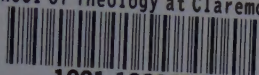


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VOL. V.

APOCRYPHON JOHANNIS

The Coptic Text of
the Apocryphon Johannis in the Nag Hammadi Codex II
with Translation, Introduction and Commentary

BY

SØREN GIVERSEN

PROSTANT APUD MUNKSGAARD
COPENHAGEN 1963

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COPENHAGEN 1963

*Denne afhandling er af det teologiske fakultet ved
Københavns universitet antaget til offentlig at forsvares
for den teologiske doktorgrad.*

København, den 5. april 1963.

Svend Holm-Nielsen

h. a. dec.

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by Søren Giversen

Til INGE

Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ μόνον δεῖ τᾷ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ ψεύδους - τοῦτο
γὰρ συμβάλλεται πρὸς τὴν πίστιν· ὅταν
γὰρ εὖλογον φανῇ τὸ διὰ τί φαίνεται
ἀληθὲς οὐκ ὄν ἀληθές, πιστεύειν ποιεῖ
τῷ ἀληθεῖ μᾶλλον.

Aristoteles

Ethica Nicomachea,
VII, 15(1154a, 22-25).

Preface

The first part of this study was completed and translated into English in 1959; whereas, the second part was completed in the winter of 1961-62, and was translated into English a short time before the manuscript went to press. The study was submitted to The Theological Faculty at the University of Copenhagen on May 10, 1962. It has not been possible to take books or papers into account which have appeared, or have reached me, while the manuscript was in press.

My warm thanks are due to Professor J. Munck, Dr. Theol., who has followed my work with interest, in particularly my occupation with the text discussed here. I thank him for much encouragement and for the many discussions which have been of great value to me in the course of my work on this dissertation. My work with the texts from Nag Hammadi was initiated owing to suggestions and assistance from Professor Hal Koch, Dr. Theol., to whom I am also very much indebted.

I owe a debt of gratitude to my teachers in Coptic, Professor C. E. Sander-Hansen, Professor W. Erichsen, Professor M. Malinine and Professor W. C. Till and to Professor W. Hengstenberg, München, with whom I studied Coptic dialects. I appreciate the interest with which they have guided my studies. I also wish to thank E. Richter Ærøe, M. A., my teacher in Egyptian. Professor C. E. Sander-Hansen and E. Kern Lillesø, M.A., have kindly assisted me with much good advice during my studies which have taken place in close connection with the Institute of Egyptology of the University of Copenhagen. I am very much indebted to Mrs. Herdis Læssøe who has translated the introduction in part I and the whole part II into English.

In 1955-56, I had the privilege of following Professor Henri-Charles Puech's lectures on the Apocryphon of John at the École des Hautes Études, and in 1956 I had the opportunity to read the Berlin text of the Apocryphon of John with Professor Walter C. Till, its editor. I wish to thank both of these scholars, and I am grateful, also, for the benefit which I have derived from their publications; nor should I omit acknowledging my indebtedness to other authors who have previously dealt with my subject, but cannot all be named here. I specifically wish to acknowledge my appreciation for the advantage I have had in being able to consult Professor Till's edition of Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, including the parallels in the Cairo-collection.

I wish to acknowledge my debt to the late Carl Schmidt's interpretation of

the Berlin Gnostic Papyrus. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Professors G. Quispel, W. Erichsen, K. Grobel, K. H. Kuhn, W. C. van Unnik and R. McL. Wilson for advice and encouragement.

It was not until my visit to Egypt in 1957-58 that I was able to read the original text of the Apocryphon of John in Codex II, on which the present study is concentrated. With the support of Lasson's Travel Grant, I was to study the texts from Nag Hammadi in the Coptic Museum and, subsequently, travel to Nag Hammadi. My work on the original papyri from Nag Hammadi, now in the Coptic Museum, was inaugurated on the 7th November, 1957, and lasted until the 29th January, 1958. During this time I copied by hand the Coptic texts, made palaeographical observations, and examined the scope and character of the Codex.

The present study rests on these copies and investigations, but constant reference has been made to the photographic edition prepared by Dr. Pahor Labib (1956). On the 30th January, 1958, I obtained the permission of the Director, Dr. Labib, to publish studies on the texts, and I wish to thank Dr. Labib warmly for this permission as well as for generously allowing me to study the original papyri.

On the 28th December, 1957, the Director of the Museum permitted me to photograph the collection of Nag Hammadi papyri with photographic equipment acquired for the Institute of Egyptology at the University of Copenhagen by means of a grant from the Rask-Ørsted Foundation, and this photographic recording of part of the collection was undertaken on the 1th, 4th, and 9th January, 1958. It had been intended to produce and distribute the necessary number of copies in Copenhagen, but in compliance with the wish of the Coptic Museum the negative was submitted to the Museum together with four positive copies of each microfilm, one of which was intended for the Museum, one for its Director, and two for members of the Committee which at the time was dealing with the publication of the papyri. Two copies were with the permission of the Museum delivered to the Institute of Egyptology, Copenhagen. The purpose of the microfilming was to ensure that copies of the original manuscripts existed and to make it possible for the Coptic Museum to produce microfilms with positive copies to facilitate the study and publication of the texts. The Coptic Museum, through its good offices, took charge of the copies which were submitted.

For much assistance rendered to me during my stay in Cairo, I thank H. E. C. D. Holten Eggert, then Danish Ambassador to Cairo, and Mr. R. Thorning-Petersen, *Chargé d'affaires* a.i.

To the University of Copenhagen, I tender my sincere thanks for the travel grants awarded me, and for the favorable conditions during my studies, which made it possible for me to prepare this dissertation.

Søren Giversen

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Abbreviations and Signs

- A Achmimic
A₂ Subachmimic
AJ Apocryphon Johannis
B Bohairic
BG Papyrus Berolinensis 8502
CB Codex Brucianus
C I, C II, C III etc. Codex I, Codex II, Codex III etc. in the Collections of Coptic Gnostic Papyri in The Coptic Museum at Old Cairo; the numbering is that of The Coptic Museum.
F Fayumic
Pl. refers to the plates in the photographic edition of Codex I and Codex II part a in Pahor Labib, *Coptic Gnostic Papyri in The Coptic Museum at Old Cairo, Volume I*, Government Press, Cairo 1956.
PS Pistis Sophia (Codex Askewianus)
S Sahidic
SJC Sophia Jesu Christi

References to biblical texts are given with the usual abbreviations; references to editions of Coptic texts are given with the abbreviations used in W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford 1929–1939); other abbreviations will be immediately understandable.

- [] lacuna in the manuscript
< > word(s) or letter(s) omitted in the manuscript
{ } word(s) or letter(s) to be omitted in the manuscript

Dots placed within square brackets represent approximately number of lost letters; dots outside brackets represent visible but illegible traces of letters; dots under letters indicate doubtful readings. The stroke above words in the manuscript is—owing to technical reasons—rendered by a stroke above each single letter in the word.

PART I

Introduction

Apocryphon Johannis cannot be expected to elicit as much spontaneous interest as, e.g., The Gospel according to Thomas, The Gospel according to Philip, The Book of Thomas, or other texts from Nag Hammadi, which contain agrapha with a certain New Testament character. A cursory reading of some pages of the papyrus text containing the Apocryphon of John can easily give the reader an impression that he is faced with an imaginative, mystic composition, the relevance of which scarcely becomes even moderately clear.

Nevertheless, the Apocryphon of John is a composition of the greatest significance to those who occupy themselves with the study of such religious movements in Antiquity which, with the modern term, have been called Gnosticism. Its significance is connected partly with the fact that the Apocryphon of John conveys a reasonably coherent presentation of the teaching current among those who used the Apocryphon of John as a holy scripture; but its significance is due, primarily, to the circumstance that it has been handed down in more than one version, so that it is possible, by a closer comparison of the not entirely identical traditions of the different versions, to form an opinion of the relationship between the different traditions and of what is meant by different terms in the text. In this respect, the text has an advantage over others, e.g. the Gospel according to Thomas, which hardly provide a basis for an interpretation of the text, owing to their largely one-sided tradition. At the same time, however, the different versions of the Apocryphon of John will, naturally, require an evaluation of the sources of the different versions.

Several learned contributions towards an attempt at solving the riddles connected with the history of what is called Gnosticism have been made. Attempts at presenting complete accounts of the substance of Gnosticism have been frequent enough. At the beginning of the century, Wilhelm Bousset made such an attempt with his *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Göttingen 1907).

It is, however, a question whether it is not too early to make such attempts at a complete presentation of Gnosticism at the present stage of research, and it may be well to retain some scepticism with regard to the possibility of giving a complete account of Gnosticism at all, when one remembers the heterogeneous line of sects and movements which have been classified under Gnosticism by those who

operate with this vague and indeterminate designation as a common nomen in connection with such attempts.

The great discovery of about 50 Gnostic texts, which was made in Upper Egypt round 1945–47, has naturally given rise to great expectations, particularly because, so far, the sources at our disposal have been very limited. Thus, the Dutch scholar, Gilles Quispel, in 1951, wrote with regard to the importance of the new discoveries: “Eine Weltreligion ist neu entdeckt. So darf man vielleicht schon jetzt die Bedeutung der neuen Funde gnostischer Manuskripte zusammenfassen. Bisher bestand in der Schätzung und Einreihung dieser merkwürdigen Strömung eine gewisse Unsicherheit und Verlegenheit, die sich aus der Dürftigkeit des Materials und der Schwierigkeit der Deutung erklären lässt. Jetzt sehen wir klar, und die Zeit ist nicht fern, dass wir die ganze Gnosis von der Quelle bis zur Mündung überblicken, ihre phänomenologische Physiognomie zusammenfassend darstellen und ihre psychologischen Wurzeln herausarbeiten können”¹.

In Hauptprobleme der Gnosis W. Bousset pronounced that the purpose was to present the Gnostic concepts basic to the majority of the (Gnostic) systems, rather than to deal with the individual views². But, in principle, it cannot be right to proceed in this way even if one were of the opinion that we are dealing with a unity; on the contrary, one must undertake individual investigations before being able to say anything about concepts which may or may not be basic to the majority. Incidentally, it is a question whether much of what has been said with regard to Gnosticism as a puzzling entity, and which one encounters time after time in papers on this topic, is not, to some extent, due to an attempt at combining too many Gnostic systems under one common nomen for which there is no basis in reality. It would undoubtedly be less confusing, if one tried to consider the material on its own merits instead of trying to combine it into a unity.

It is important, however, not only to concentrate on individual investigations, but to carry the investigations as far back as to an examination of the source material from a literary point of view. A critical evaluation of the sources, and the establishing of a reliable basis consisting of an evaluation of the mutual relation of the sources, as well as new sources being made available—where sufficient texts are not at our disposal—in reliable editions, must be among the first tasks in this respect. The principles of method on which research must build, if we wish to hope for progress, have been stated clearly first and foremost by Eugène de Faye, Johannes Munck and Henri-Charles Puech. E. de Faye, in his *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme*³, emphasized the value of the critical study of the sources in these words: “L’examen critique préalable des sources s’impose. C’est d’après les résultats de la critique littéraire et documentaire qu’il convient de

¹ Gilles Quispel, *Gnosis als Weltreligion*, Zürich 1951, p. 1.

² Wilhelm Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen 1907, p. 8.

³ Eugène de Faye, *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme, étude critique des documents du gnosticisme chrétien aux II^e et III^e siècles*. 2. ed. augm. Paris 1925, p. 499–500.

tenter l'explication historique du gnosticisme"¹. J. Munck, in Untersuchungen über Klemens von Alexandria, stressed that point of view as follows: "Anstatt neuer Bücher über den Gnostizismus, aus Lieblingsgedanken neuer Moderichtungen hervorgegangen, brauchen wir Monographien über die einzelnen Quellen und Lehreinheiten zur Geschichte des Gnostizismus. Ohne Vorarbeiten, ohne dass man die oft übel lohnende Arbeit aufnimmt, unsere wenigen und unklaren Quellen zu drehen und zu wenden und sie um ihre Inhalts willen bis zum letzten Tropfen auszupressen, wird die Erforschung des Gnostizismus dauernd zwischen der einen und der anderen Moderichtung hin- und hertreiben."² H.-Ch. Puech, in his "Où en est le problème du Gnosticisme?", has also made himself a spokesman for such considerations of principles, and has rightly stated that the problems connected with the study of Gnosticism are of a two-fold character: there is a literary problem; which value can be attributed to the sources which are available to us for our knowledge of Gnosticism; and there is an historical problem, to define the origin of Gnosticism and to describe the history of its evolution³.

These considerations must form the basis for research with regard to the Gnostic movements. Here, if anywhere, it is imperative that the student has obtained a clear picture of the relationship between the sources on which he plants to build. The scarcity of the sources, and the frequently uncertain tradition imply that this work must be comprehensive, and that, in itself, it will place considerable demands on the scholar. An account of the teaching and the concepts which may be derived from the sources at our disposal must wait until the critical study of the literary material has provided a safe foundation for an account of this nature, by presenting the source material in a reliable form, and by evaluating the relation between the different sources.

When the present investigation, the subject of which is material from the finds at Nag Hammadi, is concentrated on a dual task, it is to no small degree owing to the wish to establish a solid basis for later attempts at giving a presentation of the didactic contents of the material. The two tasks are: to submit a new source, and to evaluate the relation between this source and previously known sources; in addition to this, to present a new evaluation of source material already known.

In the following, therefore, we shall bring a critical edition, with a translation and a glossary, of one of the texts found at Nag Hammadi round 1945-47, viz., the version of the Apocryphon of John contained in Codex II, which so far has been published in a photographic edition only. An attempt will be made to determine the age and origin of the Coptic papyrus text involved on the basis of codical, palaeographical and linguistic criteria. Finally, we shall in the second part of our study attempt to arrive at an understanding of the text by studying details of this version, and with these details, a comparison will be made with the other

¹ Cf. also E. de Faye, *Introduction à l'étude du Gnosticisme*, Paris 1903.

² Johannes Munck, *Untersuchungen über Klemens von Alexandria*, Stuttgart 1933, p. 2.

³ Henri-Charles Puech, *Où en est le problème du gnosticisme?*, Bruxelles 1934, p. 12.

two available versions of the Apocryphon of John, as well as an evaluation of the relationship of these three partly parallel sources.

The discovery of the Coptic-Gnostic papyri at Nag Hammadi will not be discussed here¹. Literature on these texts has grown rapidly².

Dr. Pahor Labib performed a great service by publishing a photographic edition of parts of the Coptic-Gnostic papyri in the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo³. This publication has enabled scholars to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the contents of the texts. In the photographic edition, there are also plates showing the version of the Apocryphon of John, a critical edition of which will be found in the course of this study. The photographic renderings, however, are not always easily legible, owing to the quality of the blocks. In my text edition, I have aimed at rendering the text of the papyrus as faithfully as possible; whilst lacunae in the text have been restored wherever this is considered justifiable, emendations of the *preserved* text—be it suggestions of omissions from, or additions to, the text handed down by the scribe—have been relegated to footnotes and do not appear in the text itself. The purpose is that the reader should obtain an impression of the text as I believe it ran when completed by the scribe, before the papyrus became damaged. In this way it becomes easier to evaluate proposals made in my notes with regard to corrections and additions to, or omissions from, the scribe's text, and the feasibility of a fruitful discussion of these proposals is increased.

Page by page and line by line, the text follows that of the original papyrus as it appeared when I was studying it in Cairo, during the winter of 1957–1958. As the pages of the papyrus are not numbered, the numbering of the plates used in Dr. Pahor Labib's photographic edition has been used to identify the pages of the manuscript. In the glossary, which aims at being a complete concordance, reference is made to the plate number, and also to the place in the text of the word involved by reference to the number of the line in which the word occurs. In so far as a reasonable consideration to the normal sequence of words in English allows, the translation follows the Coptic text line by line. As customary in translations of Coptic texts into European languages, Greek loanwords are indicated in parentheses in the translation, following the word which renders them; without considering the context or the form attested in Coptic, the Greek words are quoted in the parentheses in the form in which they are normally registered (substantives in the nominative case, etc.), and the reader will be able to find them in

¹ I have previously discussed this in detail in my books *Sandhedens Evangelium*, København 1957, p. 21–36, and *Thomasevangeliet*, København 1959, p. 9–16.

² A bibliography will be found in my *Bibliography on the Nag-Hammadi manuscripts*. *Acta Orientalia* XXIV, p. 189–198 (Hauniae 1959).

³ Pahor Labib: *Coptic Gnostic Papyri in the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo. Volume I*. Government Press, Cairo 1956.—Reproduces Codex I (Plate 1–46) and Codex II, part a (Plate 47–158).

this form in the glossary together with forms which may deviate from the one quoted.

The present version of the Apocryphon of John is not the first version of this text which has come to our knowledge. The version which became known first is that which was acquired in 1896, by The Royal Library in Berlin¹; for a variety of reasons, this was not published until 1955². The editor of this manuscript, Walter C. Till, in his edition of the text, quoted the wording of yet another version of the Apocryphon of John, wherever the latter was at variance with or added to the Berlin manuscript. The source which Till quoted in his notes (under the designation CG I), is also a text hailing from the Nag Hammadi discovery. The two texts, of which we shall refer to that in Berlin with the abbreviation BG, and to the other with the designation used by The Coptic Museum: C III (= Codex III), are parallel to a considerable extent, but not, however, without mutual deviations. They represent a shorter form of the Apocryphon of John than the version which we are publishing here from the codex which we shall quote as C II, following the numbering of The Coptic Museum. In addition to these three versions, two of which are from Nag Hammadi, fragments of a fourth version of the Apocryphon of John were excavated at Nag Hammadi. The fragments of this version had not received preservative laboratory treatment when the present study was composed, and were not, therefore, available for a closer investigation; hence, it has not been possible to include these fragments. An advertised edition with photographic reproductions has until now (spring 1962) —more than a year after the advertising—not yet been published.

As already mentioned, a comprehensive literature concerning the manuscripts from Nag Hammadi has rapidly come into existence. However, this literature has devoted no great interest to the Apocryphon of John, and literature dealing with the version of the Apocryphon of John contained in the Berlin papyrus is also very scarce.

The most important of these is Carl Schmidt, *Irenäus und seine Quelle* in *Adv. haer.* I, 29 (Philotesia Paul Kleinert, Berlin, 1907), in which he analyzed the AJ of the Berlin papyrus and showed that Irenaeus must have known a Greek prototype of this text and excerpted it in his *Adversus haereses*.

Beyond this, the bibliography comprises only a few numbers, nearly all of which deal with the Berlin text. W. C. Till, *The Gnostic Apocryphon of John* (*The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 14–22, London 1952) gives a summary of ideas of the Apocryphon of John in BG; a similar summary is given by Werner Foerster, *Das Apokryphon des Johannes* (Gott und die Götter, Festgabe für Eric

¹ Cf. Carl Schmidt, *Irenäus und seine Quelle* in *adv. haer.* I, 29.—Philotesia, Paul Kleinert zum LXX. Geburtstag dargebracht, Berlin 1907, p. 315–336.

² Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, herausgegeben, übersetzt und bearbeitet von Walter C. Till. *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 60. Band, V. Reihe, Bd. 5. Berlin 1955.

Fascher, Berlin 1958, p. 134–141). H.-Ch. Puech, in his *Fragments retrouvés de l'Apocalypse d'Allogène* (*Mélanges Franz Cumont*, Brussels 1936, p. 937–962), thought that it could be established that the Apocryphon of John was identical with the Revelation of John mentioned by Theodore bar Konaï, at the end of the eighth century. W. C. van Unnik, in his *Die Gotteslehre bei Aristides und in gnostischen Schriften* (*Theologische Zeitschrift*, 17. Jahrg. Basel 1961, p. 166–174), tried to prove the close connection between the use of Hellenistic thinking in Christian apology and in the Apocryphon of John, and the relation of the text to Genesis has been discussed by me in *Johannes' apokryfon og Genesis* (*Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, 20. årg. p. 65–80, København 1957). Finally, the texts under this title have been dealt with, but as a rule very briefly, in a great number of articles in various journals and works of reference concerning the discoveries at Nag Hammadi, and a few comprehensive publications have considered the Apocryphon of John while discussing a variety of topics (e.g., J. Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 1960; H.-Ch. Puech in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *Neutest. Apocryphen I*, 1959 p. 229–244).

Until now (spring 1962), however, no text of the Apocryphon of John, with the exception of the photographic edition, has been published, nor has any deeper investigation of the different versions appeared.

The manuscript

The papyrus which contains the manuscript the present work is about—The Apocryphon of John—is a codex in the possession of the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo. In the first photographic edition to be published of the Coptic Gnostic papyri in this collection it was given the name Codex II.

Up to the present the museum has published 112 plates of the codex in this photographic edition, under the title Codex II, part a, the plates being numbered 47–158¹.

In the following description of the manuscript, based on a personal study of the original papyrus as it was in the winter of 1957–58, three different numberings have been used: 1. The numbering carried out by the museum, with Arabic numbers written on the pages of papyrus which contain writing². In referring to these numbers I have also used Arabic figures. 2. The numbering used in the photographic edition, that is plates 47–158, all those published up to the present. To this numbering I have referred with *Pl* + the figure or with *C II* + the figure. 3. Four pages not numbered by the museum are here numbered with Roman numerals I–IV.—Where we later on in our study refer to the text in Codex II we use for practical reasons meanwhile (e.g. in headlines, footnotes, indices, enumerations etc.) only the number of the plate and the line in question without mentioning *C II* or *Pl*.

The Codex

Codex II is a papyrus codex. A more detailed description and placing of the codex demands first and foremost an estimation of the original size of the codex: how many pages it contained, how many pages of text, and how large these pages were.

¹ Coptic Gnostic Papyri in The Coptic Museum at Old Cairo by Dr. Pahor Labib, Director of The Coptic Museum. Volume I. Antiquities Department. Government Press. Cairo 1956. 3 pages text + 158 plates.

² These numbers are written directly on the papyrus above the column of writing. This was done by the museum in the process of opening and preservation the papyrus. They are in themselves very distinct, as can be seen from the papyrus, but can only be partly seen in the photographic edition which does not reproduce the pages of the papyrus in full size.

The number of pages this codex contained has hitherto been estimated by both Jean Doresse and H.-Ch. Puech in their descriptions of the codex and other papyri found at the same time.

Jean Doresse stated in his first report after the discovery of the codex that it comprised 175 pages¹. He writes that this codex was "remarquable par ses 175 pages et sa reliure décorée" and repeats this figure later in the same article "Le premier recueil, dans ses 175 pages, compte sept textes différents". That it is the present Codex II which Doresse is describing is clear from the classified list which he gives later of the single codices, and also from the fact that later in the same article he says that the codex contains "Livre Secret de Jean. . . Évangiles de Thomas et de Philippe . . . L'hypostase des archontes . . . Exégèse sur l'âme . . . Livre de Thomas". In 1958 Doresse still maintained that the codex in question contained 175 pages. In volume I of his *Les livres secrets des gnostiques d'Égypte*, on page 167 he gave it following description: "Le plus beau et le plus volumineux des manuscrits. Reliure décorée (croix ansée)? avec rabats en hauteur et aux extrémités; format 21 × 27 cm.; 175 pages, d'environ 37 lignes chaque". But in the second volume which appeared in 1959 he has changed his opinion and says that the codex should only contain 168 pages². He gives no reasons for this.

The other scholar who has described this codex and the other papyri found at the same time is Henri-Charles Puech. He described it for the first time in his paper in the festschrift in honour of W. E. Crum³, where he called it Codex III. He writes of the codex that it is "Le plus volumineux et le plus magnifique des recueils découverts. La pagination n'y est pas indiquée, mais, sauf qu'il manque ses premiers feuillets, il apparaît à peu près complet et intact. Sa reliure décorée recouvre 157 page, d'environ 35 lignes chaque".

A closer examination of Codex II in the Coptic Museum has however convinced me that neither of these three estimates, the two of Doresse and that of Puech, can be correct. The reasons for this opinion will emerge from the following.

The codex was a single large quire of papyrus. The fibers of the papyrus, which is of extremely good quality, are very distinct and show clearly how the sheets have been put together, and that it is a single quire we have to do with. To determine the original size of such a codex would be easy enough if the codex was paginated, provided one could first establish which were the middle pages of the codex. But Codex II has never had any pagination⁴. As the codex

¹ Jean Doresse, *Nouveaux textes gnostiques coptes découverts en Haute-Égypte. La bibliothèque de Chénoboskion. Vigiliae Christianae*, III, 1949, p. 131 and 133. In the numbering then used by Jean Doresse the codex was called Codex I.

² *Les livres secrets des gnostiques d'Égypte*, II, Plon Paris 1959, p. 23.

³ H.-Ch. Puech, *Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Égypte (Premier inventaire et essai d'identification)*. *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*. Boston 1950, p. 104.

⁴ Naturally except the numbering carried out by the museum. Other codices in the same collection have pagination.

appears today however all the sheets are cut down the back, this operation being necessary for conserving them under plexiglass. Nevertheless both the quality of the papyrus and the method of conservation are so excellent that it is still possible to find where the middle of the book has been. It should be possible to place together the two folios which once made up a sheet, on the page where the fibres are horizontal, that is provided the inner edge of both have been preserved. This being done the text should then continue clearly from the bottom of the first of these two folios verso to the top line of the following recto. Both these requirements are fulfilled in the case of the two folios which the Coptic Museum has marked $\vee\vee$ and $\vee\vee$ (The pages correspond to Pl. 117-118 and 119-120). That this really is the middle of the book is clearly indicated by the fact that at the inner edge of both folios it is possible to see quite plainly two pairs of holes, the edges surrounded by a brown discoloration, which have been made at regular intervals from each other. These were the holes made by the thread which bound the codex together.

Having thus established the middle it should be possible, provided the one half of the codex is complete, to estimate the original size of the codex. This would seem to be the case with the second half, where the text continues unbroken from page to page. The Coptic Museum has numbered the pages of this last half $\vee\vee$ to $\text{I}\epsilon\vee$ (Pl. 119ff); and $\text{I}\epsilon\vee$'s verso page which is blank and therefore not numbered would seem to have been the last page of the codex. Thus there are no pages missing between $\vee\vee$ and $\text{I}\epsilon\vee$ verso and there are 76 pages in all (38 folios).

If the second half of the codex numbered 76 pages and no more then the first half should also have contained 76 pages, since we are concerned with a single quire codex where the double sheets of papyrus—in this case originally 38—were placed in a pile one on top of the other and finally folded in the middle. The codex must then have contained 38 double sheets, which when folded in the middle made up a volume of 152 pages. The first half must therefore once have contained 76 pages or 38 folios. It does not however today. The first half can in its present state be described thus: first there is a fragmentary sheet (two pages) the first page of which is blank and the second page bearing faint traces of lettering. This sheet has not been numbered by the Museum but here we can call these two pages I and II. After these two pages, according to the Museum, we come to pages $\text{I}-\vee\vee$ (Pl. 47-118) 72 numbers in all which together with the first two make 74. Next comes another sheet, which is blank, and which was found in the codex between pages $\circ\circ$ and $\circ\text{I}$ (Pl. 96 and 97), but which has not however been numbered by the Museum or included in the photographic edition. In our description here we call it p. III-IV. That this sheet not only was found in the position mentioned but also belonged there when the codex was intact will be clearly understood from the following: 1. The two lacunae to be seen in III-IV from their shape correspond clearly with those on the pages up to and including Pl. 96 and from Pl. 97 inclusive. The

lacuna which stretches like a tear from the edge of the papyrus to the middle of the page, shows clearly when compared with the pages around 90 and 91 (Pl. 96 and 97), that this is the top edge of the page, and the lacuna which cuts into one corner similarly indicates, when compared with the corresponding lacunae on the pages mentioned, that here we have the bottom free corner of the sheet. Thus we have determined which is top and which bottom of the blank sheet. These lacunae could, however, have been caused *after* the loose sheet had been inserted in its proper place. 2. The final proof, however, that this is the correct position of this sheet lies in the fact that there is a clear continuation of the fibres of this sheet on to that sheet which it would have lain next to this position, namely: 90-91 (Pl. 141-142), as the horizontal fibres of IV correspond exactly with those on Pl. 141.

But why does the first half of Codex II contain this sheet with two blank pages? The explanation is probably to be found in the fact that when copying out the second half of the codex the copyist happened to leave out a couple of pages. When he later discovered his error he inserted an extra sheet. The first two pages of this sheet remained of course blank while the copyist added what he had omitted on the last two pages. A copyist who dozed over his work might well read from the bottom of Pl. 140 to the top of Pl. 143 without being aware that he had skipped part of the text¹.

Having thus established that these two blank pages also belong to the first half of the codex, and moreover having determined their correct position, we now find that with the first two fragmentary pages, I and II, the 72 pages numbered 1 to 72 by the museum and finally the two blank pages, (III-IV) we have in all 76 pages.

This however is only apparently true. As shown elsewhere in this book, namely in the textual edition there is a mistake in the numbering carried out by the museum. The 72 pages numbered by them should in fact be only 70. The two fragmentary pages which the museum has numbered 3 and 4 (Pl. 49-50), are not an independent sheet but a fragment of the sheet reproduced in Pl. 51-52.

On all the recto pages up to and including Pl. 95 the fibres run vertically (therefore on the verso pages horizontally) but Pl. 49 which according to the usual method of counting in the photographic edition should be a recto page has nevertheless horizontal fibres, while on Pl. 50, which should be the corresponding verso page the fibres run vertically. This immediately makes one

¹ The text in the last line of Pl. 140 and the first line of Pl. 143 runs as follows in translation: "(140) She cried loudly to the holy, the God of the universe, (143) a greatness without limits. But he thought only . ." It is very easy to read this as one continuous text. In the manuscript from which the Codex II was copied the two texts respectively have been the last part of a recto page and the first part of a verso page. The copyist who made the copy in Codex II has been a very well acquainted copyist who had no difficulties in filling out the added two pages with the skipped part of the text.

suspect that the two pages—or rather fragments of pages—have been assigned to the wrong positions. This is, in fact, the case. Pl. 49 should come after Pl. 50, and Pl. 50 be recto and Pl. 49 verso of the same sheet. It is also possible to place this fragment in the correct position from the context which shows that it is part of the sheet which is reproduced in Pl. 51–52. Thus Pl. 50 is the upper right hand corner of Pl. 51 while Pl. 49 is the upper left hand corner of Pl. 52¹.

Thus the number of pages in the first half of the present Codex is thereby reduced to 74, while the second half comprises 76 pages. Consequently one sheet (two pages) would seem to be missing in the first half. However the text in the first half of the Codex can, from comparisons with parallels to the most damaged part of it, nevertheless be proved to be intact, in so far as all the pages—even though fragmentary—of the text have been preserved. The pages that are lacking must therefore have preceded these pages of text. This theory fits in, too, with what Victor Girgis, the curator of the Coptic Museum told me, when I studied the codex—that in the process of preservation one blank sheet had been found at the beginning of the codex and another blank sheet in the codex itself, (III–IV, between Pl. 96–7. The first blank sheet has so far not been accessible.

After this detailed description of the codex, necessitated by the fact that previous reports of the extent of the codex have not been sufficiently accurate, we can sum up the final results of our investigation: Codex II comprises today 150 pages, though it originally comprised 152 pages, 76 folios or 38 double sheets.

Of these 150 pages 145 contain text, 4 pages are blank and 1 page bears faint traces of lettering. The blank pages are I, 15v verso, III and IV while the page bearing faint traces of lettering is II.

As mentioned above the codex was a single quire codex. It originally contained 38 double sheets. These 38 double sheets were placed in a pile one on top of the other, then folded in the middle, thus forming the codex.

The 38 double sheets are made of papyrus, which like all papyri consists of two layers of fibres placed at right angles on top of each other, so that on the one side fibres run horizontally and on the other side vertically.

In the middle pages of the codex v2–v3 (Pl. 118–119), the fibres are vertical, v2 is a verso page, v3 a recto page. But the sheets of the codex are not placed systematically together so that the vertical page of the double sheet always faces upwards and the horizontal page downwards. The table below will show quite simply how the double sheets have been placed together to form the codex. V stands for vertical, H horizontal fibres.

¹ See p. 159–160.

In		I-II	recto fibres V,	verso fibres H
„ 1-0.	Pl. 47- 96		„ „ V,	„ „ H
„		III-IV	„ „ V,	„ „ H
„ 01-٧٢	Pl. 97-118		„ „ H,	„ „ V
„ ٧٣-٩٤	Pl. 119-140		„ „ V,	„ „ H
„ ٩٥-١٤٧ verso	Pl. 141-158 ff.		„ „ H,	„ „ V

Or in other words—when the codex was complete, including the inserted sheet (see above), the first half of it comprised 76 pages, of which the first 54 pages had recto V, verso H, the next 22 pages recto H, verso V. Of the second half 22 pages had recto V, verso H, and the last 54 pages recto H and verso V. The 38 double sheets of the codex have thus originally, when the book was lying flat and before they were folded in the middle, lain thus (still including the inserted sheet): first, at the bottom, 27 double sheets with the vertical fibres facing downwards, the horizontal upwards; on top of these sheets 11 double sheets with the horizontal fibres facing downwards and the vertical fibres upwards. Before the extra double sheet was inserted there were 26 and 11 double sheets respectively.

The Size of the Pages

In a codex of this size there must be, since it was a single quire codex, a considerable difference between the width of the outside pages (that is the first and the last) and the inside (or centre pages). Likewise there is also inevitably a considerable difference between the width of the column of text on the outside and inside pages. From the following table it will be seen how much this varies from page to page in the case of Codex II. In the two descriptions of the Codex mentioned above, those of Doriesse and Puech, the size of the pages has been given variously as about 27 cm × 15 cm and as 27 cm × 21 cm. Doriesse wrote 1949: “Chaque page, mesurant environ 27 cm sur 15 cm . . .”¹, and in 1950 H.-Ch. Puech likewise wrote “Le format est 27 centimètres de hauteur sur 15 centimètres de largeur”². However in 1958 and 1959 Doriesse gave quite another figure for the width in that he wrote: “format 21 × 27 cm”³. It is therefore only right and proper that in the following table more exact measurements of the papyrus should be given:

¹ Jean Doriesse, *Nouveaux textes gnostiques coptes découverts en Haute-Égypte. La bibliothèque de Chénoboskion. Vigiliae Christianae*, III, 1949, p. 131-132.

² H.-Ch. Puech, *Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Égypte (Premier inventaire et essai d'identification)*. *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*. Boston 1950, p. 104.

³ This was the case in Jean Doriesse, *Les livres secrets des gnostiques d'Égypte*, vol. I, 1958, p. 167, and vol. II, 1959, p. 23.

Measurements in mm

Page no	Fibres (H=horizontal V=vertical)	The page		The Column of text			
		Height × width	Height × width	Height × width	Height × width	Height × width	Height × width
v1-v2-v3-v4	H V V H	283	283	222	220	220	220
		138	138	102	100	100	104
79-v.-v.-v6	H V V H	283	283	228	220	225	220
		139	139	104	103	103	105
7v-78-vv-v8	H V V H	284	284	225	225	225	220
		140	140	103	106	103	108
70-77-v9-8.	H V V H	283	283	225	225	220	220
		140	140	105	105	105	105
73-74-81-82	H V V H	284	284	225	225	220	225
		141	141	104	110	103	110
71-72-83-84	H V V H	284	284	225	225	225	220
		142	142	105	105	105	111
09-7.-80-87	H V V H	283	283	225	225	225	220
		142	143	106	106	109	109
0v-08-8v-88	H V V H	284	284	225	225	220	220
		143	143	106	106	110	110
00-07-89-9.	H V V H	284	284	220	220	225	222
		142	143	106	105	110	113
03-04-91-92	H V V H	284	284	225	220	225	220
		142	144	108	108	110	111
01-02-93-94	H V V H	283	283	226	222	225	225
		144	144	105	108	110	112
III-IV-90-97	V H H V	284	284			225	222
		144	144			110	110
49-0.-9v-98	V H H V	283	283	218	222	225	220
		144	144	108	108	108	108
4v-48-99-100	V H H V	284	284	220	218	225	220
		145	146	108	108	110	111
40-47-101-102	V H H V	284	284	220	217	220	220
		146	146	111	109	110	110
43-44-103-104	V H H V	283	283	220	215	220	220
		147	147	112	110	110	110
41-42-100-107	V H H V	284	284	225	225	215	220
		148	147	112	112	109	111
39-40-10v-108	V H H V	283	283	224	225	220	220
		148	148	112	105	106	116
3v-38-109-110	V H H V	284	284	220	222	225	220
		149	148	112	113	115	112

Page no	Fibres (H=horizontal V=vertical)	The page		The Column of text			
		Height × width	Height × width	Height × width	Height × width	Height × width	Height × width
30-36-111-112	V H H V	283	283	225	225	225	225
		150	148	115	112	110	112
33-34-113-114	V H H V	283	283	220	221	220	230
		150	149	110	110	110	115
31-32-110-116	V H H V	284	284	220	225	225	225
		151	150	110	108	112	115
29-30-117-118	V H H V	284	284	222	225	225	225
		152	150	110	105	112	113
27-28-119-120	V H H V	283	283	225	225	220	220
		152	150	110	109	110	110
20-26-121-122	V H H V	283	283	220	220	222	223
		152	150	110	108	118	110
23-24-123-124	V H H V	283	283	220	220	222	223
		152	151	110	113	113	113
21-22-120-126	V H H V	283	283	220	220	222	223
		152	151	110	113	113	113
19-20-127-128	V H H V	283	283	220	220	220	220
		153	151	115	115	110	110
17-18-129-130	V H H V	283	283	220	220	220	225
		153	152	115	115	112	112
10-16-131-132	V H H V	283	283	220	220	220	220
		154	152	115	118	112	111
13-14-133-134	V H H V	283	283	225	220	220	220
		154	153	115	112	110	111
11-12-130-136	V H H V	283	283	220	225	220	220
		154	153	112	112	110	110
9-10-137-138	V H H V	283	283	220	220	220	220
		155	153	110	115	110	110
7-8-139-140	V H H V	283	283	220	220	200	230
		155	155	110	120	114	115
0+4-6+3-141-142	V H H V					230	228
			152			114	115
1-2-143-144	V H H V					230	230
			158			118	114
I-II-140-146	V H H V					230	230
						118	115
missing, 147-verso	V H H V						
						118	

Where the page or the column of text is so damaged that no measurement is possible the column has been left blank.

It will be noticed from this table that the height of the pages is fairly constant, as might be expected. It lies between 283 and 284 mm. But there is a considerable difference in *width* between the outside and the centre pages. The centre page is only 138 mm wide and the column of text measures 100 mm, while one of the outside pages (v) which it has been possible to measure properly is 155 mm wide and has a column of text 110 mm wide. If one considers the width of the double sheet this difference is even more noticeable. The double sheet at the centre of the codex measures $138+138=276$ mm in width and has a column of writing $100+100=200$ mm, while one of the outside double sheets (Λ-ιϣϩ) which is still intact measures as much as $155+155=310$ mm and has a column of writing $120+114=234$ mm, that is a difference of 34 mm and 34 mm respectively.

The height of the pages varies then between 28,3 and 28,4 cm. The width of the pages between 15,5 and 13,8 cm.

Thus the difference we might expect to find in the width of the outside and inside pages of a single quire codex such as Codex II is in fact present, likewise the difference between the width of the column of text on the outer and inner pages.

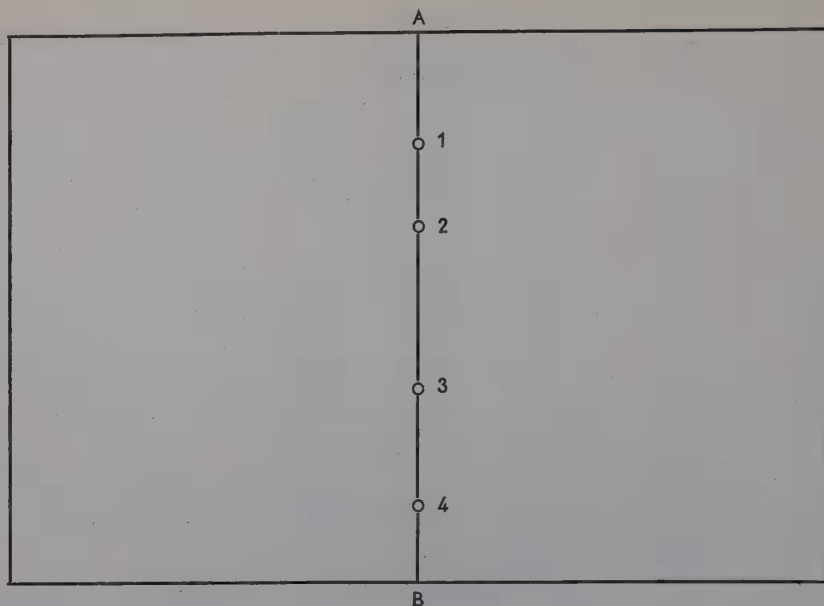
The fact that the copyist, even though by the centre of the codex had become used to writing a narrower column of text, did not retain this throughout the codex but increased the width gradually again bears out the impression we have of a skilled and expert hand.

The copyist has on the last page he wrote on in the Codex II finished his work with this colophon: . . . "Athletes writes this for the perfect, my brethren, remember me [in your] prayers, peace with the holy, the pneumatics". The colophon is not dated and the scribe not identified.

The Stitching

The two middle pages of Codex II, vϣ-vϣ have in their right and left edges respectively obvious traces of holes which were made when the codex was stitched together. There are four holes, two in the upper half of the page and two below. The sketch below will show their position in the papyrus.

The height of the pages, that is the distance between A and B is 283 mm. The distance between A and the first hole 1 is 58 mm and between 1 and 2, the two upper holes the distance is 25 mm. The distance between the lower of the two upper holes and the upper of the two lower, that is 2 and 3, is 115 mm. The distance between the two lower holes, 3 and 4, is 37 mm, while from the lowest hole 4 to the bottom edge of the page B, is 47 mm. These two sets of holes, 1-2 and 3-4, have been made by the thread which originally bound



the papyrus together. There are also traces of holes in the adjacent pages of the papyrus, namely ٦٧-٦٨ and ٦٩-٧٠, and ٧٥-٧٦ and ٧٧-٧٨.

It will thus be seen that the papyrus was not stitched together horizontally, as in the case of other codices known¹ to us, but vertically. The remains of the thread which was used still exist²: three pieces of brown thread, about 1 mm thick. One of these pieces still contains the knot which tied together the two ends of the thread.

Other Single Quire Codices

Before we describe the binding of Codex II it may be useful, with a view to a later attempt at dating Codex II, to give a brief survey of the other Coptic codices of a similar type which exist, that is, those which consist of a single quire, and nota bene a single quire of papyrus. There are not many such codices, so our list is a short one.

1) An Achmimic version of the Gospel of John (London), thought to date from about 350-375 A.D.³ 100 pages, 25 double sheets, placed together in the

¹ As for example the Subachmimic Gospel of John, published by Sir Herbert Thompson, *The Gospel of John according to the earliest Coptic Manuscript London 1924* (p. XII, where incidentally it is noted that this same method of stitching is known, too, from mosaics almost contemporary with Codex II—the third quarter of the Fourth Century.—Sir Herbert Thompson refers to J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, 1916, pl. 47, 85, 89 etc.).

² I came across these pieces of thread quite accidentally while working in the *Salle de Travail* of the Coptic Museum in 1957. They must have become separated from the codex in the process of conservation, though Victor Girgis, the curator, immediately recognized them as belonging to Codex II.

³ Sir Frederic Kenyon in Sir Herbert Thompson, *The Gospel of John* (1924), p. XIII.

same order with the vertical fibres facing downwards and the horizontal upwards¹. Paginated.

2) An Achmimic version of the First Epistle of Clement (Berlin). Dated to the end of the fourth century. 88 pages, 21 double sheets each with 4 pages, and 2 half sheets each with 2 pages. Each sheet about 25 cm high and 12 cm wide². Paginated.

3) Achmimic version of proverbs (Berlin)³ 166 pages, 40 double sheets each with 4 pages, and 3 single sheets each with 2 pages. Paginated (The pages cut). Dated to the third or fourth century by P. E. Kahle (Bala'izah p. 197).

4) Subachmimic version of Acta Pauli (Heidelberg). Dated to the sixth century or earlier. Number of pages uncertain, probably originally about 180. Each sheet 27 cm high, 19 cm wide. Double sheets placed together with the vertical fibres downwards, the horizontal upwards. Paginated⁴.

5) Achmimic version of Epistola Apostolorum. (Cairo). C. Schmidt dates it to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. Originally seems to have contained about 72 pages. Each sheet 15 cm high, 14 cm wide⁵.

6) Sahidic Pap. Berol. 8502. V. Stegemann dates this to early fifth century. Originally 36 double sheets, 144 pages. Each sheet on an average 13,5 cm high, 10,5 cm wide. Paginated⁶.

7) Sapiientia Salomonis, Achmimic⁷. Not yet published. Berlin.

8) Codex III in the Coptic Museum's collection of manuscripts from Nag Hammadi (with other manuscripts found in the same place). Not published. Originally seems to have comprised about 148 pages 37 double sheets⁸. Sheets are about 25,5 cm high and from 14,1 to 15,8 cm wide.

¹ Sir Herbert Thompson, *The Gospel of John*, p. XI.

² Carl Schmidt, *Der erste Clemensbrief in altkoptischer Übersetzung*. Leipzig 1908, p. 6-7. The manuscript is Berl. Ms. orient. Fol. 3065.

³ Alexander Böhlig, *Studien zur Erforschung des christlichen Aegyptens*, Heft 3, Teil 1, München 1958.

⁴ Carl Schmidt, *Acta Pauli aus der Heidelberger Koptischen Papyrushandschrift Nr. 1*. Leipzig 1905, p. 3-13.

⁵ Carl Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung. Texte und Untersuchungen*, 43, Leipzig 1919, p. 4-6.

⁶ Dated to the early fifth century by V. Stegemann in *Koptische Paläographie*, 2. Bd. 1936, p. 4.—Carl Schmidt dated first this papyrus to the fourth and fifth century, but later on he went higher up; cf. W. C. Till, *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*, Berlin 1955 (Texte und Untersuchungen, 60. Bd.) p. 6-7; cf. Carl Schmidt, *Die alten Petrusakten*, Leipzig 1903 (Texte und Untersuchungen, Bd. 24).

⁷ Not mentioned by Sir Herbert Thompson in his list of "single-quire books" in *The Gospel of John*, p. XII, and not mentioned by Schubart in his *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, 1921, although Carl Schmidt has mentioned it several times, e.g. in *Die Gespräche Jesu* .. 1919.

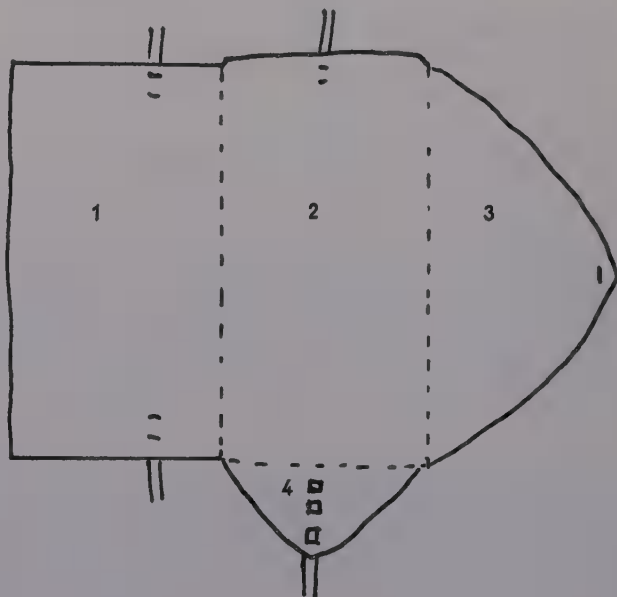
⁸ The information of Togo Mina in *Le papyrus gnostique du Musée Copte, Vigiliae Christianae*, II, 1948, p. 130, that the codex in question was made of 19 quires with 152 pages in is not right; the codex has been one single quire.

The Binding

When it was found Codex II was in its original binding. Now the pages of the Codex are either mounted between sheets of plexiglass or are in the process of being so, and the binding is preserved separately.

The binding is of leather, a thin and supple piece of goatskin. This is also the case with other of the manuscripts from Nag-Hammadi¹, but while one of these is sewn from two pieces of leather the binding of Codex II is made from a single piece of leather. An Egyptian goat is not large enough to provide leather for more than one binding of this size if the quality is to be consistently good.

The sketch below will give the size and shape of the binding together with the most important measurements.



This sketch shows the binding seen from the inside. The codex was placed on the base of the binding or wrapper, the rectangle marked 2, which measures 290 mm × 150 mm. The wrapper is then placed round the volume by folding the rectangle marked 1, 285 × 157 mm, over the codex thus forming the front

¹ See Berthe van Regemorter, *La reliure des manuscrits grecs*, Scriptorium Tome VIII, Bruxelles 1954, p. 17-18, where Mlle van Regemorter gives a description of Codex III in this collection (Ms. No 4851). This codex is by Mlle van Regemorter (p. 17) called "probablement . . . la plus ancienne reliure en cuir venue jusqu'à nous; elle recouvrait un ms gnostique du IV^e s . . .".—As we shall see in the following we have every reason to believe that Codex II is still younger; Mlle van Regemorter who first after the appearance of her article in question has had opportunity to study also Codex II has been so kind to give me oral information about this view.

of the volume. In order to hold in place the codex the triangular flap, 4, the height which measures 90 mm, is then folded across 1, and fastened by tying the thin strip of leather which the flap ends in to a similar strip of leather at the top of 2. The flap marked 3, which measures 192 mm where it joins the right edge side of 2, is then folded across the codex. There was originally a strip of leather at the tip of 3 which was wound round the codex as a final measure of protection. Smaller strips of leather are attached to the upper and lower edges of 1 in order to hold the codex firmly in place between 1 and 2.

