnated for the purpose of undergoing necessary growth and education, the author stresses that they have to suffer the same sicknesses as the logos himself experienced after the fall. These sicknesses remain after the illumination of the logos as constituent parts of the world of the demiurge, and the logos' offspring have to go through the imperfect condition of that world as a precondition for learning the existence of something that is

¹ For more specific theories (not Valentinian) of the part played by each archon in the anthropogony see now the article by van den Broek referred to above.

superior to it.

105:13. "did not resemble him": I think this means that unlike the forms created by the two lower orders (105:8-10) that of the logos is not like its creator. That is, it does not possess the spiritual formation given to the logos by the parousia of the Saviour. Because it has to dwell together with the remaining results of the logos' sickness it can only have a more imperfect and preparatory shape ("the first form").

105:17. "the first form": Cf. the note on 61:7-13.

105:17-18. The text must be corrupt. The restored text in Ka., on which the Ger. translation is based, is unsatisfactory, since it gives logos a meaning it has nowhere else in the text, nor in any comparable Gnostic text; the suggestion of MPWZ, followed by NHLE, to read ΧΕ (=ΝΩΙ) ΝΤΛϣ is grammatically impossible, as ΝΩΙ can only be followed by a noun. I conjecture ΧΕ ΝΤΑΠΛΟΓΟΣ <ΝΤΩ> λβλλ ρῖτν παημι ουργος (Perfect II).

105:19. "he" must be "man," introduced either in the lacuna in 105:9 or in the immediately preceding scribal omission.

105:23. "breath of life": The interpretation of Gen. 2:7 πνοή ζωής as a reference to the infusion of a superior essence deriving from the spiritual and transmitted through the breath of the demiurge (105:34-35) into his plasma can be found in ApJn BG 51:15ff, Iren. AH I 5:5. The more common exegesis, however, regards the breath as psychic, deriving from the demiurge's own essence (ExcTh 50:2-3, Hipp. El. VI 34:5, ApocAd NHC V.66:21-23, HypArch NHC II 88:3-4).

105:23-24. The restoration ΠΝ[Ο]ΕΙ is possible, taking ΠΝΟΕΙ as = πνοή (Ka.: Ger. Fr.?). Reading ΝΟΕΙ as = νοεῖν (Ka.: Eng., NHLE) is quite implausible in the context. The expression is in any case not a quotation from "the prophet," but "spirit of the superior aeon" may well be a gloss on the πνοή ζωής.

105:24-25. "invisible": The "inner man" (cf. Hipp. El. VI 34:5), i.e. his rational essence, is invisible (cf. ExcTh 50:3 καθὸ μὲν ἀόρατός ἐστι καὶ ἀσώματος, τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ 'πνοὴν ζωής' προσεῖπεν); this is a common theme in Christian anthropogonical exegesis, cf. Lampe, Lex. s.v. ἀόρατος C.

105:25-28. An exegesis of ψυχὴ ζῶσα Gen. 2:7: "living" is taken to mean "vivifying" (cf. 1 Cor. 15:45), and this vivifying soul is identified with the breath of life. What is made living, or that

into which the breath of life is infused, which is the figure made from dust in Gen. 2:7, is allegorized as ignorance. Since the demiurge and all the powers subordinate to him are ignorant of the superior realities, the man they mould from their own essences is also in ignorance. That which is breathed into man from above, as if imparting life to a dead substance, gives him a capability for knowledge, the first form.

105:26. I read †{EE}OYCIλ.

105:30. The use of the word "soul" here (instead of "spirit") puzzles Ka. One reason for the selection of this word is probably that it refers, exegetically, to the ψυχῆ ζῶσα of Gen. 2:7. Moreover, "spirit" is never used in TriTrac to designate the element infused into man by the logos, it is only said that this element derives from a spiritual being. The term "first form" 105:17 probably implies that this element is only potentially spiritual. Not all Valentinians agree with this interpretation of Gen. 2:7, cf. the note on 105:23.

105:34. Read NNOY{P}PO (Ka.); cf. 103:5.

105:35-106:2. The contribution of the demiurge.

105:35-37. Note the similarity of expression with Hipp. El. VI 34:4 προέβαλε καὶ ὁ δημιουργὸς ψυχᾶς· αὕτη γὰρ οὐσία ψυχῶν. For the "sending down" cf. Taurus ap. Iambl. ap. Stob. I 378:26-27 W. πέμπεσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπὸ θεῶν εἰς γῆν (on this text see also the note on 76:23-77:11); also Iren. AH I 6:1 ἐκπεπέμφθαι.

105:37-106:2. Cf. 101:10-12. Supply copula (πε) in the nominal sentence 106:1-2.

106:2-5. The contribution of the hylic powers. Note that whereas in the Valentinian systems transmitted through the Church Fathers choic man is moulded by the demiurge from inert matter (the "dust" of Gen. 2:7), he is here the creation of the hylic powers only; cf. the note on 105:1.

106:5. The end of the sentence appears to be corrupt. The reading of Ka. and NHLE, of Ϟωπ as Ϟωπε ("being") is possible but not good in the context. Better, but quite conjectural, would be ΠΤΑΝΤῆΕ ΜΠΖΩΒ "the imitation of such (i.e. men)," or ΠΤΑΝΤῆΕ ΜΠ(ΕΤῚ)ϞΡῚ ἌϞωπε.

106:6-9. The "name" is that which gives potential Being--it is related to the "first form" (105:17, cf. 61:11-18)--as well as that which potentially

unifies (66:29-67:34). For the sickness of the spirituals cf. 94:40-95:8.

106:9-14. Cf. Iren. AH I 5:6

τὸ δὲ ψυχικόν . . . ἅτε μέσον ὄν τοῦ τε
πνευματικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑλικοῦ, ἐκεῖσε χωρεῖν,
ὅπου ἂν καὶ τὴν πρόσκλισιν ποιήσεται,

cf. 7:5, 8:3; ExcTh 56:3

τὸ δὲ ψυχικὸν αὐτεξούσιον ὄν ἐπιτηδειότητα
ἔχει πρὸς τε πίστιν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ πρὸς
ἀπιστίαν καὶ φθορὰν κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν αἵρεσιν;

cf. also Heracleon ap. Orig. In Ioh. XX 24, Hipp. El.
VI 32:8-9, Epiph. Pan. XXXI 7:6-11. In the present
passage as well one expects a description of the dual
nature of the soul and its two possible inclinations,
not an affirmation that the psychics are inclined
only in one direction, as the text actually says. I
therefore propose to emend EN to AN in 106:13.
(Confusion of dialects may be responsible for this
corruption.) For the "inclination" here (<?νεῦσις)
see 77:22 and the note on 77:11-36 above. Note that
as with the fall of the aeon the downward inclination
of the psychic substance into matter and evil is
linked with the "presumptuous thought."

106:11.12. The psychic element's "understanding and
confession of that which is superior" reflect the

fact that it originates from the conversion of the logos. Cf. 89:17-20, 120:2-3.

106:13-14. Supply copula (ΠΕ).

106:14-18. "impulses" (Coptic: sg.): perhaps < ⲙⲟⲣⲙⲏ. For the multiplicity and variety of matter cf. 85:10-12, 100:2.

106:23-25. "the two substances": In fact three substances have been mentioned above, but that which derives from the spiritual is probably not included here, since "mixture" is a term which applies specifically to the union of the psychic and the hylic (cf. Ka. Index s.vv. ΤΩ2, [ΤΑ2Τ2]).

106:25. Read Π<Τ>ΡΕΨΩΠΕ.

106:25-107:18. The meaning of the Biblical account of the paradise and man's transgression.

106:29-30. "a garden of the threefold order": The trees which make up the garden are the tree of life, the tree of knowledge and the remaining trees, which, as is evident in the following account, represent the spiritual, the psychic and the hylic substances respectively.

106:31. "the garden which gives enjoyment (ἀπόλαυσις)": i.e. through the eating of its fruits. ἀπόλαυσις presumably refers to the τρυφή of the paradise in the LXX.

106:31-34. This probably means that the spiritual element only participates in the moulding of man, without wielding any power over the lower elements (the word "strike" is used 89:6.7-8, 90:12 for the subjection of the psychic and hylic orders by the Saviour). Thus (λβλλ Μπεε| 106:35) it does not prevent the psychic powers from commanding man in the paradise.

106:35-107:1. Commanding power and threat are, of course, parts of the very nature of the psychic; cf. above, 99:7-8.14, 100:14-16.29.30, 101:27-28, 103:6-8. Accordingly, the sin of the first man is represented as the transgression of a commandment (107:15-16), i.e. in terms of the Jewish concept of Law; this is in agreement with the current Jewish interpretation of the fall,¹ but here serves the special purpose of characterizing the psychic nature of the God of the Jews and the Law in general.

The danger (κίνδυνος) is the temptation of the

¹ Cf. e.g. Brandenburger, Adam und Christus, 59-60; Wilckens' commentary on Romans, I 317.

tree of knowledge. As becomes clear below (107:18ff) the psychic powers are not really to be blamed for exposing man to the danger of dying, since they are merely agents of the salvation economy.

107:1. The fem. form of the copula is explicable from a misinterpretation of the form $\delta\iota\lambda\alpha\gamma\nu\omicron\varsigma$, where the translator, or a later scribe, has identified the element with the homonymic prefix creating, for the most part, fem. nouns of action.

$\lambda\tau\lambda\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\upsilon\varsigma\iota\varsigma$: On the anticipation of the conjugation base cf. the note on 85:35-37. It is worth noting that the noun to which the anticipated base is prefixed does here not represent the subject of the sentence.

107:2. "the bad ones": i.e. trees (the ordinary trees in the garden); possibly "evil." (In Gk. $\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ would have been equally ambiguous [sc. $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha?$].)

107:3. "did he allow him": One probably ought to emend $\lambda\theta\kappa\lambda\lambda\theta$ to $\lambda\gamma\kappa\lambda\lambda\gamma$, for conformity with the rest of the paragraph.

107:4-5. "the double (character)" refers to the knowledge of good and evil, apparently interpreted to mean the double inclination of the psychic nature described above (106:9-14).

107:6-7. For the association of life with the spiritual
cf. 105:22-28.

107:8. Suggested restoration: ΟΥΤΔΕΙΟ· Ε[ϣΩΗΩ]
ΝΜ]/ΜΗΟΥ.

107:11-13. In 107:12 ΝΔΕ = ΔΕ (δέ) and ΔΕ = the
copula ΤΕ, the subject of which is †ΣΟΜ 107:10. The
reference to Gen. 3:1 here does not make use of the
standard LXX text, cf. Introd. pp. 34-35.

107:13. "deceived": Gen. 3:13 ἠπάτησεν.

107:13-18. The "thought" in 107:14, as is also
shown by its conjunction with "desires" (ἐπιθυμία),
must be the thought of presumption to which reference
has been made frequently in the preceding pages
(98:28, 101:34, 104:9, 106:14), so that "those who
belong to the thought" does not here, as is usual,
refer to the psychics, but to the hylic powers (cf.
the expression "those who belong to the thought
of presumption," 98:17). The serpent is the agent
of the hylic powers, material passions, which through
their seduction of man force him to suffer the
conditions of their own, corporeal existence (cf.
103:32-36).

107:15. Read λ{C}ΤΡΕϣΡ̄.

107:18-108:4. The meaning of the expulsion from paradise. Two different, although related, points seem to be made here: (1) man must experience evil and death to the full in order to be able to appreciate the immense good of eternal life; (2) the short time spent by man in paradise serves to indicate to him that whatever good he enjoyed there, which in fact is such enjoyments as pertain to the psychic and hylic orders of things (to the "imitation" and the "likeness"), is of a limited and transient nature compared to the goods which the realm of the Pleroma holds in store for him. For the first idea cf. the note on 98:20-99:19. Though TriTrac undoubtedly only considers the idea from the point of view of theodicy, the principle is also able to be developed in an ethical direction, as with Carpocrates (Iren. AH I 25:4) and the Cainites (ib. 31:2), according to whom the soul has to experience every variety of sin before it can be liberated from worldly existence. The second idea implies a disparaging attitude to the paradise of the god of the Old Testament, and here the Gnostic bias is evident, although probably not stronger than what might be accepted by many non-Gnostic Christians.¹

¹ Cf. the incisive observations by N.A. Dahl in "Christ, Creation and the Church," esp. 426ff, on the differences between Jewish and Christian eschatology: The former emphasizes the restitution of man's

107:25. Emend to $\Omega\lambda \langle \overline{\text{N}} \rangle \lambda \text{NH}\zeta\epsilon$.

107:26-27. The "place of rest" of the spirit (i.e. the one pervading the Pleroma) is conceived of in antithesis to the paradise of the cosmic powers. The pre-establishment of the place of rest is a theme from Jewish eschatology; cf. Hofius, Katapausis, 60-67.

107:29. Read $\chi\iota \overline{\text{M}}\text{PIPE}\{\text{N}\}$ (MPWZ, NHLE).

107:32. For the form $\text{N}\overline{\text{T}}\text{P}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{C}}$ - see Introd. p. 52.

107:35. "greeds" < ?[ⓧ]πλεονεξίαι.

108:5-12. The consequence of the fall: the reign of death. As Ka. observes, this section stands under the influence of Rom. 5:12ff, although the theme is traditional in late Judaism, as can be seen from the literature cited in the footnote to the note on 106:35-107:1.

108:6. ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ θάνατος Rom. 5:14, or, for the sake of a more literal correspondance with the Coptic, Rom. 6:9 θάνατος ... κυριεύει. Cf., with Ka., ExcTh

original state, the latter emphasizes the newness and superiority of the eschatological condition.

58:1 ἡ τοῦ θανάτου βασιλεία, with Sagnard's note;
 ⚡ βασιλεία is very probably the Vorlage of "kingdom"
 108:10.

108:9. Restore Ε]ΤΩΟΟΠ ΝΕϣ; cf. the photographs
 and the grammatical context.

108:10. I restore [ΛΟΥΜ]Ν̄ΤΡΡΟ. Also emend to ΕΤΒΕ.
 <ΟΥ>ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ, or ΕΤΒΕ <Τ>ΟΙΚ.

PART THREE

(108:13-138:25: Eschatology)

108:13-113:5. The different opinions among men.

108:13-109:24. The confusion caused by the two lowest orders.

108:14. Ka.'s interpretation of ~~λ=0λ~~ here and in 108:23-24 as distorted forms of the circumstantial aorist is quite unnecessary, since they may easily be read as the Achmimic conditional, having here, as is frequently the case, a temporal meaning.

108:19. I read ΚΑΤΑ ΟΥΚΩΖ with QW?Z, NHLE, but the reading, at least on the basis of the photographs, is not entirely certain. ΚΩΖ fits the context well: it evidently makes good sense to derive emulation from the thought of presumption.

108:23-31. The psychic may debase itself to become like the hylic by perverting the power of command granted to it into a likeness of the hylic lust for dominion. Amongst other things the author has in mind, perhaps, the jealous and vindictive aspect of the god of the Old Testament.

108:26. $\Omega\lambda\text{PE}\epsilon\text{K}\omega\text{2}$: Read $\Omega\lambda\text{PE}\epsilon\text{K}\omega\text{2}$.

108:27. $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\text{2HT}$: Read $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\text{2HT}$ with WZ, NHLE (cf. Introd. p. 15).

108:34. $\chi\epsilon = \bar{\text{N}}\delta\text{1}$; cf. $\bar{\text{N}}\chi\epsilon$ 76:33, 78:9 and Introd. p. 38.

108:34-35. ϵT2HT : "the hidden order" (Ka., NHLE) is meaningless; emend to $\epsilon\text{T}\langle\text{A}\text{T}\rangle\text{2HT}$, cf. 108:27.

108:36. $\text{P}\text{P}\text{HT}\epsilon\ \epsilon\text{T}\omega\text{O}\text{O}\text{P}$ "how it is": For this expression cf. 129:25, 133:5-6.

108:36-109:5. The author begins to draw epistemological inferences from his demonological theory: Because of the two orders' ignorance of what is superior to them, and because of their mutual emulation, they inspire in men false opinions of the nature of the world and of its origin.

109:1. $\epsilon\text{N}\text{T}\lambda\text{Y}\omega\text{O}\text{P}\epsilon$ may also be read as Perf. II: "... workings. They (sc. "the things" 108:37) came into being, resembling" Also $\epsilon\text{Y}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\epsilon$ may be read as Pr. II: "... which took place. They resemble ..."; in either case the subj. is probably $\text{N}\epsilon\text{T}\text{T}\text{H}\text{K}\ \lambda\text{P}\text{H}\text{T}\text{O}\text{Y}$ ("the things ..."). $\epsilon\text{Y}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\epsilon$ may also, but not very likely, be translated "they produce."

109:2. "dissimilar things": lit. "things dissimilar one from the other." From the context one expects $\lambda\text{P}\lambda\text{Y}$ rather than $\lambda\text{NOY}\epsilon\text{PHY}$, but the occurrence of the reciprocal pronoun is presumably due to a translator's slip. Note that the mutual dissimilarity as such, of the effects of the workings of the two orders, is introduced as an additional point in 109:5-6.

109:5-24. The theories inspired by the two lower orders are not only false, but also contradictory. A survey of five cosmological theories, not all of which are mutually "exclusive, follows, supplemented by the opinion of the great majority of unlearned people. For this passage Ka. refers to SophJC, and indeed three of the theories are found there, as well as in the probably older Eug, in the form of a cosmological doxography whose purpose it is to show the disagreements among the philosophers (Eug, NHC III 70:16-22 [the version in V 1:16ff is very fragmentary] \approx SophJc, NHC III 92:22-93:4 [the version in BG 81:5-11 varies]). Very likely the two lists derive from a common doxographical source.¹

¹ The list of Eug and SophJc, where the number of three theories is stressed, and these are attributed each of them to one of three schools (apparently Stoics, astrologers and Epicureans), seems to be more original than that of TriTrac, where two more theories have been added without increasing the number of schools but so as to emphasize the contradictions between the schools.

(a) What exists (presumably ἅ τὰ ἕθνη) exists through providence (109:7-11). Eug., NHC III 70:19-20 parr.: "Some (say) that it (i.e. the cosmos) is a providence." This, as Ka. observes, refers to the Stoics and their cosmological proof of the existence of God. However, the author's own view of creation, which attributes it to the oikonomia of the Father (πρόνοια is used in the same general context 107:22), is remarkably influenced by this Stoic theory (cf. esp. note on 104:18-30). The point on which TriTrac clearly disagrees with the Stoics in this context concerns not the idea of providence in itself, but the identity of the providing god.

(b) "It is alien" (109:11-15). The suggestion of Ka., that this alludes to the Epicureans, is probably correct. This theory is presented as the antithesis to the preceding one, and the philosophical school which was known to provide the strongest criticism against the idea of providence was that of the Epicureans, who argued that for the gods to occupy themselves with the matters of the world was incompatible with the blissful tranquillity of divine existence. The word ἀλλότριος , which also, together with such terms as οἰκεῖος , ἀνοῖκειος , ὅμοιος , ἀλλόφυλος etc., has a more general significance in Epicurean physics, is used by Epic. Ad Men. 123:24 to denote that which is alien to the nature of divine life (cf. e.g. Kleve, Gnosis Theon, 39 n. 1, with

further references), and thus, although no exact parallel is provided by Epicurean sources, its application to the world is entirely consonant with both Epicurean terminology and ideology.

(c) "... what is destined" (HΠ suggests < λ ογιζόμενος or similarly) (109:15-18). Eug NHC III 70:21-22, and SophJC NHC III 93:3-4, are exactly identical. This fatalist view is, as Ka. suggests, presumably that of the astrologers, as is made likely by the words "the ones who have occupied themselves with this matter" (i.e. with the prediction of events).

(d) What exists is κατὰ φύσιν and (e) "accidental" (< ϵ κ [or ἀπὸ] ταύτομάτου) are, again, presented as contrasting views. That the movement of the world took place without divine government, hence "accidentally," or "spontaneously," was the Epicurean view; for the term αὐτόματος, which Ka. rightly assumed to lie behind the Coptic text, see the references in Usener's Glossarium Epicureum s.v., add Ka.'s reference to Ps.-Clem. (Hom. IV 13:1, and Plot. VI 9:5:1. This particular charge also occurs in rabbinic polemic, cf. Segal, Two Powers, 85 n. 4. Eug NHC III 70:18-19 and SophJC NHC III 92:24-93:1 have "it moves by itself," which seems to allude, less technically, to the same Epicurean view. That the world moves κατὰ φύσιν is probably just intended to mean the contrary view, and not that of

a particular school; it could be subscribed to by Platonists as well as Stoics.

That the great mass of people have only reached as far as the "visible elements" (< ἑμφανῆ στοιχεῖα cf. Proclus In Tim. I 274:19 D.) is primarily a pun on the word στοιχεῖον, which can mean the letters of the alphabet as well as the physical elements: The many, who understand no more than the world's sensible appearance, only possess the rudiments of knowledge, just as their education has not progressed beyond learning the alphabet. What "elements" might refer to here as a physical term is only of secondary importance; the author did not necessarily have in mind a specific meaning of the term in this sense.

109:24-110:22. Opinions of the Greeks and the barbarians. The wisdom of the Greeks and the barbarians has been inspired by the hylic powers, and possesses the characteristics of its origin: illusoriness, presumption, vanity and mutual dissent. As Ka. notes, Clem. Strom. I 80:5 testifies that some Christians held a similar opinion: Greek philosophy was inspired by subordinate powers.¹ Such a view can

¹ This, one may conjecture, is a variant of the idea found in 1 En. (e.g. 8:1-3) and ApocAbr 14 (cf. Volz, Eschatologie, 311), that the fallen angels of Gen. 6:1-4 taught men the sciences.

be found in the Ps.-Clem. Hom. IV 12:1 (τὴν πᾶσαν ἑλληνῶν παιδεῖαν κακοῦ δαίμονος χαλεπωτάτην ὑπόθεσιν) and in Tert. Praescr. 7. Later, Origen held that the philosophies of the various Gentile and barbarian nations (but not the arts and the sciences) were inspired by the "princes of this world" (De Princ. III 3:2-3; partly quoted in Ka. II 203). The view of TriTrac is diametrically, and perhaps deliberately, opposed to the Platonist view of Porph. De Abst. II 38:1, where the Greek arts and sciences are attributed to the influence of good demons. For the association of Hellenistic civilization with the realm of matter cf. Heracleon ap. Orig. In Ioh. XIII 16 (quoted by Ka. II 202), and the perceptive remarks of Baur, Die christliche Gnosis, 25ff, and ib. 290-91 for Marcion.

109:28. Emend to <M>NNENTAYEI λΒΛΛ 2N̄ NΔEI.

110:1-2. "on account of these small names": Perhaps the inadequate nomenclature of the various philosophical schools as reported above, 109:11-21.

110:3. N̄TAYNISO M TANTN I take to be Perf. II.

"hinder": Same word, and perhaps same technical significance as "impede" in 81:2-3. The deceptive imitation is the same as the emulation of the psychic by the hylic order described in 108:31-36.

110:5-22. The disagreements within the disciplines reflect the chaotic discord of the powers of matter.

110:6. "entangled": cf. 88:34 and note on 88:33-89:1. Here, however, the term seems to describe the mutual struggle between the hylics and not the battle between psychic and hylic.

110:9-10. I find Ka.'s restorations unsatisfactory, but have no better suggestion to offer.

110:12. "agreed" < ?[⊕]συμφωνεῖν.

110:13-17. The Greek arts and sciences listed are probably φιλοσοφία, ἰατρική, ῥητωρική, μουσική and ὀργανική (it is improbable that these terms should be in the plural, therefore ὀ is best read as the preposition; pace NHLE). Whereas what is meant by the three first terms is easily understood, both μουσική and ὀργανική are ambiguous. ἡ μουσική might be understood as a general name for the liberal arts of the enkyklios paideia, as in Porph. De Abst. II 38:1, but it may equally well refer to musical theory. The rare ἡ ὀργανική (cf. LSJ) is probably here, as in Plut. Marc. 14 "mechanics" (presumably synonymous to ἡ μηχανή), but it is also attested (very late, however, and technically: Elias) as "logic."

110:17. "opinion": For ΕΛΥ = ἔδοξα see Introd.
pp. 20-21.

110:18-22. The meaning of this corrupted passage is not clear, but it hardly refers to the fall of Sophia, as Ka. suggests. Most likely it explains the characteristics of Hellenistic scholarly culture from the nature of the powers inspiring it. I conjecture: $\lambda\text{C}\text{O}\text{O}\text{Π}\text{E}\ \text{E}\text{C}\lambda\text{M}\lambda\text{Z}\text{T}\text{E}\ \bar{\text{N}}\text{X}\text{I}\ \text{T}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\text{Z}\text{P}\lambda\text{Y}\text{O}\text{Y}\ \text{E}\text{Y}\text{M}\lambda\text{O}\text{X}$
 $\text{E}\text{T}\text{B}\text{E}\ \text{T}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\lambda\text{T}\text{T}\text{E}\text{O}\text{Y}\lambda\text{C}\ \bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\text{E}\ \text{N}\text{E}\text{T}\lambda\text{M}\lambda\text{Z}\text{T}\text{E}$ etc. $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\text{Z}\text{P}\lambda\text{Y}\text{O}\text{Y}$
"loudness, vociferousness, boastfulness," hence
"pretentiousness," "fits the context much better than
 $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\lambda\text{T}\text{T}\text{Z}\text{P}\lambda\text{Y}\text{O}\text{Y}$ "speechlessness"; the privative λT
may be due to influence from $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\lambda\text{T}\text{T}\text{E}\text{O}\text{Y}\lambda\text{C}$ in the
following line. -- $\text{E}\text{Y}\text{M}\lambda\text{O}\text{X}$ read EYM . --"inexplicability"
perhaps refers to the fact that the true origin and
nature of the hylic powers is unknown by those who are
inspired by them. -- ETE read $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\text{E}$: Ka., cf. Introd.
p. 38.

110:22-111:5. The ideas of those whose inspiration
derives from the mixing of the hylic and the psychic.

The opening sentence of this paragraph has been
corrupted to the extent that its original intent
cannot be confidently recaptured. It seems that it
refers to the effects among men of the mutual
emulation of the hylic and the psychic orders
described 108:13ff, that these effects consequently

are a mixed inspiration containing elements from both orders, and that this mixed inspiration takes the form of a blending of Hebrew and Hellenistic traditions. Unfortunately, however, it is not clear whether the author is thinking of any particular group of men, or if so, who they might be, Hellenizing Jews of some kind or another, philosophically inclined Christian theologians, or possibly even Judaizing Gentiles.

110:23. "⟨production(?)⟩": I suggest ΠΤΕ{Ε}ΝΟ, interpreted as "literary output"; cf. ΝΔΕΙ ΕΤΧΗ2 in the following line. Κα. ΠΓΕΝΟC is still possible, but involves a more extensive emendation.

110:25. "who speak in the fashion of": The emendation ΕΤΤΟΥΧΟ (WZ, cf. 111:3, 118:17) "who reproduce the form of" is not implausible.

110:30. "set out": I borrow this rendering of λΜλ2ΤΕ from Layton's translation of Res 43:28, where the context is comparable.

110:31. For χρῆσθαι here, "using" a god or a demon in the sense of being a worshipper of it, cf. Passow's Handwörterbuch, s.v. χρᾶω II.4.b., and for a good contemporary example Plot. III 4,6:29.

110:33-36. This τῶς seems to be the sphere of the Ruler (100:18ff), the furthest end of the psychic realm, to which the psychic men may attain in their search for truth. That this is the sphere of the unmixed ones presumably means that this is the station to which those psychics will attain who follow the good and upward inclination, away from the association with matter; cf. for the term 132:10.

110:34. The text is deficient; I emend to ΠΕΤΟΥΤΕ20
 <ΜΜΟϣ Μ>ΠΟΥΕΕΙ ΟΥΛΕΕΤΦ.

110:35-36. Read probably ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΝΕ ΜΠΙ{ΝΕ ΜΠΙ}ΩΤ.
 Ka.'s explanation that the demiurge is the image of the Son, who himself is an image of the Father, is incorrect: TriTrac's Ruler is a likeness of the Father (100:24).

110:36-111:5. An application of a Jewish idea, according to which God is hidden from view by a veil, or curtain, beyond which only a select number of angels are allowed to progress; the idea has been studied by O. Hofius, Vorhang, esp. 4-19. The idea is already attested in the Valentinian tradition by ExcTh 38:2, where only the archangel is said to be allowed inside the curtain. In the present passage the veil is interpreted intellectually: that the Ruler is veiled in wisdom probably means that he can

only be recognized by the wise, i.e. by those who have attained the ultimate level of understanding possible on the psychic level.

111:6-112:9. The prophecies.

111:8-9. "the righteous and the prophets": the combination is typical of Matt. (13:17, cf. 10:41, 23:29). However, from the point of view of the author, "righteous" (for the term cf. ExcTh 37, also Sagnard, Gnose valentinienne, 404-05) belongs to the same semantic field as "Law," "judgment," "condemnation" etc.; it means to have condemned and turned away from the passions and to face upwards toward the good and the spiritual. Turning upwards is also the precondition for receiving the inspiration of prophecy, which comes down from the spiritual sphere (see below).

111:10. ΜΠΟΥΧΟΥ ΛΛΥΕ {ΜΠΟΥΧΕ ΛΛΥΕ} (Ka.).

111:12-13. "an obscure thought": lit. "a veiled thought"; cf. probably 101:34-102:3 where the thought of presumption is characterized as a veil preventing true understanding.

111:13-23. It has previously been said that prophecy originates among the spiritual powers in the region

of the logos (97:15-16.21-23), and the "unity and agreement" (111:20-21) of the inspiring powers which the prophets are said to reproduce is obviously the unity of this spiritual sphere, which itself is an image of the εὐδοκία of the Pleroma (94:21-23, 96:38). The Valentinians seem to have varying views on the nature and origin of the Old Testament prophecies. That the prophecies of the Old Testament are of a spiritual nature is also said in ExcTh 24:1. However, according to Hipp. El. VI 34:1-2 and Ptol. Ep. Fl. passim no part of the Old Testament seems to be derived from any "sphere superior to that of the psychic demiurge;"¹ also ExcTh 50:3, 59:2 presuppose that the demiurge inspired these prophecies. Iren. AH I 7:3 offers a mediating view: while some prophecies derive from the demiurge, others were spoken by the Mother (Sophia) through him, others still by men who possessed the spiritual seed of Sophia. Thus TriTrac's view that the prophecies derive from the spiritual sphere above the psychic but below the Pleroma is not without parallel in Valentinianism, although the idea that they are inspired by powers belonging to that sphere is

¹ Caution is due here, since Hipp.'s account, and especially on this point, is manifestly tendentious; further, Ptolemy in his letter focusses on the legalistic aspect of the O.T. and makes no reference to the prophecies.

previously unattested. It was said above that the logos used the Ruler as a mouth through which prophecy passed (100:33-35). This idea, which also occurs in AH I 7:3, appears to play no role in the present context; cf., however, below, 112:9ff.