It will be seen from the above that the binding is more in the nature of what we would call a wrapper, since the codex never seems to have been bound or sewn to the back of this piece of leather. The binding was primarily intended to protect the codex when not in use, but it also offered some protection against wear and tear, particularly of the outer pages, when the volume was actually in use.

The binding or wrapper of Codex II is ornamented. The outside of the wrapper is coloured red and this colouring must once have been stronger than it is today. The inside of the wrapper shows no traces of colouring. The red colour of the wrapper is in itself ornamental, but in addition the two rectangular surfaces and the two triangular flaps are further decorated. 1 is covered with a number of diagonal lines, the intervals between them being decorated with symbolical and perhaps somewhat stylised heart shaped leaves, and what seem to be diamonds or pearls and furled leaves¹.

The binding is in three places decorated with a crux ansata. The largest and most carefully executed of these is to be found on the flap marked 3 in our sketch. A smaller crux ansata is to be found on that part of the binding which covered the back of the codex, i.e. 2, and the beginning of one or perhaps only a sketchily drawn small crux ansata is also found on 2.

The ornamentation has been done by impressing the outline on to the leather—presumably when damp—and in most cases the outline was later drawn in with a stronger colour.

Both the form of binding and its decoration may be of some help in dating the codex, therefore it will be useful to indicate a few details and the conclusions we can draw from them.

Berthe van Regemorter in her description of Codex III describes the binding as having an extra strip of leather on the spine ("une bande de cuir préservant le dos . . ."²). This would seem to indicate a more developed form of binding than we have in the case of Codex II. Codex III bears obvious traces of the fact that the codex and its binding were originally really bound together, true

¹ A good impression of the ornamentation gives a photograph of the binding published by Jean Doresse in *Les livres secrets des gnostiques d'Égypte*, II, 1959, between page 14 and 15.

² Berthe van Regemorter, *Le codex relié depuis son origine jusqu'au Haut Moyen-Age* (Le Moyen Age, t. 61, Bruxelles 1955), p. 5.—See also Berthe van Regemorter, *La reliure souple des manuscrits carolingiens de Fulda*, *Scriptorium*, t. 11, 1957, p. 251.

enough in a primitive way but nevertheless with a more elaborate form of binding than Codex II. Other volumes found at Nag Hammadi show an even greater development in the art of binding. One might presume therefore, as indicated above, that Codex II belongs to a period when the art of binding was only at a earlier stage¹. There is however a great general similarity between the various volumes in the collection, both in the type with flaps which were folded over the volumes, thus giving them a uniform appearance, and also the system of closing the volume by means of narrow leather strips, uniformity being attained by the choice of material. In view of all this it is better to content ourselves with saying that Codex II's binding is approximately contemporary with the others. Its more primitive appearance may be due either to the fact that the craftsman responsible only fully developed his talents later, or that it was made by a bookbinder less skilled than the craftsman, or craftsmen, who bound the other volumes. On the other hand it must be remembered that this basic type of binding—the envelope-like wrapper—no doubt like other types of binding, remained current for some time, while the finer subtleties of the binding soon underwent improvements. One cannot ignore the possibility that the binding of Codex II may have been used as a model for later bindings several years afterwards. If we then can on other grounds date Codex II to a period before that of Codex III then there is good reason therefore to date Codex II's binding as earlier than that of Codex III. We shall look at the evidence for this later.

One thing however seems clear, that the binding of Codex II, like that of the other volumes in the collection, would seem to belong to a very early period in the art of binding in leather. This opinion is supported by the studies made

¹ Just this question about the development of the art of bookbinding is in these years the subject of detailed research from many sides. The different kinds of binding which are found in the Chester Beatty Papyri and in Papyrus Bodmer II have provided new material, but after all is the problem connected with the problem about the relations between the codex itself, the diptychon and the polyptychon. Berthe van Regemorter has in *Le codex relié depuis son origine jusqu'au Haut Moyen-Age* (*Le Moyen Age*, t. 61, 1955) p. 1 quoted a literary testimony to a prechristian example of codices with the words of Martial (*Lib. XIV, Epigr. 84*):

“Ne toga barbatus faciat vel penula libros
Haec abies chartis tempora longa dabit”.

Berthe van Regemorter's example is to a certain extent supported by that discovery—approximately from the same time as Martial—which Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli communicates from Herculaneum in *L'istrumentum scriptorium nei monumenti pompeiani ed ercolanesi* (Pompeiana, Napoli 1950, p. 266–278). However it seems to me that the concise meaning of the word “codex” must not be forgotten; the term is used as well about the papyrus- or parchment-codices as about wooden tablets etc. Cf. Berthe van Regemorter, *Le codex relié à l'époque néo-Hittite* (*Scriptorium*, t. 12, 1958), p. 177; here is referred to codices from the eighth century B. C.—Opposite Berthe van Regemorter Sir Frederic Kenyon suggested that the codex came with the Christian church (*Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Oxford, 1932, p. 95–99); cf. C. H. Roberts, *The Codex*, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. XL. p. 185 (London 1953).

by Berthe van Regemorter into the development of bookbinding technique¹. The conclusion which van Regemorter reaches in her studies of the binding of Papyrus Bodmer II would seem to be decisive. She dates it to about the same period as the binding of Codex III by establishing that the same technique was used. Another binding which she considers used the same technique was that of British Museum, Add. Ms. 33797. This last case she regards as proving that it was a technique "probablement celle à laquelle on était habitué au III^e siècle"².

When we bear in mind that the binding of Codex II seems to be older than that of Codex III we may also consider it to be from the same period as Papyrus Bodmer II, and thus we have a relative dating. From a palaeographic point of view, according to the editor, experts date Papyrus Bodmer II to "le début du III^e siècle ou si l'on préfère à environ l'an 200 de notre ère"³.

As mentioned above the binding is decorated with a crux ansata in three places. Because of this, Jean Doresse in vol. 2 of his work on gnostic texts, is of the opinion that the binding must date from *after* the destruction of the Serapeum in 391. Jean Doresse refers to what he wrote in vol. I⁴, that the Church fathers Rufinus, Sozomenus and Socrates tell in their histories of the church that it was after the destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria that the Anch sign became the sign of Coptic Christendom instead of Egyptian paganism. On these grounds the binding must therefore date from *after* 391.

Jean Doresse has however overlooked an important discrepancy between Rufinus's, Sozomenus' and Socrates' accounts and entirely neglected to consider their value as sources by merely referring to the three texts (which in vol. I p. 168 are only called "un peu différentes"). But there is in fact a most vital difference between Rufinus's account on the one hand and Sozomenus' and Socrates on the other. It is an irrefutable fact that Rufinus's account, in relation to the two others, is the primary. Socrates made use of Rufinus's work when writing his church history and Sozomenus drew liberally upon Socrates in his turn. Rufinus's work is from about 403 while Socrates' is at least a generation later, that is after 439, and Sozomenus' later still. The main point is that on reading these three accounts one notes that Rufinus makes no mention that the Christians took over the Anch sign after the destruction of the Serapeum. He only says that in Alexandria the sign of Serapis was superseded by the sign of the cross which symbolized the life to come, and that the sign of the cross was taken from the hieroglyphs (namely the Anch sign). Socrates and Sozomenus a

¹ Berthe van Regemorter, *La reliure des manuscrits grecs*, Scriptorium 8, 1954, p. 17.—Codex III can—and with that also Codex II—be dated to a period in any case not *after* Coptic Codex 3-3a in the Chester Beatty collection, see B. van Regemorter, *Le Codex relié* ... p. 5-6.

² Papyrus Bodmer II, *Évangile de Jean*, chap. 1-14, Genève 1956, p. 13.

³ Victor Martin, *Papyrus Bodmer II, Évangile de Jean*, p. 17.

⁴ Jean Doresse, *Les livres secrets des gnostiques d'Égypte*, II, 1959, p. 24 and p. 79 note 2 (—the note refers to vol. I, p. 62 probably a misprint for p. 162).

generation later on the other hand are able to tell of the dramatic episode which took place when the Anch sign was found during the destruction of the Serapeum and the prophecies known about it in advance¹. Rufinus's account is the simplest² and therefore probably the most trustworthy. But in addition one must also remember that Rufinus had a much better knowledge of Egypt and Alexandria as he had not only been a monk in Sketis³ but had also lived for a considerable time in Alexandria as a pupil of Didymus the Blind, just before the fall of the Serapeum. He must therefore have had considerable knowledge of the conditions at the time. If the episode had really taken place he could hardly have described the transition from the pagan to the Christian use of the Anch sign as he does. And while in Jerusalem he was in such close contact with Alexandria, both during and after the fall of the Serapeum, that he must have heard about the incident if it had in fact taken place⁴.

If we then sum up this problem of sources we must reject Sozomenus's and Socrates's theory that the fall of the Serapeum was the actual turning point for the pagan to the Christian use of the crux ansata. It is impossible to establish any exact date when this transition took place, and at all events the date 391 must be rejected. Consequently we must also reject the theory, based upon the use of the Anch sign on the binding, that the binding of Codex II is from after 391.

At this point we will not commit ourselves to any definitive date for the binding of Codex II. To sum up: the binding bears several primitive traits, it is of the same type as the oldest known bindings, and it would seem possible to date it relatively, in that it has features in common with bindings from the third and fourth centuries.

A more reliable attempt at dating can however be made upon palaeographical grounds and that we shall endeavour to establish in the following.

Palaeographical Evidence of the Hand

As mentioned above, 145 pages of the 150 which Codex II at present contains bear writing, one page has faint traces of lettering upon it and four pages are blank.

¹ The texts are: Rufinus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 26, Migne Patr. Lat. 21, 537; also in *Die Griechischen-Christlichen Schriftsteller*, 9,2 (Eusebius), XI, 29. Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 17, Migne Gr. Lat. 67, p. 608. Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VII, 15, Migne Gr. Lat. 67, p. 1458.

² As emphasized by Maria Cramer, *Das altägyptische Lebenszeichen*, Wien 1943, p. 57, which deals with the relations between the texts of Rufinus, Socrates and Sozomenus; cf. Jean Simon, *Orientalia*, N. S. vol. 12, Roma 1943, fasc. 3, p. 268 ff.

³ Cf. Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, XLVI.

⁴ If not before then when Isidore, the delegate from Theophilus, the patriarch of Alexandria, in 396 came to Jerusalem where he should reconcile bishop Johannes and Rufinus with Hieronymus and Epiphanius. Even if P. Heseler (*Hagiographica*, *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, IX, 1932, 113–128 and 320–337) was right in his thesis that Rufinus' church history depends on Gelasius' church history it would not be possible to maintain that Rufinus consciously was silent about the episode.

Up to and including page ۱۳۹ the pages bear from 33–37 lines of text, 36 being the average number. But after page ۱۴۰ inclusive the letters of the text become considerably smaller so that all these pages (with the exception of the last page of the codex where the text ends in the middle of the page) manage to contain 42 lines of text, even in one case 43. The hand however is the same¹ and the reason for the smaller letters used would seem to be that the copyist, who knew his job, wanted to be sure that he could get all the text which begins on this very page ۱۴۰ into the Codex. At this point he had only a few pages left at his disposal and they would not have been enough if he had continued in the same size hand as hitherto. Taking into consideration the fact that it is indubitably the same copyist who wrote the large and the small hand in the same Codex it would seem to me likely that we have here an example of what is hinted at in the Symphonius' text in Zoëga's catalogue, namely that there existed side by side a large and a small hand, a **TKOYI N̄GIX** and a **TNOG N̄GIX**. Zoëga thought that this referred to a minuscule and a majuscule script². Viktor Stegemann on the other hand, in his palaeography³, thought it referred to the small writing of the 4th century and to the larger cursives. This theory would not however seem to hold good in the present instance since there are no cursives in our Codex. Here we have no doubt an example of the small hand and the large hand of the Symphonius' text, two sizes of writing which a skilled copyist could master and use as he found necessary.

The writing in Codex II may be described as an extremely regular, calligraphically written uncial, in the style Schubart has called the "bible style". We know it from both Coptic and Greek manuscripts which we shall compare with Codex II below, both in order to describe it more fully and in order to date it more exactly.

Doresse dates our codex to the same period as Codex Jung, about which he writes that it "date au plus tôt des dernières années du IV^e siècle . . ."⁴.

¹ Jean Doresse suggests (*Le livres secrets des gnostiques d'Égypte*, II, 1959, p. 24–25) that the irregular handwriting in Codex II, Pl. 95 (above) was written by the same hand as the regular, beautiful handwriting which generally runs through the whole codex. In this J. Doresse is right, but it is not necessary to explain the irregular handwriting with physical weakness or age; such an irregularity is often found in several calligraphically written uncials and this must be explained thus that the scribe for a moment wrote more freely without the model of the ideal handwriting in mind.—The same irregularity is also found in the first 11–12 lines of Pl. 146. J. Doresse's suggestion that the irregular hand Pl. 95 could show that it in reality was the same scribe who copied our Codex II and parts of Codex Jung or parts of the same codex in the Coptic Museum, Codex I must be denied. A comparison of different letters in Codex II, Pl. 95 and Codex I, Pl. 12 shows that it is not possible to derive Pl. 95's **M**, **2**, **X**, **Ψ** and **ϸ** from the same hand as the equivalent letters on Pl. 12.

² G. Zoëga, *Catalogus codicum copticorum manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano velutris adservantur*, Roma 1810 (Leipzig 1903), p. 549.

³ Victor Stegemann, *Koptische Paläographie*, 1, Heidelberg 1936, p. 7.

⁴ J. Doresse, *Les livres secrets des gnostiques d'Égypte*, II, 1959, p. 24. but in his *Nouveaux textes gnostiques coptes découverts en Haute-Égypte, Vigiliae Christianae*, III, 1949, p. 132

Johannes Leipoldt dates it to about the year 500¹, while H.-Ch. Puech dates it to the middle of the third century at the latest².

Before we make any attempt to date the Codex it will not be out of place to consider a few principles.

Any one who has had anything to do with Coptic palaeography will know what uncertainty has prevailed and still does prevail in this field. The firm foundations upon which Greek palaeography now seems to be based are completely lacking in Coptic palaeography. One has only to recall the fact that even such a much studied manuscript as the Pistis Sophia has been dated to many very different periods by experts. Hyvernat³ dated it to the sixth century, while Carl Schmidt⁴ dated it first to the fifth century and later to the second half of the fourth century. Victor Stegemann⁵ was of the opinion that it was from the third century or about the beginning of the fourth century while other experts have dated it much later, William Wright⁶ for example from the seventh century and Émile Amélineau⁷ from as late as the ninth or tenth century. This example is enough to show how vague and uncertain the dating of Coptic manuscripts has been.

It would above all have helped if only we possessed ancient Coptic texts with the date plainly stated in the colophon. But the oldest such literary text we have is from the beginning of the ninth century and the oldest document from the end of the sixth century⁸. Though we know for sure of manuscripts as early as from the third century, for example the great Parisian magic papyrus.

Two main principles must form the basis of any attempt to date a Coptic manuscript from a palaeographical point of view. As emphasized by V. Stegemann⁹ the first is its close connection with Greek palaeography¹⁰. The second point is that any attempt at dating a Coptic manuscript must first of all be a relative dating, i. e. not primarily an attempt to decide from what century or

Doresse stated, "... nous n'oserons pas même assigner nos deux documents coptes au second siècle. Nous nous contenterons d'affirmer que leur écriture et leur langue les situe vers le milieu du III^e siècle au plus tard ..."

¹ Johannes Leipoldt, *Ein neues Evangelium*, Theologische Literaturzeitung, Berlin 1958, col. 481.

² H.-Ch. Puech, *Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Égypte*, Coptic Studies in honor of W. E. Crum, Boston 1950, p. 104, "Le volume doit dater du milieu du III^e siècle, au plus tard; peut-être même remonte-t-il à époque encore plus haute".

³ Henri Hyvernat, *Album de paléographie copte pour servir à l'introduction paléographique des actes martyrs de l'Égypte*, Paris et Rome 1888, pl. II.

⁴ Carl Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, Hauniae 1925, p. XVIII.

⁵ Victor Stegemann, *Koptische Paläographie*, 1, 1936, p. 12.

⁶ W. Wright, *The Paleographical Society, Facsimiles of manuscripts and Inscriptions*, Oriental Series, London 1875-1883, pl. XLII.

⁷ Émile Amélineau, *Pistis Sophia*, Paris 1895, p. IX ff.

⁸ Victor Stegemann, *Koptische Paläographie*, 1, p. 8.

⁹ Victor Stegemann, *Koptische Paläographie*, 1, p. 3.

¹⁰ About the relations between palaeography and codicology see Pavel Spunar, *Définition de paléographie*, Scriptorium, 12, p. 109-110 (Bruxelles 1958).

decade the manuscript dates but an attempt to discover what other manuscripts it would seem to be contemporary with, or earlier or later than. These two principles form the basis of what follows below.

In order to be able to place Codex II relatively in the chronology a brief summary of the other single quire Coptic codices will be useful. This type of codex may all be reckoned as belonging to the earliest group of Coptic codices. All the examples we possess of the single quire codex have been dated to the fourth and fifth centuries. V. Stegemann¹ even went so far as to date the Subachmimic Gospel of John as early as the third century. This does not mean that we do not possess codices consisting of more than one quire which are equally old but this later type would seem to have outlasted the single quire type. From a bibliographical point of view what seems to have happened is that the single quire codex was the first to be developed, and that afterwards for a time both the primitive single quire form and the more developed form—codices consisting of more than a single quire—existed side by side, and eventually the developed form ousted the single quire type. This seems to me what must have happened when one makes a survey of the more definitely dated codices of both types. It would be reasonable to assume that development took place from the more primitive form to the more complicated. However no codices exist today from the first stage of this development, that is the period when only single quire codices were known.

If we apply these considerations to Codex II we can immediately assign it to the same period of the other single quire codices, which, as mentioned above, experts have established as the fourth or fifth century, perhaps slightly earlier.

Since Codex II, unlike the other codices, is not paginated we may confidently assume that it is among the very earliest codices of that period. Lack of pagination, particularly in such a carefully copied manuscript, is a sign of primitiveness and age.

Having for these reasons placed Codex II in its approximate period we can now proceed, and on palaeographical grounds attempt to place it in relation to other codices.

The simplest method will be to mention at once the manuscripts which Codex II seems to be most closely related to palaeographically. These are:

- Königl. Bibliothek, Berlin. Ms. orient. Fol. 3065 (First Clement) Achmimic².
- British Museum. Ms. Oriental 7594 (Deuteron., Jonas, Acta) Sahidic³.
- Bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain, 9 (Ecclesiasticus, VII). Sahidic⁴.

¹ Victor Stegemann, *Koptische Paläographie*, 1, p. 11.

² Edition: Carl Schmidt, *Der erste Clemensbrief in altkoptischer Übersetzung*, Leipzig 1908. With facsimiles.

³ Edition: E. A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Biblical Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1912. With 9 reproductions of pages in Ms. Oriental 7594.

⁴ Edition L. Th. Lefort, *Les manuscrits coptes de l'Université de Louvain*, Louvain 1940, I. With photographic reproduction of ■ fragment of the Ecclesiasticus-text on pl. V.

Of these three texts Carl Schmidt¹ assigned the First Epistle of Clement to the second half or the end of the fourth century, while L. Th. Lefort² dated the Ecclesiasticus text to "la fin du III^e ou le début du IV^e siècle". Thanks to a definite dating of fragments of Greek papyrus which have been used in its binding³ and the cursive conclusion of Acta⁴, E. A. Wallis Budge and Fr. Kenyon⁵ have dated British Museum Ms. Oriental 7594 with a large degree of certainty to not later than the middle of the fourth century.

If we compare these three manuscripts with Codex II of the Nag Hammadi collection we find that they have much in common with Codex II but also some divergencies which may be helpful in dating it more exactly.

The handwriting of Codex II is, as mentioned above, uncial. The text is beautifully and competently written, obviously by a skilled hand. Apart from certain characters—e.g. P, Φ, Ψ and †—the letters are quadratic in their basic form. The hand is very similar to that of the Ecclesiasticus manuscript mentioned above, though the P, Φ, Ψ and † of Codex II seem to have undergone some further development than the corresponding characters in the Ecclesiasticus manuscript. They curve slightly more to the left at the base and this feature became even more pronounced later. This tendency is even more pronounced in the First Epistle of Clement, which otherwise has many characteristics in common with Codex II. In both these texts both ■ and ☐ are almost quadratic in shape and the same size as the other letters, not as in earlier texts very small and above the line.

In Ecclesiasticus, as in First Epistle of Clement, and Codex II, both € and c are formed as a half circle, as we also find them in Br. M. Ms. Or. 7594 and in Vaticanus. The € of Codex II, however, resembles rather that of Ecclesiasticus than that of First Clement or Br. M. Ms. Or. 7594, as the cross piece of the € is extended further but not as in the two last manuscripts ended in a point. In this respect both First Clement and Br. M. Ms. Or. 7594 would seem to have undergone further development since all three arms of the € bear points as in later manuscripts. In Ecclesiasticus as in Codex II and Br. M. Ms. Or. 7594 z is kept within the line while in the First Clement and in later texts it has begun to extend below it. A still more obvious difference however can be seen in the letters γ and φ. In both Ecclesiasticus and in Codex II these two letters are

¹ Carl Schmidt in the edition p. 10. Dealing with this from a philological point of view very interesting text Schmidt discussed both the palaeography and the Achmimic peculiarities of the text.

² L. Th. Lefort in his edition p. 59 where he refers to Pap. Ox. No 1179 as the hand which comes closest to that in the Ecclesiasticus-text.

³ E. A. Wallis Budge in his edition p. XIV ff, where H. I. Bell gives a description of the mentioned fragments of Greek papyrus.

⁴⁻⁵ E. A. Wallis Budge, Coptic Biblical Texts.. p. LV ff. and p. LXIII ff. where Wallis Budge and Kenyon from the dated Greek papyri were able to establish that the cursive after Acta was from about the middle of the fourth century A. D. This gives a terminus ante quem for the rest of the codex.

only small in size but in First Clement and Br. M. Ms. Or. 7594 they have a tendency to get larger as in later texts. This is particularly obvious in the case of γ both in the First Clement and Br. M. Ms. Or. 7594 and even more so in texts from the fifth century, such as Alexandrinus. There is no trace of it in the Ecclesiasticus text nor in Codex II to any appreciable extent.

The characteristic ϵ of Ecclesiasticus has become more rounded in Codex II with the general square features of the rest of the writing, like that found in the slightly more developed "bible" hand.

Another characteristic feature of Codex II is the common use of the apostrophe, particularly after consonants. It is not however possible to give any hard and fast rule for its use.

If we attempt to sum up these observations we reach the following conclusions:

Codex II would seem to date from an earlier period than both the Br. M. Ms. Oriental 7594 and the First Clement in Berlin. But it is later than the fragment of Ecclesiasticus in Louvain.

Of these three texts the Br. M. Ms. is the one which can be dated with the most certainty (from the Greek fragments in the binding and the cursive after Acta). It has been assigned to not later than the middle of the fourth century and probably from about 340–50¹.

Taking this date as a starting point we can from the palaeographical evidence date the Ecclesiasticus text somewhat earlier and agree with L. Th. Lefort in assigning it to the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century².

From a chronological point of view Codex II can be placed somewhere between these two texts.

We can probably check this dating by comparing Codex II with some other old Coptic texts which it has been possible to date with some accuracy. These are the three letters in Coptic which W. E. Crum published in H. I. Bell's *Jews and Christians in Egypt*³. These three letters are closely connected with a Greek correspondance concerning preparations for the Council of Caesarea in 334. The Coptic letters are Br. M. Pap. 1920, 1921 and 1922; the Greek letters Br. M. Pap. 1913 and 1914. The Coptic letters can be dated to about 330–40. However it must be remembered when making comparisons that these are letters not literary scripts. One of them, however, No. 1920 comes very close to literary script and can be used for a basis of comparison.

It appears then that Codex II is written in a script not too remote from that of Br. M. Pap. 1920. Pap. 1920 has the same characteristic ϵ with the long cross piece without point which we have noticed in Codex II and a γ which does not

¹ See above.

² See above.

³ H. Idris Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*. London 1924, p. 91–99, cf. the same work p. 45–71 and plate III.

differ from that used in Codex II, and some of the P and + in both papyri show the same slight curve to the left at the base.

In conclusion we can therefore reach this thesis that a relative dating of Codex II will place it after Ecclesiasticus (Louvain) and before Br. M. Ms. Or. 7594. An absolute dating places it as comtemporary with Br. M. Pap. 1920 and therefore from 330-340, or more loosely from the first half of the fourth century.

The Language of the Apocryphon of John in Codex II

The observations made above about the structure of Codex II from a purely technical point of view, its binding and its palaeography, have concerned the codex as a whole and had necessarily to do so in order that our examination should be as exhaustive as possible. If however we consider the language alone it is obvious that our remarks concern first and foremost the text as it is published in the following pages and that for principle reasons they must only concern that text. The reason for this is above all that it is not the intention of the present essay to discuss all the widely differing texts to be found in Codex II, but only a single one. Secondly, there is not necessarily any linguistic unity in the collection of texts contained in Codex II. As so often the case in Coptic codices they have been copied from a variety of mss from widely different milieu, a fact which should be remembered in any linguistic study of the codex. The external appearance of the manuscript on the other hand, the size of the codex, the writing materials used and the palaeography are clearly a unity and can be treated as such. A linguistic study must concern each single text in the codex separately and consequently belongs rightly to a critical edition of the single texts.

Therefore the following observations concern only the text which is translated and textually criticised below, i. e. the Apocryphon of John. This text runs from the top of Pl. 47 to line 9 of Pl. 80 in the photographic edition published by the Coptic Museum. The question of whether the text is a translation from the Greek and the problem of the many Greek loan words it contains will be dealt with in a later section of this study, where the relation between this version of the Apocryphon of John and other versions of the same text will be discussed.

The language of the Apocryphon of John is Sahidic. It is, however, a Sahidic which differs considerably from classical Sahidic, or pure Sahidic, and shows signs of connection with other dialects as well as having a number of linguistic forms hitherto unknown. Before giving any definite opinion on this question it will be most useful to list these divergences. A list is given below, with references to those dialects to which the divergences would seem to belong. These references may appear summary, but this is unavoidable if they are to be of any practical use¹.

¹ We use in the following the same abbreviations for the dialects as W. E. Crum's *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1929-1939. This work is also consulted as the main source for the dialectal determination of the words.

A- prep A A₂ O (for S ε-): 55,27 57,6 57,19 58,4 58,17 59,6 60,10 61,30 61,33 62,1 62,10 62,11¹ 62,32 62,34 67,9 67,15 (67,30?) 68,8 68,32 70,7 bis 70,9 70,18 70,30 71,4 71,13 71,32 72,4 72,26 73,3 75,3 75,8 75,13 76,13(?) 76,14 76,17 76,20 76,35 77,7 77,11 77,20 77,25 77,24 79,15 79,26.— Achmimic **APA**≠ is not used in this text; it uses only the Sahidic **εPO**≠ or **PO**≠.

AMEINE 2d pl imper A (for S **AMHEITN**) 63,2.

APε- NA pref 2 fut, nom. subj. A B (for S A₂ **εPE-** NA) 63,4.

ATTEKO A A₂ S^a (for S **ΑΤΤΑΚΟ**) 48,28.—**ΜΝΤΕΤΤΕΚΟ** 54,7.—**ΠΤΕΚΟ** 70,14.—**ΤΕΚΟ** 78,31.

A2- perf pref A₂ (for S **A-**) 54,20(?) 55,3².—**ΕΝΤΑ2-** 60,35 75,22. **ΝΤΑ2-** 69,13 79,15 (see **ΕΤΑ2-**).

ΑΧΝ- prep (without) S A (for S **ΕΧΝ-**) 57,29 58,5.—**ΑΧΝΤ**≠ 74,14.

ΑΧΝ- prep (above) S S^a A A₂ (for S **ΕΧΝ-**) 55,24 56,35 57,12 57,15 59,6 66,10 68,11 70,21 70,26 72,34 74,13 76,32. (—**ΕΧΝ-** 56,10 56,13 56,17 59,5 67,20 68,13 72,22 72,23 72,33 73,20 76,33 77,1 77,15 78,28).—**ΑΧΩ**≠ 60,5 (**ΕΧΩ**≠ 59,7 74,10 74,21 77,29).

ΕΜΝΤΕ nn m, A A₂ (for S **ΑΜΝΤΕ**) 78,26 79,1 (S **ΑΜΝΤΕ** 70,1).

ΕΜΑ2ΤΕ vb, A₂ (for S **ΑΜΑ2ΤΕ** 58,24 73,33 76,11 (S **ΑΜΑ2ΤΕ** 76,8).

ΕΤΑ- rel pref 1 perf B A F (S A₂) (for S **ΝΤΑ-**) 58,23.

ΕΤΑ2- rel pref 1 perf² A (for S **ΝΤΑ-**) 55,3 58,20 68,4 68,31 70,36 71,21 77,24 (see **A2-**).

ΕΨΠΕ conj (if) A₂, (for S **ΕΨΧΕ**) 67,8.

ΕΙΕΒΕ nn m, probably A A₂ (for S **ΕΙΕΙΒ**) 64,11 (S **ΕΙΕΙΒ** 65,6).

ΚΕΕC nn m S A (for S **ΚΑC**) 64,19 (S **ΚΑC** 63,15;—**ΚΑΑC** 71,10).

ΜΟ part A (for S **ΜΜΑΥ**) 76,21 (S **ΕΤΜΜΑΥ** 71,5).

ΜΜΕ vb A A₂ (for S **ΕΙΜΕ**) 52,16 68,26 72,13.—**ΜΜΕ** A 55,27 61,1 61,33 71,32 72,35 78,3.—**ΜΜΕ** ε 67,9.—**ΜΜΕ** χε (know that) 61,34 62,18 67,27 68,5 70,15 71,35 74,33 75,5.

ΜΜΑΝ negation A A₂ (for S **ΜΜΟΝ**) 61,21.

ΜΑΡε- neg pref pres cons A A₂ (for S **ΜΕΡε**) 74,18.

ΜΑΙΤ nn m (path) F, cf. **ΜΑΕΙΤ** S^a A A₂ (for S **ΜΟΕΙΤ**) 68,23 68,24 78,24.

ΜΑ2- pref of ordinals S (archaic)³ A A₂ B F (for S **ΜΕ2**) 56,12 56,16 57,12 57,13 57,14 57,16 62,12 78,32 (S **ΜΕ2** passim).

ΝΑΥ pref impf A B (for S A₂ **ΝΕΥ-**) 61,28.

ΝΜΜΑ≠ prep (dat) A (for S **ΝΜΜΟ**≠) 68,20—**ΜΜΑ**≠ 68,22.

ΝΝΟΥ- neg 3 fut A₂ (for S **ΝΝΕΥ-**)⁴ 68,26 70,27 bis 73,8.

ΝΤΑΥ 3d sg pron pers A A₂ F (for S **ΝΤΟΥ**) 61,2 (S passim).

¹ Cf. W. C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1955, § 337.

² Cf. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 52, p. 112 f.

³ W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford 1929–1939, p. 210 a.

⁴ A₂ (Gospel of John); **ΝΟΥ-**; A (Acta Pauli) **ΕΝΟΥ-**; S B **ΝΝΕΥ-**; B **ΝΝΟΥ-**; cf. W. C. Till, *Achmimisch-Koptische Grammatik*. Leipzig 1928, p. 158.

- NA2** = vb stat pron refl. A S^a (for S **NA2**) 57,8 75,13.
NA2PE = prep A (for S **NA2PA**) 60,2.
PIN nn m (name) S (for usual S **PAN**, passim) 59,26.
CMAT nn f A A₂ F (for S **CMOT**) 48,4 61,1 71,27 75,35 (S **CMOT** 52,22 58,4).
CNO num A (for S **CNAY**) 57,13 (S **CNAY** passim).
C2IAME nn f pl A A₂ (for S **C2IOME**) 78,7.
TĀGA = vb stat pron A A₂ (for S **TAA60**) 73,14.
TĀNA = vb stat pron A A₂ (for S **TĀNOYT**) 73,3.
TCEBO vb S^a A (for S **TCABO**): **TCEBO** **ĪMA4** 68,22 (S **TCABO** **ĪMO4** 68,23).—A A₂
TCEBA = 71,30.—**TCEBE** = 70,11 (cf. BG 87,14 og 123,10)—**TCABΩ** = 69,26.
OYΩΨBE vb A (for S A₂ **OYΩΨB**) 73,18.
OY2A = vb stat pron A (for S **OYA2**) 79,15 (S **OYA2** = 55,9 75,18 78,1).
Ω6BE nn m A (for S **Ω6BEC**) 66,10.
ΨΠΩΠ nn m A (S not testified) 69,24.
2NΩ2E nn f (fear) A (for S **2OTE**) 66,18; 66,30: **NΩ2E**.—**Ī 2NΩ2E** 72,4¹.
2ĪTE nn f (fear) S^a A₂ (only testified in S^a A₂)² 76,26.
2ETE nn pl (hearts) A A₂ (for S **2HT**) 70,27 78,9.
2A4 nn m A A₂ F (for S **2O4**) 70,10 (S **2O4** 70,12).
6BOYP adj A₂ (for S **2BOYP**) 63,33 63,35 64,6 64,7 64,8 64,9 64,11 64,13 64,14
64,17 64,29 64,32 64,34 64,35 65,1 65,3 65,5 65,12 65,13 65,14 65,16
65,17 65,19 65,21 65,23 65,24 65,26 65,28.
6ΛATE nn m A₂ (for S **6ΛOT**) 64,23 64,32 (S **6ΛOT** 64,33).
6AM nn f A A₂ F (for S **6OM**) 59,9. 68,2–3 79,25 (S **6OM** passim).
6AYAN nn (slave) S^a S^f A₂ F (for S **6AYON**) 78,5.
6AΨT vb qual A₂ (for S **6OΨT**) 73,35 (S **6OΨT** 52,19).

To this list can also be added possessiva as **TOY-** B A A₂ (for S **TEY-**) 69,21; **POY-** B A A₂ (for S **PEY-**) 69,22 69,23 69,24 69,29 or **NOY-** A A₂ (for S **NEY-**) 69,1 69,22 and 69,28.

We have characterized the language of Apocryphon Johannis in Codex II as Sahidic, but a Sahidic with dialectical elements. A comparison of the index of the Coptic words of the edited text with the list of dialectical deviations gives proof of this characteristic. What kind of dialectical elements is then found in the text besides the Sahidic? The dialectal peculiarities which we have listed summarily above point in the vast majority of cases only to Achmimic or Subachmimic, in a few cases to Fayumic or Bohairic. It is remarkable that this text includes words which hitherto only are found in Achmimic and Subachmimic just as the text also includes words of Achmimic or Subachmimic origin whose Sahidic equivalent not is found in this text. Nearly all the listed forms are especially characteristic for Subachmimic texts and to a certain extent for Achmi-

¹ W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1929-1939, p. 693 a; cf. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 68, p. 57.

² W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 704 b.

mic texts thus that Apocryphon Johannis in Codex II has almost the same linguistic character as the parallel text in Papyrus Berolinensis 8502.

In Codex II's Apocryphon Johannis some forms are also found which either never or only rarely have been testified before. In C II 63,19 and 64,19 we have the word **ATKAC** which until now in Sahidic only has been known in one text, viz. BG 49,17; the Sahidic form is **AA TKAC**. Also the form **ΧΩΝῘ** (nn m, unity, union) which we have in C II 57,33 and 63,27 (bis) is rare; the form is until now only testified once in this sense, namely in a text from the Epiphanius-Monastery (Ep App I, 83); the usual form is **ΨΩΝῘ**.

We are also here able to establish a list of new forms:

BAΛΛΕ nn m (eye) 58,9 (usually **BAΛ** 63,32 63,33) (perhaps for **BAΛ ΔΕ?**)

HNE nn m (ape) 59,33 (usually **HN**).

ΚΩΤΤ nn f (fire) 69,6 (usually maskulinum as 58,10 58,25 59,8 59,34 60,5).

ΜΟΥΨ vb (mix) 60,11 76,18 (usually **ΜΟΥΧ**).

ΨHC 74,27 74,36 75,33 77,24 78,11; probably qualitative of **ΨΩΨ** (make equal)¹ for **ΨHΨ** (not testified before in this sense but cf. Crum's Dictionary, p. 325 b).

ΨΩ 69,2, probably variant of **ΤΩΩ**² (= προσκολλάω) and not testified before in this sense.

ΧΟΥΣΕ nn (hair) 63,23; not testified before, probably = S **ΧΩ**, A **ΧΟΥΕ**.

ΖΒΒΡΗ 58,10 (A **ΖΒΡΗ**).

ΖΟΛΠΕ nn f (navel) 64,15 (for usual **Ζ(Ε)ΛΠΕ**).

ΖΟ 66,4; probably = **Α** 66,3, **ΑΤ** 66,3; or **Ο** 66,3⁴ is probably confused with **Ω** 66,10, which is found in 66,10.

ΖΙΒΕ nn f (palate) 64,12 64,13 65,15 bis; is—doubtfully—testified once before as variant of **ΚΗΠΕ**⁵ and there plural, here singular.

The dialectal peculiarities which we have listed somewhat summarily above, but which we will discuss more thoroughly in going through the individual lines of the text, serve to give us an overall impression of the text as a whole. And, as previously stated, this impression is that while the text is Sahidic there are strong dialect elements in it. These elements indicate that the text is native to the northern part of the area in which Sahidic was spoken. It is generally accepted that Sahidic was the dialect of Upper Egypt, but we must here take into consideration that Sahidic was not confined within a static area; while the northernmost dialect, Bohairic, and the dialect of the oasis Fayum remained more or

¹ Cf. BG 68,6–7 68,18 and 71,4: **ΠῚΑ ANTIMIMON**.

² Cf. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1929–1939, p. 464 a.

³ Cf. Crum's Dictionary, p. 26 a.

⁴ Cf. Crum's Dictionary, p. 540 a.

⁵ H. I. Bell & W. E. Crum, *Greek-Coptic Glossary*, Aegyptus, VI, 179; 387.

less static, there were originally, between the Fayumic and the Sahidic areas, certain regions where two further dialects were prevalent, namely Achmimic (around Achmim) and Subachmimic (mainly around Asyut). These two dialects, which have left important monuments in Coptic literature, soon had to give way to Sahidic in literature, so that they have only continued to be written until some time in the fifth century. This meant that Sahidic penetrated further north. And this fact becomes important when we also from a linguistic point of view seek to determine Codex II's Apocryphon Johannis more exactly.

The dialectal elements found in the text are elements that are otherwise found in Achmimic, Subachmimic or Fayumic texts. Here, however, only Subachmimic comes into the picture, since none of the special characteristics of respectively Achmimic and Fayumic, namely the letter \mathfrak{z} and lambdacism, occur here. It is obvious from the translator's (that the text is a translation from the Greek we shall see elsewhere) vacillation between Subachmimic and Sahidic forms of the same word that he has not only known the Sahidic language, which he mainly uses, but has also been familiar with Sub-Achmidic, in fact, these can best be understood as forms used by the translator in his everyday speech which have manifested themselves also in his written work. In addition hereto comes the consistent use of purely Subachmimic forms which occurs in certain words (e.g. \mathfrak{GBOYP} or $\text{neg } 3 \text{ fut } \mathfrak{NNOY-}$), which seem to indicate that the translator has considered the forms in question to be the only correct ones. The translator would not have come to this conclusion in the middle of the area in which Sahidic was spoken, but only in a border area between the dialects, or in an area into which Sahidic had infiltrated at the expense of Subachmimic. Now, a translator may very well have carried out his work in another area than his native district, and we may also quite well suppose that a manuscript such as the Apocryphon Johannis has been found in another district than that where it was translated and can therefore only cautiously apply a linguistic method of identification to determine the home of the Coptic version; but bearing in mind these reservations we must admit that the linguistic peculiarities only testify in favour of the text having actually been written in the area around that place at Nag Hammadi which is stated to be the finding place, though also the area slightly to the north thereof would fit.

We may thereupon ask whether we, from the linguistic peculiarities, can say anything about the making of the present version? In connection with this we may say that a text may very well be a faithful reproduction of the language of bygone days, so that it is difficult from the linguistic criteria we possess to make any pronouncement concerning the making of the present version. We must here abide by the palaeographic determination we have carried out in the foregoing, but we can at the same time state that the linguistic peculiarities speak only in favour of the correctness of this determination; for there are several archaic forms in the Sahidic used (e.g. the prefix $\mathfrak{MA2-}$) which here indicate a time prior to the era to which we, by palaeographic means, felt we could ascribe

the text, namely the period from 330–340, or, in a broader sense, the first half of the fourth century. This archaic air gives us reason to believe that the palaeographic determination is correct. A careful evaluation of the linguistic evidence, which would tend rather to date the language to the period prior to 330–340, is necessary; for we must take into consideration, as stated above, that the text with regard to language may have been a faithful rendition of the language of an earlier day, and since we will see in going through the text in detail that the text has had a Coptic source, there is every reason to include the possibility that the language is that of a bygone era in our considerations, while of course also the conservative character of the language of literature should be taken into consideration.

Taking all of the above-mentioned circumstances into consideration, we then come to the conclusion that the linguistic peculiarities of our text serve only to indicate the correctness of the palaeographic determination of this text when we date the text in its present form to the period from 330–340, and in a broader sense to the first half of the fourth century.

Text and Translation

Pl. 47

- 1 ΤΕΣΒΟΟ[Υ ΝΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ ΝΤΑΙῚ ὩΛ]Π Ε
 ΒΟΛ [ῼΜΜΟС 2ῼ ΝΨΑΧΕ Ε]ΤΖΗΠ 2ῼ ΟΥ
 ΜΝΤΚΑΡΩΥ [ΑΥΩ ΠῚῚ] ΑΥΤΣΕΒΟΟΥ
 ΑῚΩ2ΑΝΝ[ΗС ΑΥΩ ῚΩ2ΑΝ]ΝΗС ΑΥ[ῚΑ2ΟΥ
 5 ΑСΨΩΠΕ [ΔΕ ῼ]ΟΥ[Α ῼΝΕΙ2Ο]ΟΥ ΝΤΑΡΕЧΕΙ Ε2
 ΡΑῚ ῼῖ ῚΩ[2ΑΝΝ]ΗС [ΠСОН] ῼῚΑΚΩΒΟС ΕΤΕ
 ΝΑῚ ΝΕ ῼΨΗ[ΡΕ ῼ]ΖΕ[ΒΕΔ]ΑῚΟС ΑЧΕΙ Ε2ΡΑῚ Ε
 ΠΕΡΠΕ ΑЧ+ ΠΕΥ[ΟΥΟ]ΕῚ ΕΡΟΥ ῼῖ ΟΥ[ΦΑΡΙ
 СΑῚΟС ΕΠΕЧРАН [ΠΕ] ΑΡΙΜΑΝῚΟС Α[ΥΩ
 10 ΠΕΧΑЧ ΝΑЧ ΧΕ Ε[ЧΤΩ]Ν ΠΕΚСА2 ПАῚ[ΕΝΕ
 ΚΟΥΗ2 ῼСΩΥ ΑΥΩ [ΠΕΧΑЧ ΝΑЧ ΧΕ ΠМА ῼ
 ΤΑЧΕΙ ῼ2ΗΤЧ ΑЧВ[ΩК ОН ΕΡΟΥ ΠΕΧΑЧ ΝΑЧ
 ῼΧΕ ΠΕΦΑΡΙСАῚΟ[С ΧΕ 2ῼ ΟΥΠΛΑΝΗ АЧ
 ΠЛАНА ῼМΩТН ῼ[ῖ ΠΙΝΑΖΩΡΑῚΟС
 15 ΑΥΩ ΑЧМА[
 ΑΥΩ АЧТΩМ [ῼΝΕΤῼ2ΗТ ΑΥΩ АЧКТЕ ТΗΥТῼ Ε
 ΒΟΛ [2ῼ] ΜΠΑРАΔ[ОСῚС ῼΝΕΤῼΕῚΟТЕ ῼТАΡΙ
 СΩ[Тῼ] ΕΝΑῚ ΑΝ[ОК ΑΙΚΟТ
 ΕΒΟ[Λ 2]ῼ ΠΕΡ[ΠΕ ΕΠΤООУ
 20 ΑΥ]Ω ΝΤΑῚῚΡΛ[Υ]Π[ΕῚ
 ῼММОС
 ΑΥΩ ΧΕ ΕТВ[Ε ΟΥ ΑΥТῼΝНОУЧ ΕΠКОСМОС
 ΕΒΟ]Λ 2ῚТῼ [ΠΕЧΕῚΩТ ΑΥΩ ΝῚМ ΠΕ ΠΕЧ
 ΕῚΩ]Т ΕТА[ЧТῼННОУЧ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΑΨ ῼ2Ε
 25 ΠΕ ΠΑῚΩΝ Ε[ТῼММАУ ΕῚῼΒΩК ΕΡΟΥ ΕТВЕ
 ΟΥ ΓАР ΕЧΨ[ΑΧΕ ΝΑΝ ῼММОС
 ΧΕ ΠΑῚΑῚΩΝ Ε[ТТАКО АЧХῚ ΠЕТУ
 ПОС ῼΠΑῚΩΝ [ῼАТТАКО ΑΥΩ ῼΠЕЧТСЕ
 ВОН ΕТВ[Ε ΠЕТῼММАУ ΧΕ ΟΥΑΨ ῼМῚNE ΠΕ
 30 2ῼ ΤΟΥΝ[ΟΥ ΕΕῚМЕΕУЕ ΕΝΑῚ ΑМΠНУЕ ΟΥΩΝ ΑΥΩ
 ῼῚТЕ Α[ΠАС ΝСΩNT Ὶ ΟΥΟΕῚN 2
 ῼОУΟΕῚN [ῼῚТЕТА]КТ[ῚN ΕῚNA ΧῚN
 ῼΠῚТN ῼῚΠЕ ΑΥΩ АЧКῚМ [ῼῖ ΠКОСМОС

Pl. 47 is badly damaged and the conjectures are uncertain; cf. however BG 19,6–21,2.

Pl. 47,1–17 ≠ BG 19,6–20,3.

Pl. 47,17–29 ≠ BG 20,3–19.

Pl. 47,30–48,9 ≠ BG 20,19–21,13.

Pl. 47

- 1 The [secret] teaching [which Jesus revealed]
[with] secret [words] in
silence[. And the Saviour] taught them
to John [and John wrote them down.
- 5 But] it happened one [day] when
John had come up—[the brother] of James, these
are the sons of Ze[bed]ai—when he came up
to the temple a [phari]see (φαρισαῖος)
by name Arimanios came towards him [and
- 10 said to him: “[Where] is your master, he whom you
followed. And [he said to him: “To that place
from whence he came, he [went again.” To him said]
the pharisee (φαρισαῖος)[:]” Into error
this Nazoraian has] led you astray (πλανᾶν)
- 15 and he[.]
and he closed [your hearts and turned you]
from the tradition (παράδοσις) [of your fathers.” When I]
heard this, I [turned away]
from the temple [to the mountain. . .]
- 20 and I became distressed (λυπεῖσθαι)[. . .
. . .]it[.]
and why [was he sent to the world]
of [his father? And who is his]
father[who [sent him? And what is the nature]
- 25 of the aeon (αἰών) [to which we shall go?]
For (γάρ) why did he [say this to us:]
“This aeon (αἰών) [which is corruptible has received]
the type ([τύπος) [of the incorruptible] aeon (αἰών)” [but he did not]
teach us about [that of what kind it is.”]
- 30 Immediately [when I thought this the heavens were opened and]
the whole (ἅ[πας]) [creation shone]
with a light (ἄκτις) [which came]
from heaven, and [the world] trembled

- 1 A[ΝΟΚ ΑἶΡ̄ ΖΟΤΕ ΑΥΩ Αἶ]ΝΑΥ ΖΡΑἶ Ζ᾿
 ΠΟ[Υ]ΘΕΙ[Ν ΑΥΩ ΟΥΑΛΟΥ ΑΥΖΕ]ΡΑΤΥ ΝΑἶ
 ἸΤΑΡΙΝ[ΑΥ ΕΠΕΥΕΙΝΕ] ΕΥΟ ἸΘΕ ἸΟΥ
 ΝΟ6 ΑΥΩ ΝΑ[Ἰ]ΝΑΥ ΠΕΥ]CΜΑΤ ΕΥΟ ἸΘΕ
- 5 ΝΟΥΟΥΑ ἸΝΑΥ [ΕΥΟΥΩΝ2] ΠΑΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΑΥΩ ΝΕ ΟΥΝ Ο[ΥΜἸΤΟΥΑ Ἰ2]Α2 ἸΜΟΡΦΗ
 ΖΡΑἶ Ζ᾿ ΠΟΥ[ΘΕΙΝ Α]ΥΩ Ν[ΕCΜΑΤ]· ΝΑΥΟΥΟΝ2
 ΖΙΤἸ ΝΕΥΕΡ[ΗΥ Ζ᾿] ΠΟ[ΥΘΕΙ]Ν ΑΥΟ ἸΨΟ[Μ]
 Τ ἸΜΟΡΦΗ ΠΕ[ΧΑΥ] ΝΑἶ [ΧΕ] ἸΩ2ΑΝΝΗ· ἸΩ
- 10 [ΖΑΝ]ΝΗ ΕΤΒΕ [ΟΥ ΕΚΔΙ]CΤΑΖΕ Η ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ
 [ΕΚΡ̄]ΖΟΤΕ ἸΠΡ̄ ΟΥΨΜΜΟ Α+ΕΙΔΕΑ
 [ΕΤ]Ε ΤΑἶ[Ο]Ε Ἰ[ΠΡ̄ ΖΗΤ]ΨΗΜ' ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤ'
 ΨΟΟΠ ἸΜΗΤἸ ἸΟΥΘΕΨ ΝΙΜ' ΑΝΟΚ[ΠΕ]
 ΠΕΙΩΤ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ] ΤΜΑΑΥ · ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΨΗ[ΡΕ]
- 15 ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΙΑΤΤ]ΩΛΜ' ΑΥΩ ΠΙΑΤΧΩ[Ζ᾿]
 ΑἶἸ ΕΟΥΩΝΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ] ΟΥ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ [ΑΥΩ]
 ΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΑΥΨΟΟΠ ΑΥΩ ΟΥ] ΠΕΤΨΕ Ε[
]ἸCΕ ΟΥ[
]Ε Π[
- 20]ΠΟ[Υ]ΟἶΝ ΟΥ[
]Α ΝΑἶ ΕΤ[]ΕΚΝΑ
]ἸΤ[Ε] ΠΙΤΕΛΙΟC
]ΟΥC ΧΕΚΑΑC Ε[
]ΝΑΕΙ ΧΕ ΤΜ[Ο]ΝΑC
- 25]ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΙΧΩC
]ΑΥΩ ἸΕΙΩΤ' ἸΠ'
]ΟC ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΙΧἸ
 ΠΤΗΡΥ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖἸ ἸἸ]ΤΑΤΤΕΚΟ ΕΤΨΟ
 ΟΠ Ζ᾿ ΠΟΥΟἶΝ ἸΤΒΒΟ]ΠΑἶ ΕΤΕ ἸἸ
- 30 ΛΑΑΥ ἸΟΥΟἶΝ ἸΒΑΛ ΕΨ 6ΩΨ]Τ ἸCΩΥ [Ἰ
]Ν ἸCΨΕ ΑΝ
 ΕΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟ]Υ ἸΘΕ Ν[ΝΟ]ΥΤΕ Η ΧΕ ΕΥΟ
 Ἰ+ΜΙΝΕ] ἸΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΟΥ2ΟΥΟ ΑΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΠΕ ἸἸ ΛΑΑΥ] ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΙΧΩΥ' ἸἸ ΛΑΑΥ ΓΑΡ

Pl. 48 is badly damaged and conjectures are only acceptable in the lines 1–17 and 32–34;
 cf. BG 21,2–23,7.