111:17-23. The emphasis on the agreement of the Scriptures is remarkable when compared with the views of Iren. AH I 7:3 and Ep. Fl. on the composite nature of the Old Testament. It must be observed, however, first, that this emphasis is largely motivated by the contrast with the theme of the disagreements within Gentile philosophy, arts and sciences, and should be seen in that context, and secondly, that the author proceeds to make a distinction between the prophecies as such and their interpretation by the prophets and the Jews (112:9ff), so as to leave ample scope for Gnostic reinterpretation of the Scriptures.

111:21-23. The ὁμολογία of that which is superior characterizes in this context the psychics who have turned upwards towards the good and the spiritual (89:18, 106:12, 120:2-3). The Hebrew prophets belong to this class, that is why they may reflect the harmony within the region above them.

111:23-112:9. Cf. 105:10-35. The prophets belong to

those who pay heed to the spiritual seed within them (for the potential character of this seed, embedded in still essentially psychic man, cf. note on 105:30); this is also said by Iren. AH I 7:3.

111:26-28. Cf. 85:15-18, 105:19-21. "remembrance": lit. "the thought," which presumably here refers to the disposition of the converted psychic, the model of which is the remembrance of the fallen logos (81:26ff); for the context, here and in 111:31, the remembrance-thought as a seed, cf. esp. 83:22.

111:29. "seed of salvation" is a term acceptable to non-Gnostic Christians, cf. Lampe, Lex. s.v. σπέρμα 5.a.

111:31. \overline{MN} (1st): It seems that the translator has misunderstood the syntactic position of a $\overline{\text{καί}}$ in the Vorlage, rendering it by \overline{MN} , which may only connect nouns, instead of by $\lambda\gamma\omega$, which is obviously required by the context.

111:34-35. The phrase "preserve the confession and the testimony of their fathers" has an unmistakable Jewish flavour (for the idea of the "fathers," i.e. those of the people of Israel, see e.g. Schrenk in TWNT V 975-77). On the other hand the author seems to be making a pun out of the phrase: the "fathers"

of the prophets are to him the spiritual powers of the logos, from whom the seed derives by which they are prophets, and whose attitude to "what is superior" they reflect.

111:36. "the ones who" refers back to "these righteous etc." 111:32.

112:3. $\bar{\text{N}}\delta\text{I} <\text{ΠΙ}>\text{CΠΕΡΜΑ}$ (Ka.). --For praying and seeking as the effect of the working of the spiritual element inside one cf. 83:15-21, 120:4-5.

112:4. "many" is antithetic to "single one" in 112:8-9: although the prophets are many they have all proclaimed the same Saviour.

112:9-113:5. The varying interpretations of the prophecies.

112:9-14. Just as the subject of their proclamation is a single one, the Saviour, so the power inspiring the prophets is one also, the spiritual logos. But the author makes a distinction between the operation ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$) of this power within them, and the visions and auditions through which the inspiration is articulated. Moreover, the former is everywhere the same, whereas the latter vary. This view of prophetic inspiration at first seems to disagree

with what was said immediately above, esp. 111:17-21, that a number of powers operated, harmoniously, within the prophets. It must be remembered, however, first, that the aeon of the logos is both a unity and a multiplicity (94:23-95:2 with note) so that there is not necessarily a contradiction between saying that the inspiration was by a single power and that it was by several, and secondly, that the multiplicity of that aeon is of a problematic nature, inferior to the perfect harmony of the Pleroma of which it is an image by the particularisation of its members (ib., and 95:2-7 with note), so that although the inspirations agree with one another, each retains particular characteristics from the inspiring power. Presumably, then, these individual characteristics come to the fore at the manifestation to sight or hearing of the particular power. It may finally be noted that the historical background of the idea that prophetic revelations are made through the medium of individual angels is to be sought in the ideology of Late Jewish apocalyptic: Cf. Michl in RAC V 67-68; also, for Christian material, ib. 139.

112:11. I emend to $\lambda\{\varepsilon\}N$ (S ON) with K?V?

112:18. "accepted": possibly $\langle \text{ἄ}\text{ παραλαμβάνειν}$, with the meaning "understand."

112:20-21. ΝΕΤΑΥΨΟΟΠ: cf. Introd. p. 57.

112:22-113:1. The conflicting interpretations of the Jews: As with his description of the disagreements among the philosophers (109:7-21) the author formulates his Jewish doxography as pairs of opposite views. Three such pairs are listed:

(a) The god who speaks in the Scriptures is one or many (112:22-27). The circulation in late antiquity of views which in the eyes of "orthodox" rabbis were incompatible with Jewish monotheism is amply testified in rabbinic literature, where the proponents of such views are frequently referred to as minim. The label commonly attached to such heresy was that of "two powers in heaven"; the subject has been recently studied by A.F. Segal, Two Powers in Heaven, according to whom the issue originally concerned "the identity and status of a human figure in heaven" (ib. 260), although later the phrase came to have a wider application. It is possible that by "many" TriTrac means just "more than one" and is referring to these controversies in a general fashion. However, there exists at least one, quite early (tannaitic), reference to minim who said that "there are many powers (הרבה רשויות) in heaven" (Sanh. 4:5; cf. Segal, 109-20). This particular phrase also occurs in the Ps.-Clem. Hom. III 59:2 where it is applied to Simon Magus (Segal, 258), and can be

discerned in Theoph. Ad Autol. II 10 (Segal, 226). According to Segal's argument this plurality of powers refers to the idea of angelic collaborators with God in creation, which explains well why the expression was used for Simon.¹ Now the context in the present passage is not cosmogonical, but concerns the identity and unity of the god who speaks in the Old Testament. It is plausible, however, that whoever regarded creation as the work of angels may also easily have attributed to them the authorship of the Scriptures; this, indeed, is true in the case of Simon (Iren. AH I 23:3) and a few other Gnostics (Saturnilus, ib. 24:2, Basilides, ib. 24:5). It is known, moreover, that there circulated heretical interpretations of numerous O.T. passages which might be taken to refer to God in the plural (cf. Segal, 121-34). The proponents of the "many powers" heresy may be safely assumed to have availed themselves of such exegesis (although they may not have invented it), thus there seems to have existed a wider context for Simon's views within Judaism, which makes TriTrac's statements comprehensible. The group, or groups, of minim in question cannot be precisely identified (cf. the cautious conclusion of Segal, 115, 133, 263),

¹ Unfortunately Segal does not discuss in this context the traditional Christian allegation (from Col. 2:18 on; cf. further Michl, RAC V 199) that the Jews are angel-worshippers.

but it is noteworthy that TriTrac classifies them as Jews.

(b) God is simple (ἀπλοῦς) or has a double nature (112:27-33). That God is the origin of both good and evil is the orthodox rabbinic view, cf. e.g. Ber. 9:5. In contrast, Philo held that God was of a simple nature (φύσις ἀπλή, Leg. All.; cf. Mut. 184). In Quod Omn. Prob. 84 he attributes to the Essenes the view that God is the source only of good. (In Qumran, however, a version of the "orthodox" view is found: God is the creator of both the good and the evil spirit, e.g. 1QS III 15ff.) Segal, esp. 53-54, 85-89, 98-108, surveys evidence that there were rabbis during the tannaitic period who saw God as only causing good.

(c) God has created alone or through his angels (112:33-113:1). פ̄ עו"ב "make" does not necessarily mean "create," but must do so here since the idea that God relates to the world providentially using angels as intermediaries is not controversial in Judaism (Michl, RAC V 85-87). "the things which have come into being" presumably < τὰ γεγονότα "created things" (Lampe, Lex. s.v. γί(γ)νομαι 1.). Those who attribute to the angels a mediating role at creation seem to be identical with the minim mentioned under (a) above.

For the syntax of the final sentence see Introd. pp. 58-59.

113:1-5. I am unable to analyse satisfactorily these lines. The translations of Ka. are misleading (cf. Sch.), but both Sch.'s suggested reading and the one offered by Emmel in Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky, 141, fail to integrate syntactically the first part of the sentence, ΧΕ ... ΠΙΡΗΤΕ. It is to be observed, furthermore, that ΠΙΡΗΤΕ refers to the controversies just described (and not the variations between the Scriptures), whereas on the other hand ΝΝΙΓΡΛΦΗΟΥ here, as in 112:24 (cf. also 112:18) can only be the Scriptures of the Old Testament (and not ũncanonical literature); also it should be noted that ΝΕΥ probably is not the poss. art. (cf. Introd. p. 41 with n. 3), and that Emmel's interpretation would, as far as I can see, require a plural article. The assumption of a lacuna in the text can hardly be avoided.

ϸλ2 ΜΠΝΟΜΟϸ probably < [⌘]νομοδιδασκαλος as: in the Sahidic translation of 1 Tim. 1:7; the word occurs in Iren. AH I 3:2 and ExcTh 5:5.

113:5-118:14. The work of the Saviour.

113:5-114:30. The prophecies concerning the Saviour.

113:5-114:9. The variations and the limitations of the prophecies.

113:5-11. Cf. 111:5-17.

113:5-7. The implication is that the teachings of the rabbis are man-made and not from divine inspiration like the Old Testament prophecies.

113:10-11. In "the proclamation of the Saviour" "of" represents an objective genitive.

113:11. "he" (2nd): i.e. the individual prophet, thus also in 113:13, unless one prefers to emend to plural forms on account of the plural in "their proclamation."

113:14. Iren. AH I 3:3, 7:1.4, 8:4 ἡ τοῦ Σωτῆρος παρουσία.

113:15-20. Cf. Just. 1 Apol. 36 and Iren. AH I 10:3 for the various forms of the prophecies. To TriTrac, however, the essential point in this context is the ambiguity of the prophecies on the subject of the Saviour's pre-existence.

113:22-28. It has been said before that the powers in the sphere of the logos form a spiritual hierarchy (91:17-25), thus the inspiration of each individual prophet reflects the position occupied in this hierarchy by the particular power which inspires him.

113:34-114:10. That the Saviour announced by the prophets was only an aspect, a lower part of the true Saviour is also asserted in ExcTh 59:2 (cf. 43:1) and Iren. AH I 7:2, where it is said that they only knew the psychic Christ, the Son of the Demiurge. The view expressed in the present passage is clearly related to that theory, but can nevertheless not be identified with it, as Ka. (II 208) does. The point here is that the prophets have only been able to perceive and foresee the corporeal manifestation of the expected Saviour, i.e. that part of him which is subject to birth and suffering." This body of the Saviour is provided by the spiritual logos and is thus not psychic. On this subject see also Introd. pp. 29-30.

113:36. ΠΕΤΑΥΘΕΙ: Probably Relative Present II.

113:37-38. Following Ka.'s Fr. translation (which is not accounted for in the notes) I read ΝΤΕ as = ΕΤΕ (cf. Introd. p. 38) and supply ΠΕ after ΕΝ. It looks as if the phrase may be directed against a certain interpretation of John 1:14: to the author the logos is not the Saviour, but the aeon, who provides the Saviour with a body.

113:38. "in the flesh" clearly < ἐν σαρκί (WZ).

114:4-10. That the flesh of the Saviour is "a product

from out of all of them " must imply that it is composed from the spiritual Church in the sphere of the logos (ἐκκλησία: 94:20-21, 97:6); thus the body of the Saviour incorporates the spiritual Church as well as the logos in particular. A similar application of the Pauline body of Christ-concept is attested in ExcTh 17 and 26:1: Sophia and the Church of the superior seed make up the body of Jesus. This is the Oriental Valentinian view, cf. *Introd.* pp. 25ff. That Jesus incorporates (ἀναλαβών) the Church at his descent is also said, within a Western Valentinian context, ExcTh 58:1.

114:8-9. Note that the role of the logos as producer of the Saviour's body is related to his cosmogonic function in general.

114:9-30. The reason for these limitations. When he emitted the spiritual Church the logos had only received, at his appearance, a seed from the Saviour, which makes him hope for him (see 95:24-38). But the Saviour himself, who is the realization of this hope, originates from a superior level; he is, in fact, the son of the Father. This explains why the prophets knew nothing about the Saviour himself, only about his flesh: The prophetic inspiration derives from the sphere of the logos, the spiritual Church, which will constitute the flesh of the Saviour, and not from the

Saviour himself, or the Pleroma which he is.

114:14. $\overline{\text{Ζ}}\overline{\text{Ν}} \overline{\text{ΤΜΝΤ}}\overline{\text{ΣΠΕΡΜΑ}}$ (< ?[⌘]σπερματικῶς) can only go with $\overline{\text{ΝΕΛΥΦ}} \overline{\text{ΒΛΚΗ}} \dots \overline{\text{ΜΜΔϳ}}$ ΠΕ.

114:14-16. Confused. I conjecture $\overline{\text{ΟΥ}}\{\overline{\text{ΔΕ}}\}\overline{\text{ΣΠΕΡΜΑ}} \overline{\text{ΝΓΔΡ}}$
 $\overline{\text{ΝΔΕ}} \overline{\text{ΝΕΤΨΟΟΠ}}$ ΠΕ $\{\overline{\text{ΤΨΟΟΠ}}\}$ $\overline{\text{ΕΛΥΧΠΔϳ}}$ etc. The (spiritual) seed does, of course, derive from "those who are" = the Pleroma, through their manifestation by the Saviour. The contrast with the Saviour, apart from the point that he is actual while the seed is potential, is that the seed is "produced by a multitude, the Pleroma, whereas the Saviour's Father is one. That the seed was produced "at the end" presumably means that it is of the same nature as the Pleroma, but less developed than any of the aeonic offspring which belong to it.

114:20. "organs": ὄργανα in the sense of bodily organs; the sphere of the logos provides the Saviour with the physical requisites for corporeal existence.

114:22-30. As Ka. notes, the author here echoes themes from the beginning of the tractate; the Father's oneness (114:22): 51:8-19; the only true Father (114:23-24): 51:19-52:6; his inaccessibility to sensation and thought (114:24-26): 54:2-35; his gracious will to be known (114:26-30): 55:27-35, 57:27-29.

114:30-118:14. The incarnation of the Saviour and the spirituals.

114:30-115:23. The meaning of the incarnation.

114:30-36. Note that the passion of the Saviour (1) is synonymous with his incarnation: passion is corporeal existence (a traditional idea, already Ign. Eph. 7:2), and (2) is compassion ($\text{ἡ}\text{σ}\text{υ}\text{μ}\text{π}\text{α}\text{θ}\text{ε}\text{ι}\text{α}$) and not the passion which those who live in the body ordinarily suffer (cf. 113:37: the Saviour is impassible). The notion of compassion was used in two contexts above; first in connection with the Son's extension outwards in order to enable the aeons to know the Father (65:11-23), the second time to describe the attitude of the remainder of the Pleroma to the fallen aeon and the motive for their prayer of intercession (85:33-37, cf. 91:31), and third in connection with the Saviour's parousia to the logos (90:5-6). It is thus clear that the term has a wider application within the system than to describe the motive of the incarnation. Now passion in TriTrac is closely bound up with the notions of multiplicity and deficiency: anything which falls short of the oneness which is the Father's own essence is in a sense passion (cf. also note on 95:2-7). The term compassion has a similar metaphysical significance: it justifies the involvement of that which is perfect and within

the sphere of oneness with that which is subject to plurality. Thus the compassion shown by the Saviour in his descent into matter, his incarnation, is typologically prefigured by the function of the Son as plurality-creating dyad in 65:11-23, and the incarnation is justified by the same principle as externalizing generation as such is justified. Compassion, then, refers to the fact that the divinity deliberately subjects itself to the imperfect condition of multiplicity, in order to grant Being and knowledge to Others. Compassion in turn depends on the Will of the Father to generate and be known and it is significant for that relationship that the author returns to that theme as an introduction to the Saviour's incarnation (114:26-30), and also that the compassion here is qualified as "willing."

114:34-35. Read XE as = ΝΟΙ; cf. 108:34. In ΕΡΕΝΝΤΑΥΟΥΩΝΩ ΛΒΛΛ ΕΤΒΗΤΟΥ the conjugation element seems from the context to combine the functions of Relative, with nominalization, and second tense, together with a Perfect base.

114:36-39. Cf. 108:5-10.

114:37. Probably emend to ◀▷ΛNHΩΕ (man is not, of course, eternally subject to death and corruption, but only until the advent of the Saviour).

114:39-115:3. "[as] (an) invisible man" (I restore [N]P(Ω)ME· [N]λTNEY λPλq; [EϣP̄]λTNEY is also possible): i.e. possessing the spiritual seed; cf. 105:24-25 and note, for the association of spirit and invisibility see also Iren. AH I 7:2 and Heracleon ap. Orig. In Ioh. XIII 25. "in an invisible manner": Although it was not explicitly said in the anthropogony that the spiritual logos deposited his contribution to man invisibly, this is clearly implied; cf. 101:16-18, 102:32, 104:33-34 for the invisible working of the spirit in general, and Iren. AH I 5:6 λεληθότως κατατεθεῖσθαι εἰς αὐτόν μὴ εἰδóτος αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ δημιουργοῦ). That they were instructed in an invisible manner likewise refers to the spiritual nature of the Saviour's teaching; i.e. it is of a symbolic, and perhaps esoteric, nature, cf. Ptol. Ep. Fl. ap. Epiph. Pan. XXXIII 5:2 and Heracleon ap. Orig. In Ioh. XIII 19, 25 with the comment in Foerster-Wilson, Gnosis, I 172.

115:3-11. The "not only ... but even" figure suggests that the author is here commenting on the insufficiency of the non-Gnostic view of the soteriological significance of the incarnation: The Saviour not only died vicariously, but he also subjected himself to the imperfect condition of corporeal existence in order to liberate man from it. "Smallness" is a technical designation for this imperfection, cf.

104:23-24; that the Saviour was born as a child thus symbolizes the immature nature of human existence in the world. Cf. ExcTh 61:2.

115:7. Read {N}ENTAYEÎ. --EAYNECTH[YE] KATA ΠCΩΜΑ ΜΝ ΤΨΥΧΗ gives no meaning. I propose to read EAYNEYE (νεύειν; cf. 77:22 and note on 77:11-36, and 106:13-14) etc.; quite possibly the corruption arose already at the Gk. stage of the transmission.

115:13. For λΥΧΙ (Ka.) read λΥ(ω) ΕΥΧΙ (Cod.).

115:19. "(both) the former and the latter": presumably those who had fallen and those who possess the light in 115:11-13.

115:20. Read Ε{N}CΠ[ω]NE (Ka.).

115:21. For the "movement" of the logos see 77:6-11 and note, also cf. 85:15-16.

115:23-116:20. The co-incarnation of the spirituals. The Saviour is accompanied in his incarnation by the spirituals of the sphere of the logos, who constitute his body and the spiritual church, cf. 95:31-38. For TriTrac's characteristically "oriental" Valentinian version of the theory see Introd. pp. 25ff. The idea was not invented by the Valentinians: it can be found

already in 2 Clem. 14:1-3 where reference is made to ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ πρώτη ἡ πνευματικὴ, the body of Christ, which was revealed in order to save us, through the flesh of Christ (ἐφανερώθη ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ Χριστοῦ). I have attempted to show in a different context¹ that this idea of a pre-existent church which is eschatologically manifested as the body of Christ represents a Christian appropriation of an idea attested in 1 En. 38:1, 1 Clem. 50:3, EpIac NHC I 16:8-11, that a heavenly congregation will be manifested at the day of judgment; it seems that this idea was only secondarily associated with the incarnation of the Saviour through the "body of Christ" concept.

115:23-25. The author means the spiritual body mentioned esp. in 114:4-9. ελϣλ is Perfect II; cf. Introd. p. 48. πεϣε seems to translate a participle of ἔρχεσθαι; εττε would be unacceptable (cf. note on 53:25).

115:25-26. Cf. 114:9-13. For this "thought" in particular cf. 92:22ff.

115:29. "for the sake of the economy" may go with

¹ Altets åpenbaring: En soteriologisk term i Evangelium Veritatis. Mag. art. thesis at the University of Bergen 1976, 29-37, 48-49.

either "it originated" (115:25), "converted himself" (115:27) or "his movement"; the differences in the implications of each interpretation are minimal.

115:29-33. This probably means that the spirituals, who as yet exist only as seeds (95:31-38) will be educated through living in body and soul, cf. Iren. I 6:1.

115:35. "known": i.e. "approved"? "he": sc. probably the Saviour.

115:36-39. "they too": cf. 115:14.

116:4. "manifestation" (< ?[⌘]φανέρωσις): for this term see the general note on 115:23-116:20.

116:5-117:8. Division and unification in the incarnation. The spatio-temporal world is characterized by divisibility. therefore the spirituals were divided in order to enter into individual men. On the other hand the Saviour manifests oneness, so that those who have been granted participation in his spiritual body will transcend the dividedness of cosmic bodily existence. Cf. 95:8-16 and ExcTh 36.

116:5-8. Cf. ExcTh 36:1 ἐν ἐνότητι ... προεβλήθησαν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἡμῶν, φασίν, εἰς ὄντες, ὡς ἀπὸ ἐνὸς

προελθόντες. For the connection of incorporeality and indivisibility in general see note on 66:37-38.

116:7. Transcribe λΥω ΝΤΑς· Ρω Τ·Ε·ΤΕ· †ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΔΕ. For the punctuation Τ·ΕΤΕ cf. Stern § 80.

116:12. "division": same word as 77:21.

116:13-20. For the origin and purpose of the spirituals see 91:10-17, 91:32-92:4. Their "mission" was mentioned 92:28-36. "the apostles and the bringers of good tidings" seems here to refer not to the twelve apostles and the four evangelists exclusively, but to the spirituals in general, as typified by the disciples. For the commission of the apostles to heal cf. TWNT III 131:21ff (Beyer); also ExcTh 24:1 testifies that healing (along with prophecy) was a task performed by the spiritual element in the church.

116:18-20. Teaching and healing are practically synonymous; thus the discipleship of the apostles etc. who have been appointed to heal the passions of others indicates that they themselves partake of the passions. This is elaborated in the following.

116:20. ΝΝΕ: Cf. Introd. p. 38.

116:25-26. Read ΜΝ/⟨Π⟩CωTHP.

subjection of the all to sin, the singularity of the Saviour, salvation as the giving of life--are clearly of Pauline inspiration, esp. Rom. 5:12ff (Ka. refers to Rom. 5:17 in particular).

117:8-118:14. The ministry of the spirituals.

117:8-14. An awkwardly translated and partly corrupted sentence. For ΠΕΝΤΑΨ̄Ρ̄ ΛΡΧΕΣΘ̄ΛΙ read ΠΕΝΤΑΨ̄Ρ̄ etc.

In 117:12 some letters have been cancelled: 'Ϛ̄ῙΤΟΟΤ̄[[Ϛ̄' Ν̄Π̄Η̄Τ̄]] ; the text as a whole 117:10-13, ΝΙΤΑΕΙΟ ...

Ϛ̄ῙΤΟΟΤ̄̄, may then be restored thus: ΝΙΤΑΕΙΟ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΨ̄Ε
ΟΕΙΨ̄ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ [Μ̄ΜΟΥ Cod.] ΛΒΛΛ Ϛ̄ῙΤΟΟΤ̄<ΟΥ Ν̄>ΝΕΕΙ ΕΤ̄
Μ̄Π̄{ΜΠ̄}Ψ̄Λ ΛΒΛΛ Ϛ̄ῙΤΟΟΤ̄̄ <Ν̄Π̄Η̄Τ̄>.

--The reception of grace probably refers to the incarnation of the spiritual church into physical persons; as is made clear by 117:14-15 this process is equivalent to the depositing of "the seed of expectation" (for that term see 95:24-38 and 114:10-14). The gifts which the grace enables them to bestow, and which consist in proclamation, or preaching, must be the spritual instruction and healing administered by the spirituals to the others.

117:14. Read Ν̄ΔΙ <Π̄Ι>CΠ̄ΕΡΜΑ.

117:16-17. "ministered to" < διακονεῖν; for the word cf. ExcTh 24:1. For the "manifestation and unification"

of the expectation (of the Saviour) see 116:4-5; the Church as the body of Christ is meant.

117:17-23. "This expectation" refers to the spiritual seed, which effects the redemption of those into whom it has been deposited, which these administer to the rest. "Redemption" (λύτρωσις, ἀπολύτρωσις) generally has ritual connotations in Valentinianism: the entering of the spirit was represented sacramentally (Iren. AH I 13:6, 21 passim; ExcTh 22:4.5; GPhil 68, 76, 89, 125). TriTrac here relates the term only to catechesis and conversion, and in the following to liberation, without specifying any ritual connections (unless the image of the drop and the spring is an allusion to the baptismal water). Moreover, the texts cited, and in particular AH I 21, demonstrate that the term was associated with a number of sacramental practices. See also Müller, "Beiträge," 184-97.

For the association of the redemption with the return to one's origin cf. Iren. AH I 21:5 and ExegSoul NHC II 134:6ff; for the theme in general consult Puech, En quête de la Gnose, II 146-49.

For the image of the drop, which implies the notion of the Father as a spring, see 62:8-9 and, with Ka., SophJC NHC III 106:24-107:1, 119:5-6.

117:23-25. Cf. ExegSoul NHC II 134:13; ExcTh 57 ἐκ

δουλείας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν. Also cf. GPhil 13, 87, 110, 114, 123, 125.

117:24-25. Read probably ΠΧΙ{N} / Ν†ΜΝ†ΤΡΜΖΕ.

117:25-32. For the association ignorance : truth = captivity : liberty cf. Ka. II 213, citing GPhil 123, GTr 17:33-35, GMary BG 17:3, SophJC NHC III 107:5ff.

114:33. "a salvation of things": for this somewhat odd-sounding formula cf. 94:9.

118:1-2. Cf. 84:17-21, 98:29-30.33-34. The remark of Ka. II 213, that the spirituals are temporarily dominated by evil and "lust for dominion," is a misinterpretation: what was under the influence of the "presumptuous thought," and therefore came to dwell in matter, the region ruled by ignorance, was psychic man, whereas the spiritual seed, which descended with the incarnation of the Saviour, precisely effects the liberation from the influence of presumption and the rule of ignorance by converting man towards that which is superior and instructing him.

118:3. "possession": For κτῆμα in the sense of spiritual gift (Clem., Orig., etc.) cf. Lampe, Lex. s.v. 3.

118:4-5. "looked favourably upon": probably with connotations of providence, < $\text{\textcircled{X}}$ ἐπισκοπεῖν or $\text{\textcircled{X}}$ ἐπιβλέπειν.

118:5. "the children": presumably < $\text{\textcircled{X}}$ τὰ $\text{\textcircled{X}}$ τέκνα the only occurrence of this name for the spirituals in TriTrac, but cf. ExcTh 41:1, 68; GTr 19:28-30, 27:13-14, 33:39; Iren. AH I 13:7 τὰ τέκνα τῆς γνώσεως. The name refers to the fact that they possess and essentially are the spiritual seed of expectation emitted by the logos at the appearance of the Saviour.

118:5-6. "overthrow": Cf. 91:25. --ΠΛΘΟC should probably be understood as ΠΠΛΘΟC. Cf. Introd. p. 15 n. 2.

118:6-9. Cf. 88:23-25 and 96:10-11.

118:10-14. Cf. 89:31-36, 99:18-19.

118:14-122:12. The three human races.

118:14-119:16. The various reactions among men to the light.

118:14-17. Cf. (with Ka.) Iren. AH I 7:5 ἀνθρώπων δὲ τρία γένη ὑφίστανται, πνευματικόν, χοϊκόν, ψυχικόν

κτλ.; also ib. 6:1 τριῶν οὐκ ὄντων κτλ., ExcTh 54:1
 τρεῖς φύσεις; Sagnard, Gnose valentinienne, 410-12.
 Λ(Ω)ΠΕ Ε(Ο)ΕΙ here, as all translators have correctly
 seen, does not refer to coming into being, but is
 historical. First man, as 105:10-106:25 explains,
 was composed of three substances, deriving from the
 hyllic powers, the psychic powers, and the spiritual
logos respectively. All men, then, in so far as they
 are physical beings, are composite in this way. From
 a different point of view however, which the author
 does not specify but which is relatively independent
 of the physical description of man, a man may be
 either hyllic, psychic or spiritual. The word γένος
 is used here from the latter point of view; it does
 not refer to genetic constituents of individuals,
 but to religious, i.e. ethical and intellectual
 qualities. For the question of the existence of
 spirituals prior to the advent of the Saviour see
 below on 118:24-28.

118:16. Read ΨΥΧ<ΙΚ>Η (Ka.).

118:18-21. The three dispositions are (1) the
 presumptuous thought, and the passions which result
 from it, (2) the thought of remembrance, and the
 ensuing conversion, and (3) the impassibility and
 unification which arise from the vision of the
 Saviour.

118:21-23. Matt. 7:16 par., 12:33; cf. GTr, 33:37-39 and (with Ka.) Orig. De Princ. I 8:2 for the Valentinian use of this logion. What underlies the principle is probably the practical problem of how to decide who is spiritual and who is not: The criticism against Valentinian predestinarianism ("saved by nature") could be answered by saying that nature, or essence, is inextricably bound up with the actions in which it expresses itself, so that instead of nature legitimizing behaviour behaviour reveals nature.

118:24-28. In GTr as well the motif of the fruit is followed by the idea of the manifestation of the natures (34:4ff). The idea that the true nature and identity of all men is uncovered in the eschaton is traditional: 2 Macc. 6:26, AddEsther 5:4, 2 Bar. 83:2-3, 1 En. 49:4, 104:2, 2 En. 46:3; cf. also Matt. 13:43 and Herm. Sim. IV 2.¹ The theme can be discerned also in GTr 20:6-9, 25:35-26:4.

At this point a problem of systematic interpretation presents itself: If, as has been said above, the spiritual Church is made incarnate and descends only at the advent of the Saviour, how

¹ See also Aalen, Licht und Finsternis (Oslo 1951) 233-35, 321-24; and my Altets åpenbaring, 11-12, 16ff.

is it that there exists on earth already a spiritual race to be revealed by the advent? This problem can be resolved, I think, by two different, but mutually complementary, lines of interpretation. First, from the narrative point of view, it seems that the spiritual element deposited in the first man by the logos was only potentially spiritual, it implied a "first form," the knowledge of the existence, but not of the essence of the transcendent world (see note on 105:30). The Hebrew prophets were those men in whom this potentially spiritual element was active, as they allowed themselves to be inspired by the spiritual powers (111:23-112:9). Thus the manifestation of the spirituals which took place with the Advent seems to mean not simply that the Advent made known the until then anonymously present spirituals, but rather that their potentially spiritual character, their "seed," is made into an actual spiritual nature by the descent of the spiritual church, and also that this is the difference which exists between the prophets of the Old Testament and the Valentinian gnostics. Secondly the matter may be looked upon from the point of view of eschatological prolepsis: That the spirituals are made manifest also means that they attain the status which has been predetermined for them by the Economy. There already exists in the sphere of the logos a spiritual Church destined to descend into earthly

men at the Advent. Thus there did exist spirituals in the world before the Advent, in the sense that there were men destined to become the spiritual Church on earth, and when their nature is revealed this means that this status, which they are pre-determined to attain, is revealed, concretized by the Church which descends upon them.¹

118:26. "saints" is not an ordinary Valentinian name for the spirituals, but belongs to the apocalyptic theme of manifestation which the author is here appropriating.