Pl. 48,9–24 ≠ BG 21,13–22,17.

Pl. 48,24–52,21 ≠ BG 22,17–26,15.

Pl. 48

- 1 [I was afraid and I] saw in
the light [and a child] stood in front of me;
I saw [its image] which was like
that of an old man, and I [saw its] figure which was like
- 5 a unity to see, [revealing itself] for me,
and there was a [unity of] many forms (μορφή)
in the light. [And the forms] were revealed
through each other [in] the light. It had three
forms (μορφή). [It said to me: “]John, John,
- 10 why do you doubt (διστάζειν), or (ἤ) why
do you fear? Do not be a stranger to this form (εἰδέα)
which is so. Do not be dismayed! I am the one
[who is with you] always. I am
[the father. I am] the mother. I am the son.
- 15 [I am the] undefiled and the unpolluted.
[I have come to reveal] that which is, and
that which has been and that which will be
so that . .
. .
- 20 . .]light(?)
]those who
]the perfect (τέλειος)
]in order that
]to me: “The unity (μονάς)
- 25]which is over
]and father of
]which is over
[the all; this which exists in] incorruptibility which is
[in the pure light], that which no
- 30 [sight can look] after
]may not
imagine] him as God or (ἤ) that he is of
that kind,] because (γάρ) he is more excellent than God.
[Nobody] is above him, because (γάρ) nobody

- 1 Ο ΝΧΟΕΙC [ΕΞΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΥ ΕΥΟ Α]Ν ΖΝ̄ Λ[ΑΑ]Υ
 ΝΣΩΧ[Β ΜΝ̄ ΛΑΑΥ ΓΑΡ ΨΟ]ΟΠ' ΝΖΗΤΥ
 ΟΥΑΑΤ[Υ ΥΨΤΑ ΩΝΖ ΑΝ ΟΥΑΙΩΝ Π]Ε ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ
 ΥΡ̄ ΧΡΕ[ΙΑ ΝΛΑΑΥ ΑΝ ΝΤΟΥ ΓΑ]Ρ ΟΥΧΩΚ ΤΗΡΥ'
- 5 ΠΕ ΜΠΕ[ΥΨΤΑ ΡΩ ΝΛΑΑΥ ΧΕ]ΚΑΑC ΕΥΝΑ
 ΧΩΚ' ΝΖΗ[ΤΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΟΥΟΕ[ΙΨ ΝΙΜ ΕΥΧΗΚ
 ΤΗΡΥ' ΖΝ̄[ΟΥΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΑΤΤΟ]ΨΥ ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΧΕ ΜΝ̄ ΠΕ[ΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΑ ΤΕΥΖΗ] ΕΥΤ ΤΩΨ ΕΡΟΥ
 ΟΥΑΤΖΕΠ [ΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ Μ]Ν̄ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ
- 10 ΖΑ ΤΕΥΖΗ[
 ΧΕ ΜΠΕΛΑ[ΑΥ
 ΕΡΟΥ ΟΥΑ[
 ΛΑΑΥ ΝΑΥ ΕΡ[
 ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΟΥ[
- 15 ΠΕ ΛΑΑΥ ΨΤΕ[
 ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟΥ Π[
 ΑΤΡΕΥΤ ΡΑΝ[
 ΠΕ ΕΥΤΒΒΗ[Υ
 ΨΑ[Χ]Ε ΕΡΟΥ Π[
- 20 ΤΕΛ[ΕΙΟ]C ΝΟΥ[
 ΟΥΜΝΤΜΑΚ[
 ΝΟΥΤΕ Α[
 ΜΑΤΙΚΟC ΑΝ[
 ΟΥΝΟC ΑΝ Π[
- 25 ΘΕ ΝΧΟΟC[
 ΜΝ̄ CΟΜ ΓΑ[Ρ
 ΛΑΑΥ ΑΝ Π[
 ΝΖΟΥΟ ΖΩ[
 ΤΕ ΠΩΥ' ΕΥΜ[
- 30 ΖΝ̄ ΧΡΟΝΟC Π[
 ΠΑΪ ΤΑΥ[
 ΖΝ̄ ΟΥΧΡΟ[ΝΟC
 ΜΑΥΧΙ Α[Ν
 ΨΙΠ ΠΕ Υ[
- 35 ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕΚ[ΑΑC] ΕΥΝΑΧΙ Ε[
 ΠΑΪ ΓΑΡ ΕΥΕΙΟΡΜ̄ ΝCΩΥ Ο[ΥΑΑΤΥ ΖΜ̄]

Pl. 51 and Pl. 50 are placed in wrong order in the photographic edition of the papyrus; they are parts of the same page and they must follow after Pl. 48. Cf. the comments to this part of the text.

1-36 are all badly damaged; only in line 1-9 are longer conjectures acceptable; cf. BG 23,7-25,12 and C III 5,1-6,4.

Pl. 51 + Pl. 50

- 1 reigns [over him. He is not] in
 want [, for nothing] was before him
 alone[; he does not lack life; he is eternal,
 he lacks (χρεῖα) [nothing] because (γάρ) [he] is completely perfect;
- 5 he has no [lack] so that he has to be
 perfected in it, [but] at all times he is absolutely perfect
 in [perfection.] He is illimited because
 there was nobody [before him] which can set bounds for him;
 he can not be judged [for there was nobody]
- 10 before him[
 for no one[
 him[
 none, see him[
 eternal[
- 15 none[
 name to him[
 give him a name[
 who is pure[
 say it[
- 20 perfect (τέλειος)[
 blessedness (μακάριος) (?)
 not god[
 not bodily (σωματικός)[
 not great[
- 25 thus[
 for (γάρ) without power[
 none[
 more than[
 his own[
- 30 in time (χρόνος)[
 this[
 in time (χρόνος)[
 he does not take[
 measure[
- 35 him in order that he shall take[
 because (γάρ) he stared after him [self in]

- 1 Π[Ε]ΟΥΘΕΙΝ [ΠΑΪ ΕΤΤΒΒΗΥ] ΟΥΜΕΓΕ
 ΘΟΣ ΠΕ ΟΥΝ[ΤΑΥ ΟΥΨΙ ΔΕ ΕΥ]ΑΤΨΙΤΥ'
 ΠΕ ΟΥΑΙΩ[Ν ΠΕ ΕΥ+ ΝΟΥΑΙΩΝ] ΟΥΩΝ2
 ΠΕ ΕΥ+ ΝΟ[ΥΩΝ2 ΟΥΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ Π]Ε ΕΥ+
- 5 ΝΟΥΜΝΤ[ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΟΥΓΝΩΣ]ΙΣ ΠΕ ΕΥ
 + ΝΟΥΣΟΟΥ[Ν ΟΥΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΠΕ ΕΥ]+ ΝΟΥΜΝΤ
 ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΟΥ[ΝΑ ΠΕ ΕΥ+ Ν]Α ΜΝ ΟΥΣΩΤΕ
 ΟΥΧΑΡΙΣ ΠΕ Ε[Υ+ ΧΑΡΙΣ ΟΥΧ]2ΟΤΙ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ
 Τ[ΑΥ] ΑΛΛΑ[ΧΕ Υ+ ΟΥΝΑ]Ε ΝΑΤΨΙΤΥ' Ν
- 10]ΕΤΒΗΤΥ' ΠΕΥ
 C]6ΡΑ2Τ' ΑΥΩ ΕΥ'
]ΜΜΟΥ' ΕΥΟ Μ
]ΤΑΠΕ ΝΑΙΩΝ
]ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ 2ΡΑΪ 2Ν
- 15]Ν ΓΑΡ ΑΝ' ΑΝΟΝ' Α
]ΕΙΜΜΕ ΑΝ ΕΤ'
]Α2ΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ'
]ΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΪ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ
]ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΤ6ΟΥΤ' Ε
- 20]ΟΥΘΕΙΝ [ΕΤΚ]ΤΗΥ Ε
]ΜΟΥ Ν[Ω[Ν2 ΑΥΩ
]CΜΟΤ' ΝΙΜ' ΕΥ[ΕΙ
]ΑΥ ΕΡΟΣ 2ΡΑ[Ι
]ΟΥΩΨΕ 2Μ ΠΕΥ
- 25]ΤΠΗΓΗ ΝΤΕΠΜΟ
]ΤΗΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ
]2ΩΒ' ΑΥΩ ΑC6ΩΛΠ
]ΕΒΟΛ' ΜΠΕΥΜ
]ΠΕΥΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΤΑΪ ΤΕ
- 30]ΠΕ 2ΑΤΟΥΕ 2Η ΤΗ
]ΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΤΕ
]CΟΥΘΕΙΝ Ε
]ΟΥΘΕΙΝ Τ6ΟΜ
 [ΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒ]ΟΛ[ΕΤ]ΕΤΑ[Ι ΤΕ ΘΙ]ΚΩΝ ΜΠΙΑΤΝΑΥ
- 35 [ΕΡΟΥ ΜΠ]ΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΜΠ[Ν]Α ΕΥΧΗΚ' ΕΒΟΛ
 [ΠΑΙΩΝ] ΜΠΕΟΥ ΝΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ ΠΕΟΥ

Pl. 49 and Pl. 52 are parts of the same page, namely verso of Pl. 51 + Pl. 50. The conjectures to the lost text between the two parts are based on the text in BG 25,12 ff. and C III 6,4 ff. Long conjectures to Pl. 52,10-33 are too uncertain. Some letters must have gone lost since the photograph Pl. 52 was taken; the ms. had November 1957 in line 24 (Pl. 52,24) only]ΟΥΩΨΕ 2.[, and in line 25 (Pl. 52,25) only]ΤΠΗΓΗ .[

52,21-53,4 ≠ BG 26,15-27,17 ≠ C III 7,2-22.

Pl. 49 + Pl. 52

- 1 the light[which is pure]; he is a greatness (μέγεθος)
 [and he has a dimension which is] immeasurable;
 [he is an aeon (αἰών) because he gives eternity], he is life
 because he gives [life, he is blessed] because he yields
- 5 [blessedness], he is knowledge (γνώσις) because he
 yields knowledge, [he is good] because he yields
 goodness (ἀγαθός)[, he is charity because he yields charity] and salvation,
 he is mercy (χάρις) [because he yields mercy, not] because (οὐχ ὅτι) he
 has it but (ἀλλά)[because he yields an]immeasurable [mercy]
- 10]about him his
]quite and he is
]him being
]the head of aeon (αἰών)
]a strength in
- 15]for (γάρ) we, we
]not acknowledge
]revealed by
]for (γάρ) the father is
]for (γάρ) he sees
- 20]light which surrounded
]the water of life and
]of every kind, he
]saw it in
]will in
- 25]source (πηγή) of water
]him and
]thing and he revealed
]of his
]his light which
- 30]over the all(?)
]his thought which
]light
]light the power
- which is perfect, that is]the image (εἰκὼν) of the invisible
- 35 the] virginal (παρθενικός) perfect spirit (πνεῦμα),
 the aeon of] the glory, Barbelo, the glory

- 1 ΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒΟ[Λ] 2 \bar{N} ΝΑΙΩΝ [ΜΠ]ΕΟΥ ΜΠΟΥ
ΩΝ2 ΕΒΟ[Λ 2 \bar{M} Π]ΕΟ[Ο]Υ ΜΠ[Π]ΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ
ΜΠ $\bar{N}\bar{A}$ ΑΥΩ ΕC† ΕΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΕΤΒΗΤΥ'
ΑCΟΥΩΝ[2 Ε]ΒΟΛ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΠΩΟΡΠ ΜΜΕΕΥΕ
- 5 ΝΤΕΥΖΙΚΩ[Ν] ΑCΩΩΠΕ ΜΜΗΤΡΑ ΜΠΤΗΡΥ
ΧΕ ΝΤΟC [ΕCΟ] ΝΩΟΡΠ ΕΡΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ . Τ $\bar{M}\bar{H}$
Τ $\bar{P}\bar{O}$ ΠΑΤΩ[Ρ] ΠΩΟΡΠ · ΝΡΩΜΕ Π $\bar{N}\bar{A}$ ΕΤΟΥ
ΑΑΒ · ΠΩΟ[Μ]Τ Ε2ΟΥΤ ΤΩΟΜΤΕ Ν6ΟΜ
ΠΩΟΜΤ ΝΡΑΝ ΝΦ[ΟΟ]ΥΤC2ΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΑΙ
- 10 ΩΝ ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕ2 2 \bar{N} ΝΑΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ [ΑΥΩ]
ΠΩΟΡΠ ΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥ[ΑΙ]ΤΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜ
ΠΑ2ΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΜΠ $\bar{N}\bar{A}$
ΕΤΕ Β $\bar{A}\bar{P}\bar{B}\bar{H}\bar{\Lambda}$ ΤΕ Ε† ΝΑC ΝΟΥΠ[ΡΟΓ]Ν[Ω]
CΙC ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΙΩΡΜ Ν6[Ι] Π $\bar{N}\bar{A}$ ΝΤ[ΟC
- 15 ΔΕ ΑC6ΩΛΠ ΕΒΟ[Λ Ν]6Ι ΤΠΡΟΓΝΩCΙ[C ΑΥ
Ω ΑCΑ2ΕΡΑΤΥ Μ \bar{N} [ΤΠ]ΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΤΑΪ ΟΥΕ[Ι
ΤΕ 2 \bar{M} ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΙΑΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ Μ[ΠΠΑΡ
ΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΜΠ $\bar{N}\bar{A}$ ΕC† Ε]Ο[ΟΥ] ΝΑΥ Α[ΥΩ
ΤΕΥ6ΟΜ ΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒΟ[Λ Τ $\bar{B}\bar{A}\bar{P}\bar{B}\bar{H}\bar{\Lambda}$ Χ[Ε Ν
- 20 ΤΑ[C]ΩΠΕ Ε[ΤΒΗΤ]C Α[ΥΩ Ο]Ν ΑCΑΙΤΕ[Ι
ΕΤ \bar{N} ΝΑC Ν[ΟΥΜΝΤΑΤΤΕΚΟ ΑΥ]Ω ΑΥΕ[Ι
ΩΡΜ 2 \bar{M} ΠΤΡ[ΕΥΕΙΩΡΜ ΑC6ΩΛΠ] ΕΒΟΛ
Ν6Ι ΤΜ \bar{N} ΤΑΤ[ΤΕΚΟ ΑΥΩ ΑCΑ2ΕΡΑ]ΤC Μ \bar{N}
ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΥ[Ω Τ]ΠΡΟ[ΓΝ]ΩC[ΙC ΕC]† ΕΟΥ
- 25 ΜΠΙΑΤΝΑΥ ΕΡ[ΟΥ] Μ \bar{N} ΤΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ ΤΑΙ Ε[Ν
ΤΑΥΩΠΕ ΕΤ[ΒΗΤ]C ΑΥΩ ΑCΑΙΤΕΙ [Ν]6Ι ΤΒΑΡ
ΒΗΛΩ ΕΤ \bar{N} Ν[Α]C ΝΟΥΩ[Ν2 ΨΑ Ε]ΝΕ2 ΑΥΩ
ΑΥΕΙΩΡΜ' Ν6Ι Π[Α2]ΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠ $\bar{N}\bar{A}$ ΑΥΩ
2 \bar{M} ΠΤΡΕΥΕΙΩΡΜ [Α]Υ6ΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ Ν6Ι ΠΩΝ2
- 30 ΨΑ ΕΝΕ2 ΑΥΩ Α[ΥΑ2ΕΡΑΤΟΥ Ε]Υ† ΕΟΥ
ΜΠΑ2ΟΡΑΤΟΝ [ΜΠ $\bar{N}\bar{A}$ Μ \bar{N} ΤΒΑ]ΡΒΗΛΩ ΤΑΪ
ΕΝΤΑΥΩΠΕ Ε[ΤΒΗΤC] ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΑCΑΙΤΕ[Ι
ΕΤ \bar{N} ΝΑC ΝΤ[ΜΗΕ Α]ΥΩ [ΑΥ]ΕΙΩΡΜ Ν6Ι ΠΑ2[Ο
ΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠ $\bar{N}\bar{A}$ ΑC6ΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ Ν6Ι ΤΜΗΕ
- 35 ΑΥΩ ΑΥΑ2ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΑΥ† ΕΟΥ ΜΠΑ2ΟΡΑ[ΤΟΝ

4 ΑCΟΥΩΝ[2, read ΑCΟΥΩΝ[2.

53,4-11 ≠ BG 27,17-28,4 ≠ C III 7,22-8,5.

53,1-54,10 ≠ BG 28,5-29,18 ≠ C III 8,5-9,10.

Pl. 53

- 1 who was perfected through the aeons (αἰών) of glory by the
 revelation of [the] glory of the virginal (παρθενικός) spirit (πνεῦμα),
 and she praised him, for it was through him
 she was revealed. This is the first thought
- 5 of his image (εἰκών). She became the mother (μήτρα) of the all,
 for she existed before them all, the Metropator (μητροπάτωρ),
 the first man, the holy spirit (πνεῦμα),
 the three-fold man, the three-fold power,
 the three-fold name, the male-female and the eternal aeon (αἰών)
- 10 among the invisible ones. [And]
 the first appearance, which is Barbelo, beseeched (αἰτεῖν) him
 the invisible (ἄόρατος), virginal (παρθενικός) spirit (πνεῦμα)
 to give her a Prognosis (πρόγνωσις),
 and the spirit (πνεῦμα) granted it.
- 15 But (δέ) when Prognosis (πρόγνωσις) was revealed,
 she stood up with the Pronoia (πρόνοια)
 -who is one with the invisible, virginal (παρθενικός)
 spirit's (πνεῦμα) thought- and [praised] him and
 his perfect power, Barbelo, for [she]
- 20 came into existence [through her. Again] she beseeched (αἰτεῖν)
 (him) to grant her [incorruptibility], and he
 granted it. And by [his grant]
 the [incorruptibility] appeared [and stood up] together with
 the thought and the Prognosis (πρόγνωσις). [She] praised
- 25 the invisible and Barbelo, she
 [through] whom they came into existence, and Barbelo beseeched (αἰτεῖν)
 him to give her eternal life, and
 the invisible (ἄόρατος) spirit (πνεῦμα) granted it and
 by this his sanction the eternal life appeared,
- 30 and [they stood up and] praised
 the invisible (ἄόρατος) [spirit and Bar]belo, she
 through [whom] they had come into existence. And again she beseeched (αἰτεῖν)
 (him) to give her the [truth], and the invisible (ἄόρατος)
 spirit (πνεῦμα) granted it. The truth appeared
- 35 and they stood up and praised the invisible (ἄόρατος)

- 1 ΜΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΤΨΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΤΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ ΤΑΪ
 ΕΝΤΑΥΨΩΠ[Ε] ΕΤΒ[Η]Τ̄ ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΤΠΕΝΤΑΣ
 ΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΤΕΠΙΩΤ [Ε]ΤΕ Π[ΑΙ] ΠΕ ΠΨΟΡΠ
 ΝΡΩΜΕ ΘΙΚΩΝ Μ̄ΠΙΑΖΟΡ[ΑΤ]ΟC Μ̄Π̄Ν̄Α
- 5 ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΤΕ ΤΑΪ Τ[Ε Τ]Β̄ΑΡ̄Β̄Η̄Λ̄Ω
 ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Μ̄Ν ΤΠΡΟΓΝΩCΙC ΑΥΩ
 ΤΜ̄ΝΤΑΤΤΕΚΟ ΑΥΩ ΠΩΝ2 [Ψ]Α ΕΝΕ2 ·ΑΥΩ
 ΤΜΕ ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΤΠΕΝ[Τ]ΑC Ν̄[ΑΙ]ΩΝ Ν2ΟΟΥΤC2Ι
 ΜΕ ΕΤΕ ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΤΔ[ΕΚΑ]C Ν̄ΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ
- 10 ΠΕΙ]ΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΑΥ6ΩΨΤ Ε2ΟΥΝ 2̄Ν ΤΒ̄ΑΡ̄Β̄Η̄Λ̄Ω
 2̄Μ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ' Ε[Τ]Τ̄Β̄Β̄ΗΥ ΕΤΚΤΗΥ ΑΠΑ2ΟΡΑ
 Τ]ΟΝ Μ̄Π̄Ν̄Α Μ̄Ν [Π]ΕΥΠ̄ΡΡΕ ΑΥΩ ΑCΧΕ ΟΥΩ
 ΑΥΩ ΑΥ]ΧΠΟ ΝΟΥ+Κ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ' 2̄Ν ΟΥΟΕΙ
 Ν] ΜΜ̄ΝΤΜΑΚΑΡ[ΙΟC] ΝΕΙΝΕ ΕΥΨΗΨ ΔΕ
- 15 ΑΝ] 2̄Ν ΤΕΥΜ̄ΝΤΝ[Ο]6 ΠΑΪ ΝΕ ΟΥΨ̄Ρ ΟΥΩΤ
 ΝΤΕ] ΤΜΗΤΡΟΠΑΤ[Ω]Ρ ΕΑ4ΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΕ
 ΠΑΪ Π]Ε Π[ΕΥ]Χ[ΠΟ Ν]ΟΥΑΑΤΥ' ΠΨ̄Ρ ΟΥΩΤ' Ν
 ΤΕ Π]ΕΙΩ[Τ Μ̄ΠΟΥ]ΟΕΙΝ' ΕΤ̄Β̄Β̄ΗΥ· Α[Υ]ΤΕΛΗΛ
 Δ]Ε Ν̄ΓΙ ΠΑ[2ΟΡ]ΑΤΟΝ [Μ̄Π]ΑΡΘΕΝΙΚ[Ο]Ν Μ̄Π̄Ν̄[Α]
- 20 Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΧ[Μ̄ ΠΟΥ]Ο[ΕΙΝ Ν̄ΤΑ]2ΨΩΠΕ ΠΕΙ Α[ῩΡ
 ΨΡΠ [Ν̄ΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ 2̄Ν ΤΕ]ΨΟΡΠ Ν6[ΟΜ
 Ν̄ΤΗΥ' [ΕΤΕ ΤΕΥΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ] ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΤΒ̄ΑΡ̄Β̄Η̄Λ̄Ω
 ΑΥΩ Α[ΥΤ]Ω2C [Μ̄Μ]ΟΥ Ε[ΒΟ]Λ 2̄Ν +Μ̄ΝΤΧ̄Ρ̄C
 Ν2ΗΤΥ' ΨΑΝΤΕΥ' ΨΩ[ΠΕ] ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟC ΕΝΥΨΑ
- 25 ΑΤ Ν[Λ]ΑΑΥ ΑΝ Ν̄Μ̄ΝΤ[Χ̄Ρ̄C] ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΑΥΤΑ2CΥ'
 2ΡΑΪ 2̄Ν [ΤΕΥΜ̄ΝΤΧ̄Ρ̄C] Μ̄[Π]Α2ΟΡΑΤΟC Μ̄Π̄Ν̄Α ΑΥ
 Ω ΑΥΑ2ΕΡΑΤΥ' Μ̄ΠΕΥ[Μ]ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ' ΕΥΨΟΥΟ
 ΕΧΩΥ 2̄Ν [ΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΤ]ΟΥΑ[ΑΒ] ΝΤΑΡΕΥΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2Ι
 Τ̄Ν ΠΕ[Π̄Ν̄Α ΑΥ+ ΕΟ]ΟΥ Μ̄ΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ
- 30 ΑΥΩ ΤΕΠΡ[ΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΤΧ]ΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ 2ΙΤ̄Ν ΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α
 Α]Υ+ ΕΟΟΥ Μ̄ΠΕ[Π̄Ν̄Α Ε]ΤΟΥΑΑΒ · ΑΥΩ ΤΕΠΡΟ
 ΝΟΙΑ' ΕΤΧΗΚ' Ε[ΒΟ]Λ ΤΑ[Ῑ Ν]ΤΑΥ6ΩΛΠ' ΕΒΟΛ
 ΕΤΒΗΤ̄C ΑΥΩ ΑῩΡΑΙΤΕΙ ΕΤ̄Ν ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΨΒΡ
 Ρ 2ΩΒ ΕΤΕ ΠΝΟΥC ΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥ'ΕΙΩΡΜ' 2̄Μ
- 35 ΠΤΡ]ΕΥΕ[ΙΩΡΜ] ΔΕ Ν̄ΓΙ ΠΑ2ΟΡΑΤΟΝ Μ̄Π̄Ν̄Α

2 ΕΝΤΑΥΨΩΠ[Ε], the ms. has ΕΝΤΑΥCΨΩΠ[Ε] with Υ added above C, read ΕΝΤΑΥΨΩΠ[Ε].

54,25 ΑΝ: Α is placed above Ν in the ms.

54,10-55,4 ≠ BG 29,18-31,11 ≠ C III 9,10-10,15.

Pl. 54.

- 1 spirit (πνεῦμα) which you call Barbelo, she
 through whom they came into existence; this is
 the eternal (αἰών) pentad (πεντάς) of the father, he who is the first
 man, the image (εἰκών) of the invisible (ἀόρατος) spirit (πνεῦμα)
- 5 which is Pronoia (πρόνοια), she who is Barbelo
 and the thought and Prognosis (πρόγνωσις)
 the incorruptibility and the eternal life and
 the truth, this is the eternal (αἰών) androgynous pentad (πεντάς)
 which is the eternal (αἰών) decad (δεκάς) which is
- 10 the father. And he looked at Barbelo
 in the pure light which surrounds the invisible (ἀόρατος)
 spirit (πνεῦμα) and his spark, and she conceived
 [and he] brought forth a spark of light in
 the likeness of the blessed (μακάριος) light; but (δέ) this was
- 15 not equal with its greatness. This was the only son
 of the Metropator (μητροπάτωρ) who was revealed, [this] who
 is [his] only begotten, the only begotten son of
 the father of the pure light.
 And (δέ) the invisible (ἀόρατος), virginal (παρθενικός) spirit (πνεῦμα)
- 20 rejoiced over [the light] which had come into existence. This is the
 first [revealed of] his first power
 [which is his Pronoia] which is Barbelo.
 And [he] annointed him with the goodness (χρηστός)
 from himself until he became perfect (τέλειος) and lacked
- 25 nothing in [goodness], for he annointed him
 with [his], the invisible (ἀόρατος) spirit's (πνεῦμα) [goodness (χρηστός)].
 And he stood in front of him, and he poured
 something of the holy [spirit] out over him. When he had received
 this from the [spirit he] praised the holy spirit (πνεῦμα)
- 30 and Pronoia (πρόνοια) [who] was perfected through the spirit (πνεῦμα).
 He praised the holy [spirit] and Pronoia (πρόνοια)
 who was perfected, she for whose sake he had been revealed,
 and he asked (αἰτεῖν) (him) to give him a fellow-worker,
 that is Nus (νοῦς), and he granted it,
- 35 and (δέ) with the invisible (ἀόρατος) spirit's (πνεῦμα) [approval]

2 "they", the ms. has had "she", but it is in the ms. corrected to "they".

- 1 ΑΥΩΛΠ Ε[Β]ΟΛ Ν̄ΓΙ ΠΝΟΥΣ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΑΖΕ
ΕΡΑΤΥ' Μ̄Ν [Π]ΕΧΡ̄C ΕΥ+ ΕΟΥ ΝΑΥ · Μ̄Ν
ΤΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ ΝΑΪ ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΤΑΖΩΠΕ
Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΜ̄ΝΤΚΑΡΩΥ' ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΥΟΥ
5 ΩΨΕ ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΠΨΑΧΕ Μ̄ΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ Μ̄Π̄Ν̄Α
ΕΤΑΜΙΟ Ν̄ΟΥΖΩΒ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΥ'ΟΥΩΨ' ΑΥΩ
ΠΕ Ν̄ΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΩΛΠ' ΕΒΟΛ' Μ̄Ν
ΠΝΟΥΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΥ+ ΕΟΥ ΝΑΥ'
ΑΥΩ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΑΥΟ[ΥΑ]ΖΥ' Ν̄CΑ ΠΟΥΩΨΕ
10 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ Μ̄ΠΤΗΡΥ' Ν̄
ΓΙ ΠΕΧ̄C ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝ[Η]C Ν̄ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΩΝΖ
ΔΕ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ Ζ̄Μ ΠΕΥΟΥΩΨ ΑΥΩ ΠΝΟ[ΥC
Μ̄Ν ΤΠΡΟΓΝΩCΙC ΑΥΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΑΥ+ Ε[Ο
ΟΥ Μ̄ΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ Μ̄Π̄Ν̄Α Μ̄Ν ΤΒΑΡΒΗ[ΛΩ
15 ΧΕ ΕΤΒΗΤ̄C ΓΑΡ' ΑΥΩΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΧΩ[Κ]
ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΓΙ ΠΕΠ̄[Ν]̄Α ΕΤ'ΟΥΑΑΒ Μ̄ΠΑΥΤΟ
ΓΕΝΗΣ Ν̄ΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΥΨΗΡΕ Μ̄Ν ΤΒ̄ΑΡ̄Β̄Η[ΛΩ
ΑΤΡΕΥΑΖΕΡΑΤ̄ ΕΠΝΟ[C ΑΥ]Ω ΠΑΖΟ[ΡΑ
ΤΟΝ Μ̄ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ [Μ̄Π]̄Ν̄Α Μ̄ΠΑΥΤΟ
20 ΓΕΝΗΣ Ν̄ΝΟΥΤ[Ε Π]ΕΧ[C Π]ΑΕΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑ
ΕΙΟΥ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΝΟC Ν̄CΜΗ [ΑΥ]ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ
ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΤΠΡΟ[Ν Ο]ΙΑ ΑΥΩ [Α]ΥΚΩ Ν̄ΓΙ ΠΑΖ[Ο
ΡΑΤΟΝ ΠΠΑ[ΡΘ]ΕΝΙΚΟ[Ν] Μ̄Π̄Ν̄Α Μ̄ΠΑΥ
ΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ Ν̄ΝΟΥΤΕ Μ̄Μ[Ε] ΑΧ̄Μ ΠΤΗΡΥ'
25 ΑΥΩ ΑΥΡ̄ΖΥΠ[ΟΤΑ]CCE ΝΑΥ' Ν̄ΤΕΖΟΥCΙΑ
ΤΗΡ̄C ΑΥΩ ΤΜΕ ΤΑΪ ΕΤ[Ψ]ΟΟ[Π] Ν̄ΖΗΤΥ
ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΥΝΑ Μ̄ΜΕ ΑΠΤΗΡΥ' ΠΑΪ ΕΝ
ΤΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ Ν̄Ο[ΥΡΑΝ Ε]ΥΧΟCΕ Ε
ΡΑΝ ΝΙΜ' ΠΡΑΝ ΓΑΡ [ΠΕ ΕΤ]ΝΑΧΟΟΥ'
30 ΑΝΕΤ̄ΜΨΑ Μ̄ΜΟΥ [ΕΒΟΛ] ΓΑΡ Ζ̄Μ ΠΟΥΟ
ΕΙΝ ΕΤΑΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΠΕ[Χ]Ρ̄C ΑΥΩ ΤΜ̄ΝΤΑ
ΤΕΚΟ ΖΙΤ̄Ν Π+ Μ̄Π[ΕΠ]̄Ν̄Α Μ̄ΠΙΥΤΟΥ
Μ̄ΦΩCΤΗΡ' ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ ΠΙΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ
Ν̄ΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩΨΤ ΕΒΟΛ' ΑΤΡΟΥΩΖ

7 ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄Ν, read ΕΒΟΛ <ΑΥΩ ΑΥΑΖΕΡΑΤ̄> Μ̄Ν.

17 ΠΕΥΨΗΡΕ Μ̄Ν ΤΒ̄ΑΡ̄Β̄Η[ΛΩ], perhaps to be read: ΠΕΥΨΗΡΕ Ν̄ΤΒΑΡΒΗ[ΛΩ], cf. C III 11,4-5 ΠΕΨΗΡΕ Ν̄ΤΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ.

31 ΕΤΑΕ, Α is in the ms. corrected to Ε; read ΕΤΕ.

32 read: Μ̄Π[ΕΠ]ΝΑ <ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ> Μ̄ΠΙΥΤΟΥ

55,4-11 ≠ BG 31,11-18 ≠ C III 10,15-22.

55,11-15 ≠ BG 31,19-32,3 ≠ C III 10,23-11,2.

55,15-30 ≠ BG 32,3-19 ≠ C III 11,3-14.

55,30-56,28 ≠ BG 32,19-34,18 ≠ C III 11,14-12,24.

Pl. 55.

- 1 Nus (νοῦς) was revealed and he stood up
together with Christ (χριστός) and praised him and
Barbelo, but (δέ) all these came into existence
by silence and the thought. He
- 5 desired by the invisible (ἀόρατος) spirit's (πνεῦμα) word
to create a thing, and his will became
a thing (ἔργον) and it was revealed <and it stood up> together with
Nus (νοῦς) and the light and praised him.
And the word followed after the will,
- 10 for (γάρ) by the word created
Christ (χριστός), the divine Autogenes (αὐτογενής) the all.
And (δέ) the eternal life together with his will, and Nus (νοῦς)
together with Prognosis (πρόγνωσις) stood up; they praised
the invisible (ἀόρατος) spirit (πνεῦμα) and Barbe[lo],
- 15 for (γάρ) through her came they into existence. And
the holy spirit (πνεῦμα) perfected the
divine Autogenes (αὐτογενής), his son with Barbelo
so that by the side of the great and invisible (ἀόρατος),
virginal (παρθενικός) spirit (πνεῦμα) he placed the divine
- 20 Autogenes (αὐτογενής), Christ (χριστός), whom he has praised
with a loud voice, [he] was revealed by
Pronoia (πρόνοια), and the invisible (ἀόρατος),
virginal (παρθενικός) spirit (πνεῦμα) set the true, divine
Autogenes (αὐτογενής) over the all.
- 25 and he placed (ὑποτάσσειν) under him every authority (ἐξουσία)
and the truth which is in him
that he shall know the all. He whom
you called by [a name], raised high
over every name, for (γάρ) it is this name, [which] will be told
- 30 to those, who are worthy of it. For (γάρ) out of the light
—which is Christ (χριστός)—and the incorruptibility
by the God of the spirit (πνεῦμα) <he revealed> the four
lights (φωστήρ) from the divine Autogenes (αὐτογενής).
He looked out in order that they should place

7 <and it stood up>, the copyist has probably skipped the Coptic words.

17 “with”, thus the ms.; perhaps to be read “of”.

29 “will”, sc. “only”.

32 <he revealed>, the copyist has probably skipped the Coptic words.

- 1 ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ΄ ΠΨΟΜΤ ΔΕ ΠΟΥΩΨΕ
 ΤΕΝ΄ΝΟΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΠΩΝΖ ΤΕ[Υ]ΤΟΕ ΔΕ Ν̄
 60Μ ΤΜ̄ΝΤΡΜ̄ΝΖΗΤ ΤΧΑΡΙC ΤΕCΘΗCIC
 ΤΦΡΟΝΗCΕIC ΤΧΑΡΙC ΔΕ [Ε]CΨΟΟΠ΄ ΖΑ
- 5 2Τ̄Ν ΠΑΙΩΝ Μ̄ΦΩCΤΗΡ΄ ΑΡΜΟΖΗΛ΄ ΕΤΕ
 ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΠΨΟΡΠ Ν̄ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΠΙΑΙΩΝ ΔΕ
 CΕ̄ΝΝΕΜΑΥ΄ Ν̄6Ι ΚΕΨΟΜΤ΄ Ν̄ΑΙΩΝ ΤΧΑ
 ΡIC΄ ΤΜΗΕ ΤΜΟΡΦΗ · ΠΜΕΖCΝΑΥ ΔΕ Μ̄
 ΦΩCΤΗΡ΄ ΩΡΙΗΛ [Π]ΕΝΤΑΥCΕΖΩΥ΄ ΕΡΑΥ΄
- 10 ΕΧ̄Μ̄ ΠΜΕΖCΝ[Α]Υ Ν̄ΑΙΩΝ CΕ̄ΝΝΕΜΑΥ ΔΕ
 Ν̄6Ι ΚΕΨΟΜΤ [Ν̄]ΑΙΩΝ ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΤΕCΘΗ
 C]IC΄ Π̄ΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΜΑΖΨΟΜΤ ΔΕ Μ̄ΦΩ
 CΤ]ΗΡ ΠΕ Δ̄ΑῩΕΙΘ̄ΑΪ ΠΑΪ ΕΝΤΑΥCΕΖΩΥ΄ Ε
 ΡΑΥ΄ ΕΧ̄Μ̄ ΠΜΕΖΨΟΜΤ΄ Ν̄ΑΙΩΝ CΕ̄ΝΝΕ
- 15 ΜΑΥ ΔΕ Ν̄6Ι ΚΕΨΟΜΤ΄ Ν̄ΑΙΩΝ ΤΜ̄ΝΤΡΜ̄
 ΝΖΗΤ΄ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ · †[Δ]ΕΑ · ΠΜΑΖΥΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ
 Ν]ΑΙΩΝ ΑΥΤΕΖΟΥ΄ ΕΡΑΥ΄ ΕΧ̄Μ̄ ΠΜΕΖ
 Υ]ΤΟΟΥ Μ̄[ΦΩ]CΤΗΡ Η̄Λ̄Η̄Λ̄Θ̄ CΕ̄ΝΝΕΜΑΥ΄
 ΔΕ Ν̄6Ι Κ[ΕΨΟ]ΜΤ΄ Ν̄ΑΙΩΝ ΠΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ
- 20 †ΡΗΝΗ Τ[CΘ]ΦΙΑ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΠΥΤΟΟΥ ΜΦΩ
 CΤΗΡ · ΕΤΑΖΕ[Ρ]ΑΤΟΥ ΑΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗC Ν̄ΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΝΑΪ ΝΕ Π̄Μ̄Ν[ΤC]ΝΟΟΥC Ν̄ΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ
 ΑΠΨΗΡΕ Μ̄ΠΝΟ6 ΠΑ[ΥΤ]ΟΓΕΝΗC ΠΕΧ̄Ρ̄C̄
 ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΠΟΥΩΨΕ Μ̄Ν Π† Μ̄ΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟC Μ̄
- 25 Π̄Ν̄Α ΠΙΜ̄ΝΤCΝΟΟΥ[C] ΔΕ Ν̄ΑΙΩΝ Ν̄ΝΑ
 ΠΨΗΡΕ Μ̄Π[Α]ΥΤΟΓΕΝΗC ΝΕ ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΤΑΠΤΗΡ̄
 ΤΑΧΡΟ ΖΡΑΪ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΟΥΩΨ Μ̄ΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΤΟΥ
 ΑΑΒ ΕΒΟ[Λ Μ̄]ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗC ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ
 Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΠ[ΡΟΓΝΩCΙ]C Μ̄ΠΝΟΥC Ν̄ΤΕΛΕΙΟC
- 30 ΖΙΤ̄Μ̄ Π6Ω[ΛΠ Ε]ΒΟΛ · Μ̄ΠΟΥΩΨ Μ̄ΠΑΖΟ
 ΡΑΤΟC Μ̄Π̄Ν̄Α ΑΥΩ ΠΟΥΩΨΕ Μ̄ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕ
 ΝΗC Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΤΕΛΕΙΟC ΠΨΟΡΠ΄ ΟΥΩΝΖ
 ΕΒΟΛ΄ ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕΕ΄ ΠΕΤΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ΄
 Ν̄6Ι ΠΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ Μ̄Π̄Ν̄Α ΧΕ Π̄Ι Γ̄Ε Ρ̄Α
- 35 Α]Δ̄ΑΜ̄ᾹΝ ΑΥΩ CΕΖΩΥ΄ ΕΡΑΥ΄ ΑΧΝ

2 The copyist has probably skipped some words; cf. Irenæus, Adv. haer. I, 29: "... de Thelemate .. et Bonia Zoe .. quatuor emissiones factas ad subministrationem quatuor luminaribus ... " and read: ΠΩΝΖ(ΤΕΥΤΟΕ ΔΕ Ν̄60Μ ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΟΥΩΨΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΩΝΖ) ΤΕΥΤΟΕ ΔΕ ...

32 read: Ν̄ΤΕΛΕΙΟC (ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ) ΠΨΟΡΠ.

56,28-57,3 ≠ BG 34,19-35,13 ≠ C III 12,24-13,11.

Pl. 56.

- 1 themselves in front of him and (δέ) the three: will,
 Ennoia (ἐννοία) and life. And (δέ) the four
 powers: wisdom, Charis (χάρις), Aisthesis (αἴσθησις),
 Phronesis (φρόνησις). But (δέ) Charis (χάρις) is
 5 with the aeon (αἰών) of light (φωστήρ), Armozel, which is
 the first angel (ἄγγελος), and (δέ)
 together with this aeon (αἰών) were three other aeons(αἰών) Charis (χάρις),
 truth, Morphe (μορφή). But (δέ) the second
 light (φωστήρ) is Oriel, which is placed
 10 over the second aeon (αἰών), and (δέ) three other aeons (αἰών) were together
 with this: Epinoia (ἐπίνοια), Aisthesis (αἴσθησις)
 memory. But (δέ) the third light (φωστήρ)
 is Daveithai, who is established
 over the third aeon (αἰών). And (δέ) three other aeons (αἰών)
 15 are together with it: wisdom,
 Agape (ἀγάπη), Idea (εἰδέα). But (δέ) the fourth
 aeon (αἰών) was established over the fourth
 light (φωστήρ), Eleleth, and (δέ) together with it
 three other aeons (αἰών): perfection,
 20 Eirene (εἰρήνη), Sophia (σοφία). These are the four lights (φωστήρ),
 which were placed by the divine Autogenes (αὐτογενής).
 These are twelve aeons (αἰών) which were placed
 by the great son, the Autogenes (αὐτογενής), Christ (χριστός)
 through the will together with the divine, invisible (ἄόρατος)
 25 spirit (πνεῦμα). And (δέ) the twelve aeons (αἰών) belong
 to the son, the Autogenes (αὐτογενής) and the all
 became fixed through the will of the holy spirit (πνεῦμα)
 by the Autogenes (αὐτογενής). And (δέ) out of
 P[rognosi]s (π[ρόγνωσι]ς), the perfect (τέλειος) Nus (νοῦς),
 30 through the revelation of the will
 of the invisible (ἄόρατος) spirit (πνεῦμα) and the will of the
 Autogenes (αὐτογενής) <came forth> the perfect (τέλειος) man, the
 first revelation and the true one whom
 the virginal (παρθενικός) spirit (πνεῦμα) called, "The name indeed (γε) is
 35 Adamas" and placed him over

2 The text must be corrupt; after "life" read: <To serve in the four lights were revealed four powers out of will and life>" (Cf. Irenæus, Adv. haer. I, 29).

32 <came forth>, the words skipped in the ms.

- 1 ΠΨΟΡΠ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΜΝ ΠΝΟ6 ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ
 ΠΕΧ̄C̄ ΖΑ2Τ̄Ν ΠΨΟΡΠ ΜΦΩCΤΗΡ' ΑΡ̄Μ̄Ο
 Ζ̄ΗΛ' ΑΥΩ ΕΥΨΟΟΠ' ΝΜΜΑΥ' Ν6Ι ΝΕΥ6ΟΜ'
 ΑΥΩ ΑΥ+ ΝΑΥ Ν6Ι ΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΝΝΟΥ6ΟΜ
- 5 ΝΝΟΕΡΟΝ ΝΝΑΤ6ΡΟ ΕΡΟC ΑΥΩ ΑΥΧΟΟC
 ΑΥ+ ΕΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΥCΜΟΥ ΑΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ Μ
 ΠΝ̄Α ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟC ΧΕ ΕΤΒΗΤΚ' ΑΠΤΗΡΥ'
 ΨΩΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΡΕΠΤΗΡΥ ΝΑΝΑΥ2Υ' ΕΡΟΚ
 ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ +ΝΑCΜΟΥ ΝΤΑ+ ΕΟΟΥ ΝΑΚ' ΑΥΩ
- 10 ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΜΝ ΝΑΙΩΝ' ΠΙΨΟΜΤ' ΠΙΩΤ
 ΤΜΑΥ · ΠΨΗΡΕ Τ6ΟΜ ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟC ΑΥΩ ΑΥ
 ΤΕ2Ο ΕΡΑΤΥ' ΜΠΕΥΨΗΡΕ CΗΘ' ΑΧ̄Ν ΠΜΑ2
 CΝΟ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΑ2Ρ̄Ν ΠΜΑ2CΝΟ ΜΦΩ[CΤΗΡ]
 ΩΡ̄Ω̄ῙΗΛ ΖΡΑΪ ΔΕ 2Μ ΠΜΑ2ΨΟΜΤ Ν[ΑΙΩΝ]
- 15 ΑΥΤΕ2Ο ΔΕ ΕΡΑΤΥ' ΜΠΕCΠΕΡΜΑ ΝCΗΘ' Α
 Χ̄Ν ΠΜΑ2ΨΟΜΤ [Μ]ΦΩCΤΗΡ' Δ̄ᾹῩΕ̄ῙΘ̄Ᾱ[Ι]
 ΑΥΤΕ2Ο ΔΕ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ [Ν]ΜΨΥΧΗ ΝΝΕΤΟΥΑ[ΑΒ]
 ΝΖΡΑΪ ΔΕ 2Μ ΠΜΕ2ΥΤΟΟΥ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΥΤΕ2Ο
 ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΝΜΨΥΧΗ ΝΝ[ΕΤΕ]ΝΑΤCΟΟΥΝ ΑΠ
- 20 ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ · ΑΥΩ ΜΠΟΥ[Μ]ΕΤΑΝΟΕΙ 2Ν ΟΥ
 6ΕΠΗ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥ6Ω 2Ν ΟΥΟΕΨ ΑΥΩ ΜΝ̄
 CΩC ΑΥΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙ ΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΖΑ2Τ̄Ν ΠΜΕ2
 ΥΤΟΟΥ ΜΦΩ[C]ΤΗΡ' Η̄Λ̄Η̄Λ̄Η̄Θ̄ ΝΑΪ ΝΕ ΖΕΝ
 ΧΠΟ ΝΕ ΕΥ+ ΕΟΟΥ ΜΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠ̄Ν̄Α
- 25 ΤCΟΦΙΑ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ · ΕCΨΟΟΠ' ΝΑΙΩΝ
 ΑCΜΕΕΥΕ 2Ν ΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν2ΗΤC̄ ΜΝ̄
 ΤΕΝΘΥΜΗCΙC ΜΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠ̄Ν̄Α ΑΥΩ
 ΤΠΡΟΓΝΩCΙC ΑCΟΥΩΨ[Ε Ε]ΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ
 ΝΟΥΕΙΝΕ Ν2ΗΤC̄ ΑΧ̄[Μ ΠΟΥΩΨ] ΜΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α
- 30 ΜΠΕΥΡ̄ΕΥΔΟΚΕΙ ΑΥ[Ω ΑΧ̄Μ ΠΕ]CΨΒΡ Ν2ΩΤΡ̄
 ΑΥΩ ΑΧΜ ΠΕΥΜΟΚ'ΜΕΚ ΕΜΠΕΥΡ̄CΥΝΕΥ
 ΔΟΚΕΙ ΔΕ Ν6Ι ΠΠΡΟCΩΠΟΝ ΝΤΕCΜ̄ΝΤ
 2ΟΟΥΤ' ΕΜΠΕC6ΙΝΕ ΔΕ ΜΠΕCΧΩΝΥ'
 ΑCΜΟΚΜΕΚ' ΔΕ ΧΩΡΙC ΠΟΥΩΨ ΜΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α
- 35 ΑΥΩ ΠCΟΟΥΝ ΜΠΕCΧΩΝΥ' ΑCΕΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ

57,4-11 ≠ BG 35,10-20 ≠ C III 13,9-17.

57,11-24 ≠ BG 35,20-36,15 ≠ C III 13,17-14,9.

57,25-35 ≠ BG 36,16-37,11 ≠ C III 14,9-14,14; C III 14,19-15,4.

Pl. 57.