118:29-32. The formulas "light from light" and "spirit from spirit" express the consubstantiality of the spirituals with the godhead in a way analogous to the image of the drop and the spring 117:20-21. The common emanation formula "light from light" is attested for Valentinianism by Iren.: AH II 17:4. Cf. also the note on 53:13-20.

118:32-35. Use is also made of the κεφαλή-idea of

¹ Similarly in GTr 19:34ff the book of the living not only reveals the identity of the ones to be saved but also manifests their superior selves (the names in the book) by which they are saved. These ideas and their Apocalyptic background are studied in my Altets åpenbaring, 18-49.

Eph. (1:22-23, 4:15-16, 5:23) and Col. (1:18, 2:10.19) in ExcTh 42:2, 43:2. For the somewhat odd notion that the head appeared to the body one may compare OdSol 23:16ff.

118:33-34. For this "haste" cf. note on 78:2.

118:37. For the association of the psychic with fire cf. note on 98:14-20.

119:3. "by means of voice": i.e. "by the word," in contrast to full revelation in a vision, cf. 133:1-5.

119:4-8. The hope imparted to the psychics by the voice is comparable to the expectation of the (potential) spirituals before the appearance of the Saviour; similarly Ka.

119:7. "pledge" (or "foretaste"): probably < [⊕]ἀρραβών. Similarly Iren. AH I 6:4 ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἐν χρήσει τὴν χάριν λαμβάνειν λέγουσι;¹ cf. also GPhil 59.

119:9. "alien": Cf., with Ka., Heracleon ap Orig.

¹ The following διὸ καὶ ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι αὐτὴν probably represents a malicious distortion on the part of Irenaeus.

In Ioh. X 11 ἀνοικειον, XX 8 ἀλλότριτοι; add XIII 60 end; also GTr 31:1-4 (Ka.), ExcTh 33:3. See also the classic analyses in Jonas, The Gnostic Religion, 49-51, and Puech, En quête de la Gnose, 207-13.

119:10-16. Perhaps based on John 1:5 (which is also applied in Iren. AH I 8:5).

119:12-13. Cf. GTr 24:37-25:1, 25:17-18; further parallels can be found in Ménard, L'Évangile de Vérité, 122.

119:13-14. δ̄ΝΟΥΕΕἰ cannot be "unity" (Ka.: Eng. Ger., NHLE), since δ̄|N is normally prefixed only to infinitives, and also because the following λΒΛΛ and Ν̄ΖΟΥΟ become unintelligible by that translation. Derivation from S OΥΕ (Ka.: Fr.) is possible, but the meaning remains obscure; besides, the inf. of this verb is consistently spelled with an λ elsewhere in TriTrac (cf. Ka. II 328). I propose, therefore, to emend to ΜΠΕϣδ̄ΝΟΥ<ω̄Ν̄> λΒΛΛ Ν̄ΖΟΥΟ.

ΠΕ in 119:14 seems to reduplicate the copula of 119:10; this suggests that the whole section ΕϣΝΔΝΔΖ̄ ... Ν̄ΖΟΥΟ is subordinate to the preceding nominal sentence.

119:14-16. Cf. GTr 19:25-27. This is above all a Johannine theme (e.g. John 7:7, 15:18; 1 John 3:13).

Instead of "because he had appeared" one should perhaps read "because he had revealed it [sc. the hylic race]," i.e. the Saviour-light reveals its true nature, with reference to John 3:20.

119:16-27. The lot of the three races. This section agrees with Iren. AH I 6:1-7:1, 7:5, 8:3; ExcTh 56:3; Epiph. Pan. XXXI 7:6-11.

119:19. $K\lambda < \tau \lambda >$ (Ka.).

119:20-24. Cf. 106:9-14.

119:21-22. "in the middle by its production": the psychic was emitted through the conversion, after the presumption but before the illumination of the logos.

119:25. The "effluence" given to the psychics is to be understood in the context of the emanation metaphors used in relation to the spirituals in 117:20-22 and 118:30-32: the psychics are also consubstantial with the divine source, but the share of the divine which they possess will only subsequently be revealed, cf. 118:38-119:8.

119:25-26. $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$ $\text{OY}\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\epsilon}$ here and in 120:22 cannot, because of the context, have the normal meaning "immediately." The interpretation "for a while" is

conjectured from the basic meaning of $\Omega\text{CNE}:\Omega\text{NE}$
 "moment of time."

119:28-122:12. The destinations of the various
 categories of psychics.

119:28-120:24. The good and humble psychics. These,
 who have turned themselves towards the good, correspond
 to the remembrance of the logos, and the powers
 generated by this disposition after the likeness of
 the pre-existent Pleroma: 81:26-83:33. These powers
 constitute the highest level of the psychic sphere:
 97:32-35.

119:32-33. $\text{OY}\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\epsilon\text{C}$: Read $\text{OY}\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\epsilon\text{Y}$ (cf. Ka. II 184).
 I restore $\bar{\text{N}}\lambda[\text{T}]\Omega\text{NE}$. ΩNE is most probably error for
 $\Omega\omega\text{NE}$, or perhaps, a previously unattested variant form
 from the same stem. $\Omega\omega\text{NE}$, "sickness" practically
 means "deficiency" in TriTrac as can be seen from the
 passages listed in Ka. II 333 s.v. Note also the
 emphasis on the fact that the powers which issued from
 the remembrance did not originate in sicknesses, in
 83:11-13.

119:34-36. I restore and translate $\text{K}\lambda\text{T}\lambda\ \text{P}\epsilon[\text{N}]\text{T}\lambda\text{Y}\text{N}\text{T}\epsilon\text{C}$.
 $\lambda\text{B}\lambda\lambda\ \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\lambda\text{C}\ \text{N}\text{I}\text{P}\text{H}\text{T}\epsilon\ 2[\omega\omega\text{C}]\ \lambda\text{N}\ \text{P}\epsilon\ [\text{N}\text{T}]\xi\ [\text{N}]\epsilon\text{T}\epsilon\lambda\text{N}\lambda\epsilon\text{I}\ \bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\text{OY}$
 $\lambda\text{B}[\lambda\lambda]\ \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}[\lambda\text{Y}]$. The meaning is, presumably, that the
 angelic powers issued from the remembrance themselves

have generated offspring of their own nature, both angels and men, by means of that same disposition; cf. 131:14-22.

120:1. For this formula cf. GPhil, 20.

120:2-3. Cf. 106:11-12. ΠΕΤΛΕΙ: Read ΠΕΤ<N>ΛΕΙ.

120:4-5. Cf. 83:15-21, 112:3.

120:7-8. Read probably †ΔΙΛΘΕCIC ... ΕΤΝΔΝΟΥC (cf. Ka. II 184, and 121:20-21). For the content cf. 83:9-17.

120:8-11. The type of this highest category of psychics is the prophets of the Old Testament (above, 111:6ff).

120:10. ΕΤΛϞΝΔ(Ϟ)ΠΕ looks like Rel. Fut. II, but is more likely a contamination caused by the Perf. form immediately below, and should be emended to ΕΤΝΔ(Ϟ)ΠΕ.

120:11. It must be the Saviour's manifestation to the logos (88:8-25) which is referred to.

120:13-14. "they actually [$\xi\acute{\nu}\ \xi\rho\gamma\omega$] received the substance [$\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha$] of their being": the precise meaning of this combination of abstract and polyvalent terms is uncertain.

120:13. ΕΛΥΤΝ̄Ν̄ΟΟΥϑ: The obj. suff. refers to the sgg. ΛΓΓΕΛΟC and ΡΩΜΕ: such as have been sent forth to perform service.

120:14-121:25. The mixed psychics. For the origin of this category of psychics see 83:34-84:36.

120:19. "him" seems in this context to refer to the Saviour, but it may also, from 85:20, 89:20, be the logos.

120:19-20. The apposition probably goes with "those who oppose him"; thus the "thought" is that of presumption. --ΛΒΛΛ {ΛΒΛΛ} (Ka.). The double N in Ν̄Ν̄ΕΕΙ may have been caused by the erroneous preceding ΛΒΛΛ, but cf. also Introd. p. 38.

120:21. "mixed": Cf. 85:11, 110:31-32. These powers contain both good and evil since they combat passion with passion. --Read Ε<Υ>ΝΔΧΙ Ν̄ΤΟΥΖΛΗ (Ka.). For the meaning of the expression cf. Crum, Dict. 636b.

120:22. "for a while": Cf. 119:25-26. --Emend to ΝΕΤ<ΟΥ>ΝΔΝ̄ΤΟΥ; Fut. I is probably correct, cf.

120:29-30 ΕΤΝΔC̄Λ̄.

120:24-25. "for a time" probably < [⊗]πρόσκαιρος (Ka.). For the content cf. 98:34ff, 99:19ff.

120:26. "the Lord of Glory": 1 Cor. 2:8, but also Phil 2:10-11; cf. ExcTh 43:4, and below, 120:36-121:2.

120:26-27. The wrath is characteristic of this class of psychics, cf. 81:16, 97:32-36.

128:28-29. These psychics will not be destroyed like the hylics but remain so as to be ultimately saved; cf. 135:9-11.

120:30. "perversely": I derive $\overline{C\Lambda}$ from $C\Omega\Lambda$, cf. Ka. I 31 n. 4.

120:33. Read $\overline{\epsilon\pi\epsilon\eta\lambda\upsilon\tau\eta\sigma\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon}$. For the form see Introd. pp. 46, 48-49.

120:34-35. "which they have": Emend perhaps to $\overline{\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\tau\epsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon}$: It makes better sense to make $\overline{\tau\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\lambda}$ the obj. of the verb than "certain periods": "it is only for a time and certain periods that the power they have has been entrusted to them"; similarly WZ in Ka. II 185.

120:35-36. For $\overline{\mu\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon}$ - here and in 121:2 cf. Introd. p. 38.

120:36-121:2. Cf. Phil. 2:11, and 120:26 above.

121:3-4. Cf. 108:23-31. "those who are evil": perhaps "evil things" (κακά).

121:6. "senselessness": presumably < ἀγνωμο[⊕]σθνη.

121:7. "which is the suffering" probably refers to the ignorance and senselessness (cf. 117:36), and not the judgment.

121:9. "turn away": Cf. 77:22 and the note on 77:11-36 above; also 106:13.14.18.

121:14. "persevered": the contrary attitude to conversion.

121:14-18. Note that the motive for murdering the Saviour is the rebellious lust for dominion (?[⊕]φιλαρχία), which characterizes the discord of the material realm, which in turn is derived from the presumptuous thought of the logos; thus the death of the Saviour is well integrated into the opposition between unity and multiplicity which forms the central idea of TriTrac's system.

121:18. "strove": < ?[⊕]κοπιᾶν; probably with the connotation of vain labour.

121:22. As Ka. points out, the copula should be ΝΕ.

121:22-23. λΥΩ / {λΥΩ}.

121:24. I delete ΠΕ (translation suggested by Professor Wilson); cf. 120:30-32.

121:25-122:12. The two roads. The two options of the psychics, and their eschatological consequences, are represented by the traditional symbol of the two roads.¹ The application of the symbol to describe the destiny of the souls, as in Cic. Tusc. I 72, seems to be attributable to the Pythagoreans (Cumont), as is also the association of the two roads with left and right,² which TriTrac seems to imply.

121:25-27. ΕΦΩΟΟΠ: Probably Pr. II; pred. λΥΟΥΧΛΕΙΤΕ.

121:32-34. λΠΕΤΕ ... ΝΕC: The λ probably goes with 2ΩC: The good psychics praise their own acts of service to the Church in an attitude of humility.

121:38. Either a def. or an indef. art. may be restored before 2]ΞΑΠΙC.

¹ Cf. e.g. Michaelis in TWNT V 43:34ff, 46:14ff, 57:38ff, 61:30ff, 98:10ff; F. Cumont, After Life in Roman Paganism (1922, rpt. New York 1959) 150-53.

² Cumont, *ib.*; on this point cf. also Burkert, Lore and Science, 37 n. 49, 113 n. 21.

122:2-4. "the road . . . to perdition": Perhaps an echo of Matt. 7:13 ἡ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν. (Although the Sahidic translation of this verse chooses a different word, CωPM does render ἀπώλεια in 1 Tim. 6:9.)

122:8-9. "Hatred, envy and jealousy" does of course, as Ka. remarks, characterize the hylic powers; but they are also conventional terms used to describe the motives of those who persecute the Church, e.g. 1 Clem. 5:2 διὰ ζῆλον καὶ φθόνον.

122:10. "condemnation" < ?[⊕]κατάγνωσις, cf. note on 81:10-26.

122:12. "<trials>": ΛΝΕΠΙΡΙΑ, i.e. [⊕]εἰς + ἐμπειρία in the pl., is presumably a corruption of ΛΝΠΙΡΑ or, better, ΕΝΠΙΡΑ ([⊕]εἰς + πείρα in the pl.); Ka. similarly.

122:12-136:24. The destiny of the Election and the Calling. ἐκλογὴ and κλήσις are used technically by the Valentinians to designate the spiritual and the psychic "races" within the Church (Iren. AH I 6:4, 14:4, ExcTh 58:1, Heracleon ap. Orig. In Ioh. X 33, XIII 31, 51).¹ The distinction is, of course, based

¹ Cf. also ExcTh 21, which, however, presents particular problems of interpretation which cannot be discussed here.

upon Matt. 22:14. Both terms were probably also derived, in pseudo-etymological fashion, from the word ἐκκλησία (cf. Sagnard, Gnose valentinienne, 302-03). The distinction was adopted by Clement of Alexandria (ExcTh 9 and Sagnard's note in loc.).

122:12-32. Introduction.

122:13-15. Cf. 115:23-116:5, with note, and ExcTh 42:3 τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅπερ ὁμοούσιον ἦν τῆ ἐκκλησία. The meaning of ὁμοούσιος in a Valentinian context depends on the usage of the word οὐσία to designate the three "substances": spiritual, psychic and hylic (cf. Sagnard, Gnose valentinienne, 649-50, s.v.); thus being consubstantial with the Saviour here means simply to be of the spiritual substance like him, and specifically of the substance of his spiritual body.

122:15-17. The designation "bridal chamber" for the spiritual Church is not precisely paralleled in other Valentinian sources, where the term is found to refer either to the Pleroma where Sophia is united with the Saviour and the spirituals with his angels (Iren. AH I 7:1, ExcTh 64-65), or to a sacrament performed by the spirituals which presumably anticipates this unification (cf. the other references listed in Foerster-Wilson, Gnosis, II 326 s.v.). But

it is evident that the Church may easily be conceived not only as the bride of the Saviour and the Pleroma, but also as the place where the nuptial union with him takes place, both sacramentally and generally.

122:17-19. Contrast Iren. AH I 6:1 τὸν Σωτῆρα ... παραγεγονέναι τὸ ψυχικόν ... ὅπως αὐτὸ σώσῃ.

According to the Western school, to which the main system of Irenaeus belongs, the psychic also form part of the body of the Saviour and consequently are the object of his salvific mission (whereas the spirituals apparently are saved automatically), whereas the Oriental soteriology of TriTrac only includes the spirituals in the Body, so that they become the chief recipients of salvation and the psychics are saved only indirectly, by submission to the spirituals.

2ΛΘΗ ΜΜΔΕΙΤ NIM seems to be a fixed expression, cf. 135:17-18.

122:19. "Christ": < ^ⲕδ Χρηστός; this spelling, as Ka. remarks, is also presupposed in 136:1 ΠΕΧΡΗϚ. It is used consistently, as far as can be ascertained, in ValExp (28:23, 33:17, 39:29; cf. also 40:13.19). Although this form is sometimes doctrinally motivated (Weiss in TWNT IX 478:11ff), there is no reason to assume this to be the case in Valentinianism, where the name Χριστός is used normally, and Χρηστός may be no more than a graphic variant.

122:19-24. As was observed by Ka. II 221-22, this is based upon John 3:29, as is also ExcTh 65.

122:24-27. That the psychics will ascend to the spiritual sphere above them (92:22ff) is confirmed by Iren. AH 7:1

τὸν δὲ δημιουργὸν μεταβῆναι . . . εἰς τὸν τῆς
μητρὸς Σοφίας τόπον, τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ μεσότητι·
τάς τε τῶν δικαίων ψυχὰς ἀναπαύσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὰς
ἐν τῷ τῆς μεσότητος τόπῳ,

cf. 7:5, ExcTh 34:2.

122:27-32. "the Man of the Church": The condition of the Church as a whole corresponds to that of each individual man. Having been incarnated concorporeally with the Saviour, and subjected to bodily existence, the Church consists of body, soul and spirit. Consequently it is in need of salvation. The image of the Church as a man is apparently related to that of the body of Christ, which the author has used repeatedly above, and which also recurs immediately below. That he here speaks of "the man" rather than "the body" is due to the soteriological context; the Church needs salvation for the same reason as all corporeal beings. One is probably not to interpret spirit, soul and body as referring to classes of members of the Church, since TriTrac seems to regard only the spirituals as members of the "Church" in the

strict sense. The psychics seem only to be its servants (cf. 120:8-9, 121:30-37, 134:1ff), and the notion of hylic members of the Church would probably amount to a contradiction in terms.

For the concept of "the Man of the Church" it is important to note that the Pleroma, as being pervaded by the Son, is called First Man in TriTrac (66:10-12, cf. 65:35-67:34 in general with note). The offspring of the logos are emitted, as an interpretation of Gen. 1:26-27, according to the image of the Pleroma (as manifested by the Saviour and his attendants): 90:21-91:6, 94:10-21, with notes. The offspring, who constitute the spiritual Church of the logos, are what is manifested as the body of the Saviour on earth. Thus the earthly Church is in fact the incarnation, through the Saviour, of the Man of Gen. 1:26-27, whom the logos brought forth according to the image of the First Man, the Pleroma.

122:32. "the one who planned (this)" is not the Demiurge (Ka.), but refers to the Providence of the Father.

122:32-129:34. The salvation of the Elect.

122:32-123:22. The perfect and unified man and his still imperfect members.

122:32-35. From the note on the Man of the Church above it should be clear how the Saviour can be said to be "a single one": Just as the Son is the oneness in the multiplicity of the Pleroma (65:35-67:34), and this structure is also copied by the spiritual image produced by the logos (94:23-95:2) upon the manifestation to him of the Saviour and his angels (cf. esp. 87:22-26), so the incarnate Saviour is also the unifying factor in the earthly Church; cf. also 116:5-117:8 with note, esp. 116:27-30.

123:1. "stations" (τόπος, pl.): These are the recipients of salvation, referred to as τόποι because each occupies a peculiar place in the hierarchy of being. In GTr the word ΜΑΕΙΤ "place" is used in a similar way (20:21-22.35, 22:22.26, 25:10, 26:15-16, 27:10-11.25, 28:11, 42:8-9).

123:2. "members" (μέλος, pl.): The spirituals who form the body of the Saviour; cf. 123:17.

123:3-11. This presumably refers to the resurrection and ascent of the Saviour, who is the perfect man within the Man of the Church (122:33). For the quick return see note on 78:2; also cf. 118:33-34.

123:11-16. For this characterization of the cosmos cf. 104:18-25 with notes. The notion of the world as

a school also occurs in ValExp 37:28-31. For the need of the Church to be educated through living in the world cf. 115:29-33 with note, 116:18-20, 116:34-117:6, 117:17-18.

123:14. "it": sc. the school. The cosmos functions as a school, providing insight, because it reflects the forms of the transcendent world.

123:15. For ΕΙΝΕ followed by λ cf. 90:34-35, 105:13. For NN = N cf. Introd. pp. 38-39. εἰκῶν and ἀρχέτυπος are frequently joined, cf. Lampe, Lex. s.vv.

123:16-22. The inf. following ~~ΩΝΤΕ~~- must have dropped out; supply e.g. <ΩΠΕ> after ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ in 123:18. There also seems to be a lacuna before ΝΔΙ in 123:21.

ἀποκατάστασις is a common Valentinian term for eschatological consummation (cf. below, 123:27, 133:7; further, Iren. AH I 2:4.5, 8:4, 14:1, 21:3; ExcTh 22:3, 61:5; Heracleon ap. Orig. In Ioh. XIII 46; GPhil 67; Res 44:31; ValExp 39:33-34); it combines the notions of return (to the Pleroma) and unification. A succinct review of the origin of the term is given by Layton, Resurrection, 53.

123:21. "sound" < ?[⌘]δλόκληρος.

123:23-124:25. The redemption of the apokatastasis.

123:23-124:3. This section makes a distinction between the unity which already existed in the Pleroma prior to the mission of the Saviour-Son, and the unification which takes place in the apokatastasis. The first unity took the form of the εὐδοκία of the All, in which the aeons agreed with one another, while praising the Father and bringing forth the Fruit, the Saviour-Son, as the countenance of the Father (esp. 86:11-88:8). The final and ultimate unification of the apokatastasis, ὁῖ redemption (presumably ἁλῶσιν, or ἁπολ.), consists in the Pleroma's authentic manifestation of the Father in the Son. The distinction between the two unifications and manifestations seems to lie in the contrast between "countenance" 123:26-27 and "authentically" 123:34: the first unification was a reproduction of the Father's unified nature, the second implies a participation in his very essence.

123:25. "for the Father": i.e. as a glorification of him.

124:3-12. For the redemption as a release cf.

117:23-24.34-35. For the general soteriological ideas involved see O. Michel, "Binden und Lösen," RAC II 374-80.

124:5. † 2ω here, and † OY2ŵ in 124:10-11, are hardly variants of † 2O, but, as the Eng. translation of Ka., and NHLE, seem to assume, of † OYω (< wsh), whose spelling does not elsewhere show any traces of the old h. For the instability of 2 in this text see *Introd.* pp. 39-40.

124:12-25. The point of the "not only, but also" formula seems to be that the gnostic redemption implies something more than what is normally understood, i.e. by non-Gnostics, by the word. A similar emphasis is made in Iren. AH I 21:2:

They affirm that it [sc. the redemption] is necessary for those who have attained the perfect knowledge, that they may be regenerated into the power which is above all. Otherwise, it is impossible to enter into the Pleroma, for it is this (redemption) which leads them down into the profundities of Bythos. For the baptism of (that is, instituted by) the visible Jesus took place for the remission of sins, but the redemption by the Christ who descended upon him for perfection. They allege that the former is psychic and the latter spiritual (tr. D. Hill in Foerster-Wilson).

Cf. also ExcTh 78:2.

124:14. "degrees (βαθμός)": Cf. 70:12-13, 74:32; these are the ascending scale of perfection which leads to the Father, each degree being personified as an aeon.

124:15-18. For the names cf. esp. 59:22-25, 65:35-67:34, 73:8-18, 74:3-5. These names are the attributes of the Father, each of which belongs to an aeon and corresponds to the level of knowledge possessed and represented by that aeon.

124:16. "them" i.e. the names; alternatively understand "themselves."

124:19-20. Cf. 64:8-10, 72:25-27.

124:25-125:24. Not "only earthly men, but the All and even the Son and Saviour needed redemption. Cf. in particular ExcTh 22:6-7

ἐβαπτίσαντο δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐν λυτρώσει τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῇ περιστερῇ κατελθόντος καὶ λυτρωσαμένου αὐτόν. ἐδέησεν δὲ λυτρώσεως καὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα μὴ κατασχεθῇ τῇ ἐννοίᾳ ἣ ἐνετέθη τοῦ ὑστερήματος, προσερχόμενος διὰ τῆς Σοφίας, ὡς φησιν ὁ Θεόδοτος.

In order to understand the comprehensiveness of redemption it should be recalled that the salvation history is embedded in a monistic system of emanation, whereby the cosmic and passible existence from which the spiritual is redeemed is derived from the principle of outward extension from the oneness of the source towards unlimited plurality, infinity and formlessness. This extension is inherent in the notion of generation

as such, and thus necessary. But it must be countered by a principle of return to the source, of unification and formation. This is provided by the Son, who is "compassionate" with those whom he is sent to save, i.e. partakes of their imperfect condition in their alienation from their origin, in order to be able to effect their epistrophe to it. Cf. above all notes on 65:4-11, 114:30-36.

124:27-28. This is in itself a quite orthodox and unoriginal statement, cf. Lampe, Lex. s.v. II.C.4., Michl in RAC V 145-46.

124:29. The "image" (εἰκῶν) probably refers to the fact that in the redemption the Pleroma manifests the authentic image of the Father; cf. 123:33-35, and 68:32, 70:28-29, and note on 65:35-67:34 (a).

124:34-35. "a place of redemption": cf. 65:8; or perhaps restore Τ[Υ]ΠΟΣ (Sch.): "a model of redemption."

125:5-11. Here it becomes clear that the redemption of the Son is identified with his baptism by John the Baptist. Through this act the redemption is transmitted to the Church. The identification of the spirit which descended upon the Saviour at his baptism varies in Valentinian sources. The common Gnostic idea that it was the spiritual Christ who

descended upon the psychic Jesus (Cerinthus ap. Iren. AH 26:1, Ophites ib. 30:14) is also advocated by some Valentinians (Iren. AH I 21:2, cf. III 10:4, 16:1; Epiph. Pan. XXVIII 1), but according to Iren. AH I 7:2 it was the Saviour who came down upon the psychic Christ. In AH I 15:3 the reascended perfect part of the fallen aeon descends upon the man Jesus, according to Hipp. El. VI 35:6 Ptolemy and Heracleon said that the Spirit was "the logos of Sophia" descending upon the psychic Jesus, in ExcTh 61:6 it is simply "the Spirit," in ExcTh 16 this is qualified as "the Spirit of the Father's Thought." In ExcTh 22:6 the Name is said to have come down upon Jesus. Iren. AH I 14:6 is different again. It seems clear that in the present passage the logos is not a hypostatized character, neither the logos in the sense of the fallen and converted aeon (which itself has not yet acquired redemption) nor a name of a superior saviour figure. Rather the term appears to be used in a more general sense, to describe formation and acquisition of gnosis. In any case the term does not reappear in a similar context and hence can be assumed not to be of fundamental importance in TriTrac's baptismal soteriology.

The notion of "reception" is technical in the baptismal context (cf. 125:23-24, and GPhil 59, 90, 95); it refers to the redemption as a gift of grace.

125:15-18. "the angels in heaven" here refers to the spiritual Church which was incarnated concorporeally with the Saviour (115:23ff).

125:18-24. εἰς λύτρωσιν ἀγγελικῆν is a liturgical formula used by the Valentinians in connection with the rite of χειροθεσία, which formed part of their redemption rituals (ExcTh 22:5, Iren. AH I 21:2; cf. Müller, "Beiträge," 185-86, 192). There is no direct ritual connection in this context, but the phrase "is called" shows that we have to do with a formula in common use. What the present passage implies by using it as a name for the Son is that it was through his incarnation that the spirituals, or "angels" were sent to earth to form a Church in which they administer the redemption.

125:21. Read $\Omega\omega\pi\{\epsilon\}$ 2ICE (Ka.).

125:24. $\lambda\theta\eta\ \omicron\gamma\lambda\ \bar{n}\imath\mu$: For the omission of \bar{n} - cf. Kahle, Bala'izah, ch. VIII § 80c.

125:24-127:25. Why the Elect must suffer.

125:24-29. For the Son as the Father's Thought see esp. 56:1-57:8; for the pre-existence of the All within the Thought see esp. 60:16-37. Note how the Jewish-Christian idea of election by πρόγνωσις (see

e.g. Bultmann in TWNT I 716) is systematically fused with the Platonist notion of the intelligible world as the Mind of God. This is also the case in GTr 21:25-27 "those whose names he knew in advance were called at the end," where the "names" must be understood as those contained in the Book of the Living, which constitute the Thought and Mind of the Father (19:35-20:3, 21:3-5).

125:33-126:1. I read $\bar{\text{N}}\delta\text{I}$ as $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\epsilon$ (cf. 124:4), and $\text{P}\epsilon\psi\delta\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\epsilon$ as $\text{P}\epsilon\text{Y}\delta\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\epsilon$, and restore as follows:
 $\text{OY}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\text{I}\delta\epsilon$ $\langle\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\epsilon\rangle$ $\text{P}\epsilon\langle\text{Y}\rangle\delta\text{N}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N}\epsilon$ $\lambda\beta\lambda\lambda$ · $\bar{\text{M}}\text{P}\epsilon\text{Y}[\text{†}]$ $\text{M}\epsilon\text{T}\epsilon$
 $[\lambda\text{TPOY}\chi\text{I} \bar{\text{M}}\text{P}\text{I}\text{C}\lambda\text{Y}\text{N}\epsilon]$ / $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\epsilon\psi$.

126:2-3. For the $\acute{\alpha}\phi\theta\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$ cf. 57:31-32, 62:20 with note, 70:26.

126:5. The "second glorification" was also mentioned, as an aspect of the emanation process, in 69:10-14. The exact significance of the term is not clear, but its structural position within the author's soteriological conceptions can be at least partly defined. The term refers to the eschatological participation by the elect in the glory of the Father. This participation is conditioned by thanksgiving and the recognition of grace; through giving glory to the Father in the unification of the consent ($\text{ἕ}\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\alpha$), thus exhibiting their common gratitude, the elect will

manifest the unity of the Father and consequently partake of his own mode of Being.

126:7-9. This means that the Father caused ignorance by not immediately granting knowledge to the All. It is not implied that he caused the ignorance of those who persist in it, cf. 127:6-8.

126:11. Cf. esp. 62:14-15, 64:38-39.

126:12-13. Cf. GTr 17:4-11, 24:16-17.

126:13-20. Being unattainable by mere human faculties of cognition (cf. 54:2-35) the Father can be known by men only through giving them a part of his own supra-rational essence, identified with his glory, which thus becomes both the object of cognition and its subjective precondition. Or, in other words, through its communal glorification, praise and thanksgiving the spiritual Church becomes consubstantial with the previously unknown glory of the Father (cf. 63:5-64:27, 69:10-24).

126:21. Cf., with Ka., Heb. 6:17 τὸ ἀμετάθετον τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ.

126:26-37. Cf. 123:11-16, with note; also 98:20-99:4, where the theme is applied to the psychic powers.

126:28. ΧΕ probably = $\bar{\text{N}}\delta\lambda$ (cf. Introd. p. 38).

126:31. ΕΤΕ "of" probably = $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\epsilon$; cf. Introd. p. 38.
Alternatively add ΤΕ: "which is."

127:1. "distinction" < ? Ξ διαφορά.

127:12-13. Cf. Iren. AH I 21:4 ἡ τῶν ὅλων ἐπιγνωσις.

127:13-14. "treasury" probably goes directly back to Matt. 19:21 parr.; the term is otherwise common in Gnosticism, cf. Haučk in TWNT III 138:3ff.

127:14. ΟΥΩ2 = ΟΥΩ2; cf. Introd. pp. 39-40. $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\epsilon$ probably = $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$; cf. Introd. p. 38.

127:15-17. For the foreknowledge of the Elect cf. 125:24-29. For their manifestation see 115:23-116:5 with note. What is manifested is in one sense the Elect themselves, as the spiritual Church; from a different point of view the Elect are receivers of the manifestation (cf. 125:28-29). Thus the salvation implied in this manifestation consists in the fact that it is a revelation of the Elect to themselves, that is, their true nature and status as predetermined in the thought of the Father, and hypostatized into a pre-existent Church is received and realized by the earthly Church; see also note on 118:24-28.