- 1 the first aeon (αἰών) together with the great Autogenes (αὐτογενής),
Christ (χριστός) in the first light (φωστήρ), Armozel.
And his powers are with him.
And the invisible (ἀόρατος) gave him an
- 5 invincible, intelligible (νοερός) power. And he spoke,
he praised and he blessed the invisible (ἀόρατος)
spirit (πνεῦμα) and said, "All things have
come into existence through you and the all will surely return to you.
But (δέ) I, I will praise and thank you and
- 10 the Autogenes (αὐτογενής) and the eternal (αἰών) three: the father,
the mother, the son, the perfect (τέλειος) power". And he
established his son Seth over the second
aeon (αἰών) in the second light (φωστήρ),
Oroiel. But (δέ) in the third aeon (αἰών)
- 15 the offspring (σπέρμα) of Seth was then (δέ) established
over the third light (φωστήρ), Daveitha[i],
and (δέ) the souls (ψυχή) of the holy ones were established there.
But (δέ) in the fourth aeon (αἰών) the souls (ψυχή)
were established [who] were ignorant
- 20 of the Pleroma (πλήρωμα) and did not repent (μετανοεῖν)
at once but (ἀλλά) persisted a while and
after they repented (μετανοεῖν) they came into
the fourth light (φωστήρ), Eleleth. These were those
produced. They praised the invisible (ἀόρατος) spirit (πνεῦμα).
- 25 But (δέ) Epinoia's (ἐπίνοια) Sophia (σοφία) since she is an aeon (αἰών)
conceived a thought from herself with
the invisible (ἀόρατος) spirit's (πνεῦμα) Enthymesis (ἐνθύμησις)
and Prognosis (πρόγνωσις); she would reveal
an image from herself without [the will] of the spirit (πνεῦμα)
- 30 although he did not approve (εὐδοκεῖν) it and [without] her fellow
and without his thought. But (δέ) although
her male element (πρόσωπον) did not approve (συνευδοκεῖν) it
and (δέ) although she did not find her fellow
and (δέ) thought it without (χωρίς) the will of the spirit (πνεῦμα)
- 35 and the knowledge of her fellow she brought it forth.

33 and 35 "fellow"; lit.: "unity".

Pl. 58.

- 1 But (δέ) because of the invincible power in her
her thought was not ineffective (ἄργος) and
an imperfect thing was revealed from her,
and it was different from her appearance
- 5 because she had created it without her fellow,
and it bore no likeness to the mother's shape
and it had another figure (μορφή). But (δέ) when she with
her will had seen that it was of a type (τύπος) which was different,
with a dragon's (δράκων) with a lion's face and its eyes
- 10 were like burning lightning which
flashes, she cast it from her away from
that place (τόπος) in order that none
of the immortal ones should see it for (γάρ) she had created it
in ignorance, and she surrounded it with
- 15 a cloud of light and she placed a throne (θρόνος)
in the midst of the cloud that nobody
should see it except (εἰ μήτι) the holy spirit (πνεῦμα)
who is called "the mother of the living ones".
But (δέ) she called his name: "Ialtabaoth". This is
- 20 the first archon (ἄρχων), he who took a
great strength (δύναμις) from his mother; and he
went away from her and turned
away from the regions (τόπος) where he was born. He
laid hold upon <other regions> and created for himself other aeons (αἰών)
- 25 in a fire of shining flame, this which is till now,
and he joined himself with his ignorance (ἁπρόνοια)
which was in him, and he brought forth
powers (ἐξουσία). And (μέν) the first its name
was Athoth he whom the generations (γενεά) call
- 30 []. The second is Harmas,
that [is the eye] of the envy. The third is
Kalilaumbri. The fourth is Iabel.
The fifth is Adonaiu, he who is called
Sabaoth. The sixth is Kain,
- 35 he whom the generations (γενεά) of mankind call
the sun. The seventh is Abel. The
eighth is Abrisene. The ninth is Iobel

26 "joined himself"; the ms. has: "was amazed", but the text must be corrupt.

30 The lacuna cannot be filled out at the moment.

- 1 ΠΜΕΖΜΗΤ ΠΕ ΑΡΜΟΥΠΙΕΗΛ ΠΜΕΖΜΝ
 ΤΟΥΕ' ΠΕ ΜΕΛΧΕΙΡΑΔΩΝΕΙΝ· ΠΜΕΖΜΝ
 ΤCNOOYC ΠΕ ΒΕΛΙΑC ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΤΖΙΧΝ ΠΨΙΚ
 ΝΑΜΝΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΕΖΕ ΕΡΑΤΥ ΝCΑΨΥ ΝΡΡΟ
- 5 ΟΥΑ ΚΑΤΑ CΤΕΡΕΩΜΑ ΝΤΠΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΤΜΕΖ
 CΑΨΥΕ ΜΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΟΥ ΑΧΜ ΠΨΙΚ' ΜΠΝΟΥΝ
 ΖΩCΤΕ ΑΤΡΟΥΡ ΡΡΟ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΠΩΨ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΖΜ ΠΕΥΚΩΖΤ' ΜΠΕΥΤΝΝΕΥ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ
 ΤCΑΜ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΝΤΑΥΧΙΤC ΝΤΝΤΕΥΜΑ
- 10 ΑΥ ΝΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ' ΟΥΚΑΚΕ ΝΑΤCΟΟΥΝΕ ΠΕ ΠΟΥ
 ΟΕΙΝ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΡΕΥΤΩΖ ΜΝ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΑΥΤΡΕ ΠΚΑ
 ΚΕ Ρ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΡΕΥΤΩΖ ΜΝ
 ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΥΖΤΜΤΜ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΥΨΩ
 ΠΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΝΚΑΚΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΥ
- 15 ΨΟΝΕ ΠΙΑΡΧΩΝ CΕ ΕΥΨΟΝΕ ΟΥΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ
 ΝΨΟΜΤ ΝΡΑΝ ΠΨΟΡΠ ΝΡΑΝ ΠΕ ΙΑΛΤΑΒ[ΑΩΘ]
 ΠΜΕΖCΝΑΥ ΠΕ CΑΚΛΑC ΠΜΕΖΨΟΜΤ ΠΕ
 CΑΜΑΗΛ ΠΑΙ ΔΕ ΟΥΨΑΥΤΕ ΠΕ ΖΝ ΤΕΥΑΠ[ΟΝΟ]ΙΑ
 ΤΑΙ ΕΥΨΟΟΠ ΝΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΥ ΑΥΧΟΟC ΓΑΡ ΧΕ
- 20 ΑΝΟΚ' ΠΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΜΝ ΚΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΟΟΠ'
 ΝCΑΒΛΛΗΕΙ ΕΥΟ ΝΑΤCΟΟΥΝ ΜΠΕΥΤΑΧΡΟ
 ΠΜΑ ΕΝΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ
 ΝCΙ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΝCΑΨΥΕ ΝCΟΜ ΝΑΥ · ΑΥΩ
 ΝCΟΜ · ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΑΥ ΝCΟΟΥ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC Α
- 25 ΠΟΥΑ ΨΑΝΤΟΥΡ ΨΜΤΨΕCΕΤΗ ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC
 + ΔΕ ΝΕ ΝCΩΜΑ ΝΝΡΙΝ ΠΨΟΡΠΕ ΑΘΩΘ
 ΟΥΖΟ ΝΝΕCΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΜΕΖCΝΑΥ ΠΕ ΕΛΩ
 ΑΙΟΥ ΟΥΖΟ ΝΤΥΦΩΝ ΠΕ ΠΜΕΖΨΟΜΤ'
 ΠΕ ΑCΤΑΦΑΙΟC ΟΥΖ[Ο ΝΖΟΕΙ]ΤΕ ΠΕ ΠΜΕΖ
- 30 ΥΤΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΙΑΩ ΟΥΖ[Ο ΝΔΡΑΚΩ]Ν ΠΕ ΕΥΝ
 ΤΕΥCΑΨΥΕ ΝΑΠΕ Π[ΜΕΖ+]ΟΥ ΠΕ CΑΒΑΩΘ
 ΟΥΖΟ ΝΔΡΑΚΩΝ ΠΜΕΖCΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΑΔΩΝΙΝ
 ΟΥΖΟ ΝΗΝΕ ΠΕ ΠΜΕΖCΑΨΥ ΠΕ CΑΒΒΕΔΕ
 ΟΥΖΟ ΝΚΩΖΤ ΠΕ ΕΥ+ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΖΕ
- 35 ΒΔΟΜΑC ΝΤΕΠCΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΙΑΛΤΑΒΑΩΘ
 ΔΕ ΝΕΟΥΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΜΗΗΨ[Ε]

4-5 ΝΡΡΟ ΟΥΑ ΚΑΤΑ, read: ΝΡΡΟ<ΟΥ> ΟΥΑ ΚΑΤΑ (haplography).

26 + seems to be partially erased in the ms.; read ΝΑΙ.—ΠΨΟΡΠΕ ΑΘΩΘ, read: ΠΨΟΡΠ
 <Π>Ε ΑΘΩΘ (haplography).

27 ΝΝΕCΟΟΥ, read: ΝΝΕCΟΟΥ.

29 ΟΥΖ[Ο ΝΖΟΕΙ]ΤΕ cf. BG 42,1.

30 ΟΥΖ[Ο ΝΔΡΑΚΩ]Ν cf. BG 42,2 and C III 18,2.

59,10-22 without parallel in BG and C III.

59,22-25 ≠ BG 39,10-15; partly ≠ C III 16,11-13.

59,26-60,10 ≠ BG 41,16-43,6 ≠ C III 17,20-18,22.

Pl. 59.

- 1 The tenth is Armupiel. The eleventh
is Melcheiradonein. The twelfth
is Belias which is over the depth
of Amente. And he established seven kings
- 5 one over each (κατά) of the firmaments (στερέωμα) of heaven up
to the seventh heaven and five over the depth of the abyss
in order that (ὥστε) they should reign. And he shared with them
of his fire, but (δέ) he did not send them any of
that power of light which he had received from his mother
- 10 because (γάρ) he was a darkness of ignorance. But (δέ) when the light
had mixed with the darkness it made the darkness
light, but (δέ) when the darkness mixed with
the light it darkened the light and it did not
become light neither (οὔτε) darkness but (ἀλλά) it became
- 15 weak. This archon (ἄρχων) who was weak had
three names: the first name is Ialtabaoth;
the second is Saklas; the third is
Samael. But (δέ) he was ungodly in his ignorance (ἀπόνοια)
which is in him for (γάρ) he said:
- 20 "I am God and there is no other God
but me" for he was ignorant of his strength,
the place from which he came. And
the archons (ἄρχων) created seven powers for themselves, and
the powers each created for themselves six angels (ἄγγελος)
- 25 until the number of angels (ἄγγελος) was three hundred and sixty five.
And (δέ) these are the bodies (σῶμα) of the names: the first (is) Athoth
(with) the shape of a sheep; the second is Eloaiu (with)
the shape of an ass (τυφῶν); the third
is Astaphaios (with) a shape of a hyena; the fourth
- 30 is Iao (with) a shape of [a dragon (δράκων?)] with
seven heads; the [fifth] is Sabaoth (with)
a shape of a snake (δράκων), the sixth is Adonin (with)
a shape of an ape; the seventh is Sabbede (with)
a shining shape of fire. This is
- 35 the hebdomad (ἑβδομάς) of the week (σάββατον). But (δέ) Ialtabaoth
had a multitude

27 "the shape of a sheep"; the ms. has: "is a head of the six".

28 "ass"; or "bear".

- 1 ΜΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΕΧΟΥΗ2 ΖΙΧΩΟΥ ΤΗ
 ΡΟΥ ΖΩΣΤΕ ΑΤΡΕΧΕΙΝΕ ΝΟΥ20 ΝΑ2
 ΡΕΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΧΟΥΩΨΕ ΕΧΨΟ
 ΟΠ' 2Ν ΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΖΕΝCΑΡΑΦΙΝ ΑΥΠΩ
 5 ΨΕ ΑΧΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ 2Μ ΠΕΥΚΩ2Τ' ΕΤΒΕ
 ΠΑΪ ΑΥΡ̄ ΧΟΕΙC ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ Τ6ΟΜ' Μ̄
 ΠΕΟΟΥ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ' ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΤΕ
 ΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ Μ̄
 ΜΙΝ' ΜΜΟΥ ΧΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΥΡ̄ΠΙΘΕ ΔΕ
 10 ΑΝ ΑΠΜΑ ΕΝ'ΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΥ' ΑΥΩ
 ΑΥΜΟΥΨ6 ΜΝ̄ ΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ'
 ΖΑΡΟΥ' ΝCΑΨΥΕ Ν6ΟΜ' ΖΡΑΪ 2Μ ΠΕΥΜΕ
 ΕΥΕ ΑΥΩ 2Μ ΠΤΡΕΥΧΟΟC ΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΑΥ
 Ω ΑΥΤ ΡΑΝ ΕΤ6ΟΜ' Τ6ΟΜ' ΑΥΡ̄ΑΡΧΕC
 15 ΘΑΙ ΧΝ̄ ΜΠCΑ ΝΤΠΕ ΠΨΟΡΠ ΜΕΝ ΤΕ
 ΤΜΝΤΧΡ̄C ΖΑ2ΤΝ ΠΨΟΡΠ' ΑΘ̄ΩΘ'
 ΠΜΕ2CΝΑΥ ΤΕ ΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΖΑΤΝ̄
 ΤΜΕ2ΨΟΜΤ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΖΑΤΝ̄
 ΠΜΕ2CΝΑΥ ΕΛ̄ΩΑΪΩ̄ · ΠΜΕ2ΨΟΜΤ
 ΔΕ ΠΕ ΑC̄ΤΡΑΦ̄ΑΪΩ̄ · ΤΜΕ2ΥΤΟΕ ΤΕ Τ'
 20 ΜΝΤΧΟΕΙC ΖΑΤΝ̄ ΠΜΕ2ΥΤΟΟΥ ΙᾹΩ̄
 ΤΜΕ2ΥΤΕ ΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΕΡΟ ΖΑ2ΤΝ̄ ΠΜΕ2Υ
 ΟΥ C̄ΑΝΒΑΩ̄Θ̄ · ΤΜΕ2CΟ ΠΕ ΠΚΩ2 ΖΑ
 ΖΤΝ̄ ΠΜΕ2CΟΟΥ ΑΔ̄Ω̄Ν̄ΕῙΝ ΤΜΕ2CΑΨῩ
 ΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΡΜ̄ΝΖΗΤ' ΖΑΤΝ̄ ΠΜΕ2CΑΨῩ
 25 CΑΒΒΑΤΕΩΝ ΝΑΪ ΔΕ ΟΥΝΤΑΥ Μ̄ΜΑΥ Ν̄
 ΟΥCΤΕΡΕΩΜΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΝΑΪ ΜΕΝ
 ΑΥΤ ΡΑΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΝΝΑΤΠΕ
 ΕΠΨΟ[ΡΨΡ̄ ΜΠΟΥ]6ΟΜ' ΝΡΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ
 ΤΑΑΥ ΕΡΟ[ΟΥ ΖΙΤΝ̄] ΠΟΥΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΝΗΤΩΡ'
 30 ΕΥΡ̄ 6ΟΜ ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΝΡΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΤΤΟ
 ΕΡΟΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΟΟΥ ΝΝΑΤΠΕ ΕΥΨΟΟΠ
 ΝΑΥ ΕΥΨΟΡΨΡ̄ · ΑΥΩ ΑΥΜΝΤΑΤ6ΟΜ ΝΑΥ
 ΖΩCΤΕ ΕΥΝΤΑΥ Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΝΡΑΝ CΝΑΥ ΝΚΑ
 ΔΕ ΝΙΜ' ΑΥΤCΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΝΕ ΝΝΨΟΡΠ
 35 [Ν̄]ΑΙΩΝ ΕΝΤΑ2ΨΩΠΕ ΖΩCΤΕ ΑΤΡΕΥ'

18-19 The original reading in the ms. was ΠΜΕ2CΝΑΥ ΕΛΩΑΙΩ ΠΜΕ2ΨΟΜΤ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΑC̄ΤΡΑΦ̄ΑΪΩ̄, but later were the words above l. 18 added and ΔΕ ΠΕ cancelled by strokes.

60,10-25 ≠ BG 43,6-44,4 ≠ C III 18,22-25 ... (fragmentary).

60,25-61,5 ≠ BG 44,5-9; C III lacuna.

Pl. 60.

- 1 of shapes (πρόσωπον) and he rested upon them all
 in order that (ὥστε) he should be able to bring a shape to
 them all according to (κατά) his will. Being
 in the midst of the seraphs (σέραφιμ) he
 5 shared with them his fire. Therefore
 he was lord over them because of the power
 of glory which was in him of light from
 his mother. Therefore he called himself
 "God". But (δέ) he was not obedient (πείθειν)
 10 to that place from which he came. And
 he joined with the powers (ἐξουσία) which are
 with him seven powers in his thought,
 and when he spoke it happened, and
 he gave a name to each single power. He began (ἄρχεσθαι)
 15 from above; and (μέν) the first
 is the goodness (χρηστός) with the first, Athoth;
 the second is Pronoia (πρόνοια) with
 the second, Eloaio; the third God is the deity
 with the third, Astraphaio; the fourth is
 20 the lordship with the fourth, Iao;
 the fifth is the kingdom with the fifth,
 Sanbaoth; the sixth is the zeal
 with the sixth, Adonein; the seventh
 is the wisdom with the seventh,
 25 Sabbateon. But (δέ) these have
 a firmament (στερέωμα) for each (κατά) aeon-(αἰών) heaven.
 And (μέν) these names were given them according to (κατά) the glory
 from heaven to defeat [of their] power; but (δέ) the names which
 were given them [by] their Archigennetor (ἀρχιγεννήτωρ)
 30 by them they do powerfull deeds. But (δέ) the names which were given
 them according to (κατά) the glory from heaven were for
 them destruction and powerlessness,
 so that (ὥστε) they have two names. And (δέ) each thing
 he adorned according to (κατά) the likeness of the first
 35 aeons (αἰών) which existed, so that (ὥστε) he

2 "bring"; or (less probably): "be like".

18-19 "the third God is the deity with the third, Astraphaio"; the ms. has originally said:
 "But (δέ) the third is Astraphaio".

- 1 ΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΜΨΜΑΤ ΝΑΤ'ΤΕΚΟ ΟΥΧ ΖΟΤΙ
 ΝΤΑΥ' ΧΕ ΑΥΝΑΥ ΑΝΑΤΤΕΚΟ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΣΟΜ'
 ΕΤΝΖΗΤΥ ΤΑΪ ΕΝΤΑΥΧΙΤΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ
 ΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ ΕΑΣΧΠΟ ΝΖΗΤΥ' ΜΠΙΝΕ' Μ
- 5 ΠΤΣΕΝΟ ΕΥΝΑΥ ΔΕ ΑΤΚΤΙCΙC ΕΤΚΩΤΕ
 ΕΡΟΥ' ΑΥΩ ΠΑΨΑΪ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΤΚΤΗΥ
 ΕΡΟΥ ΝΑΪ ΕΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ' ΜΜΟΥ ΠΕ
 ΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ' ΑΝΚ' ΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΡΕΥ'
 ΚΩΖ ΑΥΩ ΜΝ ΚΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΝCΑΒΛΛΑΪ ΠΑΪ ΔΕ
- 10 ΕΥΤΑΥΟ ΜΜΟΥ' ΕΥΡΣΗΜΑΝΕ ΝΝΑΓΓΕ
 ΛΟC ΕΤΨΟΟΠ' ΨΑΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΚΕΝΟΥΤΕ
 ΨΟΟΠ' ΕΝΕ ΜΝ ΚΕΟΥΑ ΓΑΡ ΨΟΟΠ' ΝΕ ΝΙΜ
 ΠΕΤΥΝΑΚΩΖ ΕΡΟΥ ΑCΡΑΡΧΕCΘΕ ΓΕ ΝΨΕ
 ΕΙ ΝΓΙ ΤΜΑΑΥ ΑCΜΜΕ ΑΠΨΤΑ ΖΜ ΠΤΡΕΥ'
- 15 ΓΩΧΒ ΝΓΙ ΠΡΡΙΕ ΜΠΕCΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ ΑC
 ΖΤΟΜΖΤΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΜΠΕΥΡCΥΜΦΩΝΕ[Ι]
 ΝΜΜΑC ΝΓΙ ΠΕCΨΒΡ ΖΩΤΡ ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΕ
 ΧΑΕΙ ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΟΥ ΠΕ ΑCΨΕΕΙ · ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ
 ΑΥCΩΒΕ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΜΠΡΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ΚΑ
- 20 ΤΑ ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΧΟΟC ΝΓΙ ΜΩΨΧΗC ΖΙΧΝ
 ΜΜΟΥΕΙΟΟΥΕ ΜΜΑΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΑΡΕCΝΑΥ
 ΑΤΚΑΚΙΑ ΕΝΤΑΨΩΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΧΙ ΕΝΤΑΥ
 ΧΙΤΥ' ΝΓΙ ΠΕCΨΗΡΕ' ΑCΡΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙ
 ΑΥΩ ΑΥΒΨΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΑC ΖΜ ΠΚΑΚΕ Ν
- 25 ΤΜΝΤΑΤCΟΟΥΝ ΑΥΩ ΑCΑΡΧΕΙ ΝΨΙΠΕ
 ΖΝ ΟΥΚΙΜ ΠΚΙΜ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΠΨΕΕΙ ΑΥΧΙ
 ΔΕ ΝΓΙ ΠΑΥΘΑΔΗC ΝΟΥΓΟΜ' ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙ
 ΤΝ ΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ ΝΑΥΟ ΓΑΡ' ΝΑΤCΟΟΥΝ ΕΥ'
 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ ΜΝ [ΛΑΑΥ ΨΟΟ]Π' ΕΙ ΜΗΤΙ
- 30 ΑΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ ΟΥΑΑΤ[C ΑΥΝΑΥ] ΔΕ ΑΠΑΨΑΪ
 ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΑΪ Ε[ΝΤΑΥCΟ]ΝΤΟΥ ΑΥΧΙ
 CΕ ΓΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΤΜΑΑΥ ΔΕ
 ΝΤΑΡΕCΜΜΕ ΑΤΖΒCΩ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ ΧΕ Μ
 ΠΕΥΨΩΠΕ ΖΝ ΟΥΧΩΚ' ΑCΜΜΕ ΓΕ
- 35 ΧΕ ΜΠΕΥΡCΥΜ'ΦΩΝΕΙ ΝΜΜΑC Ν
 ΓΙ ΠΕCΨΒΡ ΝΖΩΤΡ ΑCΡΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙ

1 ΜΨΜΑΤ ΝΑΤΤΕΚΟ, read: <Ζ>ΜΨΜΑΤ <Ν>ΝΑΤΤΕΚΟ.

29–31 The conjectures are supported by cf. BG 46,5, BG 46,6 and BG 46,8.

61,5–13 ≠ BG 44,9–19; C III lacuna.

61,13–17 ≠ BG 44,19–45,5, C III lacuna.

61,17–26 ≠ BG 45,5–19; C III lacuna.

61,26–32 ≠ BG 45,19–46,9; C III lacuna.

61,32–62,15 ≠ BG 46,9–47,16; C III lacuna, thereafter ≠ C III 21,1–18.

Pl. 61.

- 1 created them in the likeness of the incorruptible <ones>, not because (οὐχ ὅτι) he saw the incorruptible ones, but (ἀλλά) the power which was in him—which he got from his mother—this produced through him the likeness
- 5 of the beautiful order, and (δέ) when he saw the creation (κτίσις) that surrounded him and the multitude of angels (ἄγγελος) that surrounded him—those which had come into existence through him—he said to them, “I, I am a jealous God and there is no other God but me”. But (δέ)
- 10 uttering this he indicated (σημαίνειν) to the angels (ἄγγελος) that were with him that there was another God. Because (γάρ) if there were no other, of whom could he then be jealous? The mother began (ἄρχεσθαι) now to go to and fro. She knew the lack
- 15 through that, that her germ of light was diminished, and she was darkened because her partner had not agreed (συμφωνεῖν) with her”. But (δέ) I said, “Lord, what does it mean “she went to and fro””? But (δέ) he smiled and said, “Do not think it is,
- 20 as (κατά) Moses said, “above the waters”! No, but (ἀλλά) when she had seen the wickedness (κακία) which had arisen and the robbery which her son had committed, she repented (μετανοεῖν), and (when she had seen) that an oblivion had come over her in
- 25 the darkness of ignorance, she began (ἄρχειν) to be ashamed while she moved. But (δέ) the movement, that is the going to and fro. But (δέ) Authades (αὐθάδης) took a power from his mother; however (γάρ) he was ignorant because (γάρ) he thought that there existed [no] other
- 30 but (εἰ μή τι) his mother. And (δέ) [he saw] the multitude of angels (ἄγγελος) which [he had] made, and he felt himself superior to them. But (δέ) when the mother had recognized the veil of darkness because he was not created perfect and she knew
- 35 that her partner did not agree (συμφωνεῖν) with her she repented (μετανοεῖν)

1 “the likeness of the incorruptible ones”; the ms. has: “the incorruptible likeness”.

- 1 2Ñ ΟΥΡΙΜΕ ΕΝΑΨΩΥ' ΑΥΩ ΑΥCΩΤῼ Α
 ΠCΟΠC̄ ἸΤΕCΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΙΝΕ
 ἸΟΥCΜΟΥ ΕΞΡΑΪ ΖΑΡΟC ἸῶΙ ΠΕΠΛΗΡΩ
 ΜΑ ΤΗΡΥ' ἸΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ ἸΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚῶ
- 5 ἸΠῆῶ ἈΥΠΩΖΤ' ΕΞΡΑΪ ΕΧΩC ΝῶΙ ΠΕῆῶ
 ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤῆ ΠΕΥΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΤΗΡΥ'
 ἸΤΑΥΕΙ ΓΑΡ ΝΑC ΑΝ ἸῶΙ ΠΕCΨΒῚ ἸΖΩΤῚ
 ΑΛΛΑ ΤΑΥ'ΕΙ ΝΑC ΕΞΡΑΪ ΖΙΤῆ ΠΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ
 ΧΕΚΑΑC ΕΥΝΑCΩΖΕ ἸΠΕCΨΤΑ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΙ
- 10 ΝΕ ἸΜΟC ΕΞΡΑΪ ΑΠCΑΙΩΝ ΑΝ ἸΜΙΝ' Ἰ
 ΜΟC ΑΛΛΑ ἸΤΠΕ ἸΠΕCΨΗΡΕ ΑΤΡΕCΨΩ
 ΠΕ Ζῆ ΠΜΑΖΨΙΤ' ΨΑΝΤΕCΩΖΕ ἸΠΕC
 ΨΤΑ ΑΥΩ ΟΥCΜΗ ΑCΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΤΠΕ ἸΑΙ
 ΩΝ ΕΤΧΟCΕ ΧΕ ΥΨΟΟΠ ἸῶΙ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΩ
- 15 ΠΨΗΡΕ ἸΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΥCΩΤῼ ΔΕ ἸῶΙ ΠΡΩ
 ΤΑΡΧΩΝ ἸΑΛΤΑΒΑΩΘ ΕΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΧΕ ἸΤΑΨ
 CΜΗ' ΨΩΠΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤῆ ΤΕΥΜΑ
 ΑΥ ΑΥΩ ἸΠΕΥ'ἸΜΕ ΧΕ ἸΤΑCΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΥΩ
 ΑΥΤCΕΒΟΟΥ ἸῶΙ ΠΜΗΤΡΟΠΑΤΩΡ' ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ
- 20 ΑΥΩ ΠΤΕΛΕΙΟC ΤΕΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ' ΕΤΧΗΚ' ΕΒΟΛ
 ΤΖΙΚΩΝ ἸΠΙΑΖΟΡΑΤΟC ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΠΕΙΩΤ'
 ἸΠΤΗΡΥ' ΠΑΪ ΕΝΤΑΠΤΗΡΥ' ΨΩΠΕ ἸΖΗῖ
 ΠΨΟΡΠ ἸΡΩΜΕ ΧΕ Ζῆ ΟΥΤΥΠΟC ἸΑΝΔΡΕ
 ΑC ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΠΕΥ'ΕΙΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥ'
- 25 CΤΩΤ' ΤΗΡΥ' ἸῶΙ ΠΑΙΩΝ ἸΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΩΝ
 ΑΥΩ ΑΝCῆΤΕ ἸΠΝΟΥΝ ΑΥΚΙΜ ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΖΙΤῆ ἸΜΟΥΕΙΟΟΥΕ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ' ΖΙΧῆ
 ΤΖΥΛΗ ΑΥῚ [ΟΥΟΕΙ]ῆ ἸῶΙ ΠCΑ ΜΠΙΤῆ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΖΙΤῆ ΠΟΥ[ΟΕΙΝ ἸΤΠ]Ε ἸΤΕΥ'ΖΙΚΩΝ ΤΑΪ ΕΝ
- 30 ΤΑCΟΥΩΝΖ [ΑΥ]ῶ ἸΤΑΡΟΥΕΙΩΡΜ'Ε ἸῶΙ
 ἸΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΥ
 ΝΑΥ ΑΠΜΕΡΟC ΤΗΡΥ' ἸΠCΑ ΜΠΙΤΝΕ ΕΑΥῚ
 ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤῆ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΥΝΑΥ
 ΖΡΑΪ Ζῆ ΠΜΟΥ ΑΠΤΥΠΟC ἸΤΖΙΚΩΝ'

6 In ΠΕΥΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ is Υ added above the line.

17 ΨΩΠΕ ΨΩΠΕ, dittography or read: <ΤΕΤ>ΨΩΠΕ ΨΩΠΕ.

62,15-34 ≠ BG 47,16-48,10 ≠ C III 21,18-22,3 (fragmentary).

Pl. 62.

- 1 with much weeping, and the whole Pleroma (πλήρωμα)
 heard the prayer of her repentance (μετάνοια) and
 praised for her sake
 the invisible (ἀόρατος), virginal (παρθενικός)
- 5 spirit (πνεῦμα). The holy spirit (πνεῦμα) poured upon her
 something of their total Pleroma (πλήρωμα)
 for (γάρ) her partner did not come to her,
 but (ἀλλά) from the Pleroma (πλήρωμα) came something to her
 to fulfil her want, and she
- 10 was not brought to her own aeon (αἰών)
 but (ἀλλά) to the heaven of her son, that she should
 be in the ninth until she had restored her
 want. And a voice came to her from the eternal (αἰών)
 high heaven: "Man exists and the son of man".
- 15 But (δέ) the Protarchon (πρωτάρχων)
 Ialtabaoth heard this and thought that
 the voice which sounded came from his mother
 and he did not know from where it came, but he showed himself for them, he
 the holy Metropator (μητροπάτωρ)
- 20 and the perfect (τέλειος), the perfect Pronoia (πρόνοια)
 the image (εἰκών) of the invisible (ἀόρατος) who is the father
 of the all, he through whom all things came into existence,
 the first man, for in the shape (τύπος) of man (ἄνθρωπος)
 his image was revealed. And
- 25 the aeon (αἰών) of the Protarchon (πρωτάρχων) trembled entirely
 and the foundations of the depth were shaken, and out
 of the waters which are above
 the stuff (ὕλη) the lower part
 of the [heavenly light illuminated] his image (εἰκών)
- 30 which was revealed. [And] all the
 powers (ἐξουσία) and the Protarchon (πρωτάρχων) stared. They
 saw the whole lower part (μέρος) which
 shone and by the light they saw
 in the water the type (τύπος) of the image (εἰκών)

- 1 ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΥ' ΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ' ΨΑΡΟΥ'
 ΧΕ ΑΜΗΕΙΝΕ ΝΤΝΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΘΙΚΩΝ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΝΕΙΝΕ ΧΕ
 ΚΑΑΣ ΑΡΕΤΕΥ' ΖΙΚΩΝ ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΝ ΝΟΥΟ
 5 ΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ ΝΩΟΜ ΝΝΟΥ
 ΕΡΗΥ · ΚΑΤΑ ΜΜΑΙΝ ΕΝΤΑΥ+ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ
 ΤΟΥΕΙΕ' ΤΟΥΕΙΕ ΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΑΥ+ ΝΟΥΜΑΕΙΝ
 ΝΖΡΑΪ ΖΜ ΠΤΥΠΟΣ ΝΤΖΙΚΩΝ ΤΑΪ ΕΝΤΑΧΝΑΥ
 ΕΡΟΣ ΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΤΕΥ' ΨΥΧΙΚΗ ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΖΥ
 10 ΠΟCΤΑCΙC ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΝΕ ΜΠΨΟΡΠ ΝΡΩΜΕ Ν
 ΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΜΑΡΝΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ
 ΧΕ ΑΔΑΜ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΡΕΠΕΥΡΑΝ' ΝΑΨΩΠΕ
 ΝΑΝ ΝΟΥΩΟΜ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΑΡΧΕΙ ΝΓΙ
 ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙC · ΤΨΟΡΠ' ΤΜΝΤΧΡΗCΤΟC ΑCΤΑ
 15 ΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΚΑC ΤΜΕΖCΝΤΕ ΔΕ ΤΠΡΟ
 ΝΟΙΑ ΑCΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΜΜΟΥΤ ΤΜΕΖ
 ΨΟΜΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΝΟΥΤΕ ΑCΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΨΥΧΗ
 ΝCΑΡΞ · ΤΜΕΖΥΤΟΕ ΔΕ ΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΧΟΕΙC ΑCΤΑ
 ΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΑΤΚΑC · ΤΜΕΖ+Ε ΤΕ ΤΜΝ
 20 ΤΕΡΟ ΑCΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝCΝΟΥ ΤΜΕΖ
 CΟΕ ΠΕ ΠΚΩΖ ΑCΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΨΑ
 ΑΡΕ ΤΜΕΖCΑΨΥΕ ΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΡΜΝΖΗΤ' ΑCΤΑ
 ΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΧΟΥΖΕ ΑΥΑΖΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ
 ΕΡΟΥ' ΝΓΙ ΠΑΨΑΪ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΑΥΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ
 25 ΖΙΤΝ ΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΝΤCΑΨΥΕ ΝΖΥΠΟCΤΑCΙC
 ΝΤΕΤΨΥΧΙΚΗ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΥΝΑΤΙΑΜΙΟ Μ
 ΠΧΩΝΥ' ΝΜΜΕΛΟC ΜΝ ΠΧΩΝΥ' ΝΝΨΑΥ
 ΜΝ ΤCΥΝΘΕCΙC ΜΠΤCΑ[Ν]Ο ΜΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ
 ΝΜΜΕΛΟC ΠΨΟΡΠ[ΑΥΑΡ]ΧΕΙ ΝΤΑΜΙΟ
 30 ΝΤΑΠΕ ΕΤΕΡΑΦΑΩ[· · · · ·]ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ
 ΝΧΩΥ ΜΗΝΙΓΓΕCCTΡΩΗΘ ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ Μ
 ΠΕΝΚΕΦΑΛΟC ΑCΤΕΡΕΧΜΗΝ ΠΒΑΛ ΝΟΥ
 ΝΑΜ · ΘΑCΠΟΜΟΧΑΜ ΠΒΑΛ ΝΩΒΟΥΡ ΙΕΡΩ
 ΝΥΜΟC ΠΜΑΑΧΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ' ΒΙCCOΥ Μ
 35 ΠΜΑΑΧΕ ΝΩΒΟΥΡ ΑΚΙΩΡΕΙΜ ΜΠΨΑ

1 ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ, read ΠΕΧΑΥ' (Ν)ΝΕΖΟΥCΙΑ.

26 ΕΥΝΑΤΙΑΜΙΟ, read ΕΥΝΑΤΑΜΙΟ.

30 lacuna, space for six letters; the last poss. N.

63,1-13 ≠ BG 48,10-49,9 ≠ C III 22,3-18 (damaged).

63,13-23 ≠ BG 49,9-50,4 ≠ C III 22,18(19)-23,6 (damaged).

63,23-29 ≠ BG 50,6-11 ≠ C III 23,7-11.

63,29-65,8 without parallel in BG and C III.

Pl. 63.

- 1 And he said <to> the powers (ἐξουσία) which were with him:
 “Come! Let us make a man according to (κατά)
 the image (εἰκόν) of God and according to (κατά) our likeness
 that his image (εἰκόν) may shine for us”.
- 5 And they created (it) by their common efforts
 according to (κατά) the signs which were given them, and
 every one of the powers (ἐξουσία) gave within
 his psychic (ψυχικός) power a feature according to the type (τύπος)
 of image (εἰκόν) which he had seen. He made a being (ὑπόστασις)
- 10 according to (κατά) the likeness of the first,
 perfect (τέλειος) man, and they said, “Let us call him
 “Adam”, that his name may become
 a power of light for us”. And the powers (δύναμις) began (ἄρχειν).
 The first, the goodness (χρηστός), made
- 15 a soul (ψυχή) of bone, and (δέ) the second, Pronoia (πρόνοια),
 made a soul (ψυχή) of sinews; the third,
 the deity, made a soul (ψυχή)
 of flesh (σάρξ), and (δέ) the fourth, the lordship, made
 a soul (ψυχή) of marrow; the fifth, the kingdom,
- 20 made a soul (ψυχή) of blood; the sixth,
 the zeal, made a soul (ψυχή) of skin;
 the seventh, the wisdom, made
 a soul (ψυχή) of hair. And (δέ) the multitude of angels (ἄγγελος)
 rose up before it. They received from the powers (ἐξουσία) the seven
- 25 substances (ὑπόστασις) of soul (ψυχικός),
 in order to make
 the unity of limbs (μέλος) and the unity of pieces
 and the combination (σύνθεσις) of the order of each single
 limb (μέλος). The first began (ἄρχειν) by making
- 30 the head, Eteraphao [which] made
 its head, Meniggestroeth made
 the brain (ἐγκέφαλος), Asterechmen the right eye,
 Thaspomocham the left eye, Iero-
 nymos the right ear, Bissu the
- 35 left ear, Akioreim the nose,

- 1 BĀNĤNĒΦRŌŸM N̄NESΠOTOY AMHN
 N̄NOBZE IBĪKĀN N̄NAXZE BĀCĪLĪĀΔH̄M̄H
 M̄PARICOMION ĀXĤĀN C̄TĀΦŸL̄H ĀΔĀ
 BĀN M̄PMOYT' XĀĀMĀN M̄PCΦONTYΛOC
- 5 ΔĒĀRĤΩN TΨΟΥΒΕ TĤBĀR N̄TNAZE
 N̄GBOYP' M̄NĪĀRĤΩN M̄PKELENKEZ N̄
 GBOYP' ĀBĪT̄RĪΩN N̄ΘΩME N̄OYNAM ĒŸ
 ĀNΘH̄N N̄ΘΩME N̄GBOYP K̄RŸC N̄TΓIX'
 N̄OYNAM' B̄HĀŸĀĪ N̄TΓIX N̄GBOYP' T̄RH
- 10 N̄ĒŸ N̄NTHBE · N̄TΓIX' N̄NOYNAM' BĀLB̄HĀ
 N̄NTHBE N̄TΓIX' N̄GBOYP' KRIMA N̄N̄IE
 BE N̄N̄GIX' ĀC̄T̄R̄ΩΨ N̄TΓIBE N̄OYNAM
 BĀR̄R̄ΩΦ' N̄TΓIBE N̄GBOYP' BĀŌŸM̄ M̄ΠXΩ
 N̄OYNAM' ĀRĀR̄IM̄ M̄ΠXΩ N̄GBOYP ĀRĒX̄
- 15 N̄TKOILIA ΦΘAYH N̄ΘOΛΠE CHNAΦIM
 M̄PYΠOXONΔPIOC ĀRĀX̄ĒŌΩPI M̄PCPIR
 N̄OYNAM ZĀB̄ĒΔΩ M̄PCPIR' N̄GBOYP'
 BĀRĪĀC N̄T+ΠE N̄GBOYP ĀB̄H̄N̄LĒNĀR̄X̄Ē
 N̄NATKAC X̄NŌŸM̄ENĪNŌR̄IN̄ N̄N̄K̄ĒEC
- 20 ĜH̄CŌĀĒ M̄ΠCTOMAXOC AĜRŌMĀŸMĀ M̄
 ΦHT' BĀN̄Ω M̄ΠNEYMONIN CΩC̄T̄RĀPĀĀ
 M̄ΠZHΠAP' ĀN̄HCĪMĀĀR̄ M̄PCΠΛHN̄ ŌΩ
 PĪŌR̄Ω N̄NMEZT BĪBĀΩ N̄N̄GLATE
 POEPΩP · N̄MMOYT' TĀΦR̄ĒΩ N̄N̄X̄ICE
- 25 M̄PCΩMA ĪP̄ŌŸC̄PŌB̄ΩBĀ N̄N̄ΦΛEΨ'
 BINEBORIN NĀR̄TH̄RĪA LĀTŌIM̄EN̄ΨH̄ΦĒĪ
 N̄OYUNE N̄NIYE ETZ̄N̄ M̄MEΛOC THPOY
 H̄ N̄ΘOΛΛEI[N̄]T̄CAPZ' THP̄C BEΔOYK'
 M̄ΠTETE[NOYNAM] APABHEI ΠBAZ N̄GBOYP
- 30 EIAΩ NĀTP[] ΩPMA N̄EDYON ĜŌRMĀ
 KĀĪ ŌX̄ĀB̄ĀR̄ ΠMHPOC N̄OYNAM' NEB̄R̄IŌ
 ΠMHPOC N̄GBOYP' ΨH̄R̄HM̄ N̄GLATE N̄
 TOYPHTE N̄OYNAM ACAKΛAC T̄GLΩT'
 N̄GBOYP' ŌRMĀΩŌ M̄ΠΠET̄N̄OYNAM
- 35 [] HN̄YN M̄ΠΠET̄N̄GBOYP' K̄N̄ŸZ' TCH

28,29,30 and 35: lacunas; in line 28 space for two letters, l. 29 space for six letters, l. 30 space for three letters, l. 35 space for two letters.

Pl. 64.

- 1 Banenephrum the lips, Amen
the teeth, Ibikan the gums, Basiliademe
the tonsils (παρίσθμιον), Achchan the uvula (σταφυλή), Ada-
ban the neck, Chaaman the vertebra (σφόνδυλος),
- 5 Dearchon the throat, Tebar the left shoulder,
Mniarchon the left elbow,
Abitrion the right palm, Eu-
anthen the left palm, Krys the
right hand, Belyai the left hand, Tre-
- 10 nev the fingers of the right hand, Babel
the fingers of the left hand, Krime the nails
of the hands, Astrops the right (part of the) palate,
Barroph the left (part of the) palate, Baoum the
right part of the face, Ararin the left part of the face, Arech
- 15 the belly (κοιλία), Phthave the navel, Senaphim
the abdomen (ὑποχόνδριος), Arachethopi the right side,
Zabedo the left side,
Barias the left hip, Abenlenarchei
the marrow, Chnumeninorin the bones,
- 20 Gesole the pharynx (στόμαχος), Agromauma
the heart, Bano the lungs (πνεύμων), Sostrapal
the liver (ἥπαρ), Anesimalar the spleen (σπλήν), Tho-
pithro the bowels, Biblo the kidneys,
Roeror the sinews, Taphreo the spine
- 25 of the body (σῶμα), Ipuspoboba the veins (φλέψ),
Bineborin the arteries (ἀρτηρία), Latoimenpsephei-
nounge the breath which is in all the limbs (μέλος),
Entholei[] all the flesh (σάρξ), Beduk
that which is [to the right], Arabei the left (part of) penis(?)
- 30 Eilo [] orma the pudenda (αἰδοῖον), Gorma-
kaiochlabar the right loin (μηρός), Nebrith
the left loin (μηρός), Pserem the kidney
of the right side, Asaklas the left kidney,
Ormaoth that which is on the right
- 35 [] enyn that which is on the left, Knyx the right shin-bone,

28, 29, 30 and 35: the lacunas can not be filled out with certainty.

- 1 ΒΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ' ΤΥΠΗΛΩΝ ΤΗΒΕ ΝΕΒΟΥΡ
 ΑΧΙΗΛ· ΝΤΚΛΛΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ' ΦΝΗΜΗ ΝΤΚΛ
 ΛΕ ΝΕΒΟΥΡ' ΦΙΟΥΘΡΩΜ ΝΤΟΥΡΗΤΕ ΝΟΥ
 ΝΑΜ ΒΟΑΒΕΛ ΝΝΕΣΤΗΗΒΕ ΤΡΑΧΟΥΝ Ν
- 5 ΤΟΥΡΗΤΕ ΝΕΒΟΥΡ' ΦΙΚΝΑ ΝΝΕΣΤΗΗΒΕ
 ΜΙΑΜΑΙ · ΝΕΙΕΙΒ · ΝΝΟΥΡΗΤΕ ΛΑΒΗΡΝΙΟΥΜ
 ΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΟΥΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ
 ΠΕΖ ΑΘΩΘ ΑΡΜΑΪ ΚΑΛΙΛΑ ΙΑΒΗΛ ΝΕΤΕ
 ΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΝΜΕΛΟΣ
- 10 ΤΑΠΕ ΜΕΝ ΔΙΟΛΙΜΟΔΡΑΖΑ ΠΜΟΥΤ' ΙΑΜ'
 ΜΕΑΞ' ΤΝΑΖΒΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΙΑΚΟΥΙΒ ΤΝΑΖ
 ΒΕ ΝΕΒΟΥΡ' ΟΥΕΡΤΩΝ ΤΕΙΧ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ' ΟΥ
 ΔΙΔΙ ΤΕΒΟΥΡ' ΑΡΒΑΟ ΝΤΗΒΕ ΝΤΕΙΧ ΝΟΥ
 ΝΑΜ ΛΑΜΠΠΩ ΝΤΗΒΕ ΝΤΕΙΧ ΝΕΒΟΥΡ'
- 15 ΛΗΕΚΑΦΑΡ ΤΕΙΒΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΒΑΡΒΑΡ ΤΕΙ
 ΒΕ ΝΕΒΟΥΡ' ΙΜΑΗ ΤΜΕΣΤΖΗΤ' ΠΙΣΑΝΔΡΑ
 ΠΤΗΪ ΠΧΩ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΚΟΑΔΗ ΠΧΩ ΝΕΒΟΥΡ
 ΟΔΕΩΡ ΣΠΙΡ' ΝΟΥΝΑΜ' ΑΣΦΙΞΙΞ' ΠΣΠΙΡ
 ΝΕΒΟΥΡ' ΣΥΝΟΓΧΟΥΤΑ ΤΚΟΙΛΙΑ ΑΡΟΥΦ
- 20 ΠΕΚΟΥΝΥ' ΣΑΒΑΛΩ ΠΜΗΡΟΣ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ
 ΧΑΡΧΑΡΒ ΠΜΗΡΟΣ ΝΕΒΟΥΡ ΧΘΑΩΝ
 ΝΑΙΔΟΙΟΝ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΒΑΘΙΝΩ ΠΠΕΤΝ
 ΟΥΝΑΜ' ΧΟΥΖ' ΠΠΕΤΝΕΒΟΥΡ ΧΑΡΧΑ
 ΤΗΒΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΑΡΩΗΡ ΤΗΒΕ ΝΕΒΟΥΡ'
- 25 ΤΩΕΧΕΑ ΤΚΛΛΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ' ΑΩΛ ΤΚΛΛΕ
 ΝΕΒΟΥΡ' ΧΑΡΑΝΗΡ ΤΟΥΡΗΤΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ'
 ΒΑΪΤΑ ΝΝΕΣΤΗΗΒΕ ΑΡΧΕΝΤΕΧΘΑ ΤΟΥ
 ΡΗΤΕ ΝΕΒΟΥΡ ΜΑΡΟΥΦ[Ν]ΣΥΝΘ ΝΝΕΣΤΗ
 ΗΒΕ ΑΒΡΑΝΑ ΝΕΥ[ΤΟΥΟΥ] ΕΖΡΑΪ ΖΙΧΝ
- 30 ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΓΙ ΣΑΥΪ Ζ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΟΥΡΙΗΛ
 ΑΣΜΕΝΕΔΑΣ ΣΑΦΑ ΣΑΤΩΗΛ ΑΑΡΜΟΥΡΙΑΜ
 ΡΙΧΡΑΜΑΜΙΩΡΨ' ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΖΙΧΝ ΝΑΙΣΘΗ
 ΣΙΣ ΑΡΧΕΝΔΕΚΤΑ · ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΖΙΧΝ ΤΑΝΑΛΗΜ'
 ΨΙΣ ΔΕΙΘΑΡΒΑΘΑΪ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΖΙΧΝ ΤΦΑ
- 35 ΤΑΣΙΑ ΟΥΜΜΑΑ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΖΙΧΝ ΠΧ[ΩΝ]Υ

35 ΠΧ[ΩΝ]Υ; the second letter damaged and the conjecture is supported by Pl. 63,27.
 65,8-32 without parallel in BG and C III.
 65,32-67,2 without parallel in BG and C III.

Pl. 65.

- 1 Typelon the left shin-bone,
 Achiel the right knee, Phneme the
 left knee, Phiuthrom the right foot,
 Boabel its toes, Trachun the
 5 left foot, Phikna its toes,
 Miamai the nails of the feet, Labernium.
 And (δέ) those which established them over all these
 are the 7: Athoth, Armas, Kalila, Iabel. But (δέ) those
 which partially (κατὰ μέρος) are working (ἐνεργεῖν) in the limbs (μέλος):
 10 now (μέν) the head Diolimodraza, the neck Iammeax,
 the right shoulder Iakuib, the
 left shoulder Verton, the right hand Udidi,
 the left Arbao, the fingers of the right hand
 Lampno, the fingers of the left hand
 15 Leekaphar, the right (part of the) palate Barbar, the
 left (part of the) palate Ima, the breast Pisandra-
 ptes, the right (part of the) face Koade, the left (part of the) face
 Odeor, the right side Asphixix, the left side
 Synongchuta, the belly (κοιλία) Aruph,
 20 the pudenda Sabalo, the right loin (μηρός)
 Charcharb, the left loin (μηρός) Chthaon,
 the whole pudenda (αἰδοῖον) Bathinoth, that to the right
 Chux, that to the left Charcha,
 the right shin-bone Aroer, the left shin-bone
 25 Toechea, the right knee Aol, the left knee
 Charaner, the right foot
 Bastan, its toes Archentechtha, the left
 foot Maroph[n]synth, its toes
 Abrana. Seven—7—established them
 30 over all those: Michael, Uriel,
 Asmenedas, Sapha, Satoel, Aarmuriam,
 Richramamiorps. And these over the senses (αἴσθησις)
 Archendekta, and that which is over the understanding (ἀνάλημψις)
 is Deitharbatas, and that which is over the imagination (φαντασία)
 35 is Ummaa, and that which is over [the harmony]

- 1 ΑΑΧῙΑΡ̄ΑΜ̄ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΖΙΧ̄Ν ΤΖΟΡΜΗ ΤΗΡ̄C
 ΡΙΑΡ̄ΑΜ̄Ν̄ΑΧ̄Ω ΤΠΗΓΗ ΔΕ Ν̄ΝΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ
 ΝΑῙ ΕΤΖ̄Ν ΠCΩΜΑ ΤΗΡ̄C' CΕΤΗΨ ΕΥΤΟ
 ΟΥ ΟΥΖ̄ΜΜΕ ΟΥΑΡΟΥ ΟΥΖΟCΒΕC ΟΥ
- 5 ΨΟΟΥΕ ΤΟΥΜΑΑΥ ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΤΕ ΤΖΥ
 ΛΗ ΠΕΤΟ ΔΕ Ν̄ΧΟΕΙC ΕΧ̄Μ ΠΖΜΟΜ Φ̄Λ̄O
 Ξ̄OΦ̄Α ΠΕΤΟ ΔΕ Ν̄ΧΟΕΙC ΕΧ̄Μ ΠΑΡΟΥ
 OΡ̄ŌOΡ̄P̄ŌŌC ΠΕΤΟ ΔΕ Ν̄ΧΟΕΙC ΕΧ̄Μ ΠΕ
 ΤΨΟΥΩΟΥ ΕΡΙΜ̄ΑΧ̄Ω ΠΕΤΟ ΔΕ Ν̄ΧΟΕΙC
- 10 ΑΧ̄Μ ΠΩCΒΕ ΑΘ̄ΥΡ̄Ω ΤΜΑΑΥ ΔΕ Ν̄ΝΑῙ ΤΗ
 ΡΟΥ CΑΖΕ ΕΡΑΤ̄C Ν̄ΤΟΥΜΗΤΕ Ο̄Ν̄OΡ̄Θ̄ŌΧ̄Ρ̄Α
 C̄ΑΕῙ ΕCΨΟΟΠ̄ Ν̄ΑΤΤOΨ̄C ΑΥΩ CΤΗΖ
 Ν̄Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΤΑῙ ΝΑΜΕΤΕ ΤΖΥΛΗ
 ΕΥCΑΝΑΨΤ' ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤOΟΤ̄C ΠΥΤOΟΥ
- 15 Ν̄ΑΡΧΗΓOС Ν̄ΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΕΦ̄Ε̄Μ̄Ε̄Μ̄Φ̄Ι ΠΕ
 ΠΑΤΖΗΔΟΝΗ ῙΩ̄K̄Ω ΠΕ ΠΑΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙΑ
 ΝΕΝΕΝ'ΤΩΦΝΙ ΠΕ ΠΑΤΛΥΠΗ Β̄Λ̄ᾹŌΜ̄Η̄Ν
 ΠΕ ΠΑΤΖΝΩΖΕ ΤΟΥΜΑΑΥ ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ Ε̄C̄ŌΗ̄Ν
 C̄ĪC̄ŌῩΧ̄ΕΠ̄ĪΠ̄T̄ŌΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ Ζ̄Ν ΠΙΥΤOΟΥ
- 20 Ν̄ΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΑΥΨΩΠΕ Ν̄GΙ Ζ̄Ν ΠΑΘOС Ε
 ΒΟΛ ΔΕ Ζ̄Ν ΤΛΥΠΗ ΟΥΦΘΟΝOС ΟΥΚΩΖ
 ΟῩΜ̄ΚΑΖ ΟΥΟΧΛΗCIC ΟΥΝΙΚΕ ΟΥΜ̄Ν̄Τ
 ΑΤ̄P̄ ΖΤΗC' ΟΥΡOΟΥΨ ΟΥΖΗΒΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΚΕ
 ΨΩΧΠ' ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ Ζ̄Ν ΤΖΗΔΟΝΗ ΨΑΥ'
- 25 ΨΩΠΕ Ν̄GΙ ΖΑΖ Ν̄ΚΑΚΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΠΨΟΥΨΟΥ
 ΕΤΨΟΥΕΙΤ' ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΝΑῙ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΔΕ Ζ̄Ν ΤΕΠΙΘ[Υ]ΜΙΑ ΟΥΟΡΓΗ ΟΥCΩΝΤ
 Μ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΧO[ΛOС Μ̄Ν̄ O]ΥΕΡΩC · ΕΥCΑΨΕ
 Μ̄Ν̄ ΟΥΜ̄Ν̄ΤΑΤ̄C̄ΕΙ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΤΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΝΑῙ
- 30 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ Ζ̄Ν ΤΝΩΖΕ ΟΥΕΚ'ΠΛΗΖIC ΟΥ
 ΚΩΡΨ ΟΥΑΓΩΝΙΑ ΟΥΨΙΠΕ ΝΑῙ ΔΕ ΤΗ
 ΡΟΥ Ν̄ΘΕ Ζ̄ΝΖ̄Ν ΠΕΤ̄P̄ ΨΑΥ Μ̄Ν̄ Μ̄ΠΕΘO
 ΟΥ ΤΕΝΝΟΙΑ ΔΕ Ν̄ΤΕ ΤΟΥΜΗΕ ΤΕ ΑΝΑ
 ΓΚΗ] ΕΤΕ ΤΑῙ ΤΕ ΤΑΠΕ Ν̄ΤΖΥΛΙΚΗ Ν̄ΨΥ
- 35 ΧΗ

30 Ζ̄Ν ΤΝΩΖΕ, read Ζ̄Ν Τ<Ζ>ΝΩΖΕ.

32 The seventh letter Ζ is in the ms. cancelled by strokes. ΠΕΤ̄P̄ ΨΑΥ, read ΠΕΤ̄P̄ <ΑΤ>ΨΑΥ.

Pl. 66.

- 1 Aachiarum, and that who is over the whole motion (ὅρμη)
 Riaramnacho. And (δέ) four are established as the fount (πηγή) of the
 daemons (δαίμων) who are in the whole body (σῶμα):
 heat, cold, moisture, dryness,
- 5 and (δέ) the mother of them all is the substance (ὑλη).
 And (δέ) he who reigns over the heat Phlo-
 xopha, and he (δέ) who reigns over the cold
 Oroorrothos, and (δέ) he who reigns over the
 dryness Erimacho, and (δέ) he who reigns
- 10 over the moistness Athyro, and (δέ) the mother of all
 these placed herself in their midst, Onorthochra-
 sai, being unlimited, and she mingled
 herself with them all, and she will enjoy the substance (ὑλη)
 for (γάρ) they are nourished of this. The four
- 15 leading (ἀρχηγός) daemons (δαίμων) are Ephememphi who is
 of lust (ἡδωνή), Ioko who is of desire (ἐπιθυμία),
 Nenentophni who is of pain (λύπη), Blaomen
 who is of fear. But (δέ) the mother of them all is Esten-
 sisuchepiptoe. But (δέ) passions (πάθος) came from the four
- 20 daemons (δαίμων);
 and (δέ) from the pain (λύπη) jealousy (φθόνος), envy,
 grief, confusion (ὀχλησις) discord (νεῖκος), stubbornness,
 anxiety, sorrow and the other
 rest; and (δέ) these come from the lust (ἡδωνή)
- 25 much wickedness (κακία) and the empty
 pride and things which are like these;
 and (δέ) from the desire (ἐπιθυμία) anger (ὀργή), wrath
 and gall (χόλος) [and] bitter passion (ἔρως)
 and insatiability and things which are like these;
- 30 and (δέ) from the fear consternation (ἐκπληξις), flattery,
 struggle (ἀγωνία), shame and (δέ) all these of that kind of
 that which is useless and that
 which is evil; but (δέ) their true thought (ἐννοία) is necessity (ἀνάγκη)
 which is the head of the psychic (ψυχή)
- 35 matter (ὕλικός).

32 "useless", the ms. has "useful" probably owing to a mistake.

- 1 ΕΣΨΟΟΠ ΓΑΡ Μῆ ΤΕΣΘΗCICZOYXEPH
ΠΤΩῆ ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΤΗΠΕ ἸῆΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΕΠΙ
ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ ΕΥΕΙΡΕ ἸΨῆΤΨΕCΕΤΗ ΕΑΥ
ῤ ΖΩΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ΄ ΨΑΝΤΥΔΩΚ΄ ΕΒΟΛ
- 5 ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΛΟC ἸῆΙ ΨΥΧΙΚΟΝ
ΑΥΩ ΠΖΥΛΙΚΟΝ ἸCΩΜΑ CΕΨΟΟΠ΄ ΓΑΡ
ἸῆΙ ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΖΙΧῆ ΠΚΕΨΩΧΠ΄ ἸΠΑ
ΘΟC ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕ ἸΠΙΧΟΟΥ ΝΑΚ΄ ΕΨΠΕ ΚΟΥ
ΩΨΕ ΔΕ ΑῖΜΜΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΥCHZ ΖΡΑΪ Ζῖ
- 10 ΠΧΩΩΜΕ ἸΖΩΡΟΑCΤΡΟC ΑΥῤ ΖΩΒ
ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ἸῆΙ ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC Μῆ ἸΔΑΙΜῶ
ΨΑΝΤΟΥΤCΕΝΟ ἸΨΥΧΙΚΟΝ ἸCΩΜΑ
ΑΥΩ ΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΤΗΡΥ ἸῆΙ ΠΟΥΖΩΥ΄ Ἰ
ΑΡΓΟΝ ΑΥΩ ἸΑΤΚΙΜ Ζῆ ΟΥΝΟC ἸΟΥ
- 15 ΟΕΨ΄ ΤΜΑΑΥ ΔΕ ἸΤΑΡΕCΟΥΩΨΕ ΑΧΙ
ἸΤCΟΜ ΕΝΤΑCΤΑΑC ἸΠΙΨΟΡΠ΄ ἸΑΡ΄
ΧΩΝ΄ ΑCCOΠC ἸΠΜΗΤΡΟΠΑΤΩΡ Ἰ
ΠΤΗΡΥ΄ ΠΑΠΝΟC ἸΝΑΕ ΑΥΤῆΝΟΟΥ Ἰ
ΤΟΥ ἸΦΩCΤΗΡ΄ Ζῖ ΠΨΟΧΝΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ΄
- 20 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧῖ ΠΤΟΠΟC ἸῆΑΓΓΕΛΟC ἸΠΡΩ
ΤΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΥΧΙ ΨΟΧΝΕ ΝΑΥ΄ ΖΩCΤΕ ΑΤΟΥ
ΕΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΤCΟΜ ἸΤΜΑΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΥ
ἸΙΑΛΤΑΒΑΩΘ ΧΕ ΝΙCΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ζῖ ΠΕΥ
ΖΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤῆ ΠΕΚῖῆῆ ΑΥΩ ΥΝΑΤΩ
- 25 ΩΝ ἸῆΙ ΠΕΥ΄CΩΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΝΙCΕ ΕΖΟΥΝ
ΕΖΡΑΥ ἸΠΕΥῖῆῆ ΕΤΕ ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΤCΟΜ΄
ἸΤΕΥ΄ΜΑΑΥ ἸΠΕΥῖῆΜΜΕ ΧΕ ΥΨΟΟΠ΄
Ζῆ ΟΥΜῆΤΑΤCΟΟΥΝ ΑΥΩ ΑCΒΩΚ΄ ΕΖῶΥ
ἸῆΙ ΤΔΥΝΑΜΙC ἸΤΜΑΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤῆ ΑΛ
- 30 ΤΑΒΑΩΘ΄ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΨΥΧΙΚΟC ἸCΩΜΑ
ΠΕΤΑΥῤ ΖΩΒ ΕΡΟΥ΄ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΙΝΕ ἸΠΕΤ΄
ΨΟΟΠ Χῆ ἸΨΟΡΠ΄ ΑΥΚΙΜ΄ ΑΥΩ ΑΥCῖ
CΟΜ΄ ἸC΄ ΠCΩΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΑΥῤ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ΄
ΑΥΩ ΑΥΚΩZ Ζῆ ΤΟΥΝΟΥ ΕΤῖΜΑΥ ἸῆΙ

20 ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧῖ ΠΤΟΠΟC ἸῆΑΓΓΕΛΟC thus the ms.; C III 24,3 has ἸΤΥΠΟC ἸῆΑΓ[Γ]ΕΛΟC, BG 51,10 has Ζῖ ΠΕCΜΟΥ ἸῆΑΓΓΕΛΟC; probably read ΤΥΠΟC for ΤΟΠΟC. in Pl.67,20. 67,2–10 without parallel in BG and C III. 67,10–15 ≠ BG 50,11–51,1 ≠ C III 23,12–19. 67,15–68,5 ≠ BG 51,1–52,11 ≠ C III 23,19–24,20.

Pl. 67.

- 1 for (γάρ) it is together with Esthesiszuchepi-
ptoe. This is the number of the angels (ἄγγελος) together (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό);
they are three hundred and sixty five; they made
everything for him until the psychic (ψυχικός)
- 5 and the material (ὕλικός) body (σῶμα) was completed by
them, limb (μέλος) for (κατά) limb. There are, however (γάρ), others
over the remaining passions (πάθος)
whom I have not told you;
but (δέ) if you wish to know them, it is written
- 10 in the book of Zoroastros.
And (δέ) all the angels (ἄγγελος) and the daemons (δαίμων) worked
until they had adorned the psychic (ψυχικός) body (σῶμα),
but their work remained completely inactive (ἄργος)
and motionless for a long time.
- 15 But (δέ) when the mother wished to get
the power which she had given to the first
archon (ἄρχων), she prayed to the Metropator (μητροπάτωρ) of the
all who is most merciful. He sent with
the holy decision the five lights (φωστήρ)
- 20 in the type (τύπος) of the angels (ἄγγελος) of the Protarchon (πρωτάρχων).
They advised him that (ὥστε) he should
bring forth the power of the mother, and they said
to Ialtabaoth, "Blow in his face
something of your spirit (πνεῦμα), and
- 25 his body (σῶμα) will arise!" And he blew into
him of his spirit (πνεῦμα) which is the power
from his mother; he did not know it because he existed
in ignorance, and
the mother's power (δύναμις) went out from Al-
- 30 tabaoth into the psychic (ψυχικός) body (σῶμα)
which they had made for him after (κατά) the image of him
who existed from the beginning. The body (σῶμα) moved and received
strength and it shone.
But the rest of the powers (δύναμις) became immediately envious

20 "in the type (τύπος) of"; the ms. has: "to the place (τόπος) of".

- 1 ΠΕΚΕΣΕΕΠΕ ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΧΕ ΝΤΑΨΩΠΕ
ΓΑΡ' ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΥ† ΝΤΕΥ
ΓΑΜ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΑCΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΓΙ ΤΕΨΜΝΤ
ΡΜΝΖΗΤ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΑΝΕΤΑΖΤΑΜΙΟΥ' ΑΥΩ Ν
5 ΖΟΥΟ ΑΠΨΟΡΠ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΝΤΑΡΟΥΜΜΕ ΔΕ
ΧΕ ΧΟ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ ΨΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΖΟΥΟ
ΕΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΨΚΗΚ ΑΖΗΥ ΝΤΚΑΚΙΑ ΑΥΨΙ Μ
ΜΟΥ' ΑΥΝΟΧΨ' ΑΠΜΕΡΟC ΕΤΜΠCΑ Μ'ΠΙΤΝ
ΝΤΖΥΛΗ ΤΗΡC ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΔΕ ΠΜΗΤΡΟΠΑ
10 ΤΩΡ' ΠΡΕΨ ΡΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΨ' ΑΥΩ ΠΨΑΝΖΤΗΨ'
ΑΨΨΝΖΤΗΨ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΑΧΝ ΤΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΝΤΜΑ
ΑΥ ΤΑΪ ΕΤΑΥΝΤC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΜ ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΩΝ
ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΧΕ CΕΝΑΓΜΓΟΜ' ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΜ ΠCΩ
ΜΑ ΜΨΥΧΙΚΟΝ ΑΥΩ ΠΕCΘΗΤΟΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΨ'
15 ΤΝΝΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ ΠΕΨΠΝΑ ΝΡΕΨ ΡΕ
ΤΝΑΝΟΥΨ' ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΝΑΨΕ ΠΕΨΝΑ ΝΟΥ
ΒΟΗΘΟC ΝΑΔΑΜ ΟΥΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ
ΤΑΪ ΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΨ ΤΕ ΕΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC
ΧΕ ΖΩΗ ΤΑΪ ΔΕ ΕCΡΖΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙ ΝΤΚΤΙCΙC
20 ΤΗΡC ΕCΨΕΠ ΖΙCΕ ΝΜΜΑΨ' ΑΥΩ ΕCΣΩΖΕ
ΜΜΑΨ' ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΕΨΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΕC
ΤCΕΒΟ ΜΜΑΨ' ΑΤΕΨΓΙΝΕΙ ΑΠΙΤΝ ΜΠC'
ΠΕΡΜΑ ΕCΤCΑΒΟ ΜΜΟΥ' ΕΠΜΑΪΤ ΒΒΩΚ
ΕΖΡΑΪ ΠΜΑΪΤ ΕΝΤΑΨ'ΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΜΜΑΨ ΑΥ
25 Ω ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕCΖΗΠ' ΖΝ Α
ΔΑΜ ΧΕΚΑΑC ΝΝΟΥΜΜΕ ΝΓΙ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ
ΑΛΛΑ ΝCΨΩΠΕ ΝΓΙ ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΝΟΥCΩ
ΖΕ ΜΠΨΤΑ ΝΤΜΑΑΨ ΑΥΩ ΑΨ'ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ
ΝΓΙ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΖΑΪΒΕC ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ
30 ΤΑΪ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤΨ' ΑΥΩ ΑΠΕΨΜΕ
ΕΥΕ ΧΙCΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΝΕΤΑΖΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ
ΝΤΑΡΟΥΕΙΩΡΜΕ ΑΤΠΕ ΑΥΝΑΨ ΕΡΟΥ'
ΧΕ ΨΧΟCΕ ΝΓΙ ΠΕΨΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΙΡΕ
ΝΟΥΨΟΧΝΕ ΜΝ ΤΑΡΧΟΝΤΙΚΗ ΜΝ ΤΑΓ'
35 ΓΕΛΙΚΗ ΤΗΡC ΑΥΨΙ ΝΟΥCΑΤΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΚΑΖ

Pl. 68.

- 1 for he had yet (γάρ) come into existence
 through them all, and they had given their
 power to the man, and his wisdom
 made him stronger than them that had created him, and
 5 stronger than the first archon (ἄρχων). But (δέ) when they knew
 that he was light and thought better than
 them and that he was without evil (κακία) they took
 him (and) threw him into the lowest region (μέρος)
 of the whole mater (ὕλη). But (δέ) the blessed (μακάριος)
 10 Metropator (μητροπάτωρ), the beneficent and merciful,
 had pity upon the power (δύναμις) from the mother
 which was brought out from the Protarchon (πρωτάρχων)
 and also because they would take power over the
 psychic (ψυχικός) and sensible (αἰσθητός) body (σῶμα). And
 15 he sent out from his spirit (πνεῦμα)
 which is beneficent and rich in his grace
 a helper (βοηθός) to Adam, an Epinoia (ἐπίνοια) of light
 which is from him. And they called it
 "Zoe (ζωή)", and (δέ) she helps (ὑπουργεῖν) the whole creation (κτίσις)
 20 for she takes care of him and places him
 in his fulfilment (πλήρωμα) and teaches
 him about his descent to the seed (σπέρμα)
 and teaches him about the way he shall go
 up, the way he came down. And
 25 the Epinoia (ἐπίνοια) of light is hidden in Adam
 so that the archons (ἄρχων) should not know it
 but (ἀλλά) that Epinoia (ἐπίνοια) may be a restoration
 of the mother's want. And the man
 was revealed because of the shadow from the light
 30 which was in him and his thought
 arose over (παρά) all those that had created him.
 When they looked upwards they saw it
 because his thought was high and they took
 counsel with the multitude of the archons (ἄρχοντικός) and the whole
 35 multitude of angels (ἁγγελικός). They brought fire and earth

- 1 Μῆ ΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΑΥΤΩ2 Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ Μῆ ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ
 Μῆ ΠΕΥΤΟΥ ΤΗΥ Ἰ̄CΑΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΨΩ6Ε Ε
 ΖΟΥΝ 2ῆ ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΙΡΕ Ἰ̄ΟΥΝΟ6
 Ἰ̄ΨΤΟΡΤ̄Ρ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΩΛ Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΤ2ΑἸ
- 5 ΒΕC Μ̄ΠΜΟΥ ΧΕΚΑΑC ΕΥΝΑΠΛΑCCE Ἰ̄ΚΕ
 CΟΠ' ΕΒΟΛ 2ῆ ΠΚΑ2 Μῆ ΠΜΟΟΥ Μῆ ΤΚΩ2Τ'
 ΑΥΩ ΠΕἸῆῆΑ ΠΕ ΒΟΛ 2ῆ Τ2ΥΛΗ ΕΤΕ ΤΑἸ ΤΕ
 ΤΜῆΤΑΤCΟΟΥΝ Μ̄ΠΚΑΚΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΠΙΘΥ
 ΜΕΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΥἸῆῆΑ ΕΤΨΒΒΙΑΕΙΤ' ΕΤΕ ΠΑἸ
- 10 ΠΕ ΠCΠΗΛΑΙΟΝ Ἰ̄ΤΑΝΑΠΛΑCΙC Μ̄ΠCΩΜΑ
 ΠΑἸ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΑΥ' 2ἰ ΠΡΩΜΕ Ἰ̄6ἰ Ἰ̄ΛΗCΤΗC
 ΤΜ̄ΡΡΕ Ἰ̄Τ̄ΒΨΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΑἸ ΑΥΨΩΠΕ Ἰ̄ΟΥ
 ΡΩΜΕ ΕΨΑΥΜΟΥ ΠΑἸ ΠΕ ΝΤΑ2ΕΙ Ε2ΡΑἸ
 Ἰ̄ΨΟΡΠ' ΑΥΩ ΠΨΟΡΠ Μ̄ΠΩΡΧ' ΕΒΟΛ ΤΕ
- 15 ΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ' ΕΤΝΑC Ἰ̄2ΗΤΥ' Ἰ̄
 ΤΟC ΠΕΤΝΑCΤΟΥΝΟΥC Μ̄ΠΕΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΥ
 Ω ΑΥΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥ Ἰ̄6ἰ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΥΚΩ Μ̄
 ΜΟΥ' 2ΡΑἸ 2ῆ ΠΑΡΑΔΙCΟC ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ
 ΧΕ ΟΥΩΜ ΕΤΕ ΠΑἸ ΠΕ 2ῆ ΟΥC̄ΡΥΕ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ
- 20 ΤΟΥΤΡΥΦΗ CΑΨΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΟΥCΑΕ ΟΥΑΝΟ
 ΜΟΝ ΠΕ ΤΟΥΤΡΥΦΗ ΔΕ ΤΕ ΤΑΠΑΤΗ ΑΥΩ
 ΝΟΥΨΗΝ ΤΕ ΤΜῆΤΑCΕΒΗC ΑΥΩ ΠΟΥΚΑΡ
 ΠΟC ΟΥΜΑΤΟΥ Ἰ̄ΑΤΤΑΛ6Ο ΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΟΥ
 ΨΠΩΠ' ΟΥΜΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΨΗΝ ΔΕ Ἰ̄ΤΕΠΟΥ
- 25 ΩΝ2 ΕΝΤΑΥΚΩ Μ̄ΜΟΥ 2ῆ ΤΜΗΤΕ Μ̄ΠΑ
 ΡΑΔΙCΟC ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ †ΝΑΤCΑΒΩΤῆ ΧΕ
 ΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ Ἰ̄ΤΕΠΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΤΕ
 ΠΑἸ ΠΕ ΠΨΟΧΝΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΑΑΥ Μῆ ΝΟΥΕ
 ΡΗΥ ΕΤΕ ΠΑἸ ΠΕ ΠΕΙΝΕ Μ̄ΠΟΥἸῆῆΑ ΠΑἸ
- 30 ΕΡΕΤΕΥΝΟΥΝΕ CΑΨΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΚΛΑΔΟC
 2ΕΝΜΟΥ ΝΕ ΤΕΥ2ΟΙΒΕC ΟΥΜΟCΤΕ ΠΕ
 ΑΥΩ ΟΥΑΠΑΤΗ ΤΕΤΨΟΟΠ 2ῆ ΝΕΥ6Ω
 ΩΒΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΥ+ΟΥΩ ΠΕ ΠΤΩ2C̄ Ἰ̄ΤΠΟ
 ΝΗΡΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΥΚΑΡΠΟC ΠΕ ΠΜΟΥ ΑΥ
- 35 Ω ΟΥΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΠΕ ΠΕΥCΠΕΡΜΑ ΑΥΩ
 ΕΥ† ΟΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ 2ῆ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΝΕΤΧΙ †ΠΕ

1 2 is added above the line.

7 ΑΥΩ ΠΕἸῆῆΑ ΠΕ ΒΟΛ 2ῆ Τ2ΥΛΗ, read: ΑΥΩ ΠΕἸῆῆΑ ΠΕ <Ε>ΒΟΛ 2ῆ Τ2ΥΛΗ (haplo-graphy), or perhaps: ΑΥΩ ΠΕἸῆῆΑ<ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ>ΠΕ <Ε>ΒΟΛ 2ῆ Τ2ΥΛΗ.

Pl. 69.

- 1 and water; they mixed these things together with each other
and the four winds of fire, and they joined
them together and made a great
confusion. And they brought him into the shadow
5 of death so that they again could form (πλάσσειν)
of earth and water and fire
and wind (πνεῦμα), that is of matter (ὕλη), that is
the ignorance of darkness and desire (ἐπιθυμία)
and their opposed spirit (πνεῦμα), that is
10 the grave (σπήλαιον) of the new creation (ἀνάπλασις) of the body (σῶμα)
which the robbers (ληστές) gave to man,
the chain of the oblivion and he became
a mortal man, he who first came
down, and the first separation.
- 15 But (δέ) Epinoia (ἐπίνοια) of light, which was in him, she
wakened his thought. And
the archons (ἄρχων) took him and set him
in Paradise (παράδεισος) and they said to him:
“Eat”, that is in delight, for (καὶ γάρ)
20 their delight (τρυφή) is bitter and their beauty lawless (ἄνομος).
But (δέ) their delight (τρυφή) is fraud (ἀπάτη), and
their trees impiety (ἀσεβείας) and their fruit (καρπός)
lethal poison, and their promise
death. And (δέ) they placed the tree of their
25 life in the midst of Paradise (παράδεισος).
But (δέ) I will teach you
what the secret (μυστήριον) is of their life, that
is the counsel they held with each
other, that is the likeness of their spirit (πνεῦμα), that
30 its root is bitter and its branches (κλάδος)
are death, its shadow is hatred
and fraud (ἀπάτη) is in its leaves,
and its sprout is the ointment of evil (πονηρία)
and its fruit (καρπός) is death, and
35 the desire (ἐπιθυμία) is its offspring (σπέρμα)
and it gives fruit of the darkness which they taste;

- 1 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΥ' ΠΕΥΜΑ ΝΨΩΠΕ ΠΕ Α
 ΜΝΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΠΕ ΠΟΥΜΑ ΝΜΤΟΝ
 ΠΕΝΤΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΔΕ ΕΡΟΥ' ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ
 ΧΕ ΠΨΗΝ ΝΣΟΥΝ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΥ' ΜΝ ΠΕΤ'
- 5 ΖΟΥΥ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Ε
 ΑΥΩ ΜΠΕΥ'ΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΝΝΕΥ'
 ΩΨΤ' ΕΖΡΑΪ ΑΠΧΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΑΤΡΕΥ'
 ΣΟΥΩΝ ΠΚΩ ΝΚΑΖΗΥ ΝΤΕΥ'ΑΣΧΗΜΟΣΥ
 ΝΗ ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΪΣΕΖΩΟΥ ΑΤΡΟΥΩΜ' ΑΥΩ
- 10 ΠΕΧΑΕΙ ΜΠΣΩΡ ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΗ ΦΑΥ ΑΝ
 ΠΕ ΝΤΑΥΤΣΕΒΕ ΑΔΑΜ' ΑΤΡΕΥΟΥΩΜ' ΑΥΩ
 ΒΕ ΝΓΙ ΠΣΩΡ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΦΟΥ' ΑΥΤΣΕΒΟΥΥ
 ΑΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΟΥΚΑΚΙΑ ΝΣΠΟΡΑ ΝΕ
 ΠΙΘΥΜΕΙΑ ΝΤΕΠΤΕΚΟ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΥΝΑΨΩ
- 15 ΠΕ ΝΑΥ' ΝΟΥΨΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΜΜΕ ΧΕ ΧΟ ΝΑΤ'
 ΣΩΤΜ ΝΑΥ' ΕΤΒΕ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ
 ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΝΖΗΤΥ' ΕΤΣΩΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΕΥ'
 ΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΖΟΥΟ ΑΠΨΟΡΠ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΥ'
 ΟΥΩΨΕ ΑΕΙΝΕ ΝΤΩΟΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΑΣ
- 20 ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΥ' ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΒΨΕ
 ΑΧΝ ΑΔΑΜ' ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΕΙ ΜΠΣΩΡ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΤΕ
 ΤΒΨΕ ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΘΕ ΑΝ ΕΝΤΑΜΩ
 ΥΧΣ ΣΖΑΪ ΕΑΚΣΩΤΜ ΑΥΧΟΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΖΡΑΪ ΖΜ
 ΠΕΥΨΟΡΠ ΝΧΩΜΕ ΧΕ ΑΥΧΤΟ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ
- 25 ΖΝ ΝΕΥΑΙΣΘΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΧΟΟΣ ΖΙΤΝ ΠΕ
 ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΧΕ ΨΝΑΖΡΟΥ' ΕΖΡΑΪ ΑΧΝ ΝΟΥ
 ΖΕΤΕ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΝΝΟΥΨ ΖΤΗΥ ΟΥΤΕ Χ ΝΝΟΥ
 ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ' ΤΟΤΕ ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΣ
 ΖΩΠ ΝΖΗΤΥ' ΑΥΩ ΑΥΟΥΩΨΕ ΝΓΙ ΠΡΩΤΑΡ
- 30 ΧΩΝ ΑΕΙΝΕ ΜΜΟΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΣΠΙΡ'
 ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΔΕ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΟΥΑΤΤΕΖΟΣ ΤΕ
 ΕΥΠΗΤ' ΝΣΩΣ ΝΓΙ ΠΚΑΚΕ ΜΠΥΤΕΖΟΣ ΑΥΩ
 ΑΥΕΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ' ΝΟΥΜΕΡΟΣ ΝΤΕΤΕΥΩΟΜ' Ε
 ΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΥ' ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΚΕΠΛΑΣΙΣ
- 35 ΖΝ ΟΥΜΟΡΦΗ ΝΣΖΙΜΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΝΕ ΝΤΕΠΙ
 ΝΟΙΑ ΕΤΑΖΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΑΥ' ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΙ

9 ΑΤΡΟΥΩΜ, read: ΑΤΡΟΥ(ΟΥ)ΩΜ. (haplography).

27 ΟΥΤΕ Χ ΝΝΟΥ ΝΑΥ, read ΟΥΤΕ Χ(Ε) ΝΝΟΥΝΑΥ (haplography).
 70,28-73,16 ≠ BG 59,6-64,13 ≠ C III 29,12-32,22.

Pl. 70.

- 1 their dwelling-place is Amente
and darkness is their place of rest.
But (δέ) that which by them is called
“the tree of knowledge of good and
5 evil”, that is the Epinoia (ἐπίνοια) of light;
they remained in front of him, that he
should not look upon his fulfilment (πλήρωμα) and
acknowledge the nakedness of his ugliness (ἄσχημοσύνη);
but (δέ) I caused them to eat”. And
10 I said to the Saviour (σωτήρ), “Lord, was it not (μή) the serpent
that taught Adam to eat?”
The Saviour (σωτήρ) smiled and said, “The serpent taught them
to eat of the wickedness (κακία) of the desirous (ἐπιθυμία),
depraved procreation (σπορά) that it might
15 be useful for him. But he knew that he was
disobedient to him owing to the light of Epinoia (ἐπίνοια)
which was in him and which through his thought
placed him over the first archon (ἄρχων), and he
desired to bring out the power which was
20 given him by him, and he brought a sleep
over Adam”. And I said to the Saviour (σωτήρ), “What
is the sleep?” But (δέ) he said, “Not such as Moses
wrote as you have heard, for (γάρ) he said in
his first book, “He let him sleep”; but (ἀλλά) in his
25 knowledge (αἴσθησις); for he said also (καὶ γάρ) through the
prophet (προφήτης), “ I will make their hearts heavy
that they shall neither observe nor (οὔτε)
see”. Then (τότε) the Epinoia (ἐπίνοια) of light hid herself
in him, and the Protarchon (πρωτάρχων) would bring
30 her out of his side.
But (δέ) the Epinoia (ἐπίνοια) of light is unattainable;
when the darkness hunted after her it did not catch her
and it brought (only) a part (μέρος) of his power out of
him and it created a new creation (πλάσις)
35 in form (μορφή) of a woman according to (κατὰ) the image of Epinoia (ἐπίνοια)
which was revealed to him, and he brought

- 1 ΝΕ ΜΠΜΕΡΟΣ ΕΝΤΑΥΧΙΤΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ Τ6ΟΜ
 ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΠΛΑΣΜΑ ΝΤΜΝΤCΖΙΜΕ
 ΑΥΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΑΝ ΕΝΤΑΥΧΙΧΟΟΣ Ν6Ι ΜΩΥCΗC
 ΧΕ ΤΕΥΒΕΤ CΠΙΡ' ΑΥΩ ΑΥΝΑΥ ΑΤCΖΙΜΕ ΖΑ
- 5 ΤΗΥ' ΖΝ ΤΟΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΑCΟΥΩΝΖ Ε
 ΒΟΛ Ν6Ι ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΑC6ΩΛΠ' Ε
 ΒΟΛ' ΜΠΚΑΛΥΜΜΑ ΕΤΝΖΡΑΪ ΖΙΧΝ ΠΕΥΖΗΤ
 ΑΥΩ ΑΥΡΝΗΦΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ Π+ΖΕ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ
 ΑΥΩ ΑΥCΟΥΝ ΤΕΥΕΙΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΥ' ΧΕ
- 10 ΠΑΪ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΟΥΚΑΑC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΑΚΑΑC ΠΕ
 ΑΥΩ ΟΥCΑΡΖ' ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΑCΑΡΖ ΤΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ
 ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΑΚΩ ΝCΩΥ' ΜΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΤΕΥ'
 ΜΑΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΥΤΟ6Υ' ΑΤΕΥCΖΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΝCΕ
 ΨΩΠΕ ΜΠΕCΝΑΥ ΕΥCΑΡΖ' ΟΥΩΤ ΧΕ CΕ
- 15 ΝΑΤΝΝΟΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΥ' ΜΠΕΥΨΒΡ ΝΖΩΤΡ
 ΑΥΩ ΥΝΑΚΩ ΝCΩΥ ΜΠΥΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΤΥΜΑΑΥ
 {ΑΥΩ ΝΥΤΟ6Υ' ΑΤΕΥCΖΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΝCΕΨΩΠΕ
 ΜΠΕCΝΑΥ ΕΥCΑΡΖ' ΟΥΩΤ' ΧΕ CΕΝΑΤΝΝΟ
 ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΝΑΥ' ΜΠΕΥΨΒΡ ΝΖΩΤΡ ΑΥΩ ΥΝΑΚΩ
- 20 ΝCΩΥ ΜΠΥΕΙΩΤ ΜΝ ΤΥΜΑΑΥ} ΤΝCΩΝΕ
 ΔΕ ΤCΟΦΙΑ ΤΑΪ ΕΤΑΖΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΟΥΜΝΤ
 ΑΚΑΚΟC ΧΕΚΑΑC ΕCΝΑCΩΖΕ ΜΠΕΨΤΑ
 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕ ΖΩΗ ΕΤΕ ΤΑΪ
 ΤΕ ΤΜΑΑΥ ΝΝΕΤΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ ΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ
- 25 ΝΤΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΙΑ . ΝΤΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤC
 ΑΥΧΙ ΰΠΕ ΝΤΓΝΩCΙC ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟC ΑΪΟΥΩΝΖ
 ΑΝΟΚ' ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠCΜΑΤ ΝΟΥΑΕΤΟC ΖΙΧΝ
 ΠΨΗΝ ΜΠCΟΟΥΝ ΕΤΕ ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΕΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΤΒ
- 30 ΒΗΥ ΧΕΚΑΑC ΕΪΝΑΤCΕΒΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑΤΟΥ
 ΝΟCΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΨΙΚ ΜΠΖΙΝΗΒ' ΝΕΥ
 ΨΟΟΠ' ΓΑΡ ΜΠCΝΑΥ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΜ
 ΜΕ ΑΠΟΥΚΩΚ ΑΖΗΥ ΑCΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 Ν6Ι ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΕCΟ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕCΤΟΥΝΟΥC
- 35 ΜΠΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΝΤΑΡΕΥΜΜΕ ΔΕ Ν6Ι
 ΑΛΔΑΒΑΩΘ ΧΕ ΑΥCΕΖΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΥ
 ΑΥCΟΥΖΩΡ ΜΠΕΥΚΑΖ ΑΥ6Ν ΤCΖΙΜΕ ΕC

17–20 The words between the bracketts { } must be omitted (dittography).

37 ΑΥCΟΥΖΩΡ ΜΠΕΥΚΑΖ, better ΑΥCΟΥΖΩΡ ΠΕΥΚΑΖ; or perhaps ΑΥCΟΥΖΩΡ<ΟΥ
 Ζ>ΜΠΕΥΚΑΖ?

Pl. 71.

- 1 that part (μέρος) which he took from the power of the man
 into the female creation (πλάσμα)
 and not as (κατά) Moses had said,
 “his rib”. But he saw the woman
- 5 at his side, and (δέ) at once
 the Epinoia (ἐπίνοια) of light revealed herself and took
 the veil (κάλυμμα) away which was over his mind,
 and he became sober (νήφειν) again from the drunkenness of the darkness,
 and he knew his image and said,
- 10 “This is now bone of my bones and
 flesh (σάρξ) of my flesh (σάρξ)”. Therefore
 shall the man leave his father and
 mother and cleave to his wife and
 these two shall become one flesh (σάρξ), because they
- 15 namely (γάρ) shall send him his fellow
 and he shall leave his father and his mother
 {and cleave to his wife, and these two shall
 become one flesh (σάρξ), because they shall send
 him his consort, and he shall
- 20 leave his father and his mother}, namely (δέ) our sister
 Sophia (σοφία) who came down in innocense (ἄκακος)
 in order to remove the want.
 Therefore she was called “Zoe” (ζωή),—that is
 the mother of all living—by the
- 25 Pronoia (πρόνοια) of the heavenly Authentia (αὐθεντία), and through
 her they tasted the perfect (τέλειος) Gnosis (γνώσις). I,
 I revealed myself in the likeness of an eagle (ἄετός) on
 the tree of knowledge, that is the Epinoia (ἐπίνοια)
 from the Pronoia (πρόνοια) of the pure light
- 30 that I could teach them and wake
 them out their deep sleep, for (γάρ) these
 two were together in a fall, but they realized
 their own nakedness. The Epinoia (ἐπίνοια) revealed herself to them,
 being light, and she awoke their
- 35 thought. But (δέ) when Aldabaoth realized
 that they removed themselves from him
 he cursed his earth. He found the woman preparing

17–20: thus the ms. but it is a dittography and the words from line 17 “and cleave to . . .”
 (incl.) to line 20 “his mother” (including) must be omitted.

27: “on” or “above”.

- 1 ΣΟΒΤΕ ΜΜΟC ΜΠΕCΣΟΟΥΤ ΝΕЧΟ ΝΧΟΕΙC
ΕΡΟC ΠΕ ΕΝΥCΟΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΜΠΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ
ΕΝΤΑΞΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΨΟΧΝΕ ΕΤΟΥ
ΑΑΒ · ΝΤΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΥΡ ΖΝΩΞΕ ΑΧΠΙΟΥ' ΑΥ
- 5 Π ΑΥ'ΟΥΩΝΞ ΕΒΟΛ' ΝΝΕΥ'ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΤΕΥ'
ΜΝΤΑΤCΟΟΥΝ ΤΕ Τ'ΨΟΟΠ' ΖΡΑΪ ΝΖΗΤΥ' ΑΥ
Ω ΑΥΝΟΧΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΠΑΡΑΔΕΙCΟC ΑΥΩ
ΑΥ+ ΖΙΩΟΥΕ ΝΟΥΚΜΗΜΕ ΝΚΑΚΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥ'
ΝΑΥ ΝΓΙ ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΤΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΑ
- 10 ΖΕ ΕΡΑΤ̄C ΜΝ ΑΔΑΜ' ΑΥΩ ΧΕ ΑCΟΥΩΝΞ ΕΒΟΛ
ΝΖΗΤC̄ ΝΓΙ ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΩΝΞ
ΑΥΩ ΑΥΜΟΥΞ ΝΓΙ ΑΛΔΑΒΑΩΩ ΝΟΥΜΝΤ
ΑΤCΟΟΥΝ ΝΤΑΡΕC̄ΜΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΓΙ ΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ
ΜΠΤΗΡΥ' ΑCΤ̄ΝΝΟΥ ΝΝΖΟΕΙΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΩΡΠ'
- 15 ΝΖΩΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΕΥΖΑ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΧΩΞΜΕ ΜΜΟC
ΝΓΙ ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΧΠΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤC̄
ΝΨΗΡΕ CΝΑΥ ΠΨΟΡΠ' ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕΞCΝΑΥ
ΕΛΩ̄ΙΜ ΜΝ ΙᾹΥΕ ΕΛΩ̄ΙΜ ΕΝΟΥΞΟ ΝΑΡΚΟC
ΠΕC ΙᾹΥΕ ΔΕ ΟΥΞΟ ΝΕΜΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΕΝ
- 20 ΟΥΔΙΚΑΙΟC ΠΕ ΠΟΥΑ ΔΕ ΟΥΑΔΙΚΟC ΠΕ ΙΑ
ΕΥΕ ΜΕ̄Ν ΑΥΡΑΠΟΚΑΘΙCΤΑ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ
ΕΧ̄Μ ΠΚΩΞΤ' ΜΝ ΠΤΗΥ ΕΛΩ̄ΙΜ ΔΕ ΑΥΡΑΠΟ
ΚΑΘΙCΤΑ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧ̄Μ ΠΜΟΥ · ΜΝ
ΠΚΑΞ ΝΑΪ ΔΕ ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΝΝΙΡΑΝ
- 25 ΧΕ ΚΑΙΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΒΕΛ ΕΥΝΑΥ ΑΤΕΥΠΑΝΟΥΡ
ΓΙΑ ΨΑΞΟΥΝ ΞΕ ΑΠΟΥ ΝΖΟΥ ΑCΩ Ν
ΓΙ ΤCΥΝΟΥCΙΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΩΝ
ΑΥΩ ΑΥΧΩ ΝΟΥCΠΟΡΑ ΝΕΠΙΟΥΜΙΑ ΖΡΑΪ
ΖΝ ΤΑΑΔΑΜ ΑΥΤΟΥΝΟΥC ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν
- 30 ΤCΥΝΟΥCΙΑ ΜΠΧΠΟ ΜΠΕΙΝΕ ΝΝCΩΜΑ
ΑΥΩ ΑΥΧΩΡΗΓΕΙ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΠ̄ΝΑ
ΕΤΨΒΒΙΑΕΙΤ' ΠΙΑΡΧΩΝ ΔΕ CΝΑΥ ΑΥΡΑΠΟ
ΚΑΘΙCΤΑ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧ̄Ν ΖΝΑΡΧΗ ΖΩC
ΤΕ ΑΤΟΥΑΡΧΕΙ ΑΧ̄Μ ΠΕCΠΗΛΑΙΟΝ ΝΤΑΡΕΥ
- 35 ΜΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΓΙ ΑΔΑΜ' ΑΠΕΙΝΕ ΝΤΕΥΠΡΟ
ΓΝΩCΙC ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΥΧΠΟ ΜΠΕΙΝΕ

15 ΖΝ ΕΥΖΑ, read ΖΝ <Ν>ΕΥΖΑ.

19 C is in the ms. cancelled with a dot; read ΠΕ ΙΑΥΕ.

Pl. 72.

- 1 herself for her husband who ruled
 over her; but he did not know the secret (μυστήριον)
 which had happened at the holy resolution,
 and (δέ) they feared to blame him. And
- 5 he revealed to his angels (ἄγγελος) his
 ignorance which was in him, and
 he threw them out of Paradise (παράδεισος), and
 he surrounded them with obscure darkness. But
 the Protarchon (πρωτάρχων) saw the virgin (παρθένος) who
- 10 stood beside Adam and that
 the Epinoia (ἐπίνοια) of the living light revealed herself
 in her. And Aldabaoth was full of ignorance,
 but (δέ) when the Pronoia (πρόνοια) knew
 everything she sent some out, and they carried off
- 15 Zoe (ζωή). But the Protarchon (πρωτάρχων) defiled her
 and he begot with her
 two sons: the first and the second,
 Eloim and Iave; Eloim with the head of a bear (ἄρκος)
 and (δέ) Iave with the head of a cat. The one is
- 20 indeed (μέν) just (δίκαιος), but (δέ) the other unjust (ἄδικος),
 and (μέν) Iave he set (ἀποκαθιστάναι) over
 the fire and the wind, but (δέ) Eloim he set (ἀποκαθιστάναι)
 over the water and
 the earth, and (δέ) these he called with these names
- 25 "Cain and Abel", seeing his guile (πανουργία).
 Up to the present day continued
 the sexual intercourse (συνουσία) from the Protarchon (πρωτάρχων),
 and he planted a lust (ἐπιθυμία) for procreation (σπορά)
 in her belonging to Adam, and (δέ) he created through
- 30 the intercourse (συνουσία) offspring in the likeness of the bodies (σῶμα)
 and he provided (χωρηγεῖν) them with his
 opposed spirit (πνεῦμα), but (δέ) he set (ἀποκαθιστάναι) the two
 archons (ἄρχων) over elements (ἀρχή) so that (ὥστε) they
 rule (ἄρχειν) over the grave (σπήλαιον). But (δέ) when
- 35 Adam knew the image of his Prognosis (πρόγνωσις)
 he brought forth the image

- 1 ΜΠΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ' · ΧΕ ΧΘ'
 ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΜΠΕΧΠΟ ΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΑΙΩΝ ΖΟΜΟΙ
 ΩΣ ΤΚΕΜΑΑΥ ΑΣΤΝΝΑΥ ΑΠΙΤΝ ΜΠΕΣΠΝΑ
 ΜΠΕΙΝΕ ΝΤΕ+ΝΕ ΜΜΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΝΟΥΑΝ
- 5 ΤΙΤΥΠΟΝ ΝΤΕΤΖΝ ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΧΕ ΣΝΑ
 ΣΟΒΤΕ ΝΟΥΜΑ ΝΨΩΠΕ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΝΝΗΥ
 ΑΠΙΤΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΣΟΟΥ ΝΟΥΜΟΟΥ ΝΒΨΕ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΩΝ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΝΝΟΥ
 ΣΟΥΩΝΟΥ ΧΕ ΖΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΩΝ ΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΑΪ
- 10 ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΩΠΕ ΝΓΙ ΠΕΣΠΕΡΜΑ ΠΡΟΣ
 ΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΕΥΡΖΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΖΟΤΑΝ
 ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΝΓΙ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ
 ΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΕΥΝΑΣΕΖΩΥ ΕΡΑΤΥ' ΑΥ
 Ω ΝΥΤΛΓΑΥ ΖΜ ΠΨΤΑ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΡΕΠΠΛΗ
- 15 ΡΩΜΑ ΤΗΡΥ' ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΟΥΑΑΒ ΑΥΩ Ν
 ΑΥΨΤΑ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΕΙ ΑΝΟΚ ΜΠΣΩΡ ΧΕ
 ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΝΨΥΧΟΟΥ ΓΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΣΕΝΑΟΥΧΑΙ
 ΕΖΟΥΝ' ΕΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ' ΕΤΤΒΒΗΥ ΑΥΟΥΩΨΒΕ
 ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΕΙ · ΧΕ ΖΕΝΝΟΣ ΝΕ ΝΕ ΝΖΒΗΥΕ
- 20 ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΛΟ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΚ'ΜΕΕΥ ΟΥΔΥΣ
 ΚΟΛΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΕΣΟΛΠΟΥ' ΕΒΟΛ' ΝΖΝΚΟ
 ΟΥΕΙ ΕΙ ΜΗΤΙ ΝΝΑΪ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ' ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ
 ΤΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΤΚΙΜ ΝΑΪ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ ΜΠΩΝΖ
 ΝΑΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΥΨΩΠΕ ΜΝ ΤΣΟΜ
- 25 ΣΕΝΑΟΥΧΑΕΙ · ΑΥΩ ΝΣΕΨΩΠΕ ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ
 ΑΥΩ ΣΕΝΑΡ' ΠΜΨΑ ΝΖΕΝΜΝΤΝΟΣ ΑΥΩ
 ΣΕΝΑΤΒΒΟ ΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ
 ΚΑΚΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΜΝ ΝΡΟΟΥΨ ΝΤΕΤΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ
 ΕΝΣΕΥΙ ΡΟΟΥΨ ΓΕ ΕΛΑΑΥ ΑΝ ΕΙ ΜΗΤΙ Α
- 30 +ΜΝΤΑΤΤΕΚΟ ΟΥΑΑΤΣ ΕΥΡΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΜΜΟΣ
 ΧΝ ΜΠΙΜΑ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΟΡΓΗ ΖΙ ΚΩ ΖΙ ΦΘΟ
 ΝΟΣ ΖΙ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΤΜΝΤΑΤΣΙ ΝΤΕ
 ΠΤΗΡΥ ΕΝΣΕΕΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΝ ΖΙΤΝ
 ΛΑΑΥ ΕΙ ΜΗΤΙ ΑΤΖΥΠΟCΤΑCΙC ΟΥΑΑΤC
- 35 ΝΤCΑΡΞ ΤΑΪ ΕΤΟΥΦΟΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΣ ΕΥΓΑΨΤ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝCΑ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΕΤΟΥΝΑΓΜ ΠΕΥ
 ΨΙΝΕ

2 ΖΝ ΑΙΩΝ, read ΖΝ <Ν>ΑΙΩΝ.