127:19-20. "growth": presumably < [⌘]αὔξησις; cf. Iren. AH I 5:6 αὔξηθέν, ExcTh 61:2 ηὔξανεν; Sagnard, Gnose valentinienne, 394-96, 401-02.

127:23-25. Cf. Orig. De Princ. I 6:2 semper enim similis est finis initiis.... in unum finem, qui sit initio similis; Anath. Syn. Const. ὡς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι τῷ τέλει; cf. Ka. II 237, and, further, the ed. of De Princ. by Gørgemanns and Karpp, in loc. The formula goes back to Barn. 6:13 ἰδοὺ ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα (see Oepke in TWNT III 993:10-17), but TriTrac's terminology is closer to that of Origen.

127:25-129:34. The meaning of baptism.

127:25-128:19. Baptism is the confession of faith in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

127:26-27. The "descent" (καταβαίνειν, κατέρχεσθαι; ExcTh 83) into baptism, i.e. into its waters (GPhil 59, 101, 109) is in fact an ascent, cf. NHC XI, 2b, 41:35-38 "the descent (ΚΑΤΑΒΑΣΙΣ), which is [the ...], and this [is the ...] from the kosmos [into] the aeon."

127:28-32. In itself an entirely orthodox statement: There is no valid baptism apart from that which takes place in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy

Ghost (the trinitarian formula of Matt. 28:19).

Origen expresses himself similarly:

ut salutare baptismum non aliter nisi
excellentissimae omnium trinitatis auctoritate,
id est patris et filii et spiritus sancti
cognominatione compleatur,

De Princ. I 3:2. As Ka. has noted, there is ample evidence that the Valentinians accepted the formula in their redemption ritual (ExcTh 76:3, 80:3; GPhil 67).

127:35. "a single name": Cf. 67:29, 73:15. "of the good tidings," i.e. proclaimed by the Gospel: the subject matter of the Gospel (= the proclamation of salvation) is the name of the unknown Father, by which he is manifested (through the Son), and in which the redemption takes place (cf. 65:9).

128:3. "that they exist": sc. probably the Father, Son and Holy Spirit (NHLE).

128:6. ΤΠΕΩΟ: Read ΠΤΕΩΟ (Ka.); cf. Introd. pp. 15-16.

128:6-7. "in an invisible way" < ἄορατως ; cf. Iren. AH I 7:1, 13:6, 21:5. The spiritual is invisible (cf. 114:39-115:3 with note) and its ascent to the Pleroma is not perceived by the psychic powers.

128:8-9. "unfaltering" focalizes the contrast between this attainment and the misguided attempt of the logos to attain the unattainable (77:20ff).

128:8-19. The return towards the Father is conditioned by faith and confession, i.e. the psychological sentiment of conversion is the pre-condition for the physical process of returning.

128:19-129:34. The names of baptism.

(a) "Garment" (128:19-24). As a name for baptism this is attested both in Judaeo-Christian literature (Ps.-Clem. Hom. VIII 22, Rec. IV 35; ConstApost VIII 6)¹ and in later Fathers of the Church (Lampe, Lex. s.v. ἔνδυμα 2.f.). Baptism and garment are connected also e.g. in TLevi 5:8, and frequently in the Odes of Solomon;² the garment metaphor, however, has a life of its own, and baptismal connotations often cannot be confidently detected. For Valentinianism the association is clear in GPhil 101. The passage does not necessarily imply

¹ Daniélou, Judéo-Christianisme, 381-82, referring further to his article "Catéchèse pascale et retour au Paradis," Maison-Dieu 45 (1956) 115 (inaccessible to me).

² Daniélou, Judéo-Christianisme, 381; Lampe, Seal of the Spirit, 112. The connection seems to go back to Paul (esp. Gal 3:27); cf. however Kehl in RAC X 1010.

the usage of particular baptismal robes: the phrase "who do not take it off" shows that the garment refers to the transformed person, the new and spiritual man. The garment is identified with the Son in 63:12-13, 87:2-6: see notes.

(b) "Confirmation" (129:24-30). Cf. 65:7, 87:5 with corresponding notes. In the second passage the confirmation is associated, as here, with the garment, and the two concepts are both identified with the Son. As can be seen from the contexts the confirmation taking place in baptism is conceptually identical with the consolidation of the Pleroma in the second phase of the emanation process.

Read $\bar{N}\bar{T}\{T\}M\bar{H}E$ in 128:25-26, $M\bar{N}\bar{T}\bar{\Delta}\langle T \rangle P I K E$ in 128:27 (Ka.), and $\bar{\tau}\bar{\Delta}P O K \bar{\Delta} T \bar{\Delta} C I C$ for $\bar{\tau}\bar{\Delta}P O C T \bar{\Delta} C I O C$ in 128:30 (WZ).

(c) "Silence" (128:30-32). The explanation given here does not adequately account for the use of "Silence" as an epithet of baptism. The real background can, however, be reconstructed: In Corp. Herm. XIII 2, Silence is described as the womb from which the neophyte is reborn. There the mystic silence which is the pre-condition for the attainment of gnosis can be seen to be on the verge of being conceived as a mythically hypostatized figure,¹ by way

¹ Note the varying interpretations of Festugière, Révélation, III 168 n. 6, IV 201. Festugière has not

of the identification of cognition and regeneration. This hypostatization is a reality with the Sige of Marcus (esp. Iren. AH I 13:6) which is portrayed as redeemer and psychopomp, introducing the Gnostics into the Pleroma. At the same time Silence there may also be seen as a personification of the redemption ritual. The Sige who appears as the syzygos of the Father and mother of all the aeons in some Valentinian systems must be regarded against this background: with that figure that from which the Gnostic is reborn has become the mythical source of generation of the Pleroma. Cf. also notes on 55:35-39 and 57:3-8, and for the correspondence of pleromatogony and regeneration soteriology in general, 60:1-62:33. Only this association of Silence with (re-)generation makes the equation baptism = Silence in the present context meaningful, although the original concept has been forgotten, or has perhaps been deliberately reinterpreted, by the present author.

(d) "Bridal chamber" (128:33-36). The identification of baptism and bridal chamber is not clearly attested elsewhere (cf. however ExegSoul:NHC II 131:4-132:15). GPhil (esp. 68, 76, 95) explicitly regards baptism as an inferior ritual to that of the

appreciated that the two interpretations which he gives are not mutually exclusive.

bridal chamber. Apparently a separate sacrament of the bridal chamber was only practised by some Valentinians (Iren. AH I 21:3, among these was Marcus, ib. 13:3-6). To the author of TriTrac "bridal chamber" does not seem to imply specific ritual practices, but is simply a name for baptism.

A minor modification of Ka.'s transcription: Read ΝΑΕ[Ι] ΕΤ[Λ]ΥCΑΥΝΕ in 128:35. The spot of ink over the Τ has probably blotted over from ϣ in MMΔϣ 129:33. The meaning, however, is not excellent. A conceivable emendation is ΧΕ ΛΥCΟΥ(Ν)Νϣ ΛΥ(Ω) ΔϣCΟΥ(Ν)ΟΥ ΛΥ(Ω) <CΜΟΥΤΕ etc. (cf. GTr 19:32-33), which would make the point of mutuality and unification. ΕΤΕ = ΝΤΕ; cf. Introd. p. 38.

(e) "Light" (128:36-129:5). For baptism as "light" cf. GPhil 75, 95, where, however, it is a name of the second "baptism," i.e. the anointing. Light and illumination are of course central ideas in Valentinian soteriology, and it is not surprising that baptism should be thus designated. The terminology is, moreover, common in the Fathers, see Lampe, Lex. s.v. φῶς I.G.4.a, and related terms, also Wlosok, Laktanz, 249-50. --The notion of the unsinking light occurs, as Ka. remarks, in GTr 32:29-30 and GPhil 127; it is however a stock phrase, cf. Lampe, Lex. s.vv. ἄδυτος, ἀνέσπερος and not peculiarly Gnostic. Most likely it derives from Isa. 60:20 (Evangelium Veritatis, 57 in loc. 32:29-30).

For "fireless" (< ? ἀπυρός) as a mystical term for the divine light I know no parallel. The distinction between (spiritual) light and (psychic) fire occurred above, 98:17 with note on 98:14-20, 118:28-31:37-38. --"Wearing the light" occurs in GPhil 77, 106; the idea can be traced back to Late Jewish soteriology (1QS IV 8, and the garment of glory in general: Kehl in RAC X 969-71), it is found in the baptismal imagery of OdSol (11:9-10, 21:3), and frequently later, in Gnostic and non-Gnostic literature (Kehl, 991-97). (A striking formulation from Cyr. H. Procatech. 16 is quoted by Lampe, Lex. s.v. ἔνδυμα: βάπτισμα ... ἔνδυμα φωτεινόν.) Exactly the same words as are used of baptism here are applied to the Son in 63:12-13.

(f) "Eternal life" (129:6-8). For the association with baptism cf. e.g. Lampe, Lex. s.v. ζωή II.F.2.

129:8-14. The author's intention, which has not been grasped by any of the previous translations, can only be to say that the multiplicity of names which may be applied to baptism does not imply that it has a composite nature. It should be recalled that "baptism," and the names given to it in this section, do not denote merely a ritual act, or merely its soteriological function; it may even be named after the final state of the redeemed. Thus, just as baptism not only provides a "garment" or imparts firmness, but in a

sense is what it does, so it not only brings about completeness and unification, but is itself complete and unified. From one point of view this baptism is a hypostatized principle of redemption; to the extent that this principle is personified, it is identical with the Son, to whom the same idea as in the present passage is applied in 66:37ff.

The final part of the period ("including etc.") is very vague in the Coptic (lit. "until that which exists [or: he who exists] as [or: in; for] the things which [or: those who] have stayed behind") and the translation offered here is highly interpretative. In 129:14 I adopt the reading XI 2<A>H discussed by Ka. II 234.

129:18. NNIPEN· {NNIPEN}(Ka.).

129:22. †λ: Read Ψλ (Ka.).

129:22-23. "the things which are in that which it is" does not refer to the spirituals (thus Ka.), but to the salvific goods which are received in the baptismal redemption, which are expressed by the names which have been dealt with above.

129:34-136:24. The salvation of the Called. The author reverts to the topic of 118:37-119:8, 119:20-122:12, 122:19-27.

129:34-132:3. Recapitulation of what was said previously on the subject.

130:7. OY2ω2 = OYω2; cf. Introd. pp. 39-40.

130:8. Read λΩΕ<ΧΕ> (Ka.).

130:9-12. The answer to this rhetorical question follows below: first is specified what in fact has been said previously on the subject (130:12-132:3), then (132:3ff) is revealed what remains to be said ("But now" etc.).

130:14-23. The dispositions of the logos appear to be listed in progressive sequence here, representing varying degrees of advancedness among the psychics: Condemnation/Wrath → Conversion → Prayer/Remembrance → Hope/Faith. Cf. 81:10-82:9, 97:32-36.

130:19-20. ΝΝΕΤΧΑΕ: Read λΝΕΤΧΑΕ.

130:23. Emendation of λΤΡΕϞ- to λΤΡΕΥ- (WZ, NHLE) is inapposite: subj. is the logos (130:14).

130:24. "the salvation of that which is good": Not "salvation through good works" (Ka.: Eng.; Fr. Gr., NHLE similarly), as is shown by 131:17. "The good" is a name for what is attained in salvation; cf.

108:1, 119:27, 126:30.37, 131:28; also 81:25, 83:17.

130:27-30. This "sentiment" is probably the same as the "thought" which is dealt with immediately below (130:34).

130:30-33. The "concern" of the logos with the psychics must refer to his utilization of them in the cosmogony (esp. 91:6-92:22, 97:27-102:26). For "invisibly" see 101:3-5.17, 104:30-105:2. "willingly" specifies that it is the deliberate contact of the logos with the psychic in the cosmogony that is referred to, not his previous involuntary generation of them when he was in the still imperfect state of converting himself, supplicating for help; cf. 76:2-7 and 91:18-19.

130:33. "that which is superior" probably refers to the Pleroma, or the Son-Saviour, which amounts to the same thing.

130:33-131:2. The "thought" is the thought of remembrance peculiar to the psychics; cf. 83:18-26, 89:8-15.

130:35. I restore ΕΥΡ̄ [ΠΙΘ]Ε ΝΕϣ, the alternative proposed by KV; cf., from the point of view of the content, 89:15-17.

131:2-8. Though the good psychics possess the Being of salvation, they recognize that this has been granted to them from that which is superior, and do not fancy, as do the hylics (not the psychic demiurge, as Ka, incorrectly remarks) that they are self-originate and that no one exists above them (79:12-16, 84:3-7).

131:3. ΕΨΟΥΛΛΧ: Read ΕΥΟΥΛΛΧ (cf. NHLE).

131:9-13. The cross-reference is, as in the preceding passage, to the mythical, paradigmatic protology above, and in particular 89:15-19, and not to the eschatological epiphany of the Saviour, as Ka. primarily assumes.

131:13. ΟΥΛΛΕΙΝΤΕ: Cf. Introd. p. 38.

131:14-22. For these secondarily derived psychics cf. 119:34-36.

131:22-132:3. Cf. 120:22-29.

132:2-3. The "eternal kingdom" is not the Ogdoad (or, in TriTrac, the sphere of the logos), as Ka. assumes, but the kingdom of Christ, which is described below (132:14ff). For the eternity of this kingdom, a common topic of discussion in the early church, cf.

e.g. Lampe, Lex. s.v. βασιλεία B.d., and id. JTS 49.70.

132:3-136:24. Justification of the salvation of the Calling. The following exposition borrows terminology and formal elements from forensic rhetoric, as will become clear below.

132:3-14. Metabasis. All translators have failed to realize that the author here expresses himself in rhetorical manner. Naturally, that the speaker should supply grounds to make his exposition believable is a general requirement, note in particular Anaximenes Ars Rhet. 30:9 αἰτίας φέρωμεν κτλ., cited by Martin, Antike Rhetorik, 84. Here, the term must be synonymous with the word connected to it, which should, it seems, be emended to ΝΕΝΔΡΓΙΑ (ἐνάργεια, pl.; ἐνέργεια, pl. Cod.). The ἐνάργεια is the "vivid description" which justifies the argument by illuminating examples (Martin, loc. cit., and 288-89); this is precisely what the author proceeds to do in 133:15ff. For ἀφόρματ (132:6) in the sense of a rhetoric argument see LSJ s.v. I.5.

132:11. "them": sc. the grounds, or illustrations, and the argument.

138:13. "demonstration" < ?[⊗]ἐπιδείξις.

132:14-133:15. Prooemium: The kingdom of Christ at the end is oneness. On this premise it will follow that the psychics will eventually be united with the Pleroma.

132:18. The choice of expression, kingdom "in" Christ, derives from the peculiar interpretation of the kingdom here, as the oneness in which "Christ is all in all" (132:27-28; Col 3:11 πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν Χριστός).

132:20-23. Cf. 127:23-25.