5 ΠΛΕΡΩΜΑ, read ΠΠΛΕΡΩΜΑ.

31 ΖΙ ΚΩ ΖΙ, read ΖΙ ΚΩ<Ζ> ΖΙ (haplography).

73,16–75,31 ≠ BG 64,13–71,2 ≠ C III 32,22–36,15 (fragmentary).

Pl. 73.

- 1 of the son of man. He called him "Seth"
 as (κατά) among the generation of aeons (αἰών). Thus (ὁμοίως)
 the mother also sent her spirit (πνεῦμα) down
 in an image which was like (τείνειν) herself and as
- 5 reflection (ἀντίτυπος) of that which is in the Pleroma (πλήρωμα) that
 it should prepare an eternal (αἰών) dwelling-place which
 is coming down, but he gave them to drink the water of oblivion
 from the Protarchon (πρωτάρχων), that they should not
 know from whence they came, and
- 10 in this manner the offspring (σπέρμα) existed for (πρός) a time
 although they helped (ὑπουργεῖν) in order that when (ὅταν)
 the spirit (πνεῦμα) came from
 the holy aeons (αἰών) it should raise it up and
 heal it of its want, that the whole Pleroma (πλήρωμα)
- 15 might be holy and without
 want". And I, I said to the Saviour (σωτήρ):
 "Lord, will all souls (ψυχή) then be saved
 into the pure light?" And he answered and
 said to me: "Great things
- 20 have arisen in your mind, for (γάρ) it is difficult (δύσκολος)
 to reveal them to others
 except (εἰ μήτι) to those, who are out
 of that generation (γενεά) which does not waver on whom the spirit (πνεῦμα)
 of life shall come down and be together with the power;
- 25 they shall be saved and they shall be perfect (τέλειος),
 and they shall become worthy of the great things, and
 they shall purify themselves in that place from every
 evil (κακία) and for the care of wickedness (πονηρία)
 and they do not care for anything except (εἰ μήτι) for
- 30 the incorruption alone, but they care (μελετᾶν) for
 the place that is without (χωρίς) wrath (ὀργή) or zeal or
 envy (φθόνος) or desire (ἐπιθυμία) or insatiability; all this
 will not seize them in regard to anything
 except (εἰ μήτι) the substance (ὑπόστασις) of flesh (σάρξ) alone
- 35 which they bear (φορεῖν), holding
 out until the moment when they shall get their
 visit

- 1 ΝΖΗΤΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤῆ ΝΕΤ' ΧΙ ΝΑΙ ὩΕ Ν+
 ΜΕΙΝΕ CEO ΝΑΖΙΟC ΜΠΩΝ2 ΝΑΤΤΕ
 ΚΟ ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕ2 ΑΥΩ ΠΤΩ2Μ̄ ΕΥΡ̄2Υ
 ΠΟΜΕΙΝΕ 2Α ΠΤΗΡΥ' ΕΥΧΙ Ε2ΡΑΪ 2Α
- 5 ΠΤΗΡΥ' ΧΕΚΑΑC ΕΥΝΑΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ'
 ΜΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ' ΝΣΕΚΛΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ ΝΟΥ
 ΩΝ2 ΨΑ ΕΝΕ2 ΠΕΧΑΪ ΝΑΥ' ΧΕ ΠΧΟ
 ΕΙC ΝΨΥΧΕΥΕ ΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΕΙΡΕ ΝΝΙ2
 ΒΗΥΕ ΝΑΪ ΕΝΤΑΤ6ΟΜ ΜΠΕΠῆΑ
- 10 ΜΠΩΝ2 ΕΙ Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΟΥ Ν6Ι ΠΕ
 ΠῆΑ ΠΑΝΤΗ ΠΑΝΤΩC CΕΝΑΟΥΧΑΪ
 ΑΥΩ ΝΑΪ CΕΝΑΠΩΩΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΔΥ
 ΝΑΜΙC ΓΑΡ ΝΑΕΙ Ε2ΡΑΪ ΑΧΝ ΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ'
 ΑΧΝΤ̄C ΓΑΡ Μῆ 6ΟΜ ΝΤΕΛΑΑΥ Α2Ε Ε
- 15 ΡΑΤ̄ ΜῆΝCΕ ΤΟΥΧΠΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΟΤΕ ΕΥ'
 ΨΑΝ ΑΨΑΕΙ Ν6Ι ΠῆΑ ΜΠΩΝ2 ΑΥΩ
 ΨΑΡΕ Τ6ΟΜ' ΕΙ ΝC+ ΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΤΨΥΧΗ Ε
 ΤῆΜΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΜΑΡΕΨ ΛΑΑΥ Ρ̄ΠΛΑΝΑ Μ
 ΜΟC2ΡΑΪ 2ῆ ΝΕ2ΒΗΥΕ ΝΤΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ
- 20 ΝΑΪ ΔΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΕῆῆΑ ΕΤῶΒΒΙΑΕΙΤ' ΝΗΥ
 Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΨΑΥCΩΚ' ΜΜΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΖΙΤΟΟΤ̄' ΑΥΩ ΝCΕCΩΡῆ ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ
 ΠΕΧΑΪ ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΨΥΧΟΟΥ ὩΕ Ν
 ΝΑΪ 2ΟΤΑΝ' ΕΥΨΑΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2ῆ ΤΟΥ
- 25 CΑΡΖ' ΕΥΝΑΒΩΚ' ΕΤΩΝ ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΥCΩ
 ΒΕ Ε ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΪ ΧΕ ΤΨΥΧΗ ΕΤΕ Τ6ΟΜ'
 ΝΑΑΨΑΪ ΝΖΗΤ̄C ΠΑΡΑ ΠΙῆῆΑ ΕΤΨΗC
 ΤΑΪ ΓΑΡ CΧΟΟΡ ΑΥΩ ΨΑCΠΩΤ' ΝCᾶ
 ΒΟΛ ΝΤΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤῆ
- 30 Π6ῆ ΠΨΙΝΕ ΜΠΙΑΤΤΕΚΟ ΨΑCΟΥ
 ΧΑΪ ΑΥΩ ΨΑΥΧΙΤ̄C Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΤΑΝΑΠΑΥ
 CΙC ΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΝΟΚ' ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΪ ΧΕ ΠΧΟ
 ΕΙC ΕΙΕ ΝΑΪ 2ΩΟΥ ΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥῆΜΕ
 ΧΕ ΝΑ ΝΙΜ ΝΕ ΝΟΥΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ ΕΥ
- 35 ΝΑΨΩΠΕ ΤΩΝ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΪ ΧΕ
 2ῆ ΝΕΤῆΜΑΥ ΑΠΕΠῆΑ ΕΤΨΗC ΑΥΑ'

10 ΕΧΩΟΥ Ν6Ι, the copyist must have omitted some words, read: ΕΧΩΟΥ <CΕΝΑΟΥΧΑΕΙ
 2ΩΟΥ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΕΙ ΧΕ ΝΑΪ ΕΝΤΑΧΕΙ Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΟΥ> Ν6Ι.

Pl. 74.

- 1 of those who receive; they signify namely
that they are worthy (ἄξιος) of the incorruptible,
eternal life and of the calling. They bear (ὑπομένειν)
everything and they endure
- 5 everything that they shall be perfect
to the good (ἀγαθός) and inherit (κληρονομεῖν)
eternal life. I said to him: "Lord,
the souls (ψυχή) that have not done these
things, those over whom the power of the spirit (πνεῦμα) of
- 10 life has come down, < >namely
the spirit (πνεῦμα), they will under all circumstances (πάντη πάντως)
be saved, and they will come out, for (γάρ) the power (δύναμις)
will come down over every man,
for (γάρ) without this, nobody is able to stand.
- 15 But (δέ) when they are born, then (τότε)
the spirit (πνεῦμα) of life grows and
the power comes and strengthens that soul (ψυχή),
and nobody is able to lead it into error (πλανᾶν)
with the deeds of wickedness (πονηρία).
- 20 But (δέ) those over whom the opposed spirit (πνεῦμα) comes
down, they are drawn by it
and they go astray". But (δέ) I,
I said, "Lord, these souls (ψυχή) then
when (ὅταν) they come out of
- 25 the flesh (σάρξ), where will they then go"? But (δέ) he smiled;
he said to me, "The soul (ψυχή) that is the power
will become greater in itself than (παρά) the imitated spirit (πνεῦμα)
because (γάρ) it is strong and it strives away
from evil (πονηρία) and with the aid of
- 30 the incorruptible surveillance it will be saved
and they will bear it to the eternal (αἰών) rest (ἀνάπαυσις)".
But (δέ) I, I said, "Lord,
now those then who have not known
to whom they belong, where will their souls (ψυχή)
- 35 be"? But he said to me,
"In them the imitated spirit (πνεῦμα) has become greater

8-11: the translation follows the text in the ms., but it is clear that the text omits several words owing to a mistake of a copyist; I suggest a conjecture so that the text runs: "the souls that have not done these things, those over whom the power of the spirit of life has come down <will they be saved?> He said to me: "Those over whom> the spirit <has come down> they will under all circumstances".

- 1 ΨΑΪ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΖΜ ΠΤΡΟΥCΩΡΜ ΑΥΩ ΨΑΥ
 ΒΑΡΕΙ ΝΤΕΨΥΧΗ ΑΥΩ ΨΑΥ'CΩΚ ΜΜΟC
 ΑΝΕΖΒΗΥΕ ΝΤΕΤΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΝΪΝΟΥ
 ΧΕ ΜΜΟC ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΥΒΨΕ ΑΥΩ ΜΝ̄ΝCΑ ΤΡΕC'
 5 ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ · ΨΑΥΤΑΑC ΕΤΟΟΤΟΥ Ν̄ΝΕΞΟΥCΙΑ
 ΝΑΪ ΕΝΤΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΠΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΥ
 Π ΨΑΥΜΟΡC̄ Ζ̄Ν ΖΕΝ'ΜΡ̄ΡΕ ΝCΕΝΟΥΧΕ Μ
 ΜΟC ΑΠΕΨΤΕΚΟ ΑΥΩ ΨΑΥΚΩΤΕ Ν̄ΜΜΑC
 ΨΑΝΤCΝΕΖCΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΤΒΨΕ ΑΥΩ ΝC̄
 10 ΧΙ ΕΡΟC Μ̄ΠCΟΟΥΝ ΑΥΩ ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕC
 ΨΑΝΧΩΚ' ΕΒΟΛ' ΨΑCΟΥΧΑΪ ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΕ
 ΧΑΪ ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC' ΑΥΩ ΠΩC ΑC̄Ρ ΨΗΜ' ΨΗΜ
 Ν̄ΓΙ ΤΨΥΧΗ ΑΥΩ ΝCΝΑΥΖC̄ ΕΖΟῩΝ ΑΤΦΥ
 CΙC ΝΤΕCΜΑΑΥ Η ΕΖΟΥΝ' ΕΠΡΩΜΕ ΤΟΤΕ
 15 ΑΥΡΑΨΕ ΝΤΑΡΙΧΝΟΥΥ' ΕΠΑΪ ΑΥΩ ΠΕ
 ΧΑΥ ΝΑΪ ΧΕ ΑΛΗΘΩC ΝTK ΟΥΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC
 ΕΠΙΔΗ ΑΚ̄ΡΝΟΕΙ ΝΤΨΥΧΗ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΨΑΥ
 ΤΡΕCΟΥΑΖC ΝCΑ ΚΕΟΥΕΙΕ ΕΡΕΠΝΑ Μ̄
 ΠΩΝΖ ΝΖΗΤC̄ ΤΑΪ ΕΨΑCΟΥΧΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ
 20 ΖΙΤΟΟΤΥ' Μ̄ΠΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΕΨΑΥΝΟΥΧΕ CΕ
 ΑΝ Μ̄ΜΟC ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΚΕCΑΡΞ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΪ
 ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΝΑΪ ΖΩΟΥ ΕΝΤΑΖCΟΟΥΝ ΑΥ
 Ω ΑΥΖ̄ΝΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΥΝΑΒΩΚ' ΕΤΩΝ Ν̄
 ΓΙ ΝΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΪ ΧΕ ΠΜΑ
 25 ΕΡΕ̄ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΤΜ̄ΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΝΑΒΩΚ
 ΕΜΑΥ CΕΝΑΧΙΤΟΥ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤ̄ΜΜΑΥ ΠΜΑ
 ΕΤΕ Μ̄Ν ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΨΟΟΠ' Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΑΥΩ
 ΝCΕΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΠΕΖΟΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΝΑ
 ΒΑCΑΝΙΖΕ Ν̄ΝΕΤΑΖΧΕ ΟΥΑ ΑΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α Ν̄
 30 CΕ̄ΡΚΟΛΑΖΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ Ζ̄Ν ΟΥΚΟΛΑCΙC
 ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑΕΙ ΧΕ ΠΧΟ
 ΕΙC ΝΤΑΥ'ΕΙ ΤΩΝ Ν̄ΤΟΥ Ν̄ΓΙ ΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΤ'
 ΨΗC ΤΟΤΕ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΪ ΧΕ ΠΜΗΤΡΟΠΑ
 ΤΩΡ ΠΕΤΝΑΨΕ ΠΕΥ'ΝΑΕ ΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α ΕΤΟΥ
 35 ΑΑΒ Ζ̄Ν CΜΑΤ' ΝΙΜ ΠΨΑΝΖΤΗΥ' ΑΥΩ'

17 ΝΤΨΥΧΗ the Ν is cancelled in the ms. with strokes; read ΤΨΥΧΗ.
 75,31-78,11 ≠ BG 71,2-75,10 ≠ C III 36,15-39,11.

Pl. 75.

- 1 to their own perdition and it weighs (βαρεῖν)
upon the soul (ψυχή) and attracts it
by the works of the wickedness (πονηρία) and it casts
it into oblivion and when it
- 5 has come out it is given to the powers (ἐξουσία)
those who came into existence under the archon (ἄρχων)
and they bind it in chains and throw it
into prison and they carry it around with them
until it is awaked from the oblivion and
- 10 receives the knowledge, and when it in this way
becomes perfect it is saved". But (δέ) I,
I said, "Lord, but how (πῶς) does
the soul (ψυχή) become small and return to the
nature (φύσις) of its mother again or (ἤ) into the man"?
- 15 Then (τότε) he rejoiced when I had asked about this, and he
said to me, "Verily (ἀληθῶς)! Blessed (μακάριος) are you
since (ἐπειδή) you have realized (νοεῖν) this. That soul (ψυχή)
will be connected with another in whom the spirit (πνεῦμα) of
life is; it is saved by
- 20 this; it is not again cast
into any flesh (σάρξ)". But I said,
"Lord, those who have come into knowledge
but have turned away, whither will
their souls (ψυχή) go"? Then (τότε) he said to me, "To that place
- 25 to which the angels (ἄγγελος) of poverty will go.
They will be received at that place, the place
which is without repentance (μετάνοια), and
they will be kept until the day when they
torture (βασανίζειν) those who have spoken blasphemy against
- 30 the spirit (πνεῦμα), and they will be punished (κολάζειν) with
eternal punishment (αἰών)". But (δέ) I, I said, "Lord!
Whence did this imitated spirit (πνεῦμα) come"?
Then (τότε) he said to me, "The Metropator (μητροπάτωρ)
who is rich in his mercy, the holy spirit (πνεῦμα)
- 35 in every form, the merciful and

- 1 ΕΤΩΠ ΖΙΣΕ Ν̄ΜΗΤ̄Ν ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΤΕ
 ΠΙΝΟΙΑ Ν̄ΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ Ν̄ΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ
 ΑΥΤΟΥΝΟΥΣ Μ̄ΠΕΣΠΕΡΜΑ Ν̄ΤΓΕΝΕΑ Ν̄
 ΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ Μ̄Ν ΠΕΥ'ΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΟΥΟ
- 5 ΕΙΝ Ν̄ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ Μ̄ΡΩΜΕ Ν̄ΤΑΡΕΥ'Μ̄
 ΜΕ Ν̄ΓΙ ΠΨΟΡΠ' Ν̄ΑΡΧΩΝ ΧΕ ΣΕΧΟСЕ
 ΠΑΡΑ ΡΟΥ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΧΙΣΕ ΑΥΩ ΣΕΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΑ
 ΡΑ ΡΟΥ ΑΥΟΥΩΨΕ ΖΕ ΕΑΜΑΖΤΕ Μ̄ΠΟΥ
 ΜΟΚ'ΜΕΚ' ΕΥΟ Ν̄ΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΧΕ ΣΕΧΟСЕ
- 10 ΕΡΟΥ' ΖΡΑΪ Ζ̄Μ̄ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΥΩ ΧΕ ΨΝΑΨ
 ΕΜΑΖΤΕ Μ̄ΜΟΥ ΑΝ ΑΧΕΙΡΕ Ν̄ΟΥΨΟΧΝΕ
 Μ̄Ν ΝΕΥ'ΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ ΕΤΕ ΝΕΥΘΟΜ ΝΕ ΑΥΩ
 ΑΥΡ̄ ΝΟΕΙΚ' ΑΤΣΟΦΙΑ Ν̄ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΩ
 ΑΥΧΠΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΑΥΣΑΨ Ν̄ΤΨΙ
- 15 ΜΑΡΜΕΝΗ ΕΤΕ ΤΑΪ ΤΕ ΤΖΑΗ Μ̄ΜΡ̄ΡΕ ΕΤ'
 Ψ̄Β̄ΒΙΑΕΙΤ' ΑΥΩ ΕΣΟ Μ̄ΜΙΝΕ Μ̄ΜΙΝΕ ΧΕ
 ΣΕΨΒΒΙΑΕΙΤ' ΑΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΩ ΣΜΟΚ̄ ΑΥ
 Ω ΣΟΜΕ ΤΑΪ ΕΝΤΑΥΜΟΥΨΕ Μ̄ΜΟС Ν̄ΓΙ
 Ν̄ΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΑΓΓΕΛΟС ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΔΑΙΜ̄
- 20 ΑΥΩ Ν̄ΓΕΝΕΑ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΨΑΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΟΥ Ν̄
 ΖΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΓΑΡ Ζ̄Ν̄ ΤΖΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗ ΕΤ̄Μ̄ΜΟ
 ΑΥΟΥΩΝ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΓΙ Μ̄ΝΤΨΑΥΤΕ ΝΙΜ ΑΥ
 Ω ΠΧΙΝΘΟΝ̄ ΑΥΩ ΠΟΥΑ Μ̄Ν ΤΜ̄Ρ̄ΡΕ
 Ν̄ΤΒ̄ΨΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΜ̄ΝΤΑΤ'ΣΟΟΥΝ ΑΥΩ ΠΑ
- 25 ΡΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΘΟΡΨ Μ̄Ν ΝΙΝΟΒΕ
 ΕΤΖΟΡΨ Μ̄Ν ΝΙΝΟС Ν̄Ζ̄Ρ̄ΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΑΪ
 ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ ΤΕ ΤΚΤΙCΙC ΤΗΡ̄ Ρ̄Β̄ΛΛΗ'
 ΧΕΚΑΑC Ν̄ΝΟΥCΟῩΝ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤ Μ̄ΠΟΥ
 ΤΠΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΜ̄Ρ̄ΡΕ Ν̄ΤΒ̄ΨΕ
- 30 ΑΥΖΩΠ Ν̄ΓΙ ΝΟΥΝΟΒΕ ΑΥΜΟΥΡ ΓΑΡ Ν̄
 Ζ̄Ν̄ΨΙ Μ̄Ν Ζ̄Ν̄ΟΥΘΕΙΨ Μ̄Ν Ζ̄Ν̄ΚΑΙΡΟС
 ΕCΟ Ν̄ΧΟΕΙC ΑΧ̄Μ̄ ΠΤΗΡΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΡ̄
 ΖΤΗΥ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧ̄Ν̄ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ' ΕΑΥΩΠΕ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤ̄ ΠΑΛΙΝ' ΑΥΨΟΧΝΕ
- 35 ΑΤΡΕΥΕΙΝΕ Ν̄ΟΥΚΑΤΑΚΛΥCΜΟC ΕΖΡΑΪ

Pl. 76.

- 1 he who suffers together with us, that is
the shining Pronoia's (πρόνοια) Epinoia (ἐπίνοια), and
this has awakened the offspring (σπέρμα) of the perfect (τέλειος)
generation (γενεά) with his thought and the eternal light
5 of man; when
the first archon (ἄρχων) had recognized that they
surpassed (παρά) him in sublimity and that they thought better than (παρά)
he then he wanted to seize their
thought although he did not know
10 that they surpassed him in thought and that he would not be able
to seize them. He took counsel
together with his powers (ἐξουσία)—that is his forces—and
they committed adultery with each other's wisdom (σοφία) and
they brought forth in shame fate (εἰμαρμένη),
15 that is the last of the changeable chain,
and it is of various sort, for
they change towards each other, and it is difficult
and deceitful, this with which
the gods and the angels (ἄγγελος) and the daemons (δαίμων)
20 and all the generations (γενεά) until this very day
are mingled, for (γάρ) from fate (εἰμαρμένη)
every iniquity and
violence and blasphemy and the chain of oblivion
and ignorance and every
25 heavy command (παράγγελία) and heavy sins
and great fear derive, and thus
the whole creation (κτίσις) has become blind
in order that they should not know God who is in the
heaven of all those, and because of the chain of oblivion
30 their sins were hidden, for (γάρ) they bound
measures and times and seasons (καιρός),
this being lord over all things. But
he repented every thing which had come into existence
through him; further (πάλιν) he resolved
35 to let a flood (κατακλυσμός) come over

15 "changeable" or "imitated".

26 "derive"; literally: "were opened".

- 1 ΕΧΜ ΠΤΑΜΙΟ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΤΜΝΤΝΟ6 ΔΕ
 ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΤΕΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΑΥΤΣΕΒΕ
 ΝΩ2Ε ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΑΨΕΟΕΙΨ ΜΠΕCΠΕΡΜΑ
 ΤΗΡΥ' ΕΤΕ ΝΑΪ ΝΕ ΝΨΗΡΕ ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΑΥ
- 5 Ω ΜΠΟΥCΩΤΜ ΝΑΥ' Ν6Ι ΝΕΤΟ ΝΨΜΜΟ
 ΕΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΑΝ ΕΝΤΑΜΩΪCΗC ΧΘΟC
 ΧΕ ΑΥ2ΩΠ' ΜΜΟΟΥ 2Ν ΟΥΚΙΒΩΤΟC ΑΛ
 ΛΑ ΝΤΑΥ2ΩΠ ΜΜΟΟΥ 2Ν ΟΥΤΟΠΟC ΟΥ
 ΜΟΝΟΝ ΝΩ2Ε ΑΛΛΑ 2ΝΚΕΡΩΜΕ ΕΝΑ
- 10 ΨΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ 2Ν ΤΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΤΚΙΜ ΑΥΒΩΚ'
 Ε2ΟΥΝ' ΑΥΤΟΠΟC ΑΥ2ΩΠ ΜΜΟΟΥ 2Ν ΟΥ
 ΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΥCΟΥΝ ΤΕΧΑΥ
 ΘΕΝΤΕΙΑ ΑΥΩ ΝΑC ΝΜΜΑΥ Ν6Ι ΤΑΠΟΥ
 ΟΕΙΝ ΕΝΤΑCΡ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ
- 15 ΑΥΕΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΚΑΚΕ Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΧΜ ΠΚΑ2 ΤΗΡΥ'
 ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΨΟΧΝΕ ΜΝ ΝΕΥ6ΟΜ
 ΑΥΧΟΟΥ ΝΝΕΥ'ΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΨΑ ΝΨΕΕΡΕ
 ΝΝΡΩΜΕ ΧΕΚΑΑC ΕΥΝΑΧΙ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 Ν2ΗΤΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝCΕΤΟΥΝΟΥC ΝΟΥCΠΕΡ
- 20 ΜΑ ΑΥΜΤΟΝ ΝΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΜΑΤΕ
 ΜΠΨΟΡΠ ΝΤΑΡΟΥΤΜΜΕΤΕ 6Ε ΑΥCΩ
 ΟΥ2 Ε2ΟΥΝ ΟΝ ΜΝ ΝΟΥΕΡΗΥ ΑΥΕΙΡΕ Ν
 ΟΥΨΟΧΝΕ 2Ι ΟΥCΟΠ' ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥ
 ΠΝΑ ΕΥΨΗC ΜΠΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΝΑ ΕΤΑ2ΕΙ
- 25 Ε2ΡΑΪ 2ΩCΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ν2ΗΤΥ' ΑCΩΩΥ Ν
 ΜΨΥΧΗ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΨΒΤΟΥ 2Μ ΠΟΥΕΙΝΕ
 Ν6Ι ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΝΕ ΜΠΟΥCΟ
 ΕΙΨ ΕΥΜΟΥ2 ΜΜΟΟΥ 2Μ ΠΝΑ ΝΚΑΚΕ
 ΕΝΤΑΥΡΚΕΡΑ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΜΠΟ
- 30 ΝΗΡΙΑ ΑΥΕΙΝΕ ΝΝΟΥΝΟΥΒ ΜΝ ΟΥ2ΑΤ
 ΜΝ ΟΥΔΩΡΟΝ ΜΝ ΟΥ2ΟΜΤ' ΜΝ ΟΥΒΕ
 ΝΙΠΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΜΕΤΑΛΛΟΝ ΜΝ ΓΕΝΟC
 ΝΙΜ ΝΤΕΝΙΕΙΔΟC ΑΥΩ ΑΥCΩΚ' ΝΡΡΩ
 ΜΕ Ε2ΡΑΪ Α2ΕΝΝΟ6 ΝΡΟΟΥΨ ΝΑΪ ΕΝ'

13 ΝΑC ΝΜΜΑΥ, read ΝΑC(ΨΩΠΕ) ΝΜΜΑΥ.

30 ΝΝΟΥΝΟΥΒ, read ΝΟΥΝΟΥΒ.

Pl. 77.

- 1 the creation of mankind. But (δέ) the majesty of the light of Pronoia (πρόνοια) informed Noah, and he made it known for all the offspring (σπέρμα) that is the children of men; but
- 5 they did not obey him, those who were strangers to him. Not such as (κατά) Moses said, "They hid themselves in an ark (κιβωτός)," but (ἀλλά) they hid themselves in a place (τόπος) not only (οὐ μόνον) Noah, but (ἀλλά) also many other men
- 10 of that generation (γενεά) which does not waver; they went into a place (τόπος); they hid themselves in a cloud of light; but he knew his authority (αὐθεντία) and that of the light was together with him and shone on them, for
- 15 he brought darkness over the whole earth. But he took a decision together with his forces; he sent his angels (ἄγγελος) to the daughters of men in order that they should take some of them and raise offspring (σπέρμα)
- 20 for their pleasure; but first they did not obtain it; when they now did not obtain it, they again gathered together; they took again a decision: they created a spirit (πνεῦμα) which imitates the image of the spirit (πνεῦμα) which
- 25 came down in order that (ὥστε) the souls (ψυχή) through this might be defiled, and the angels (ἄγγελος) changed themselves in their likeness according to (κατά) the image of their husbands, they filled them with the spirit (πνεῦμα) of darkness and wickedness (πονηρία) which they mingled in them (κερανύναι)
- 30 They brought gold and silver and gifts (δῶρον) and copper and iron and metal (μετάλλον) and every kind (γένος) of these beautiful (εἶδος) things, and they tempted mankind with great temptations, those who

30 "gold", the ms. has "their gold (pl.)".

- 1 ΤΑΥΟΥΑΖΟΥ ΝCΩΟΥ ΕΥCΩΡ῾ ῾ΜΜΟΟΥ
 2῾ 2Α2 ῾ΠΛΑΝΗ ΑΥ῾ 2῾ΛΟ ΕΥΟ ῾ΝΑΤC῾
 4Ε ΑΥΜΟΥ ῾ΠΟΥC῾ ῾ΛΑΑΥ ῾ΜΜΕΕ ΑΥΩ
 ῾ΠΟΥCΟΥΩΝ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ῾ΤΜΗΕ ΑΥΩ ΤΑ῾
- 5 ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΥ῾ ΤΚΤΙCΙC ΤΗΡC ῾6ΑΥΑΝ ῾ΨΑ
 ΕΝΕ2 Χ῾ ῾ΤΚΑΤΑΒΟΛΗ ῾ΠΚΟCΜΟC
 ΨΑ 2ΡΑ῾ ΕΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΧΙ ῾2῾NC2ΙΑΜΕ
 ΑΥΧΠΟ ΕΒΟΛ 2῾ ΠΚΑΚΕ ῾2῾ΨΗΡΕ ΚΑΤΑ
 ΠΕΙΝΕ ῾ΠΟΥΠ῾ ῾ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΩΜ ῾ΝΟΥ2ΕΤΕ
- 10 ΑΥΩ ΑΥ+ ῾ΨΟΤ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ 2῾ ΠΕΝΨΟΤ'
 ῾ΠΠΕΠ῾ ΕΤΨΗC ΨΑ 2ΡΑ῾ ΕΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΝΟΚ
 6Ε ΤΕΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΤ' ΧΗΚ' ΕΒΟΛ ῾ΤΕΠΤΗΡ4'
 Α῾ΨΒΤ' 2ΡΑ῾ 2῾ ΠΑCΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΕ῾ΨΟΟΠ' ΓΑΡ'
 ῾ΨΟΡΠ' Ε῾ΜΟΟΨΕ 2῾ ΜΑ῾Τ ΝΙΜ ῾ΜΜΟΟΨΕ
- 15 ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΤΕ ΤΜΝΤΡ῾ΜΜΑΟ ῾ΠΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ Α
 ΝΟΚ' ΠΕ Π῾ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ῾ΠΠΕΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΑΕΙ
 ΜΟΟΨΕ ΔΕ 2῾ ΤΜ῾ΤΝΟ6 ῾ΠΚΑΚΕ ΑΥΩ
 ΑΕΙΑΝΕΧΕ ΨΑΝ+ΒΩΚ' Ε2ΟΥΝ' ΕΤΜΗΤΕ
 ῾ΠΠΕΨΤΕΚΟ ΑΥΩ ῾NC῾ΤΕ ῾ΠΧΑΟC ΑΥ
- 20 ΚΙΜ' ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ' ΑΕΙ2ΟΠΤ' ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ
 ΤΟΥΚΑΚΙΑ ΑΥΩ ῾ΠΠΟΥ CΟΥΩΝΤ' ΠΑΛΙΝ
 ΑΕΙΝΑ2ΟΥΤ' Ε2ΟΥΝ ῾ΠΠΕΜΕ2CΕΠ CΝΑΥ
 ΑΥΩ ΑΕΙΜΟΟΨΕ ΑΕΙΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2῾ ΝΑΠΟΥΟ
 ΕΙΝ ΕΤΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ Π῾ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ῾ΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ
- 25 ΑΕΙΒΩΚ' Ε2ΟΥΝ 2῾ ΤΜΗΤΕ ῾ΠΚΑΚΕ ΑΥΩ
 ΠCΑ Ν2ΟΥΝ ῾ΕΜ῾ΤΕ ΕΕΙΚΩΤΕ ῾CΑ ΤΑ
 ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΑΥΩ ῾NC῾ΤΕ ῾ΠΧΑΟC ΑΥ
 ΚΙΜ ΧΕΚΑΑC ΕΥΝΑ2Ε Ε2ΡΑ῾ ΕΧ῾ ΝΕΤ'
 ΨΟΟΠ' 2῾ ΠΧΑΟC ΑΥΩ ῾CΕΤΟΚΟΟΥ
- 30 ΑΥΩ ΟΝ ΑΕΙΠΩΤ Ε2ΡΑ῾ ΕΤΑΝΟΥΝΕ ῾ΟΥ
 ΟΕΙΝ ΧΕΚΑΑC ῾ΝΟΥΤΕΚΟ ῾ΜΜΟΟΥ 2Α
 ΘΗ ῾ΠΠΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΕΤΙ 2῾ ΠΜΑ2ΨΟΜΤ'
 ῾CΟΠ' ΑΕΙΜΟΟΨΕ ΕΤΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΟΥΟ
 ΕΙΝ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ' 2῾ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ
- 35 Π῾ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ῾ΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΧΕΚΑΑC ΕΙΝΑ
 ΒΩΚ Ε2ΟΥΝ ΕΤΜΗΤΕ ῾ΠΚΑΚΕ ΑΥΩ ΠC῾

14 ΜΑ῾Τ, the ῾ is placed above the line.

29 ΤΟΚΟΟΥ for ΤΕΚΟΟΥ (destroy them, cf. ΤΟΚΟΥ make them strong).

36 ΠC῾ read ΠCΑ Ν.

78,11–79,25 without parallel in BG and C III (cf. partly BG 75,10–15 + BG 76,1–5 and C III 39,11–14 + C III 39,18–21).

Pl. 78.

- 1 bound them up with themselves and lead them astray
into many errors (πλάνη). They grew old, but were
without leisure; they died; they did not find knowledge, and
they did not know the God of truth, and thus
- 5 the whole creation (κτίσις) were slaves all eternity
from the foundation (καταβολή) of the world (κόσμος)
until now. But they took women
and they engendered from the darkness sons after (κατά)
the image of their spirit (πνεῦμα), and they closed their hearts
- 10 and they were hardened through the hardness
from the imitated spirit (πνεῦμα) until now. But I
am the perfect Pronoia (πρόνοια) of the all.
I changed myself in my offspring (σπέρμα), because (γάρ) I was
the first, and I walked all paths
- 15 because (γάρ) I am the richness of the light; I am
the remembrance of the Pleroma (πλήρωμα);
but (δέ) I entered the great darkness, and
I endured (ἀνέχεσθαι) until I came into the midst
of the prison, and the foundations of Chaos (χάος)
- 20 were shaken, but I, I hid myself for them because
of their wickedness (κακία), and they did not know me. Again (πάλιν)
I entrusted myself to the inner parts for the second time
and I went; I came out of the light,
that is myself, the remembrance of the Pronoia (πρόνοια),
- 25 I went into the midst of the darkness and
the inner part of Emente and I sought after my
task (οἰκονομία), and the foundations of Chaos (χάος) were
shaken that they would fall over them who
were in Chaos (χάος) and destroy them,
- 30 but again I withdraw to that which is of the root of light
in order that they not should destroy themselves
before time. Again (ἔτι) I went for the third time,
I who am the light,
being in the light, I who am
- 35 the remembrance of Pronoia (πρόνοια), that I
should go into the midst of the darkness and the inner part

- 1 ΖΟΥΝ ΝΕΜΝΤΕ ΑΪΜΟΥΖ ΜΠΑΖΟ ΖΡΑΪ ΖΜ
 ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΝΤΣΥΝΤΕΛΕΙΑ ΜΠΟΥΑΙΩΝ
 ΑΥΩ ΑΕΙΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΜΗΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΨΤΕ
 ΚΟ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΠΕΨΤΕΚΟ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΑΥΩ ΠΕ
- 5 ΧΑΪ ΧΕ {ΧΕ} ΠΕΤΣΩΤΜ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΦΙ
 ΝΗΒ' ΕΤΖΟΡΨ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΡΙΜΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΨΟΥΕ ΡΜΕΙΗ
 ΖΕΝ ΡΜΕΙΗ ΕΥΖΟΡΨ ΑΥΥΩΤΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
 ΜΜΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ' ΠΕΤΜΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΑ
 ΡΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑΤΕΙ ΝΑΪ ΤΩΝ ΝΓΙ ΤΕΪΖΕΛΠΙΣ
- 10 ΕΪΨΟΟΠ ΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΜΜΡΕ ΜΠΕΨΤΕΚΟ ΑΥΩ
 ΠΕΧΑΕΙ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ' ΤΕ ΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΜΠΟΥΘΕΪ
 ΕΤΒΒΗΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΩ
 ΜΠΝΑ ΠΕΤΣΟΖΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ
 ΕΤΤΑΙΕΗΥ ΤΩΟΥΝΚ ΑΥΩ ΝΚΡ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ
- 15 ΧΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΖΣΩΤΜ ΑΥΩ ΝΚΟΥΖΑΚ' Α
 ΤΕΚ'ΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΤΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΨΑΝΖΤΗΥ' ΑΥ
 Ω ΝΚΡΑ΢ΦΑΛΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΚ' ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ
 ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΜΝ ΝΔΑΙΜΩ
 ΝΤΕΠΧΑΟΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΒΟΛΧ ΜΜΟΚ' ΤΗΡΟΥ
- 20 ΑΥΩ ΝΚΨΩΠΕ ΕΚΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ ΠΖΙ
 ΝΗΒ' ΕΤΖΟΡΨ ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΒΑΛΕΣ ΜΠΣΑ
 ΖΟΥΝ ΝΑΜΝΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΕΙΤΟΥΝΟΥΣ ΜΜΟΥ'
 ΑΥΩ ΑΕΙΣΦΡΑΓΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ' ΖΝ ΠΟΥΘΕΙΝ
 ΜΠΜΟΥ ΖΝ ΰΕ ΝΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ Ν
- 25 ΝΕΠΜΟΥ ΝΓΑΜ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΝ ΜΠΙΝΑΥ ΑΥΩ
 ΕΙΣ ΖΗΗΤΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ' ΕΖΡΑΪ ΑΠΤΕ
 ΛΕΙΟΝ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΔΕΙΧΩΚ' ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΩΒ
 ΝΙΜ' ΖΡΑΪ ΖΝ ΝΕΚ'ΜΑΑΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ
 ΑΪΧΕ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΡΟΚ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΚΝΑΣΖΑΪ
- 30 ΣΟΥ ΝΚΤΑΑΥ ΝΝΕΚΨΒΡ ΠΝΑ ΖΝ ΟΥΖΩΠ'
 ΠΑΪ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΠΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΤΓΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΤ'
 ΚΙΜ' ΑΥΩ ΑΥΨ ΝΑΕΪ ΝΑΥ ΝΓΙ ΠΣΩΡ ΧΕΚΑ
 ΑΣ ΕΥΝΑΣΑΖΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΝΙΥΚΑΑΥ ΖΝ ΟΥ
 ΤΑΧΡΟ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΥΣΖΟΥΟΡΤ'
- 35 ΝΓΙ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ' ΕΤΝΑΨ ΝΑΪ ΖΑ ΟΥΔΩ
 ΡΟΝ Η ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΖΝ ΕΟΥΩΜ Η ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ
 ΩΝ Η ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΨΤΗΝ Η ΕΤΒΕ ΚΕΖΩΒ

5 ΧΕ ΧΕ, the one ΧΕ must be omitted (dittography).

33 The ms. has ■ cancelled Ι in ΝΙΥΚΑΑΥ, read ΝΥΚΑΑΥ.

79,25-80,6 ≠ BG 76,5-76,6 + BG 75,15-76,1 + BG 76,7-77,5 ≠ C III 39,21-22 + C III 39,14-18 + C III 39,22-40,9.

Pl. 79.

- 1 of Emente. I filled my face with the
 light from the completion (συντέλεια) of their aeon (αἰών),
 and I went into the midst of the prison
 —the prison that is the body (σῶμα)—and I
- 5 said, “He who hears, let him rise up
 from his heavy sleep”. But he wept and he shed tear
 upon tear; he dried them
 and he said, “Who is he who names
 my name, and from whence has the hope (ἐλπίς) come to me
- 10 while I am in the chains of the prison?” But
 I said, “I am the Pronoia (πρόνοια) of the pure light;
 I am the thought of the virginal (παρθενικός) spirit (πνεῦμα)
 who raises you to the glorious place (τόπος).
 Arise and remember,
- 15 that you are he who has heard, and dwell by
 your root, that is me, the merciful, and
 protect (ἀσφαλίζειν) yourself against
 the angels (ἄγγελος) of the poverty and the demons (δαίμων)
 of Chaos (χάος) and everything which cleaves to you,
- 20 and then you shall come into existence awakening from the
 heavy sleep and from the entanglement in the inner part
 of Amente”. And I raised him,
 and I sealed (σφραγίζειν) him with the light
 of the water with five seals (σφραγίς) that
- 25 the death should not get power over him from that time. But
 see! Now I will go to the perfect (τέλειος)
 aeon (αἰών). I have completed everything for you
 in your presence, and I have
 said you everything that you shall write it down
- 30 and give it secretly to your brethren in the spirit (πνεῦμα)
 for (γάρ) this is the mystery (μυστήριον) of the generation (γενεά)
 which does not waver”. And the Saviour (σωτήρ) gave
 him this that he should write it down and place it in
 safety, and he said to him, “Cursed is
- 35 every one who gives it for a gift (δῶρον)
 or (ἢ) for food or (ἢ) for
 drink or (ἢ) for clothing or (ἢ) for any other thing

1 “my face” or “the treasure”.

Pl. 80.

1 Ἰ̅ΤΕΙΜΕΙΝΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΪ̅ ΑΥΤΑΑΥ ΝΑΥ
 2̅ ὈΥΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΑΥΩ 2̅ ΤΟΥΝΟΥ
 ΑΥ̅Ρ̅ ΑΤΟΥΩΝ2̅ ΕΒΟΛ̅ Μ̅ΠΕΥ̅Μ̅ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ̅
 ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΙ ΨΑ ΝΕΥΨΒ̅Ρ̅ ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΕ
 5 ΟΥΩ ΕΡΟΥ̅ Ἰ̅ΝΕΝΤΑΠCΩ̅Ρ̅ ΧΟΥ ΝΑΥ
 Ἰ̅C̅ ΠΕΧ̅Ρ̅C̅ 2ΑΜΗΝ

ΚΑ̅ΤΑ Ἰ̅Ω2̅Α̅Ν̅Ν̅Η̅Ν

̅Ν̅

Α̅Π̅Ο̅Κ̅Ρ̅Υ̅Φ̅Ο̅Ν̅

80,7-9 ≠ BG 77,7-8 ≠ C III 40,10-11.

Pl. 80.

1 of this kind". And this was given him
secretly (μυστήριον), and at once
he became invisible for him.

But he went to his fellow disciples (μαθητής) and recounted
5 to them that which the Saviour (σωτήρ) had said to him.
Jesus Christ. Amen (ᾠην).

The Secret (ἀπόκρυφον) (Book)
according to (κατά) John.

Indices

Coptic Words

A- prep: passim.

AMHEINE imperat pl, come 63,2

AMÑTE nn m, Hades: 59,4. 70,1. 79,22.—**EMÑTE** 78,26. 79,1.

AMA2TE grasp, lay hold on: 76,8.—**EMA2TE** 58,24. 73,33. 76,11.

AN negation: 62,7. 62,10. 70,10. 70,22. 71,3. 72,2. 73,29. 73,33. 75,21. 76,11. 77,6.

ANOK personal pron 1 sg, I: 48,12. 48,13. 48,14. 57,9. 59,20. 61,8. 61,17. 69,26.

70,9. 71,27. 73,16. 74,22. 74,32. 75,11. 75,31. 78,11. 78,15 bis. 78,20. 78,24.

78,33. 78,34. 79,11. 79,12. 79,16. 79,28.—**ANK** 61,8.

ANON personal pron 1 pl, we: 52,15.

ΑΠΕ nn f, head: 52,13. 59,31. 63,30. 65,10. 66,34.

ΑΡΕ- **NA** verbal prefix 2 fut: 63,4.

ΑΡΟΥ nn m, cold: 66,4. 66,7.

ΑΡΕ2 keep, guard: 75,28.

ΑΤΚΑC nn m, marrow: 63,19. 64,19.

ΑΤΤΑΛ60 incurable: 69,23.

ΑΤ2ΕΠ without law, who cannot be judged: 51,9.

ΑΨΑĪ nn m, multitude, amount: 61,6. 61,30. 63,24.—verb. become many, great

ΑΨΑΕΙ: 74,16. **ΑΨΑĪ** 74,27. 74,36.

Α20 nn m, treasure (or: **20** face) 79,1.

ΑΧÑ- without: 57,29. 58,5.—**ΑΧNT**=: 74,14.

ΑΧÑ- over: 55,24. 56,35. 57,12. 57,15. 59,6. 66,10. 68,11. 70,21. 70,26. 72,34.

74,13. 76,32.—**ΑΧΩ** with 60,5.—**ΕΧÑ-** over: 56,10. 56,14. 56,17. 67,20.

68,13. 72,22. 72,23. 72,33. 73,20. 76,33. 77,1. 77,15. 78,28.—**Ε2ΡΑĪ** **ΕΧÑ-**

59,5.—**ΕΧΩ** with: 59,7. 74,10. 74,21. 77,29.

ΒΩΚ go: 67,28. 68,23. 74,25. 75,23. 75,25. 77,10. 78,18. 78,25. 78,36. 79,3. 79,26.

ΒΑΛ nn m, eye: 63,32. 63,33.—**ΒΑΛΛΕ** 58,9.—**Ḳ** **ΒĀΛΗ** become, make blind 76,27.

ΒΕΝΙΠΕ nn m, iron: 77,31.

ΒΕΤ **СПИР** nn f, rib: 71,4.

ḲΨΕ nn f, oblivion, sleep: 61,24. 69,12. 70,20. 70,22. 73,7. 75,4. 75,9. 76,24. 76,29.

ΒΑ2 nn m, penis(?): 64,29.

Ε-, **ΕΡΟ** prep, passim.—**ΡΟ**=: 76,7. 76,8.

ΕΜΟΥ nn m, cat: 72,19.

ΕΜÑTE see **ΑΜÑTE**

ΕΜΑ2TE see **ΑΜΑ2TE**

ΕΝΕ2 nn m, eternity: **ΨΑ** **ΕΝΕ2** eternal: 53,27. 54,7. 55,12. 74,2. 74,7.—**ΝΨΑ** **ΕΝΕ2**:

75,31. 76,5. 78,6.

ΕΡΗΥ fellow, each other: 48,8. 63,6. 69,1. 69,3. 69,28. 76,13. 76,17. 77,22.

ΕΤΒΕ- because, because of: 76,29. 78,20. 79,36 bis. 79,37. bis.—**ΕΤΒΗΤ**=: passim.—

ΕΤΒΕ **ΠΑĪ** passim.

- ΕΘΟΥ nn m, honour, glory: 52,36 bis. 53,1. 53,2. 60,27.—† ΕΘΟΥ glorify: 53,2. 53,18. 53,24. 53,30. 53,35. 54,31. 55,2. 55,8. 55,13. 57,6. 57,9. 57,24.—
 ΤΘΟМ ΜΠΕΘΟΥ 60,6–7.
 ΕΨ be able: 74,18.—Ψ 76,10.
 ΕΨΠΕ conjunction, if: 67,8.
 ΗΝΕ nn m, ape: 59,33.
 ΗΝΕ nn f, number: 67,2.
 ΕΙ come: 74,17. 75,32.—ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ: 59,22.—ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ 2N-: 60,10. 62,13. 74,24. 75,5. 78,23.—ΕΙ Ε2ΡΑΪ: 47,5. 47,7. 62,18. 68,24. 69,13. 71,21. 73,12. 77,24.—
 ΕΙ Ε2ΡΑΪ ΑΧΝ-: 74,13.—ΕΙ Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΧΩ=: 73,24. 74,10.—ΕΙ ΝΑ=: come to 62,7. 62,8. 79,9.—ΕΙ ΨΑ come to: 80,4.—ΕΙΝΕΙ ΑΠΙΤῼ coming down, descent: 68,22.—ΠΨΟΡΠ ἸΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ the first coming forth: 53,11.
 ΕΙΕ particle: 74,33.
 ΕΙΕΒΕ nn m, nail: 64,11.—ΕΙΕΙΒ 65,6.
 ΕΙΝΕ bring (tr): 62,2. 69,17. 70,36. 76,35. 77,30.—ΕΙΝΕ Α- bring to: 62,9.—ΕΙΝΕ ΑΧῼ bring over: 70,20.—ΕΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ bring out, produce, emanate: 57,35. 67,22. 70,19. 70,30. 70,33.—ἸΤ= ΕΒΟΛ 68,12.—ΕΙΝΕ ΝΑ2ΡΕ= bring before: 60,2.—ΕΙΝΕ Ἰ- ... Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΧῼ- bring over: 77,15.
 ΕΙΝΕ nn m, likeness, figure: 54,14. 57,29. 58,6. 62,24. 63,3. 67,31. 69,29. 72,30. 72,35. 72,36. 73,4. 77,24. 77,26. 78,9.—ΙΝΕ 60,34. 61,4. 63,10. 70,35. 77,27.—ΕΙΝΕ nn f, 71,9.—ΕΙΝΕ vb. be like 66,26. 66,29.
 ΕΙΡΕ do: 67,3. 69,3. 74,8.—ῼ passim.—ΑΑ= 69,28. Ο Ἰ- 71,34. 72,1. 74,2. 76,9. 76,16. 76,32. 77,5. 78,2.—ΕΙΡΕ ἸΟΥΨΟΧΝΕ decide: 68,33. 76,11. 77,22.—ῼ ΑΤΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ be invisible: 80,3.—ῼ 2ῼΛΟ be old: 78,2.—ῼ 2ΤΗ= repent: 76,32.
 ΕΙΩΡМ stare, nod, beckon: 53,14. 53,28. 53,29. 53,33. 54,34. [54,35].—ΕΙΩΡМЕ 62,30. 68,32.—Q ΕΙΟΡῼ ἸСΩ= stare after 51,36.
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 ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΤΗΡῼ 62,21.
 ΙΤῼ nn m, ground, earth: 62,28. 73,3. 73,7.—ΙΤΝΕ 62,32.
 ΚΕ- other: 56,7. 56,15. 56,19. 56,20. 61,9. 61,11. 70,34. 75,21. 79,37.—pl 2ἸΚΕ- 58,24. 77,9.—pl 2ΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ 67,7.—pl 2ἸΚΟΟΥΕΙ 73,21.—6Ε- 58,7.—ΚΕ-: also 73,3.—ΚΕΟΥΑ 61,12.—ΚΕΟΥΕΙΕ 75,18.—ΚΕCΟΠ again: 69,5.—ΠΕΚΕ- the other: 68,1.
 ΚΩ place, put: 55,22. 58,15. 69,17. 69,25.—ΚΑΑ= 79,33.—ΚΩ ἸСΩ= leave: 71,12. 71,16. 71,19.—ΜἸῼΤΚΑΡΩЧ silence 47,3. 55,4.
 ΚΩΚ Α2ΗΥ nn m, nakedness: 71,33.—ΚΩ ΝΚΑ2ΗΥ 70,8.—qual ΚΗΚ Α2ΗΥ naked: 68,7.
 ΚΑΚΕ nn m, darkness: 59,10. 59,11. bis. 59,12. 59,14. 61,24. 69,8. 69,36. 70,2. 70,32. 72,8. 77,15. 78,8. 78,17. 78,25. 78,36.—ΠἸῼ ἸΚΑΚΕ 77,28.—2ΒCΩ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ veil of darkness: 61,33.—Π+2Ε ΜΠΚΑΚΕ the drunkenness of the darkness: 71,8.
 Κῼῼ nn f, knee: 65,2 bis. 65,25 bis.—compare: ΚΕΛΕΝΚΕ2 elbow: 64,6.

- ΚΛΟΟΛΕ nn f, cloud: 58,16.—ΚΛΟΟΛΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ 58,15. 77,12.
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 ΑΤΚΙΜ immovable: 67,14. 73,23. 77,10. 79,31.
 ΚΜΗΜΕ nn m, darkness: 72,8.
 ΚΟΥΝ= nn m, (with suffix) genitals, shame: 65,20.
 ΚΩΡΨ nn m, flattery: 66,31.
 ΚΑC nn m, bone: 63,15.—pl ΚΕΕC 64,19.—ΚΑΑC 71,10 bis. (sg and pl).
 ΚΤΟ turn, surround: 58,14.—Q ΚΤΗΥ A- 54,11.—qual ΚΤΗΥ Ε 61,6.
 ΚΩΤΕ Ε- surround: 61,5.—ΚΩΤΕ ΝΜΜΑ= go round with: 75,8.—ΚΩΤΕ ΝСА- seek:
 78,26.
 ΚΑ2 nn m, earth, soil: 66,22. 68,35. 69,6. 71,37. 72,24. 77,15.
 ΚΩ2 be envious, zealous: 61,13. 67,34.—nn m. envy, zeal 58,31. 60,22. 63,21.
 66,21. [73,31].—ΡΕΥΚΩ2 zealous, jealous: 61,8–9.
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 ΑΑΑΥ nn used as pron., anyone, anything, something: 48,34. 51,11. 51,13. 51,15.
 51,27. 58,12. 58,17. 73,29. 73,34. 74,14. 74,18. 78,3.
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 ΜΚΑ2 be painful, grieved: qual ΜΟΚ2 76,17.—ΜΚΑ2 nn m, pain, difficulty: 66,22.
 ΜΜΕ know: 52,16. 68,26. 78,3.—ΜΜΕ A- 55,27. 61,14. 61,33. 71,32. 72,35.—ΜΜΕ Ε-
 67,9.—ΜΜΕ ΧΕ know that: 61,34. 62,18. 67,27. 68,5. 70,15. 71,35. 74,33. 76,5.
 ΜΜΑΝ negation, no: 61,21.
 ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟ= (emphasizing) own, proper: 62,10. 72,36.
 ΜΑΕΙΝ nn m, sign, mark: 63,7.—ΜΑΪΝ 63,6.—+ ΜΕΙΝΕ give sign, signify: 74,1–2.
 ΜΕΙΝΕ nn f, sort: 80,1.—ΜΙΝΕ 76,16 bis.
 ΜΠΨΑ be worthy, worth: 55,30.—Ρ ΠΜΨΑ 73,26.
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 ΜΡΡΕ nn f, chain: 75,7. 76,15.—ΜΡΡΕ ΜΠΕΨΤΕΚΟ 79,10.—ΜΡΡΕ ΝΤΒΨΕ 69,12. 76,23.
 76,29.
 ΜΑΡ= pref optative: 63,11.
 ΜΑΡΕ- neg pref pres cons: 74,18.
 ΜΟCΤΕ nn m, hatred: 69,31.
 ΜΕCΤ2ΗΤ nn f, breast: 65,16.
 ΜΑΙΤ nn m, road, path: 68,23. 68,24. 78,14.
 ΜΗΤ ten, in: ΠΜΕ2ΜΗΤ the tenth: 59,1.
 ΜΟΥΤ nn m, sinew, nerve: 63,16. 64,24.—neck: 64,4. 65,10.

ΜΑΤΕ reach, obtain, enjoy: 77,20.—**ΜΕΤΕ** 66,13. 77,21.

ΜΕΤΕ *see* **ΜΑΤΕ**.

ΜΗΤΕ nn f, middle: 58,16. 60,4. 66,11. 69,25. 78,18. 78,25. 78,36. 79,3.

ΜΟΥΤΕ call: 54,1. 55,28. 56,33. 58,18. 58,19. 58,29. 58,33. 58,35. 60,8. 63,11. 68,18. 70,3. 71,23. 72,24. 73,1.—**ΠΕΤΜΟΥΤΕ** **ΜΠΑΡΑΝ**: 79,8.

ΜΤΟ face, in: **ΜΠΕΥΜΤΟ** **ΕΒΟΛ** (prep.) in face of, ... before: 54,27. 80,3.

ΜΤΟΝ nn m, rest: 70,2.—lust: 77,20.

ΜΑΤΟΥ nn f, poison: 69,23.

ΜΜΑΥ there: 68,24. 75,27. with rel.: **ΕΤΜΜΑΥ** that: 71,5. 74,18. 74,36. 75,17. 75,20. 75,26.—**ΜΟ** 76,21.—**ΕΜΑΥ** there: 75,26.

ΜΑΑΥ nn f, mother: 48,14. 58,6. 58,21. 59,9. 60,8. 61,4. 61,14. 61,28. 61,32. 62,17. 66,5. 66,10. 66,18. 67,15. 67,22. 67,27. 67,29. 68,11. 68,28. 71,13. 71,16. 71,20. 73,3. 75,14.—**ΜΑΥ** 57,11.—**ΤΜΑΑΥ** **ΝΝΕΤΟΝ** 58,18. 71,24.

ΜΟΥΥ nn m, water: 62,34. 69,1. 69,6. 72,23. 73,7. 79,24.—pl, **ΜΟΥΕΙΟΥΕ** 61,21. 62,27.

ΜΕΕΥΕ think: 57,26. 61,19. 61,29. 62,16. 68,6.—**ΣΕΜΕΕΥΕ** **ΠΑΡΑ** **ΡΟΥ** 76,7.—**ΜΕΕΥΕ** nn m, thought: 52,31. 53,24. 54,6. 55,4. 57,26. 58,2. 60,12. 68,30. 68,33. 69,16. 70,18. 71,35. 76,4. 76,10.—**ΜΕΕΥ** nn m, thought: 73,20.—**Ρ** **ΠΜΕΕΥΕ** remember 79,14.—**Ρ** **ΠΜΕΕΥΕ** nn m, remembrance: 56,12. 78,16. 78,24. 78,35.—**ΠΜΕΕΥΕ** **ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟ** **ΜΠΝΑ** 79,12–13.

ΜΗΗΣΕ nn m, multitude: 59,36.

ΜΟΟΥΕ vb, walk, go: 78,14. 78,17. 78,23. 78,33.—nn journey: 78,14.

ΜΟΥΨΕ **ΜΝ**- be mixed, mix: 60,11. 76,18 (instead of: **ΜΟΥΨΕ**)

ΜΟΥΖ fill: 72,12. 77,28. 79,1.—**ΜΑΖ**- pref ord num 56,12. 56,16. 57,12. 57,13. 57,14. 57,16. 62,12. 78,32.—**ΜΕΖ**- pref ord num 56,8. 56,10. 56,14. 56,17. 57,22. 58,30. 58,31. 58,32. 58,33. 58,34. 58,36 bis. 58,37. 59,1 bis. 59,2. 59,5. 59,17 bis. 59,27. 59,28. 59,29. 59,33. 60,17. 60,18 ter. 60,19. 60,20. 60,21. 60,22. 60,23 bis. 60,24. 63,15. 63,16. 63,18. 63,19. 63,20. 63,22. 78,22.

ΜΕΖΤ nn m, bowels, intestines: 64,23.

ΜΑΑΧΕ nn m, ear: 63,34. 63,35. 79,28.

ΝΑ nn m, pity, charity: 68,16.—**ΝΑΕ** 67,18.

ΝΟΥ come: qual **ΝΗΥ** 73,6. 74,20.

ΝΟΒΕ nn m, sin: 76,25. 76,30.

ΝΟΥΒ nn m, gold: 77,30.

ΝΟΕΙΚ nn, adultery, in: **Ρ** **ΝΟΕΙΚ** commit adultery: 76,13.

ΝΚΑ nn m, thing: 60,33.

ΝΙΜ interrog pron, who: 61,12. 74,34. 79,8.

ΝΙΜ every: passim.

ΝΑΝΟΥ be god: 70,4.—**ΡΕΥΡ** **ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΥ** doer of good, benefactor: 68,10. 68,15–16.

ΝΟΥΝ nn m, abyss, depth: 59,6. 62,26.

ΝΟΥΝΕ nn f, root: 69,30. 78,30. 79,16.

ΝΟΥΤΕ nn m, God: 48,32. 48,33. 59,20 bis. 60,9. 60,18. 61,9. 61,11. 63,3. 76,19.

76,28.—Π+ 55,32.—Π+ ΜΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΣ ΜΠῆΑ 56,24.—ΤΜῆΤΝΟΥΤΕ divinity: 60,18. 63,17.—ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝ[ΗC] ῆΝΟΥΤΕ 55,11. 55,16–17. 55,19–20. 55,34. 56,21.—ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ῆΝΟΥΤΕ ῆΜΕ 55,24. 56,21.—ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ῆΤΜΗ 78,4.

ῆΤΟΚ personal pron. 2 sg, you: 79,15.—ῆΤΚ 75,16.

ῆΤῆ- prep, by, from: 59,9 (derived from: ΤΩΡΕ hand).

ΝΑΥ see: 70,28.—ΝΑΥ Α- 58,7. 61,2. 61,5. 61,21. 62,32. 62,34. 71,4. 72,25.—ΝΑΥ Ε- 58,13. 58,17. 63,8. 68,32. 72,9.—ΑΤΝΑΥ unseen, invisible: 52,34. 53,25.

ΝΑΥ nn m, hour, time: 79,25.

ΝΑΨΕ be many, much, great: 68,16. 75,34.—ΕΝΑΨΩ= (rel as adj) many, great: 62,1. 77,9.

ῆΨΟΤ nn, induration, in: + ῆΨΟΤ make hard: 78,10.

ΝΙΨΕ vb, breath, blow 67,23. 67,25.—nn m, breath 64,27.

ΝΟΥΖΕ turn, return: ΝΑΥΖ= 57,8. 75,13.

ΝΑΖΒΕ nn f, shoulders: 64,5. 65,11 bis.

ΝΕΖCΕ awake, arise: 75,9.

ΝΑΖΟΥΤ= trust (probably derived from: ΝΑΖΤΕ trust): 78,22.

ῆΧΕ particle (for ῆΓΙ): 47,13.

ΝΟΥΧΕ throw, cast: 75,3. 75,7. 75,20.—ΝΟΧ= 58,11. 68,8. 72,7.

ΝΑΧΖΕ nn f, gum: 64,2.

ΝΟC great: 51,24. 55,18. 55,21. 56,23. 57,1. 58,20. 67,18. 69,3. 73,19. 76,26. 77,34.—old: 48,4.—ΜῆΤΝΟC greatness 54,15. 73,26. 77,1. 78,17.—Ζῆ ΟΥΝΟC ῆΟΥΟΕΙΨ for a long time: 67,14–15.

ῆΓΙ particle: passim.—ῆΧΕ 47,13.

ΟΒΖΕ nn f, tooth: 64,2.

ΟΝ adv, again, also: [53,20] 53,32. 68,13. 77,22. 78,30.

ΟΕΙΨ see ΤΑΨΕΟΕΙΨ preach, proclaim: 77,3.

ΠΑ- posses art, belonging to; passim.—ΠΑ-, etc. posses pron: passim

Π-, Τ-, Ν-; ΠΕ etc. def art: passim

ΠΑῖ, ΤΑῖ, ΝΑῖ; ΠΕῖ etc. demonstrative: passim

ΠΕ nn f, heaven, sky: 59,5. 60,15. 60,26. 60,27. 62,11. 62,13. 68,32. 71,25. 76,29.—ΤΜΕΖCΑΨΨΕ ῆΠΕ the seventh heaven: 59,6.

ΠΩΩΝΕ turn, move: 58,22. 74,12.

ΠῆΡΕ nn m, coming, shining forth: 54,12.—ΠῆΡΙΕ 61,15.

ΠΩΡΧ ΕΒΟΛ nn m, separation: 69,14.

ΨΙC nn, nine, in: ΠΜΕΖΨΙC the ninth: 58,37.—ΠΜΑΖΨΙΤ 62,12.

ΨΙΤ see above under ΨΙC

ΠΩΤ run after, pursue: 74,28.—Q ΠΗΤ ῆCΩ= 70,32.—ΠΩΤ ΕΖΡΑῖ Ε- run up, away: 78,30.

ΠΩΨ ΕΧΩ= divide, share with: 59,7.—ΠΩΨΕ ΑΧΩ= 60,4.

ΠΩΓΤ ΕΖΡΑῖ ΕΧΩ= pour upon: 62,5.

ΠΗ nn m, sun: 58,36.

ΠΟ nn m, mouth, in: ΜῆΤΚΑΡΩΨ nn m, silence: 47,3. 55,4.

ΠΙΜΕ vb weep: 79,6.—ΠΙΜΕ nn m, weeping: 62,1.—ΠῆΕῖΗ nn f, tear. 79,6. 79,7.

ΡΩΜΕ nn m, man: 62,14. 63,2. 68,3. 68,29. 69,11. 69,13. 71,12. 74,13. 75,14. 76,5. 77,1. 77,9. 77,33.—**ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ** **ἸΡΩΜΕ** **ἸΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ** 56,32.—**ἸΓΕΝΕΑ** **ἸῤῥΩΜΕ** 58,35.—**ἸΨΕΕΡΕ** **ἸἸΡΩΜΕ** 77,18.—**ἸΨΗΡΕ** **ἸἸΡΩΜΕ** 77,4.—**ΠΨΗΡΕ** **ἸἸΡΩΜΕ** 62,15. 73,1.—**ΠΨΟΡΠ** **ἸΡΩΜΕ** 53,7. 54,4. 62,23. 63,10.

ῤῢῢῢῢ rich, in: **ΜΝΤῤῢῢῢῢ** richness, wealth: 78,15.

ΡΑΝ nn m, name: 47,9. 51,16. 55,29 bis. 56,34. 58,19. 58,28. 59,16 bis. 60,28. 60,30. 60,33. 63,12. 72,24. 79,9.—**†ΡΑΝ** give name, call: 51,17. 60,14. 60,27.—**ΠΨΟΜΤ** **ἸΡΑΝ** the three-fold name 53,9.—**ΡΙΝ** 59,26.

ΡΙΠΕ nn m, temple 47,8. 47,19.

ῤῢΟ nn m, king: pl. **ῤῢΟΥ** in: **ἸСАΨϷ** **ἸἸῤῢΟΥ** seven kings: 59,4.—**ῤ** **ῤῢΟ** be king: 59,7.—**ΜἸἸῤΕΡΟ** nn f, kingdom: 60,21. 63,19.

ΡΟΕΙC be awake: 79,20.

ΡΑΨΕ rejoice: 75,15.

ΡΟΟΥΨ nn m, care, concern, cause of anxiety: 66,23. 73,28. 77,34.—**ϷΙ** **ΡΟΟΥΨ** care about: 73,29.

CΑ nn m, side, part: 60,15.—**CA** **ΜΠΙΤἸ** lower part: 62,28. 62,32. 68,8.—**CA** **ἸΖΟΥΝ** inner part: 78,26. 78,36. 79,21.

CEI be filled, satisfied, in: **ΜἸἸΤ[ΑΤ]CEI** unsatedness, greed: 66,29.—**ΜἸἸΤΑΤCΙ** 73,32.

CAE nn m, beauty: 69,20.

CΩ nn m, drinking, drink: 79,37.

CHBE nn f, shin-bone, shin: 64,35. 65,1. 65,24 bis.

CΩBE smile: 61,19. 70,11. 74,25.

CBΟΥΨ nn f, doctrine, teaching: 47,1.

COBTE prepare 72,1. 73,6.

CΩK draw, be drawn: 74,21. 75,2. 77,33.

CMH nn f, voice: 55,21. 62,13. 62,17.

CMΟΥ bless, praise: 57,6. 57,9.—**ΕΙΝΕ** **ἸΟΥCΜΟΥ** praise: 62,3.

CMAT nn f, form, likeness: 48,4. 61,1. 71,27. 75,35.—**CMOT** 52,22. 58,4.—**ΑΤCΜOT** without likeness: 58,6.

CMOT see **CMAT**

CΩNE nn f, sister: 71,20.

CἸἸTE nn f, foundation: 62,26. 78,19. 78,27.

CΩNT create, in: **[CO]NT=** 61,31 (?).

CNAY nn, two: 60,33. 71,14. 71,18. 71,32. 72,17. 72,32. 78,22.—**MEZCNAY** second: 56,8. 56,10. 58,30. 59,17. 59,27. 60,17. 60,18. 72,17.—**MAZCNO** second. 57,13 bis.—**MEZCἸἸTE** f, second: 63,15. **ΜἸἸTCNΟΟΥC** twelve: 56,22. 56,25.—**ΠMEZΜἸἸTCNΟΟΥC** the twelfth: 59,2.

CANAΨ make, be alive, nourish, qual **CANAΨΤ**: 66,14.

CNOY nn m, blod. 63,20.

COΠ nn m, time, in: **KECOΠ** another time, again: 69,6.—**ΖΙ** **ΟΥCΟΠ** at one time, together: 77,23.—**MEZCEΠ** **CNAY** 78,22.—**ΠMAZΨΟΜΤ** **ἸCOΠ'** 78,33.

CEEΠE nn m, remainder: 68,1.

CΠIP nn m, side 64,16. 64,17. 65,18 bis. 70,30.—**ΒΕΤ** **CΠIP** nn f. rib: 71,4.

conē pray: 67,17.—nn m. prayer: 62,2.

cnotoy nn m, lips: 64,1.

cnpm go astray, err, be lost: 74,22. 75,1. 78,1.

cp̄e nn m, leisure, perseverance: 69,19.—p̄ atcp̄e be without leisure: 78,2.

cate nn f, fire: 68,35. 69,2.

cnte nn m, redemption: 52,7.

cntm hear: 62,15. 70,23. 79,5. 79,15.—cntm a- (tr) 62,1.—cntm na= 77,5.—
 40 n̄atcntm na4 70,15.

cntt tremble (intr): 62,25.

cooy six: 59,24.—pmezcooy the sixth: 58,34. 59,32. 60,23.—tmezco f, the sixth:
 60,22.—tmezcoe f, the sixth: 63,20.—ce sixty 59,25. 67,3.

cooyN know: 72,2. 75,22.—coyN- 70,4. 71,9. 76,28. 77,12.—coyN- 70,8. 78,4.—
 coyN= 73,9. 78,21.—cooyN nn m, knowledge: 57,35. 75,10.—atcooyN
 without knowledge: 57,19. 59,21. 61,28. 76,9.—atcooyne 59,10.—
 mntatcooyN nn f, ignorance: 58,14. 61,25. 67,28. 69,8. 72,6. 72,12.
 76,24.

coy2 e2oyN gather together: 77,21.

coey nn m, husband (properly: pair): 77,27.

caʷ nn m, shame, contempt: 76,14.

ciʷe be bitter, qual caʷe 66,28. 69,20. 69,30.

caʷy(ε) nn, seven: 59,4. 59,23. 59,31. 60,12. 65,30.—tcaʷe 63,25.—pmezcaʷy
 the seventh: 58,36. 59,33. 60,24.—tmezcaʷy 60,23.—tmezcaʷe 59,6.
 63,22.

cnny defile, pollute: 77,25.

co2e be set up, upright (caus derived from n2e): 79,13.—ce2n= 56,9. 56,13.
 56,35. 70,9. 73,13.—cn2e 71,22.—cn2e m̄moy 68,20. 70,17.

coo2e remove, in: ce2n= 71,36.—ce2nn= 58,22.

cn2e reprove (prob for coo2e): 62,9. 62,12.—nn 68,27.

c2ai write: 70,23.—ca2o= 79,33.—Q ch2 67,9.—(tr.) c2aicoy 79,29.

ca2 nn m, master: 47,10.

c2ime nn f, woman: 70,35. 71,4. 71,37.—pl. c2iame 78,7.—m̄ntc2ime womanhood:
 71,2.

ca2oy curse, in: Q c2oyopt cursed: 79,34.—coy2np: 71,37.

[c]6pa2t be quite: 52,11 (?).

ta- posses art f: passim.

taeio honour: taeio= 55,20.—qual taeiny, in: πτοπος ετταεινυ 79,14.

th five: 59,25. 67,3.

+ give: 57,4. 63,6. 68,2. 69,36. 79,32. 79,35.—tñ 53,21. 53,27. 53,33. 54,33.—taa=
 60,29. 67,16. 70,19. 75,5. 79,30. 80,1.—qual to 60,30.—+ meine give sign,
 signify: 74,1-2.—+ 2in= give on, pull on. 72,7.—entaytaay 2i 69,11.—
 + 2th pay heed to, observe: 70,27.—+ taxpo make strong: 74,17.—See
 eooy.

thbe nn, finger: 64,10. 64,11. 65,13. 65,14.

ΤΗΗΒΕ nn, toe: 65,4. 65,5. 65,27. 65,28.

ΤῒΒΟ be pure, 73,27. qual ΤῒΒΗ[Υ]: 51,18. 54,11. 54,18. 73,18. 79,12.

†Κ nn, spark: 54,13.

ΤΕΚΟ nn m, perdition: 70,14. 78,31.—ΑΤΤΕΚΟ adj imperishable: 61,1. 74,2. 74,30.—nn f, ΜῒΝΤΑΤΤΕΚΟ [48,28]. 54,7. 55,31. 73,30.—vb, ΤΟΚΟ= 78,29 (derived from ΤΕΚΟ).

ΤΑΛΟ go up, mount: 73,20.

ΤΕΛΗΛ rejoice: 54,18.

ΤΑΛΕΟ make to cease, heal: ΤῒΛΕΑ=: 73,14.—ΑΤΤΑΛΕΟ incurable 69,23.

Τῒ- negation: 77,21.

ΤΩΜ shut: 78,9.

ΤΑΜΙΟ make create: 55,6. 55,10. 58,24. 59,22. 59,24. 63,2. 63,5. 63,9. 63,14. 63,16. 63,18. 63,20. 63,21. 63,22. 63,26. 63,29. 63,30. 63,31. 70,34. 77,23.—ΤΑΜΙΟ= 58,5. 58,13. 61,1. 68,4. 68,31.—ΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΨΟΧΝΕ 77,16.—ΤΑΜΙΟ nn m, creation: 77,1.

ΤΩΜΤ meet; (or) be amazed (?): 58,26 (read: ΤΩΜΕ join).

ΤΩΝ interrog adv, where: 47,10.—whence: 62,18. 73,9. 75,32. 79,9.—ΕΤΩΝ whither: 74,25. 75,23. —ΤΩΝ whither. 74,35.

ΤῒΝΝΟΥ send: 67,18. 68,15. 71,15. 71,18. 72,14.—ΤῒΝΝΕΥ- 59,8.—ΤῒΝΝΑ= 73,3.

ΤΕΝΟΥ now: 58,26. 71,10. 78,7. 78,11. 79,26.—2ῒ ΤΟΥΝΟΥ 71,5. 80,2.—(see ΟΥΝΟΥ hour).

†ΠΕ nn f, loins: 64,18.

†ΠΕ nn f, taste 69,36. 71,26.

ΤΗΡ= all, whole, every: 50,4. 51,7. 60,1. 60,3. 62,4. 62,6. 62,25. 62,31. 62,32. 64,27. 64,28. 65,7. 65,22. 65,30. 66,1. 66,3. 66,5. 66,10. 66,13. 66,18. 66,31. 67,4. 67,11. 67,13. 68,2. 68,9. 68,20. 68,31. 68,35. 72,14. 73,15. 74,4. 74,5. 76,20. 76,27. 76,29. 77,4. 77,15. 78,5. 79,19.—The all, the universe: 55,10. 55,24. 55,27. 56,26. 57,7. 57,8. 62,22 bis. 67,18. 76,32. 78,12.

ΤΩΡΕ nn, hand; in: 2ΑΤῒ- prep, beside, with: 60,17. 60,18. 60,20. 60,24.—see 2ΗΤ.

ΤΩΡΠ' seize, carry from: 72,14.

ΤΟ give to drink: ΤΟ= 73,7.

ΤΕΒΟ ῒΜΑΥ teach: 68,22.—ΤΕΒΕ 70,11. 77,2.—ΤΕΒΑ= 71,30.—ΤΕΒΟ= 47,3. 62,19. 70,12.—ΤCΑΒΟ ῒΜΟΥ 68,23.—ΤCΑΒΩ= 69,26.

ΤCΕΝΟ provide, adorn: 67,12.—ΤCΕΝΟ= 60,34.—nn m. propriety, order, ornament: 61,5.—ΤCΑ[N]Ο 63,28.

ΤΗΥ nn m, wind: 69,2. 72,22.

†ΟΥ nn, five: 59,6. 67,19.—†Ε f. in: ΤΜΕ2†Ε the fifth: 60,21. 63,19.—†Ε f; in: 2ῒ †Ε ΝCΦΡΑΓΙC 79,24.—ΤΗ five (in connection with other num): 59,25. 67,3.—ΠΜΕ2†ΟΥ the fifth: 58,33. [59,31]. 60,21.

ΤΑΥΟ proclaim: 61,10.

ΤΕΟΥΩ recount, produce: 80,4.

ΤΩΟΥΝ arise (intr.): 79,5.—ΤΩΟΥΝ= 79,14.—ΤΩΩΝ 67,24.

ΤΟΥΝΟΥC wake, raise: 69,16. 71,34. 72,29. 76,3. 77,19. 79,22.—ΤΟΥΝΟC= ΕΒΟΛ 2Ḡ 71,31.

ΤΩΨ be fixed, appoint: ΤΩΨ= 65,7.—qual ΤΗΨ 66,3.—ΑΤΤΩΨC unlimited: 66,12. ΤΑΨΕΘΕΙΨ proclaim, preach: 77,3.

ΤΩ2 mix, be mixed: 59,11. 69,1.—qual ΤΗ2 66,12.

ΤΕ2Ο ΕΡΑΤ= establish: 57,12. 57,17. 57,18.—ΤΕ2Ε ΕΡΑΤ= 59,4.— ΤΕ2Ο= cath: 70,32.—ΑΤΤΕ2Ο= unattainable: 70,31.—ΤΕ2Ο= ΕΡΑΤ= establish 56,17.

+2Ε nn m, drunkenness: 71,8.

ΤΩ2Ḡ nn m, calling: 74,3.

ΤΩ2C annoint: 54,23.—ΤΑ2C= 54,25.—nn m, anointing 69,33.

ΤΑΧΡΟ make strong, firm: 56,27. 59,21. 68,3.—nn m. firmness, strength 52,14.—
+ ΤΑΧΡΟ make strong: 74,17.—2Ḡ ΟΥΤΑΧΡΟ firmly, certainly 79,34.

ΤΩΩΕ be fixed, joined, cleave to: ΤΟ6= Α- 71,13. 71,17.

ΟΥ interrog pron what: 61,18. 69,27. 70,21.

ΟΥΑ nn m, blasphemy: 76,23.—ΧΕ ΟΥΑ speak blasphemy: 75,29.

ΟΥΑ nn, one; in: ΚΕΟΥΑ another one: 61,12.—ΚΕΟΥΕΙΕ 75,18.—ΑΠΟΥΑ for each (distrib): 59,24.—ΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ each one: 63,28.—f. ΤΟΥΕΙΕ ΤΟΥΕΙΕ each one: 63,7.—ΠΜΕ2ΜḠΤΤΟΥΕ the eleventh: 59,1.

ΟΥΟΕΙ in: + ΠΕ4ΟΥΟΕΙ Ε- advance toward 47,8.

ΟΥΩ in: +ΟΥΩ nn m, fruit: 69,33.—+ ΟΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ give fruit: 69,36.

ΟΥΑΑΒ qual, qual: pure, innocent: 53,7. 54,29. 54,31. 55,16. 56,27. 57,17. 58,17. 62,6. 62,19. 67,19. 72,3. 73,13. 73,15. 75,34.

ΟΥΩΜ eat: 69,19. 70,9. 70,11. 70,13. 79,36.

ΟΥΟΕΙΝ nn m, light: 47,32. 48,2. 48,7. 49,1. 52,29. 52,32. 52,33. 54,13. 54,20. 55,8. 55,30. 59,10. 59,13 bis. 59,14. 60,7. 61,15. 62,33. 63,4. 63,13. 77,2. 77,13. 78,15. 78,23. 78,33. 78,34. 79,2. 79,23.—ΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΤḠΒΗΥ pure light. 54,11. 54,18. 71,29. 73,18.—ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ḠΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΤḠΒΗΥ 79,11.—ΟΥΨΑΚ ḠΚΩ2Τ ḠΟΥΟΕΙΝ 58,25.—Τ6ΑΜ ḠΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ 59,9.—ΚΛΟΟΛΕ ḠΟΥΟΕΙΝ 58,15. 77,12.—ΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ḠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ḠΩΝ2 72,11.—ΟΥΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ḠΟΥΟΕΙΝ 68,17.—ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ḠΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ 68,25. 69,15. 70,5. 70,28.—ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ḠΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ 70,16.—ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ḠΤΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ḠΟΥΟΕΙΝ 76,2.—ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ḠΨΑ ΕΝΕ2 ḠΠΡΩΜΕ 76,4.—
+ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ give light, shine: 58,11. 59,34.—Ḡ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ shine: 67,33. 77,14.—Ḡ ΟΥΟΕΙΝ be light, brighten: 59,12. 62,33.—Ο ΟΥΟΕΙΝ shine: 68,6. 71,34.—nn +Κ ḠΟΥΟΕΙΝ spark: 54,13.

ΟΥḠ there is: passim.

ΟΥΟΝ NIM pron, every one: 79,35.

ΟΥΩΝ ΕΒΟΛ open, be open: 76,22.

ΟΥΝΑΜ adj, right: 63,32. 63,34. 64,7. 64,9. 64,10. 64,12. 64,14. 64,17. 64,31. 64,33. 64,34. 65,1. 65,2. 65,3. 65,11. 65,12. 65,13. 65,15. 65,17. 65,18. 65,20. 65,23. 65,24. 64,25. 65,26.

ΟΥΝΟΥ nn f, hour, in: 2Ḡ ΤΟΥΝΟΥ on the instant, immediately: 67,34.—see ΤΕΝΟΥ.

ΟΥΩΝ2 (ΕΒΟΛ) reveal, be revealed, appear: 53,4. 54,16. 55,21. 57,28. 58,3. 62,24.

- 62,30. 68,28. 70,36. 71,5. 71,26. 71,33. 72,5. 72,10.—**ἄ** **ΑΤΟΥΩΝ2** **ΕΒΟΛ** be invisible: 80,3.
- ΟΥΡΗΤΕ** nn f, foot: 64,33. 65,3. 65,5. 65,6. 65,26. 65,27.
- ΟΥΑΑΤ** alone, self: 61,30. 73,30. 73,34.
- ΟΥΩΤ** adj, single, alone: 71,14. 71,18.
- ΟΥΟΕΙΨ** nn m, time, occasion: 48,13. 57,21. 67,14. 73,36. 76,31. 78,32.—**ΠΡΟC** **ΟΥΟΕΙΨ** for some time: 73,11.
- ΟΥΩΨΕ** vb, wish, desire: 55,4. 57,28. 67,8. 67,15. 70,19. 70,29. 76,8.—**ΟΥΩΨΕ** nn m, 55,9. 56,1. 56,24. 56,31. 58,8. 60,3.—**ΟΥΩΨ** nn m, 55,6. 55,12. 56,27. 56,30. 57,34.
- ΟΥΩΨΒΕ** answer: 73,18.
- ΟΥΩ2** put: **ΟΥ2Α** **Α-** 79,15.—**Ο[ΥΑ]2** **ἄ** **ΝCΑ-** follow: 55,9.—**ΟΥΑ2** **ἄ** **ΝCΑ-** follow: 75,18. 78,1.—**Q** **ΟΥΗ2** **ἄ** **ΝC** follow: 47,11.—**Q** **ΟΥΗ2** **2ΙΧΩ** rest, alight upon: 60,1.
- ΟΥΧΑἰ** be safe: 73,17. 74,11. 74,30. 75,11. 75,19.—**ΟΥΧΑΕἰ** 73,25.
- Ω** nn, conception, in: **ΧΕ ΟΥΩ** conceive: 54,12.
- ΩΛ ἄ** **ΜΜΟ** **Ε2ΟΥΝ Α-** bring into: 69,4.
- ΩΝ2** nn m, life: 52,3. 56,2. 69,25. 69,27. 72,11. 73,23. 74,10. 74,16. 75,19.—**ΩΝ2 ΨΑ ΕΝΕ2** 53,27. 53,29. 54,7. 55,11. 74,7.—**ΩΝ2 ἄ** **ΝΑΤΤΕΚΟ ἄ** **ΨΑ ΕΝΕ2** 74,2.—vb. in: **ΤΜΑΑΥ ἄ** **ΝΝΕΤΩΝ2** 58,18. 71,24.
- Ω2Ε** stand, stand on foot: **Ω2ΕΡΑΤ** 55,34. 56,1.—**Α2ΕΡΑΤ** 53,16. 53,35. 54,27. 55,1. 55,13. 55,18. 56,21. 56,22.—**Α2Ε ΕΡΑΤ** 63,23. 66,11. 72,9. 74,14.
- Ω6ΒΕ** nn m, moisture: 66,10. See **2Ο6ΒΕC**.
- ΨΑ** prep, to: 77,17. 78,7. 78,11.
- ΨΑ** nn m, nose: 63,35.
- ΨΕ** nn, hundred: 59,25. 67,3.
- ΨΕΕἰ** go and come, wander: 61,13. 61,18.—nn m, going to and fro: 61,26.
- Ψἰ** nn, measure, weigh: 76,31.—**ΑΤΨΙΤΥ** immeasurable, unmeasured: 52,2. 52,9.
- ΨΙΒΕ** change: **ΨḂΤ** 77,26. 78,13.
- ΨΕΒΙΟ** change, qual **ΨḂΒΙΑΕἰΤ**: 58,4. 58,8. 69,9. 72,32. 74,20. 76,17.—**ΜḂΡΕ** **ΕΤΨḂΒΙΑΕἰΤ** 76,15.
- ΨΒΗΡ** nn m, friend, comrade: **ΨḂΡ Ḃ** **2ΩΒ** collaborator: 54,33.—**ΨḂΡ ἄ** **2ΩΤḂΡ** conjugate: 57,30. 58,5. 61,36. 62,7. 71,15. 71,19.—**ΨḂΡ 2ΩΤḂΡ** 61,17.—**ἄ** **ΨḂΡ ΠΝΑ** friends in the spirit: 79,30.—**ἄ** **ΨḂΡ ΜΑΘΗΤΗC** 80,4.
- ΨΙΚ** nn m, depth: 59,3. 59,6. 71,31.
- ΨΗΜ** small: 48,12.—**Ḃ** **ΨΗΜ ΨΗΜ** make, become small: 75,12.
- ΨḂΜΜΟ** nn, stranger: 48,11. 77,5.
- ΨΜΟΥΝ** nn, eight: **ΠΜΕ2ΨΜΟΥΝ** the eighth: 58,37.
- ΨΟΜΤ** nn, three: 56,1. 56,7. 56,11. 56,15. 56,19. 57,10. 59,16.—**ΨḂΤ-** 59,25. 67,3.—**ΜΑ2ΨΟΜΤ** third: 56,12. 57,14. 57,16. 78,32.—**ΜΕ2ΨΟΜΤ** third: 56,14. 58,31. 59,17. 59,28. 60,18 bis.—f, **ΤΜΕ2ΨΟΜΤΕ** 63,17.—**ΨΨΟΜΤ Ε2ΟΥΤ** the three-fold man: 53,8.—**ΨΨΟΜΤ ἄ** **ΠΡΑΝ** the three-fold name 53,9.—

ἸΩΟΜΤ ἸΡΑΝ the three names: 59,16.—ΤΩΟΜΤΕ ἸΩΟΜ the three-fold power: 53,8.

ΨΗΝ nn m, tree: 69,22.—ΠΨΗΝ ἸΤΕΠΟΥΩΝ2 69,24.—ΠΨΗΝ ἸΚΟΥῆ ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥ4 Μῆ ΠΕΤ20ΟΥ 70,4.—ΠΨΗΝ ἸΠΚΟΟΥΝ 71,28.

ΨΙΝΕ nn m, in: Ἐῆ ΠΕΥΨΙΝΕ visit: 73,37.—Ἐῆ ΠΨΙΝΕ 74,30.

ΨΩΝΕ sick, weak: qual ΨΩΝΕ 59,15 bis.

ΨΕΠ receive, take (ΨΩΠ), in: ΨΕΠ 2ΙCΕ take trouble, suffer: 68,20.—ΨΠ 2ΙCΕ 76,1.

ΨΙΠΕ be ashamed: 61,25.—ΨΙΠΕ nn m, shame 66,31.

ΨΩΠΕ become, befall, be: 53,20. 53,26. 53,32. 54,2. 54,20. 54,24. 55,3. 55,15. 57,22. 58,2. 58,8. 59,13. 59,14. 60,35. 61,7. 61,22. 61,24. 61,34. 62,11. 62,17 bis. 62,22. 63,4. 63,12. 66,20. 66,25. 67,13. 68,1. 68,27. 69,12. 70,14. 71,14. 72,3. 73,15. 73,24. 73,25. 74,35. 75,6. 76,33. 79,20.—qual ΨΟΟΠ 48,16. 48,25. 48,27. 48,34. 55,26. 56,4. 57,3. 57,25. 58,25. 58,27. 59,19. 60,3. 60,7. 60,11. 60,31. 61,11. 61,12 bis. 62,14. 62,27. 63,1. 66,12. 67,1. 67,6. 67,27. 67,32. 68,30. 69,32. 70,17. 71,32. 72,6. 73,22. 75,27. 78,13. 78,29. 78,34. 79,10.—Μῆ ΚΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΨΟΟΠ 59,20.—ΜΑ ἸΨΩΠΕ dwelling place: 70,1.

ΨΠΩΠ nn m, promise: 69,24.

ΨΑΡΟ= prep, with: 61,11. 63,1.—see also 2ΑΡΟ=

ΨΑΑΡΕ nn m, skin: 63,21.

ΨΕΕΡΕ nn f, daughter: 77,17.

ΨΗΡΕ nn m, son: 47,7. 48,14. 55,17. 56,23. 56,26. 57,11. 57,12. 61,23. 62,11. 72,17. 78,8.—ΠΨΗΡΕ ἸΠΡΩΜΕ 62,15. 73,1.—ἸΨΗΡΕ ἸἸΡΩΜΕ 77,4.—Ψῖ ΟΥΩΤ only begotten son: 54,15.

ΨΟΡΠ first: 58,28. 59,16. 60,15. 60,16. 63,14. 63,29. 69,14. 72,17. 78,14.—ΨΟΡΠΕ 59,26.—ΠΨΟΡΠ ἸΜΕΕΥΕ the first thought: 53,4.—ΠΨΟΡΠ ἸΠΩΡΧ the first separation: 69,14.—ΠΨΟΡΠ ἸΦΩCΤΗΡ the first light: 57,2.—ΠΨΟΡΠ ἸΑΓΓΕ ΛΟC the first angel: 56,6.—ΠΨΟΡΠ ἸΑΙΩΝ the first aeon: 57,1.—ἸΨΟΡΠ ἸΑΙΩΝ 60,34.—ΠΨΟΡΠ ἸΑΡΧΩΝ the first archon: 58,20. 67,16. 68,5. 70,18. 76,6.—ΠΨΟΡΠ ἸΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ the first coming forth: 53,11.—ΠΨΟΡΠ ἸΡΩΜΕ the first man: 53,7. 54,3. 62,23. 63,10.—ΠΨΟΡΠ' ΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ the first revelation, appearance: 56,32.—ΠΕΥΨΟΡΠ ἸΧΩΜΕ his first book (Genesis): 70,24.—ἸΠΨΟΡΠ first, in the beginning: 77,21.—Χῆ ἸΨΟΡΠ from the beginning: 67,32.

ΨΟΡΨῖ nn m, destruction, overthrow [60,28]. 60,32.

ΨΗC in: ΠῆΑ ΕΤΨΗC: 74,27. 74,36. 75,33. 78,11.—ΠῆΑ ΕΥΨΗC: 77,24. Probably derived from ΨΩΨ make equal, and for ΨΗΨ (qual); see ΨΩΨ

ΨΩΩΤ want, lack: qual ΨΑΑΤ: 54,24.—ΨΤΑ nn m, need, shortage: 61,14. 62,9. 62,13. 68,28. 71,22. 73,14.—ΑΤΨΤΑ without shortage: 73,16.

ΨΤΗΝ nn f, garment, tunic: 79,37.

ΨΤΕΚΟ nn m, prison: 75,8. 78,19. 79,3. 79,4.—ΜῖΡΕ ἸΠΨΕΤΕΚΟ 79,10.

ΨΤΟΡΤῖ nn m, disturbance, trouble: 69,4.

ΨΑΥ nn, use: 70,15.—ῖ ΨΑΥ be useful: 66,32.

ΨΑΥ nn m, piece: 63,27.

ΨΟΟΥΕ qual, the dry, dryness: 66,5.—ΨΟΥΝΟΥ qual used as noun 66,9.

ΨΟΥΟ pour: 54,27.—ΨΟΥΕ 79,6.—qual, ΨΟΥΕΙΤ empty: 66,26.

ΨΟΥΩΒΕ nn f, throat: 64,5.

ΨΩΨ be equal: qual ΨΗΨ 54,14.

ΨΟΥΨΟΥ nn m, boast, pride: 66,25.

ΨΑΥΤΕ nn m, impious person: 59,18.—ΜΝΤΨΑΥΤΕ iniquity: 76,22.

ΨΑΖ nn m, flame, fire 58,25.

ΨΑΧΕ nn m, word: 55,5. 55,9. 55,10.

ΨΟΧΝΕ decide 76,34.—nn m, counsel, design: 69,28. 76,11.—ΠΨΟΧΝΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ 67,19. 72,3.—ΕΙΡΕ ΝΟΥΨΟΧΝΕ take counsel, decide: 68,34.—ΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥ-ΨΟΧΝΕ decide: 77,16.—ΧΙ ΨΟΧΝΕ advise, take counsel with: 67,21.

ΨΩΧΠ nn m, remainder: 66,24. 67,7.

ΨΩΓΕ cleave to, be joined (probably variant of ΤΩΩΓΕ): 69,2.

Ψ take: 68,7. 68,35.—ΨΙ ΡΟΥΨ care about: 73,29.—ΨΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΖΑ- bear, endure: 74,4.

ΨΩΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ wipe, wipe off: 79,7.

ΨΤΟΥΥ nn, four: 55,32. 56,20. 66,14. 66,19.—ΕΨΤΟΥΥ 66,3.—ΨΤΟΥ 69,2.—f ΨΤΟΕ 56,2. ΠΜΑΖΨΤΟΥΥ the fourth: 56,16.—ΠΜΕΖΨΤΟΥΥ the fourth: 56,17. 57,18. 57,23. 58,32. 59,30. 60,20.—f ΤΜΕΖΨΤΟΕ 60,19. 63,18.

ΨΟΥΖΕ nn, hair: 63,23.

ΖΑ- prep, for (price): 79,35.

ΖΑΗ nn f, last thing, end: 76,15.

ΖΕ fall: ΖΕ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ-: fall down over: 78,28.—ΖΕ nn, fall, destruction: 71,32. nn f, manner: [48,12]. 66,32. 70,22. 73,10. 75,10. 76,27. 78,5.—ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ 61,20. 71,3. 73,2.—ΕΥΟ ΝΘΕ 48,3. 48,4.—ΝΕΥΟ ΝΘΕ 58,10.

ΖΗ nn f, beginning, in: ΖΑΘΗ ΜΠΟΥΘΕΙΨ before the time: 78,32.

ΖΙ- prep, on, at: 69,11. 73,31 bis. 73,31. 77,23.—ΖΙΩ= 72,8.—ΖΙΤΟΟΤ= 75,20. 76,14. 76,34.

ΖΟ nn m, face: 58,9. 59,27. 59,28. 59,29. 59,30. 59,32. 59,33. 59,34. 67,24. 72,18. 72,19. 79,1 (? or ΑΖΟ treasure).—ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ <N>ΕΥΖΑ away from: 72,15.—in front of, before: 60,2.

ΖΩ= self: 74,33. 75,22.

ΖΩΒ nn m, thing, work, matter: 55,6. 58,3. 76,33. 79,27. 79,29. 79,37.—ΖΩΥ event 67,13. pl. ΖΒΗΥΕ 73,19. 74,8. 74,19. 75,3.—Ḑ ΖΩΒ vb, work: 67,4. 67,10. 67,31.—ΨḐΡ Ḑ ΖΩΒ collaborator: 54,33–34.

ΖΗΒΕ nn, grief, mourning: 66,23.

ΖΒΒΡΗΓΕ nn f, lightning: 58,10.

ΖΑΪΒΕC nn f, shade, shadow: 68,29. 69,4.—ΖΟΙΒΕC 69,31.

ΖΒCΩ nn f, garment, veil: 61,33.

ΖΗΚΕ poor, in: ΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ nn f. poverty: ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΤΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ 75,25. 79,18.

ΖΛΛΟ nn, old person, in: Ḑ ΖΛΛΟ become, be old: 78,2.

ΖΟΛΠΕ nn f, navel: 64,15.

2ΩME nn f, palm: 64,7. 64,8.

2MOM nn m, heat: 66,6.

2MME nn m, heat, fever: 66,4.

2OMT nn m, copper: 77,31.

2OYN inner: 78,26.—ε2OYN to inside, inward: passim.—ΨA2OYN A- until: 72,26. 76,20.

2OINE nn, some, certain: 72,14.

2INHB nn m, sleep: 79,20.—ΦINHB 79,5.

2NT= remove (refl) (2INE): 75,23.

2NΩ2E nn f, fear: 66,18.—NΩ2E 66,30.—P̄ 2NΩ2E vb. fear: 72,4.

2ΩΠ hide: 70,29. 76,30. 77,7. 77,8. 77,11.—2ΩΠ= 78,20.—qual 2ΗΠ 47,2. 68,25.—
2ΩΠ nn m. in: 2N̄ OY2ΩΠ adv, secretly: 79,30.

2APO= prep, under, for: 62,3.—see also ΨA- and ΨAPO=

2PTE nn f, fear: 76,26.

2POΨ make heavy: 70,26.—Q 2OPΨ 76,26. 79,7.—εΘOPΨ difficult: 76,25.—
ET2OPΨ 79,6. 79,21.

2ICE nn m, suffering, in: ΨEP 2ICE take trouble, suffer: 68,20.—ΨΠ 2ICE 76,1.

2AT nn m, silver, money: 77,30.

2HT nn m, heart: 64,21. 71,7.—pl. 2ETE 70,27. 78,9.—MNTPMN̄2HT nn f, wisdom,
understanding: 56,3. 56,15. 60,24. 63,22. 68,3.—MNTATP̄ 2TH stubbornness:
66,22.—P̄ 2TH= repent: 76,33.—+2TH observe: 70,27.—ΨAN2TH= pitiful
of heart: 68,10. 75,35. 79,16.—ΨN̄2TH= have pity: 68,11.—2A2T̄N- prep,
beside, with: 60,16. 60,21. 60,22–23.—Confused with 2AT̄N? see TΩPE.

[2OEI]TE nn, hyena: 59,29 (?).

2OTE nn, fear; in: [P̄] 2OTE be afraid: 48,11.

2TOMT̄M be darkened, darken: 61,16.—2T̄MT̄M 59,13.

2AT̄N- see TΩPE and 2HT.