132:23-28. Gal. 3:28, Col 3:11, etc. What the author actually intends to say by this quotation seems to be that there will be no distinction, in the apokatastasis, between spiritual and psychic. Valentinian sources, as preserved by the Church Fathers, are not very clear on the subject of the final destiny of the psychics. Iren. AH I 7:1-5 and ExcTh 34:2 say that while the spirituals enter the bridal chamber, the Pleroma, the psychics will stay outside, in the Ogdoad; similar formulations occurred above (122:12-27). It is nowhere said, however, that the psychics will remain for ever in this state, and will not ultimately, like Sophia, or the logos, whose former station they have advanced to, also be redeemed to the Pleroma.¹ Certainly the notion of ultimate oneness in the

present passage suggests against the idea of a two-level salvation. Rather, it seems that the separation of the psychics from the Pleroma is temporary (118:37-119:8, 119:24-26, 120:20-22) and that they too will eventually acquire spiritual perfection and be taken up into the unity at the consummation.²

132:28-133:1. As it stands this period is hardly intelligible. The reading of MPWZ, followed by NHLE and supported by Sch., taking ΕΩΠΕ in 131:31 as ΕΩ ΠΕ (as is evidently correct in 132:28, against KV) fails to explain the 2|̄ in 132:30. (2|̄ here is hardly the connective particle.) The only plausible interpretation of 2|̄ is to read it as 2|(Ε), the A² variant of Ε|Ε, which is used, inter alia, to mark conditional clauses, as is ΕΩΠΕ. It is likely, therefore, that we have to do here with some sort of conditional construction. Still, the period does not hang together syntactically. The probable

¹ Cf. Sagnard in his edition of ExcTh, 187: "Les psychiques ... sont aussi dans l'Ogdoade: mais ils vont y rester; c'est leur 'bien' définitif."

² I make this claim for TriTrac only; whether the interpretation is valid for Valentinianism as a whole, or whether, perhaps, it is a doctrine peculiar to the Oriental school, I cannot ascertain.

explanation for this is that an omission has occurred after ΕΩΠΕ in 132:31, e.g. the dropping out of a line; for instance ΕΩΠΕ <ΠΕΤΕ ΝΕΥΖΜΖΕΛ ΠΕ ΝΔΧΙ> †ΦΥCIC ΜΠΕΤΕ ΟΥΖΜΖΕΛ· ΕΝ· ΠΕ "unless <the one who was a slave will receive> the nature of the one who is not a slave." For the slave-nature from which the psychics will be liberated cf. 117:35.

133:1-5. Cf. 119:3. For vision as the final attainment see 90:8-10 with note. ΖΝΝ ΟΥΦΥCIC "by nature" perhaps <φύσει, apparently in contrast to the indirect access to the divine by the spoken word. "Word" and "voice" I think refer to catechetical instruction. The limitations of such instruction consist not only in its preparatory nature, but also emerge from the fact that the experience of the divine is above speech (129:20-25).

133:11. The fem. form in ΖΝΦΥCΙΚΗ suggests that this adjective went with ἐνεργεῖα in the Gk., and the pl. art. that both words were there in the pl.: ἐνεργεῖαι φυσικαί. For the operation (ἐνεργοῦν) of the cosmic powers cf. 109:31, 110:32.

133:15-136:24. The grounds for the salvation of the Calling.

133:15-134:23. The activities of the Elect. The

author does not proceed immediately to describe the good work of the Calling which justify their salvation, but, in order to provide a context for that description, he first gives an account of the original community of the Elect.

133:16. "those who had been manifested in the flesh" can only be the spiritual Church which descended and was incarnated together with the Saviour (115:23-118:14; cf. esp., for the "manifestation," 116:4, and note on 115:23-116:5, for "in the flesh," 115:37, 125:4).

133:16-18. Cf. 128:8-9.

133:18-21. For the Father being unknown before the Advent of the Saviour, see Iren. AH I 23:2 (Simon Magus), 23:5 (Menander) 24:1 (Saturnilus), 26:1 (Cerinthus), 27:1 (Cerdo), 30:13 (Sethians-Ophites); Marcion e.g. Tert. C. Marc. V 16; for Valentinianism Iren. AH I 19-20.

133:21-23. I note a similar form of expression in Just. Dial. 83 καταλιπεῖν δαιμόνια οἷς ἐδούλευον.

133:24-26. Cf. 1 Cor. 8:5.

133:26. ΝΕΕΙ ΜΕΝ "these μέν" (transl. line 28), i.e.

the Elect, is answered by ΝΕΕΙ ΝΑΕ "those δε," i.e. the Calling, in 134:23.

133:26-29. One should probably emend to ΜΠΑΤΟΥΡΑΙΤΩ in 133:26-27. The point here is that the Elect believed in and bore witness to the Saviour already before his assumption (cf. their "haste" 118:33-34), whereas the Calling only did so afterwards: "after his ΑΝΑΛΗΜΨΕΩC [sic]" 134:23-24. There is probably no reference here to a particular episode in the childhood of Jesus, as Ka. thinks, but the passage nevertheless testifies to the importance accorded by the Valentinians to the infancy narratives, which is also indicated, as Ka. points out, by Iren. AH I 20:1. On Gnostic interest in such material in general, see Cullmann in Hennecke's New Testament Apocrypha, Eng. ed. Wilson, I 367-68, 401-04.

133:30-134:1. Transcription: ΠC[λ]Π Facs.

--ΝΑΓ' [ΓΕΛΟC (Ka.) is fairly certain due to the apostrophe (Introd. p. 10 n. 1). "Angels" is here probably a name for the spirituals, the heavenly Church which was manifested together with the Saviour, cf. 125:15-18. --"[and received]" (with Ka.) is not certain.

134:1-8. This passage is not entirely clear, and has suffered a certain amount of corruption. The

rendering offered here should capture the essential meaning (cf. below, 134:17-23) and translates the Coptic text as it may be read with a minimum of emendation. Only in 134:2 I propose to delete ΝΔΥΟΥΛΟΥ, which cannot be syntactically fitted in, and which may be explained as a corruption from ΕΤΝΔΟΥΟΥ in the following line. "(kinds of) worship" probably < Ⲭ λειτουργεῖται, or perhaps Ⲭ λατρεῖται. ΜΔΖΕΙΕ, pl., lit. "wonders" is, I suggest, in this context, an inaccurate rendering of Ⲭ σημεῖα in the sense of "symbolic actions"; i.e. rituals. ΕΖΔΝΔΕΙ I take to be Perf. II. The phrase "to do it" (134:7) presumably refers to what has been described in the previous sentence. For "their hastening towards him" cf. 78:2, 118:33-34.

134:8-10. "this firmness," i.e. the faith, which one does not "leave," is apparently intended to contrast with the "firmness" (or "solidity, established character") of the cosmos: CΔΒΤΕ 104:18, 105:7. ΔΟΑ ΕΒΟΑ, tr.: "leave," has a wide range of meanings; here perhaps "repudiate," or, quite possibly "take off, divest" (ἀποδύεσθαι, Crum, Dict. 807b; firmness - baptism - garment: 128:19ff).

ΕΤΕΜΔΥΧΙ must be the main verb, and as such apparently Neg. Aor. II: no other instance of this is known to me.

134:11. OY(Ω)T cannot be OY(Ω)T Crum, Dict. 495b (Ka.: Ger.): cf. Sch., nor OY(ω)ΩTE (Ka.: Eng. Fr., NHLE, Sch.), which always retains its final vowel. I propose the emendation OY(ω)<Ω>T. One expects: (they did not give up their faith) "because of his not being welcomed here below," which may well have been the Gk. text, cf. 75:16-17.

134:12. Ka.'s restoration fits the context excellently. Sch. comments, rightly, that λΤΡΕϣ(Ω)ΠΕ in 134:14 must then be read as a complement of ΕΤΕΝΕΥΜΕΥΕ, which he claims is impossible, but cf. 91:15, 115:5.33-34.

134:14. I restore ΜΠΜΔ ΕΤΥ[λ]αΙ. (ΕΤ[̄]ΝΤΠΕ is also possible.) Ka.'s restoration is unsatisfactory.

134:16-17. "divine and sovereign" < ?[⌘]θεῖος and [⌘]κυριακός; for the latter term cf. 92:24, and for the association with the Ogdoad (= the sphere of the logos) see ExcTh 63.

134:17-23. Cf. 70:37-71:7, 97:30-32, 98:6-7, 100:25-27. "On loan" refers to the fact that the cosmic powers were granted to be called by the names of divinity for the period of the economy.

134:23-136:24. The conduct of the psychics who will

be saved. (Cf. notes on 133:15-134:23 and 133:26.)

134:23-30. Upon realizing, at his assumption, the superior nature of the Saviour, the good among the psychic powers who have ruled the world until then abdicate their authority; cf. 120:22-29, 131:22-132:3, and Iren. AH I 7:4 for the reaction of the Demiurge and his subordinates to the advent of the Saviour.

134:29. Transcribe $\lambda\psi\epsilon\psi\tau\omicron\upsilon\lambda\beta[\lambda\lambda]\cdot\bar{\nu}\nu\omicron\upsilon\delta\rho\eta\eta\epsilon$. $\lambda\beta\lambda\lambda$ merely intensifies the meaning of the verb ($\psi\tau$) here.

134:37-38. Restoration $\lambda\pi]\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\tau\nu\delta\nu\omicron\upsilon\varphi$ (WZ) grammatically preferable. --Perhaps $\omega\lambda[\tau\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\lambda$ "towards the Church," for the sake of an antecedent for $\bar{\nu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\sigma}$ 135:3.

135:1. Perhaps $[\bar{m}\bar{n}\dagger\bar{m}\bar{n}\bar{\tau}]\omega\beta\eta\pi$ "[and the] companion [ship]."

135:2-3. $\bar{m}\pi\epsilon\tau\nu\delta\nu\omicron\upsilon[\varphi$ (Sch.). $[\epsilon\bar{n}\bar{\tau}]\lambda\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ Facs. For the meaning of $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\bar{m}\bar{n}$ - cf. Crum, Dict. 83b (missed by all translations).

135:6-9. "to be .. tried": lit. "for them to be ... tried," but the pl. here hardly refers to the Elect, who are saved by nature and not by judgment,

but rather to the iniquity ad sensum, as a series of crimes which are tried (or rather, their perpetrators are) in a heavenly court. It should be recalled that judgment and punishment are essential functions of the psychic powers (97:34-35, 99:7-8.14, 100:14-16.29.30, 101:27-28, 103:6-8). That the trial is "eternal" cannot mean that the court is eternally in session (which is even explicitly denied below), but that the punishment will last forever.

In 135:9 I restore $\bar{M}\bar{N}[\chi\omega]N\bar{T}$.

135:10. Whereas "they" in 135:9 refers to the psychic powers, "they" here = the Elect: The psychic powers must remain in their cosmic positions until their judicial function comes to an end, i.e. when all the Elect have completed their cosmic existence.

135:12. $[C]\omega M[\lambda MHN] 2\bar{i}\chi\bar{M}$ (Emmel).

135:17-18. $2\lambda\Theta H \bar{M}\bar{M}\bar{\Delta}\bar{i}\bar{T} [N!]M$: Cf. 122:17-18.

135:18-22. Making continuous sense out of these lines is desperate. Above all one misses a predicate for "the servants of evil" ($\bar{N}2PH\bar{i}$ etc. is probably not, I feel, predicative here).

135:29. Perhaps: $C\omega TE \cdot \xi[CNA\bar{t}] N[EY \bar{N}]\bar{T}\omega BBI\omega$

"... redemption, [and will give them] retribution,"
cf. 136:7-8.

135:30. ΕΤ̄Ε (Emmel). Π[ΟΥΡ]ΑΤ ΠΕ (apparently all translations; but unrecorded in Ka.'s apparatus); for this "gladness" cf. 122:21-22.

135:32. "its": sc., presumably, the Church. For the "house" as a name for the Pleroma cf. GTr 25:23. The Jewish-Christian background is evident (cf., e.g., TWNT V 123ff [Michel]).

135:34. I fail to make sense of this line and therefore leave it untranslated.

136:1. ΠΕΤΝ̄ΜΕÇ Facs.

136:2. ΝΤΕ [Π]ΙΩ[Τ Μ Facs., cf. NHLE.

136:3-5. The meaning is probably that the Church within the Pleroma will bring forth for the psychic powers psychopomps and angelic syzygies who will enable them as well to ascend into the Pleroma; cf. below, 136:10ff.

136:7. ΝΕÇ should go with Ψ̄ΜΕ, but the word apparently preceding it (Ν[.]) is difficult to identify. Perhaps there is a dittography, or the first Ν[ΕÇ] goes with Ψ̄ΜΕ and the following ΝΕÇΝ[should then be read as Ν̄CE-(Conj.). In any case a conjugation prefix is needed before †, and

one is forced, unless the last-mentioned possibility is accepted, to restore N[CE (the presence of a supralinear stroke on N is to me uncertain).

136:13. $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\bar{\text{E}}[\text{K}]\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{A}}[\text{H}]\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{I}}[\lambda \lambda]/\dagger \bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{Y}}$; cf. Facs., NHLE.

136:14. $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{T}}[\bar{\text{E}} \bar{2}]\bar{\omega}\bar{\omega}\bar{\zeta}$; cf. Facs. $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}$ apparently = $\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{I}}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}$.

136:15. "it" must refer to the Church in both instances.

136:18-10. Cf. 98:29-30.

136:28. $\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}}\bar{\omega}\bar{\text{N}}[\bar{2}] \lambda\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\Lambda}[\cdot] \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\delta}[\bar{1} \dots]\dots$ (Emmel); as the subject of the sentence (tr. line 26) some designation for the Saviour is expected.

136:34. Perhaps $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\text{Y}}[\bar{\text{N}}]\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{Y}} \lambda[\bar{\text{B}}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\Lambda} / \bar{2}\bar{\text{N}} \dots$ "those who have been brought forth from"

136:24-138:25. Conclusion: The final end.

137:7-8. Cf. 119:18-20, and Ka.

137:9-12. Cf., with Ka., 79:3-4.

137:13-15. Cf., with Ka., 118:10-14.

137:19. The "solidity" must be the temporary structure of the created world.

137:20-23. Probably: Though expounding it the author fails fully to comprehend, or adequately to express in words, the design of the Father. Restore perhaps ΜΠΙΣΟΥ/[ΩΝ] ΝΕΨΜΕΥΕ "... I have not [understood] his thought," (Sch. 135).

138:6-8. The image is derived from the Jewish notion of the Jubilee Year: cf. Lev. 25:8-10.

138:8-10. A varied symbolism is traditionally connected with the East: Essenians, Ebionites and Early Christians used to pray towards the East, apparently in expectation of the Messiah (cf. Daniélou, Judéo-Christianisme, 396-97), whose advent was conceived in terms of a dawn or the appearance of a heavenly light (this notion was found above, esp. 66:6, 82:35). But the East also connotes the paradise (Gen. 2:8), and eschatological rest (cf. e.g. Tardieu, Trois mythes gnostiques, 178-82). In the present context such allusions are vague, but it may be seen as significant that the proclamation of reconciliation comes, like the Messiah, from the East, that this reconciliation contains a semantic element of rest, and that it is connected with the Year of Jubilee, which suggests connotations of sabbatical rest.

The association of the East with the Bridal Chamber is also found in GPhil 76. For the Bridal Chamber the same semantic field is applicable as was sketched above: rest (with connotations of unification) and reception of the Saviour as the light--which explains the association. (In GPhil 76 the two are also brought together with the Holy of Holies. The association East - Holy of Holies is further attested in ValExp 25:38.)

138:9-12.

ΝΩΔΕΙΕ· ΕΤΟΛΕΙΔ[Ε]ΙΤ· Μ[ΠΜΔ]
 ΝΩΕΛΕΕΤ· ΕΤΕ ΠΙΜΔΕΙΕ [ΠΕ]
 ΝΔΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΙ[ΩΤ]
 ΚΑΤΑ †ΣΟΜ ΕΤΟΛΥ[ΤΝ ΛΒΛΛ ΛΡΛΥ]

(Based on Emmel, and Facs.)

138:18. Probably < Ξτιμή, Ξκράτος and [Ξδόξα].

138:20. I suggest ΝΝΔ ΠΙΜΕΖΤ (cf. Facs.). For the meaning of ΜΕΖΤ cf. Westendorf, 112.

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