2ΩTP̄ nn m, joint yoke, union; in: ΨB̄P̄ N̄2ΩTP̄, fellow conjugate, comrade: 57,30.
58,5. 61,36. 62,7. 71,15. 71,19.—ΨB̄P̄ 2ΩTP̄ 61,17.

2OY nn m, day: 75,28.—ΠOY N̄2OY this (very) day: 72,26. 76,20.

2OY be bad; in: ΠEOOY what is evil, wickedness: 66,32.—ΠET2OY 70,5.

2OYO A- greater, more: 48,33. 68,4. 68,5. 70,18.—2OY ε- 68,6.

2OYT nn m, male, man: 72,1.—ΠΨOMT ε2OYT the three-fold man 53,8.—
MNT2OYT male element: 57,32.—2OYTC2IME androgynous: 53,9. 54,8.

2A4 nn m, serpent: 70,10.—2O4 70,12.

2A2 nn, much: 66,25. 78,2.

2A2T̄N- see 2HT.

2O6BEC nn, moisture (prob for A6BEC or ATBEC, cf Crum, Coptic Dictionary 26a):
66,4.—Ω6BE nn m, moisture (probably confusion, cf O6BC cold, Crum
Coptic Dictionary 540a): 66,10.

XE conjunction: passim.

XI receive, take: 54,28. 58,20. 61,26. 63,24. 67,15. 74,1. 75,10. 77,18. 78,7.—

ΧΙΤ= 59,9. 61,23. 71,1. 74,31. 75,26.—ΧΙ +ΠΕ take, taste: 69,36. 71,26.—
ΧΙ nn m, rapine, booty: 61,22.—ΧΙΝΩΟΝC nn m, violence: 76,23.—ΧΕ ΟΥΩ
conceive 54,12.

ΧΟ= (ΧΟ) send forth: 77,17.

ΧΩ sow, plant: 72,28.

ΧΩ say, think: ΧΕ-: 79,29.—ΧΟΟ= 57,5. 59,19. 60,13. 61,20. 67,8. 70,23. 70,25.
71,3. 77,6. 80,5.—ΧΕ- ΟΥΑ speak blasphemy 75,29.—ΠΕΧΑ= passim.—

ΧΩ nn m, head: 64,13. 64,14. 65,17 bis.

ΧΩΚ complete 50,4. 51,6. 55,15. 67,4. 74,5. 75,11. 79,27.—qual ΧΗΚ 50,6. 52,35.
53,1. 54,30. 54,32. 62,20. 78,12.—ΑΤΧΩΚ incomplete, imperfect: 58,4.—
ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ nn m, fulness, perfection: 56,19.

ΧΕΚΑΑC conjunction: that, in order that: 48,23. 50,5. 55,27. 58,12. 58,16. 62,9.
63,3. 63,12. 63,26. 68,26. 69,5. 70,6. 70,14. 70,27. 71,22. 71,30. 73,8.
73,11. 73,14. 74,5. 76,28. 77,18. 78,28. 78,31. 78,35. 79,24. 79,29. 79,32.

ΧΩΩΜΕ nn m, book: 67,10.—ΧΩΜΕ 70,24.

ΧΩ- prep, from: 67,32. 78,6. 79,25.

ΧΝΟΥ= (ΧΝΟΥ) ask: 75,15.

ΧΩΝΥ nn m, union, unity: 57,33. 57,35. 63,27 bis. 65,35(?)

ΧΠΙΟ= blame: 72,4.

ΧΠΟ beget, bring forth: 54,13. 58,27. 61,4. 72,16. 72,36. 76,14. 78,8.—ΧΠΟ= 58,23. 74,15.—ΧΠ[Ο Ν]ΟΥΑΑΤΥ' only begotten 54,17.—ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΖΕΝΧΠΟ ΝΕ 57,24.—ΧΠΟ nn m, offspring: 72,30. 73,2.

ΧΡΟ in: ΑΤΧΡΟ unconquerable: 58,1.—ΑΤΩΡΟ unconquerable: 57,5.

ΧΩΩΡΕ be strong: qual ΧΟΟΡ (qual) 74,28.

ΧΟΕΙC nn m, lord, master: 51,1. 61,18. 70,10. 73,17. 74,7. 74,23. 74,32. 75,12.
75,22. 75,31.—Π ΧΟΕΙC Ε- be lord over 60,6.—Ο ΝΧΟΕΙC reign (over): 51,1.
66,6. 66,7. 66,8. 66,9. 72,1. 76,32.—ΤΜΝΤΧΟΕΙC the lordship: 60,20. 63,18.

ΧΙCΕ become, be high: 61,31. 68,31.—Q ΧΟCΕ 55,28. 62,14. 68,33.—CΕΧΟCΕ ΕΡΟΥ' 76,9.—CΕΧΟCΕ ΠΑΡΑ ΡΟΥ' ΖΜ ΠΧΙCΕ 76,6.—ΧΙCΕ nn m, height, top: 76,7.

ΧΙCΕ nn f, spine, vertebra: 64,24.

ΧΤΟ lay down: 70,24.

ΧΩΖΜΕ defile: 72,15.—ΠΙΑΤΧΩ[ΖΜ] 48,15.

-CΕ enclitic particle, then, but: 61,13. 61,32. 61,34. 72,26. 73,17. 73,29. 74,1.
74,23. 75,20. 76,8. 77,21. 78,12.

Ω remain, continue, persist: 57,21. 72,26.—desist, stop: 70,6.

ΩΙΒΕ nn f, palate: 64,12. 64,13. 65,15 bis.

ΩΩΒΕ nn, leaf: 69,32.

ΩΟΥΡ adj, left: 63,33. 63,35. 64,6. 64,7. 64,8. 64,9. 64,11. 64,13. 64,14. 64,17.
64,29. 64,32. 64,34. 64,35. 65,1. 65,3. 65,5. 65,12. 65,13. 65,14. 65,16.
65,17. 65,19. 65,21. 65,23. 65,24. 65,26. 65,28.

ΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ reveal: 52,27. 53,15. 53,29. 54,32. 55,1. 55,7. 71,6.—ΩΛΠ= 73,21.—
Ω[ΛΠ] nn m, revelation: 56,30.

ἑΛΑΤΕ nn, kidney: 64,23. 64,32.—ἑΛΩΤ 64,33.

ἑΛΩΤ see ἑΛΑΤΕ.

ἑΛΛΕC nn, entanglement: 79,21 (probably for ἑΛΛΧ).

ἑΟΛΧ qual, (of ἑΩΛΧ) cleave together, entangle, ensnare 79,19.

ἑΟΜ nn f, power, strength: 54,21. 56,3. 57,3. 57,11. 59,23. 59,24. 60,12. 60,14 bis (distributively). 60,28. 61,2. 61,27. 63,5. 63,13. 67,16. 67,22. 67,26. 70,19. 70,33. 71,1. 73,24. 74,9. 74,17. 74,26. 76,12. 77,16.—ἑΑΜ 68,3.—ἡΝΟΥἑΟΜ ἡΝΟΕΡΟΝ ἡΝΑΤἑΡΟ 57,4.—ΤἑΟΜ ἡΝΑΤΧΡΟ 58,1.—ΤἑΟΜ ἡΠΕΟΟΥ 60,6.—ΤἑΑΜ ἡΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ 59,9.—Μἡ ἑΟΜ without power, unable: 51,26. 74,14.—ΜἡΤΑΤἑΟΜ nn, poverlessness 60,32.—ἑἡἑΟΜ find power, be strong: 67,32. 68,13.—ἑἡἑΑΜ 79,25.—ἑ ἑΟΜ do mighty deeds, do wonders: 60,30.

ἑΟΜΕ qual (probably of ἑΩΩΜΕ) twisted, crooked 76,18.

ἑΙΝ- verbal prefix (forming nn of action: act of, manner of) in: ἑΙΝΕΙ ΑΠΙΤἡ coming down, descent: 68,22.

ἑΙΝΕ find: 57,33.—ἑἡἑΟΜ find power, be strong 67,32. 68,13.—ἑἡἑΑΜ 79,25.—ἑἡ- 71,37. 78,3.—ἑἡ ΠΕΥΨΙΝΕ visit: 73,36.

ἑΙΟΝC in: ΧΙΝἑΙΟΝC nn m, violence: 76,23.

ἑΩΝΤ nn m, wrath 66,27.

ἑΕΠΕ in: 2ἡ ΟΥἑΕΠἡ (adv) forthwith: 57,21.

ἑΑΥΑΝ nn, slave, servant: 78,5.

ἑΩΨΤ look, see: ἑΩΨΤ Ε2ΟΥΝ 2ἡ 54,10.—ἑΩΨΤ ΕΒΟΛ 55,34.—ἑΩΨΤ Ε2ΡΑΪ Α- 70,7.—qual ἑΩΨΤ 52,19.—ἑΑΨΤ ΕΒΟΛ ἡCΑ expect: 73,35.

ἑΙΧ nn f, hand: 64,8. 64,9. 64,10. 64,11. 64,12. 65,12. 65,13. 65,14.

ἑΩΧΒ be small, less, lessen: 61,15.

Greek Words.

ἀγαθός good: 49,7.—ΑΓΑΘΟΝ 74,6.

ἀγάπη love: 56,16.

ἀγγελικός angelic ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚἡ: 68,34.

ἄγγελος angel: 56,6. 59,24. 59,25. 61,6. 61,10. 61,31. 63,24. 67,2. 67,11. 67,20. 72,5. 76,19. 77,17. 77,27.—ΠΨΟΡΠ ἡΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ 56,6.—ἡΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ἡΤΜἡΤΖΗΚΕ 75,25. 79,18.

ἀγωνία struggle: 66,31.

ἄδικος unjust: ΑΔΙΚΟΣ 72,20.

ἄετός eagle: 71,27.

αἰδοῖον pudenda: 65,22.—ΕΔΥΟΝ 64,30.

αἰσθησις sensation: 65,32. 70,25.—ΕCΘΗCΙC 56,3. 56,11.

αἰσθητός sensible, perceptible: ΕCΘΗΤΟΝ 68,14.

αἰτεῖν ask, ask for: ΑΙΤΕΙ 53,11. 53,20. 53,26. 53,32. 54,33.

- αἰών aeon: 47,25. 47,27. 47,28. 49,3. 52,13. 53,1. 54,3. 54,8. 54,9. 56,5. 56,6. 56,7. 56,10. 56,11. 56,14. 56,15. 56,17. 56,19. 56,22. 56,25. 57,1. 57,10. 57,13. 57,18. 57,25. 58,24. 60,26. 60,35. 62,10. 62,13. 62,25. 73,2. 73,6. 73,13. 79,2. 79,27.—eternal: 74,32.
- ἄκακος innocent: ΜῆΤΑΚΑΚΟΣ 71,22.
- [ἀ]κτ[ίς] light: 47,32.
- ἄληθῶς really: 75,16.
- ἀλλά but: 49,9. 57,21. 61,21. 62,8. 62,11. 68,27. 70,24. 77,7.—οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλά 77,9.—οὐχ ὅτι . . . ἀλλά 61,2.
- ἀνά[γκη] 66,33: destiny
- ἀνάλημψις assumption: 65,33.
- ἀνάπαυσις rest: 74,31.
- ἀνάπλασις new formation, remodelling, shaping: 69,10.
- ἀνέχεσθαι endure: ΑΝΕΧΕ 78,18.
- ἀνὴρ man: ΟΥΤΥΠΟΣ ΝΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ 62,23.
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- ἀντίτυπος reflection: ΑΝΤΙΤΥΠΟΝ 73,4.
- ἄξιος worthy: 74,2.
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- αὐθάδης audacious: 61,27.
- αὐθεντία authority: ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΙΑ 71,25. 77,12.

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σπλήν spleen: 64,22.

σπορά procreation: 70,13. 72,28.

σταφυλή uvula: 64,3.

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στόμαχος pharynx, throat, stomach: 64,20.

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σωτήρ saviour: ΠΩΩΠ 70,10. 70,12. 70,21. 73,16. 79,32. 80,5.

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τυφῶν ass(or: Great Bear?): 59,28.

ῦλη stuff, matter: ΖΥΛΗ 62,28. 66,5. 66,13. 68,9. 69,7.

ὑλικός material: ΖΥΛΙΚΗ 66,34.—ΖΥΛΙΚΟΝ 67,6.

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ὑπόστασις substance: ΖΥΠΟΣΤΑΣΙΣ 63,9. 63,25. 73,34.

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ὑπουργεῖν render service, assist: ΠΩΠΟΥΡΓΕΙ 68,19. 73,11.

ὑποχόνδριος abdomen: ΥΠΟΧΟΝΔΡΙΟΣ 64,16.

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φarisαῖος pharisee: 47,8. 47,13.

φθόνος envy, jealousy: 66,21. 73,31.

φλέψ blood-vessel, vein: 64,25.

φορεῖν wear, bear: ΦΟΡΕΙ 73,35.

φρόνησις sense, judgement: ΦΡΟΝΗΣΕΙΣ 56,4.

φύσις nature: 75,13.

φωστήρ light, star: 55,33. 56,5. 56,9. 56,12. 56,18. 56,20. 57,2. 57,13. 57,16. 57,23. 67,19.

χάος chaos: 78,19. 78,27. 78,29.—ΝΔΑΙΜΩ ΝΤΕΠΧΑΟΣ 79,19.

χάρις grace: 49,8. 56,3. 56,4. 56,7.

χόλος gall, bitter, anger: [66,28.]

χορηγεῖν supply, provide: ΧΩΡΕΓΕΙ 72,31.

χρεία need, want: Π ΧΡΕ[ΙΑ][51,4.]

χρηστός, in: ΜΝΤΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ goodness: 63,14.—ΜΝΤΧΡC 54,23. [54,25?] [54,26.] 60,16.

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—ΠΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟC ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΠΕΧPC 56,23.—ΠΝΟC ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΠΕΧC 57,1–2.

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—ΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ (pl.) 74,34.— $\bar{M}\Psi\Upsilon\chi\eta$ $\bar{N}\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon\alpha\alpha\beta$ 57,17.— $\bar{M}\Psi\Upsilon\chi\eta$ $\bar{N}\eta[\epsilon\tau\epsilon]$ $\bar{N}\alpha\tau\omicron\omicron\omicron\Upsilon\bar{N}$ A- 57,19.— $\bar{N}\tau\zeta\Upsilon\lambda\iota\kappa\eta$ $\bar{N}\Psi\Upsilon\chi\eta$ 66,34.
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Proper Names.

(Except proper names only mentioned as connected with the human body Pl.

63,29–67,2; for those, see following index. Cf. also index of Greek words).

$\bar{A}\bar{B}\bar{E}\bar{\Lambda}$ 58,36. 72,25. (Cf. the following index: $\bar{B}\bar{O}\bar{A}\bar{B}\bar{E}\bar{\Lambda}$ 65,4).

$\bar{A}\bar{B}\bar{P}\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}$ 58,37.

$\bar{A}\bar{\Delta}\bar{A}\bar{M}\bar{A}\bar{N}$ 56,35.

$\bar{A}\bar{\Delta}\bar{A}\bar{M}\bar{A}\bar{N}$ 56,35.

$\bar{A}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\Omega}\bar{N}\bar{A}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\Upsilon}$ 58,33.

$\bar{A}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\Omega}\bar{N}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{N}$ 60,23.

$\bar{A}\bar{\Delta}\bar{\Omega}\bar{N}\bar{\iota}\bar{N}$ 59,32.

$\bar{A}\bar{\theta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}$ 58,29. 59,26. 60,16. (65,8—see the following index).

$\bar{A}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\Delta}\bar{B}\bar{A}\bar{\Omega}\bar{\theta}$ 71,36. 72,12. (Cf. below).

$\bar{A}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{T}\bar{A}\bar{B}\bar{A}\bar{\Omega}\bar{\theta}$ 67,29.—see $\bar{\iota}\bar{A}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{T}\bar{A}\bar{B}\bar{A}\bar{\Omega}\bar{\theta}$ and $\bar{A}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\Delta}\bar{A}\bar{B}\bar{A}\bar{\Omega}\bar{\theta}$

$\bar{A}\bar{P}\bar{\iota}\bar{M}\bar{A}\bar{N}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ 47,9.

$\bar{A}\bar{P}\bar{M}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\Lambda}$ 56,5. 57,2.

$\bar{A}\bar{P}\bar{M}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\Upsilon}\bar{\pi}\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\eta}\bar{\Lambda}$ 59,1.

$\bar{A}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\tau}\bar{A}\bar{\Phi}\bar{A}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ 59,29.

$\bar{A}\bar{\zeta}\bar{\tau}\bar{P}\bar{A}\bar{\Phi}\bar{A}\bar{\iota}\bar{\Omega}$ 60,19.

$\bar{B}\bar{A}\bar{P}\bar{B}\bar{\eta}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\Omega}$ 52,36. 53,13. 53,19. 53,25. 53,26. 53,31. 54,1. 54,5. 54,10. 54,22. 55,3. 55,14. 55,17.

$\bar{B}\bar{E}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\varsigma}$ 59,3.

$\bar{\Delta}\bar{A}\bar{\Upsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\bar{\theta}\bar{A}\bar{\iota}$ 56,13. 57,16.

$\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\Omega}\bar{A}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\Upsilon}$ 59,27.

$\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\Omega}\bar{A}\bar{\iota}\bar{\Omega}$ 60,18.

$\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\Omega}\bar{\iota}\bar{M}$ 72,18 bis. 72,22.

$\bar{\zeta}\bar{\epsilon}[\bar{B}\bar{E}\bar{\Delta}]\bar{A}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ 47,7.

$\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{N}$ 68,19. 71,23. 72,15.

$\bar{\zeta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\sigma}\bar{\tau}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ 67,10.

$\bar{\eta}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}$ 56,18. 57,23.

$\bar{\iota}\bar{A}\bar{B}\bar{\eta}\bar{\Lambda}$ 58,32 (—65,8 see following index).

$\bar{\iota}\bar{A}\bar{K}\bar{\Omega}\bar{B}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ 47,6.

$\bar{\iota}\bar{A}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\tau}\bar{A}\bar{B}\bar{A}\bar{\Omega}\bar{\theta}$ 58,19. [59,16.] 59,35. 62,16. 67,23.—see also $\bar{A}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{\Delta}\bar{A}\bar{B}\bar{A}\bar{\Omega}\bar{\theta}$ and $\bar{A}\bar{\Lambda}\bar{T}\bar{A}\bar{B}\bar{A}\bar{\Omega}\bar{\theta}$

$\bar{B}\bar{A}\bar{\Omega}\bar{\theta}$

$\bar{\iota}\bar{A}\bar{\Upsilon}\bar{\epsilon}$ 72,18. 72,19. 72,20.

$\bar{\iota}\bar{A}\bar{\Omega}$ 59,30. 60,20.

$\bar{\iota}\bar{\zeta}$ $\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\chi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\varsigma}$ 80,6.

ἸΩΒΗΛ 58,37.

ἸΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ 47,4. 47,6. 48,9 bis.—ΚΑΤΑ ἸΩΖΑΝΝΗΝ ΝΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ 80,7.

ΚΑΪΝ 58,34. 72,25.

ΚΑΛΙΛΑΟΨΜΒΡΙ 58,32.

ΜΕΛΧΕΪΡΑΔΩΝΕΪΝ 59,2.

ΜΩΥΣΗΣ 61,20. 70,22. 71,3. 77,6.

ΝΩΣΕ 77,3. 77,9.

ΣΑΒΒΑΩΘ 58,34. 59,31.

ΣΑΒΒΑΤΕΩΝ 60,25.

ΣΑΒΒΕΔΕ 59,33.

ΣΑΚΛΑΣ 59,17. (Cf. the following index: ΑΣΑΚΛΑΣ 64,33).

ΣΑΜΑΗΛ 59,18.

ΣΑΝΒΑΩΘ 60,22.

ΣΘ 57,12. 57,15. 73,1.

ΧΡ̄C see index of Greek words.

ΩΡΙΗΛ 56,9. (Cf. below)

ΩΡΩΙΗΛ 57,14 (Cf. above and cf. following index: ΟΥΡΙΗΛ 65,30).

ΖΑΡΜΑΣ 58,30 (Cf. the following index: ΑΡΜΑΣ 65,8.).

Proper names connected with the different parts of the human body, Pl. 63,29–67,2.

ΑΑΡΜΟΥΡΙΑΜ 65,31.

]ΑΑΧΙΑΡΑΜ 66,1.

ΑΒΗΝΛΕΝΑΡΧΕΙ 64,18.

ΑΒΙΤΡΙΩΝ 64,7.

ΑΒΡΑΝΑ 65,29.

ΑΡΒΑΟ 65,13.

ΑΓΡΟΜΑΥΜΑ 64,20.

ΑΔΑΒΑΝ 64,3.

ΑΘΥΡΩ 66,10.

ΑΘΩΘ 65,8. (Cf. the preceding index).

ΑΚΙΩΡΕΙΜ 63,35.

ΑΜΗΝ 64,1.

ΑΝΗCΙΜΑΛΑΡ 64,22.

ΑΡΑΒΗΕΙ 64,29.

ΑΡΑΡΙΜ 64,14.

ΑΡΑΧΕΩΩΠΙ 64,16.

ΑΡΕΧ 64,14.

ΑΡΜΑΣ 65,8 (Cf. the preceding index: ΖΑΡΜΑΣ 58,38).

ΑΡΩΗΡ 65,24.

ΑΡΩΦ 65,19.

ΑΡΧΕΝΔΕΚΤΑ 65,33 (Cf. below).

- APXĒNTĒXΘĀ 65,27 (Cf. above).
 ΑΣΑΚΛΑΣ 64,33 (Cf. the preceding index: CĀKĀĀC 59,17).
 ΑΣΜΕΝΕΔΑΣ 65,31.
 ΑΣΤΕΡΕΧΜΗΝ 63,32.
 ĀCĪPĪΩΨ 64,12.
 ΑΣΦΙΖΙΖ 65,18.
 ĀXĪHĀ 65,2.
 ĀXĀĀN 64,3.
 ĀΩĀ 65,25.
 BĀΘĪNΩΘ 65,22.
 BĀLBĪHĀ 64,10.
 BĀNHĪNĒΦPŌYM 64,1.
 BĀNΩ 64,21.
 BĀŌYM 64,13.
 BĀPBĀP 65,15.
 BĀPĪĀC 64,18.
 BĀCĪLĪĀΔHMĪ 64,2.
 BĀCĪTĀ 65,27.
 ΒΕΔΟΥΚ' 64,28.
 BHĀYĀĪ 64,9.
 BĪBĀΩ 64,23.
 BINEBORIN 64,26.
 BĪCĪŌY 63,34.
 BĀĀŌMHĪN 66,17.
 BŌĀBĒĀ 65,4 (Cf. the preceding index: ĀBĒĀ 58,36. 72,25).
 ΓHCŌĀĒ 64,20.
 ΓOPMAĪKAĪŌXĀĀBĀP 64,30.
 ΔĒĀPĪXΩN 64,5.
 ΔEIOĀPBĀŌĀC 65,34.
 ΔIOĀLIMŌDPĀZĀ 65,10.
 EIAΩ 64,30.
 EPIMĀXΩ 66,9.
 ECŌHNĪCICŌYXEPĪPĪTŌH 66,18 (Cf. below).
 ECŌHCICZOYXEPĪPĪTŌH 67,1 (Cf. above).
 ETĒPĀΦĀΩ[63,30.
 EYĀNŌHĪN 64,7.
 EΦĒMĒMΦĪ 66,15.
 ZĀBĒΔΩ 64,17.
 ŌACΠOMŌXAM 63,33.
 ŌΩΠĪŌPΩ 64,22.
 ĪĀBHĀ 65,8 (Cf. the preceding index: ĪĀBHĀ 58,32).
 ĪĀKŌYĪB 65,11.
 ĪAMMĒĀZ 65,10.

- ĪBĪKĀN 64,2.
 IĒPŌNŪMŌC 63,33.
 ĪMĀH 65,16.
 IPŌYCĪPŌBŌBA 64,25.
 ĪŌKŌ 66,16.
 KĀLĪLĀ 65,8.
 KŌNŪZ 64,35.
 KŌĀĀH 65,17.
 KRIMA 64,11.
 KPYC 64,8.
 LABHPRNĪOYM 65,6.
 LATŌIMENΨHΦEINΩΟΥNE 64,26.
 ΛHĒKĀΦĀP 65,15.
 MĀPOΦ[N]CYNŌ 65,28.
 MHNĪΓΓECCTPΩHŌ 63,31.
 MIAMAI 65,6.
 MĪXĀHĀ 65,30.
 MNĪAPXŌN 64,6.
 NEBPĪŌ 64,31.
 NENENTΩΦNI 66,17.
 ŌĀEŌP 65,18.
 ONŌPŌŌXPACĀEĪ 66,13.
 ŌPMĀŌŌ 64,34.
 ŌPOŌPPŌŌŌC 66,8.
 OYΔIΔI 65,12.
 OYĒPTŌN 65,12.
 OYMMĀĀ 65,35.
 ŌYRĪHĀ 65,30 (Cf. the preceding index: ΩPIHΛ 56,9 and ΩPΩIHΛ 57,14).
 ΠICĀNĀPĀΠTHC 65,16.
 PĪĀPĀMNĀXŌ 66,2.
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 CŌCTPĀPĀĀ 64,21.
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 THBĀP 64,5.
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 TPHNĒY 64,9.
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ΦΘΑΥΗ 64,15.

ΦΙΚΝᾹ 65,5.

ΦΙΟΪΘΡΟΜ̄ 65,3.

ΦΛΟΞΟΦᾹ 66,6.

ΦΝΗΜΗ̄ 65,2.

ΧΑΑΜΑΝ̄ 64,4.

ΧΑΡΑΝΗΡ̄ 65,26.

ΧΑΡΧᾹ 65,23 (cf. below).

ΧΑΡΧΑΡΒ̄ 65,21 (cf. above).

ΧΘΑΩΝ̄ 65,21.

ΧΝΟΪΜΕΝΙΝΟΡΙΝ̄ 64,19.

ΧΟΥΖ' 65,23.

ΨΗΡΗΜ̄ 64,32.

PART II

The Contents of Codex II's Apocryphon of John

The pages of Codex II published in Part I of this study on Pl. 47,1 to Pl. 80,9 contain the text to which the title, the Apocryphon of John, is given in Pl. 80,7-9.

The first pages, on Pl. 47-52, are severely damaged, but the remaining Pl. 53-80 are very well preserved, containing only a few very small lacunae in the text.

In rendering the contents of the entire text it is a disadvantage that the first pages are so badly damaged—even to some extent fragmentary. However, by comparing the text of Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 (BG), which is parallel with the Apocryphon of John in Codex II, it is possible to give a rendering of Codex II's first pages, as one may cautiously suggest they were in their complete state. With the reservations which such a reconstruction naturally involves, the following pages will present a rendering of the contents of Codex II's Apocryphon of John. This account is not intended to discuss the origin of the images or ideas, nor the relationship of this text to parallel texts; neither will it treat, point out or correct inconsistencies in the didactic contents of the text. The following pages will merely, as an introduction to a closer study of the details of the text, present a general account to the contents by relating the events in the story which is found in the Apocryphon of John.

For this purpose, it will be useful to present a brief table of the contents. This is prepared by assigning the following titles to the individual, major sections of the text:

- 47,1 -48,24 Preamble and frame story.
- 48,24-52,21 The highest being.
- 52,21-57,24 The world of light.
- 57,25-58,19 The fall.
- 58,19-61,13 The world of darkness.
- 61,13-62,15 Repentance and restoration.
- 62,15-68,5 Creation of man as an immaterial being in the world of darkness.
- 68,5 -73,16 The struggle for man between the powers of light and darkness.
- 73,16-78,11 Man's various destinies and the reason for them.
- 78,11-79,25 The deeds of the recovery.
- 79,25-80,6 Concluding frame story.
- 80,7 -80,9 Explicit.

47,1–48,24. Preamble and Frame Story.

47,1–4. The first lines of the text are damaged, but there is enough evidence to show that they contain a resume of its contents, i. e., a secret teaching which John has learned in seclusion. These introductory words take the form of a preamble to the complete composition, which is not found in the BG text. The first four pages of Codex III are lost, and therefore it is not known whether it contained the same preamble as found in Codex II, nor whether the introduction to this text also followed that of BG.

47,5–17. The composition now commences to relate the events which form the framework of the setting of the revelation, and serve to set all of the following account of the secret teaching in relief.

The situation takes place in front of the temple, which apparently refers to the temple in Jerusalem, and the characters who open the plot are John, son of Zebedee, and a Pharisee. By this means the location of the action is identified as Jerusalem, without it being stated specifically. John is described more definitely as the brother of James, and both of them are sons of Zebedee. In this manner, the author of the Apocryphon of John indirectly reveals his acquaintance with the New Testament, and the characters in the New Testament; and, at the same time, the author assumes that his audience is acquainted with the New Testament by making it clear that it is not John the Baptist, but the John who is mentioned in Mark 3,17, Mark 10,35 and Matth 10,3 as the brother of James and the son of Zebedee.

The pharisee Arimanios confronts John. Already in this Coptic expression which means “confronts” there is an implication of a hostile attitude. This is emphasized further by the blunt behavior of the Pharisee. Arimanios, whose name has not been encountered in any Biblical text, immediately begins by asking John where his master is now to be found. John’s reply that he has gone to that place whence he came, dates the situation to a time *after* the crucifixion.

The exact words of John’s reply obviously play on the words of Jesus found in John 8,42, or on the evangelist’s words in John 13,3: “... that Jesus knew that he had come forth from God and should return to God”.

The Pharisee does not elaborate on this, but refutes it indirectly by contending that John’s master has, in fact, led them astray, closed their hearts and turned them from their ancestral traditions.

It is significant that this scene takes place on a day when John has come to the temple. The exact wording of the text states that: “but it happened one day, *when* John had come to the temple ...” (and not: but it happened one day, *that* ...). This establishes the fact that John often came to the temple, and that which is to be emphasized is the extraordinary thing which occurred on one of these visits.

47,17–29. In spite of his firm reply to Arimanios, John has evidently begun to doubt. This is confirmed in BG, which at this point supplements the badly damaged text of Codex II. Later, however, Codex II (48,9–12) also gives evidence

of John's fear and doubt. John turns from the sanctuary and begins—as told in BG—to ponder.

47,30–48,9. Then a light shines from heaven, and it causes the whole world to tremble. A higher being appears before John in three forms, and John is filled with wonder.

48,9–24. The revelation speaks to John, and entreats him not to doubt nor fear, and it assures him that it is he who is with him always, that he is the father, the mother, and the son, who will now reveal something to him (as related in BG and the remnants of C II).

48,24–52,21. The Highest Being.

The teaching of the secret things now follows. It begins with the teaching about the highest being. With the help of BG 22,17–26,19, it is possible to derive an estimate of the context in Pl. 48,24–52,21 of Codex II, which seems to correspond with that in BG. The highest being is called a unity. He is the father of the all, and exists in incorruptibility. One must not visualize him as God, because he is more excellent than God (48,24–51+50,1). He lacks nothing, because he is absolutely perfect (51+50,1–6). The highest being is now described by a series of privativa, and it is told, that he is above corporality, and eternal (51,7–36+50,7–9). In the positive, such important things as salvation, life and recognition, etc. are named because the highest being gives these things.

52,21–57,24. The World of Light.

52,21–53,4. The highest being sees his own image in the clear water of light, which surrounds him, and he longs for it. His thought becomes active then and comes forth and presents itself. This most high thought which is hereby “revealed” is called Barbelo, and received its perfection from the highest being itself. (Pl. 52,35, C II resumes).

53,4–11. Barbelo, who praises the highest for her revelation, has been created before all other things, and therefore, becomes the mother of All, but a series of designations in addition to this are also enumerated.

53,11–54,10. Barbelo asks the highest to grant her a Prognosis, and it is revealed and praises the Spirit and Barbelo in thanksgiving. (53,11–20.) Thereafter, in answer to Barbelo's prayer, Incorruptibility, Eternal Life, and Truth are similarly revealed. These four, together with Barbelo (Pronoia), comprise the father's eternal Pentad, which is at once the image of the father, and a prototype for man, consisting of:

Barbelo (Pronoia),
Prognosis,
Incorruptibility,
Eternal Life,
Truth.

54,10–55,4. The Spirit looks at Barbelo, who conceives, and thereafter produces a spark of light, his only begotten son, who, admittedly, is not equal to his

primeval father. Barbelo rejoices over this first born, who with anointments of goodness becomes perfect and receives the holy spirit shed over him. He thanks the Spirit and Pronoia, and asks to have an assistant. Nus then appears and places himself beside Christ, praising the highest and Barbelo.

55,4–11. Now, the invisible Spirit wants to create something, and his will is accomplished. Hence, Logos comes forth, with whom Christ created All.

55,11–15. The Eternal Life, Nus, and Prognosis praise the Spirit and Barbelo.

55,15–30. The Spirit makes the son perfect so that he is placed with the Spirit and reigns over the All, and is given authority over everything, including truth. His name is raised over all others and is reserved for the worthy.

55,30–56,28. The light, which is Christ, reveals four more lights which are placed with him and the three: The Will, Ennoia and the Life. Four powers now come forth, each having 3 aeons: 12 aeons in all. These four powers are:

Wisdom,
Charis,
Aisthesis,
Phronesis,

and their aeons are, respectively:

Charis, Truth and Morphe,
Epinoia, Aisthesis and Memory
Wisdom, Agape and Idea,
Perfection, Eirene and Sophia.

These are attached to the four light, as follows:

Armozel,
Oriel,
Davithai,
Eleleth.

56,28–57,3. Through the will of the Spirit and Autogenes, Prognosis revealed the first perfect man, which was the first revelation, and he was named Adamas, and placed over the first aeon together with Christ in the light, Armozel.

57,3–11. After Adamas had received and invincible strength from the Invisible, he praises the Invisible and the others to whom he owes his existence.

57,11–24. Thereafter, Seth, the son of Adam, is placed over the other aeon in the other light called Oriel, and Seth's progeny, the souls of the divine, are placed over the third light and in the fourth aeon, Eleleth, the ignorant, obstinate souls. All of them praise the Invisible.

57,25–58,19. The Fall.

57,25–35. Sophia, the last of the 12 aeons, wishes to reveal an image of herself without the permission of the Spirit, nor her fellow.

58,1–7. Sophia's thought becomes reality when she manifests a thing, which was not an image of herself, but something ugly and stupid.

58,7–19. When Sophia sees that her offspring is completely different from herself, having a face like a dragon or a lion with flashing eyes, she removes it so that the immortals shall not see it. She places her offspring on a throne enveloped in a cloud. She gives it the name Ialtabaoth.

58,19–61,13. The World of Darkness.

58,19–27. Ialtabaoth is the first archon created. He leaves his mother and the regions where he was born, but using the strength he has received from his mother, he commences to create other aeons.

58,27–59,10. Ialtabaoth, thereupon, brought forth 12 powers, Exusiai, who are called by their names, and some of them also bear the names by which they are called in the generations. They are:

1. Athoth,
2. Harmas,
3. Kalilaumbri,
4. Jabel,
5. Adonaiu, also called Sabaoth,
6. Cain, who is called the sun,
7. Abel,
8. Abrisene,
9. Jobel,
10. Armupiel,
11. Melcheiradonein,
12. Belias.

Moreover, Ialtabaoth installed 7 kings, one over each of the heavenly firmaments, and 5 over the Abyss. He appoints them as rulers and they receive from his fire, but not from the power which Ialtabaoth inherited from his mother, Sophia.

59,10–22. The blending of light and dark results in something which is neither one nor the other, and the archon is weak. He has three names: Ialtabaoth, Saklas and Samael, and in his ignorance he arrogantly dares to call himself the only god.

59,22–25. An account is now presented that the archons created 7 powers, and each power created six angels, making a total of 365 angels.

59,26–60,10. The seven bodies which comprise the hebdomad of the week are given the following names:

1. Athoth—with a head of a sheep,
2. Eloaiu—with the head of a bear or an ass,
3. Astaphaios—with the head of a hyena,
4. Jao—with the head of a dragon,
5. Sabaoth—with the head of a snake,
6. Adonin—with the head of an ape,
7. Sabbede—with a head of fire.

Since Ialtabaoth hovers over each of them, he has many heads; he reigns over them, sitting among the seraphs, because although he has given them all some of his fire, he has given them none of the power from Sophia. In his disobedience, he calls himself, "God".

60,10–25. Thereupon, Ialtabaoth continues his activities, and combines various powers with those mentioned above, as follows:

Goodness with Atoth,
Pronoia with Eloaiu,
God with Astraphaio,
Lordship with Iao,
Kingdom with Sabaoth,
Zeal with Adonein,
Wisdom with Sabbateon.

60,25–61,5. Thus, each power has two names; one given them from Glory from above, and one from Archigennetor; the first for destruction, the others for performing powerful deeds. Everything in Ialtabaoth's world is patterned after the heavenly world, which is imperishable. This is not due to Ialtabaoth's insight, but because of the power which he has received from Sophia.

61,5–13. With arrogant vanity, Ialtabaoth beholds the world he created and the many angels, and using the Old Testament expression, he declares that he is a jealous God, and there are no other Gods before him; yet, by doing so, he discloses to the angels that, on the contrary, there must be another God. With this, the creation of the world of darkness is completed.

61,13–62,15. Repentance and Restoration.

61,13–17. When Sophia realizes that her power of light is waning, and the darkness increases, she becomes aware that she has done something wrong.

61,17–26. In a dialog between John and Christ, it is now elucidated that Sophia's repentance is implied in the Old Testament, although not as Moses stated, but that the text of Genesis 1,2 declares that Sophia began to move with shame.

61,26–32. The power which Ialtabaoth, who is called Authades here, has received from his mother, makes him feel elevated over the heavenly host which surrounds him.

61,32–62,15. Filled with remorse for what she has done without the sanction of her fellow, and with sorrow for the consequences of her behaviour, the mother weeps. When the heavenly body hears her, they make an appeal for her to the highest, and some of the Holy Spirit is shed over the mother, though she is not yet placed in her own aeon, but in the son's, the ninth; although she receives the message from the imperishable heaven that man, and the son of man, exist.

62,15–68,5. The creation of man as an immaterial being in the world of darkness.

62,15–34. The uninformed Protarchon believes that it is his mother who tells this, but, actually, it is an introduction to the action which is now brought

about by the heavenly powers. The action begins by the holy Metropator and Pronoia showing the image of the first man to the power of darkness, as a reflection in the water, and the light of the heavenly world shines upon it so that the image is seen by the Protarchon and all of his powers.

63,1–13. On seeing the picture, the Protarchon is incited to imitate it, and he provokes all of his powers to help each other reproduce the image.

63,13–23. They do this, and each of the seven powers does his part, in that:

Goodness creates a soul of bone,
Pronoia creates a soul of nerves,
Holiness creates a soul of flesh,
Lordship creates a soul of marrow,
Kingdom creates a soul of blood,
Zeal creates a soul of skin, and
Wisdom creates a soul of hair.

63,23–65,8. Now, the heavenly host receives spiritual substance from the seven powers, and the various angels then create a unity of the bodily parts, each angel creating his own. This is explicitly described in a long and intensive description of all the parts of the body from top to bottom. All the important parts as the head, the brain, the right eye, the left eye, right ear, left ear, the nose, the lips, the teeth, the tonsils, the uvula etc. are mentioned with the angels who created them. Finally, the powers which have installed the angels over them are enumerated.

65,8–32. Thereupon, a new and shorter list of angels who preside over the various bodily parts is presented, and finally, the seven rulers of these angels are mentioned.

65,32–67,2. Each of the four powers which control the human faculties—such as perception, understanding, imagination, and motion are called by name. The body consists of four parts, namely:

heat,
cold,
moisture,
dryness,

and a power is placed over each of these, while all four of them have a common mother, substance, whose ruler resides in the center. Following this, four leading daemons are enumerated. Respectively, they consist of:

lust,
desire,
pain,
fear,

who also have a common mother, but the various passions come from the four

daemons, and are enumerated with their origin. The following come from pain:

jealousy,
envy,
grief,
confusion,
stubbornness
anxiety,
sorrow, and the like.

and from lust:

wickedness,
empty pride, and the like,

and from desire:

anger,
wrath,
gall,
bitter passion,
insatiability, and the like,

and from fear:

consternation,
flattery,
struggle, and all of its kind.

There are also rulers over the spiritual and the motion, and these are mentioned.

67,2–10. There are 365 angels in all, and they worked until the image of the spiritual and the physical body was completed; yet, at the same time, it is told that those angels which are not mentioned here can be found in the book of Zoroaster.

67,10–15. After the spiritual body is completed by all the angels and daemons, it remains, temporarily, completely inactive.

67,15–68,5. In answer to Sophia's prayer, the Metropator of the All, causes the five lights in the form of Protarchon's angels to inspire the Protarchon that in order to cause the motionless incarnate to move, he should blow some of his breath into its face. This happens exactly as planned: Ialtabaoth blews some of his breath into the body, not realizing that he is also breathing the power of his mother, Sophia, into the body. The body now gains strenght, and moves, but also, because of the power of Sophia, it becomes superior in wisdom to the Protarchon and his powers.

68,5–73,16. The Struggle for Man between the Powers of Light and Darkness.

68,5–70,28. The spiritual man is confined in the material body; but it is aided by the Epinoia of the Light.

68,5–9. Filled with envy of this being of light, which was superior to them

in wisdom and free from evil, Ialtabaoth's powers seize it and cast it to the lowest region.

68,9–31. However, the Metropator does not stop his activity, but he sends an assistant to Adam to help the power from Sophia, which is in man. The helper is the "Epinoia of Light", which receives the name, Zoe. Zoe shall inform the distressed man of his high origin, and show him the way home to the heavens, and by doing so, shall make amends for Sophia's lack. To avoid the persual of the Archons, the Epinoia of the Light hides inside Adam.

68,32–69,14. Ialtabaoth's powers conspire to counteract this, and they now create man's earthly body of:

fire,
earth,
water,
wind.

This earthly body is called the chain of oblivion, and the grave of the physical body. This happens after they have delivered man into the shadow of death, under great confusion. Thus, man has become mortal, and the first "separation" has come into being.

69,14–70,2. The Epinoia of light awakens man's thought, but the Archons place man in paradise to induce it to eat of the tree of life, which is actually filled with gall, bitterness, poison, death, hate and deceit.

70,3–70,9. Yet, on the contrary, the tree which is called "the tree of knowledge of good and evil"—the tree of knowledge—is really the Epinoia of light. In order to keep man away from this tree, so that it should not look up and see its imperfection, Christ causes man to eat.

70,9–28. In reply to John's astonished question whether it was not the serpent—as told in Genesis—which taught Adam to eat, the Saviour reveals, with a smile, that that which the serpent taught them to eat was the depravation contained in procreation. When Ialtabaoth realizes that Adam is disobedient because of the Epinoia of Light, he brings a sleep over him. As an answer to John's question, it is explained that the sleep is not to be understood as a physical sleep, but as a dormant perception, just as the prophet states that their hearts will be made heavy, that they shall neither observe nor see.

70,28–73,16. The struggle for man between the powers of light and darkness continues.

70,28–71,20. Ialtabaoth wants to seize the Epinoia of Light which had concealed itself in Adam, but it cannot be done. When he removes one of Adam's ribs, he takes only a part of Adam's power; and when he had created a new being, a woman, in the image of Epinoia, this part of power is placed in her—and not in a rib—as told in Genesis. Now, by removing that which dulled Adam's perception, Epinoia reveals the truth of the matter to him, and Adam recognizes his image and proclaims that it is bones of his bones, and flesh of his flesh. The

reason that a man should leave his father and mother and become one flesh with his woman, is that a mate shall be sent to him.

71,20-35. Sophia, who is called Zoe, lets them taste the perfect gnosis, and in the form of an eagle which sits in the tree of knowledge, Adam and the woman are given a lesson by which they become aware of their nakedness, and their thought is awakened.

71,35-72,18. Ialtabaoth realizes now, that the two are turning from him, and that his attempt to tempt them by Paradise has failed. Therefore, he casts them out of Paradise, while the two, being aware of the truth of the matter, and knowing that Ialtabaoth does not have this knowledge, are afraid to make him ashamed. The Protarchon makes a new attempt, surrounding Adam with darkness, and beholding the virgin at Adam's side, he defiles her by begetting two sons with her: Eloim and Iave. Before this, the omniscient Pronoia has evidently brought "Zoe" into safety.

72,18-35. A description of the two sons follows, relating that Eloim has the head of a bear, and Iave, the head of a cat, and the one is just while the other is unjust. They are placed so that

Iave reigns over fire and wind,
Eloim reigns over water and earth.

It is these sons who are called Cain and Abel. Hencefore, the Protarchon has sewn the urge for procreation in the family of Adam, and has implanted the family with the spirit which is called "The Opposed Pneuma". The two Archons are placed as rulers over the grave.

72,35-73,1. However, Adam begets his son, Seth, in the image of the son of man.

73,2-16. Like the aeons, the mother sends her spirit down, but the powers of darkness give them the water of forgetfulness to drink so that they will forget their origin. The Spirit serves to awaken them, and cure their lack, thereby sanctifying and perfecting the fulfillment.

73,16-78,11. Man's Various Destinies, and the Reason for them.

73,16-75,31. Man's opportunity for salvation, and damnation.

73,16-74,7. John now asks whether all souls will be saved. The Saviour praises him for his question, and begins by saying that it is difficult to reveal the truth of the matter to anyone except the unfaltering generation. Thereafter, the Saviour reveals that the decisive factor is that the Spirit of Life descends upon man, making him perfect and worthy of salvation, while he cleanses himself of all that is wicked, no longer caring for evil, but only for the incorruptible. Thereby, he shall endure and inherit the eternal life.

74,7-22. John objects that even though the strength of life had descended over some, it might be possible that they did not experience these deeds; but he receives the reply that this strength of life is irresistible, and the soul in which

it enters cannot be led astray. On the other hand, those souls who are overcome by the evil spirit, Antimimon Pneuma, go astray.

74,22–75,11. In reply to John's question about the fate of these souls, the Saviour tells him that even these souls shall be saved, because the strength in them gradually grows stronger than the imitated Pneuma, and when it is strong enough, they are saved by the powers of the incorruptibility into the eternal rest. John is then concerned about the souls who have not come to perception, but he is assured that they have not come to perception because the imitated Pneuma has won them, and while it has their souls in its power, it weighs them down into forgetfulness and delivers them into the Protarchon's power, where they remain until, one day, salvation also reaches these souls, and they, at last, receive perception and perfection.

75,11–21. John's question now deals with the problem of how the soul becomes small enough again to return into its mother's nature. The Saviour rejoices over this question, and praises John with blessings for the depth of his perception. Thereupon, the Saviour answers that the soul cannot be cast into another mortal body again, but thanks to the spirit of life, it joins the other souls.

75,21–31. However, the souls who have come to perception and yet turned away from it will be sent to a place where, like those who have blasphemed the spirit, will be tortured and receive an eternal damnation.

75,31–78,11. The Opposing Pneuma's Arrival and Deeds.

75,31–76,34. John presents the crucial question: where did this imitated spirit come from? The Saviour begins by assuring him of the Metropator's mercy and unfailing help, and, thereafter, reveals that the ignorant Protarchon in an attempt to seize man's intellect, conspired with his powers and created the deceitful power of destiny, Heirmarmene, who determines everything.

76,34–77,15. In a new attempt to destroy the spirit which lives in man, the Protarchon now sends a flood over mankind; but Noah has been warned in advance by Pronoia, and together with several others, he conceals himself—not in an ark, as related by Moses—but in a cloud of light.

77,16–78,11. Then, the Protarchon and his supporters try to entice the daughters of man to enter a liaison with some of the Protarchon's angels in order to beget offspring with the women. At first, the attempt fails, but when the Protarchon makes a spirit imitating the spirit from the world of light, they succeed by taking the form of the women's husbands. They beget offspring, which now contained, not only the spark from the world of light, but also the imitated Pneuma, and all mankind is corrupted so that they are without recognition and are hard-hearted.

78,11–79,25. The Deeds of the Redeemer.

78,11–79,1. The Saviour, who calls himself Pronoia or Pronoia's memory, has entered the kingdom of darkness three times. The first time, he remained unknown and hid himself because of the evil of the darkness. The second time, he left the kingdom of darkness again in order not to destroy completely that which

was in it because of the confusion which arose by his arrival. The third time, he, the light, went all the way into the interior of Amente.

79,1–25. On the third time, the Saviour brought light with him into Amente and its prison, the body, and called upon the sleeper whom he wakens and causes to remember his origin, free himself from the chains of Amente, and beware of the angels of powerty, at last to bless him with five seals, and thus free him from death.

79,25–80,6. Concluding Frame Story.

79,25–80,1. Now the Saviour declares that he will return to that world of aeons about which he has told John everything. He enjoins John to write it all down and preserve it, and he condemns anyone who passes on the knowledge for any form of remuneration; but he enjoins John to give it to his disciples.

80,1–80,6. With this, the revelation disappears from John, who carries out the command.

80,7–9. Explicit.

This analysis of the Apocryphon of John in Codex II clearly indicates that it contains a reasoning in which the major features correspond to that found in the Berlin Text's Apocryphon of John. Thus, one may compare the analysis given here with those given by W. C. Till (*The Gnostic Apocryphon of John*, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. III, p. 14–22, London 1952) and by W. Foerster (*Das Apokryphon des Johannes*, Gott und die Götter, Festgabe für E. Fascher, p. 134–141, Berlin 1958) of the contents of the Berlin text. The *reasoning* is approximately the same.

This evidence is sufficient to form a basis for undertaking an investigation of Codex II's Apocryphon of John as a comparison with the Berlin text. By reading these two versions of AJ carefully, and adding a thorough study of the version found in Codex III, we discover that the three texts often use *nearly the same words in long passages*, although there are minor variations. This is an additional incentive to planning the work as a careful comparison between the different versions.

Commentary

An Investigation of Codex II's Apocryphon of John, with Constant
Consideration of BG's and C III's Apocryphon of John.

47,1-48,24: *Preamble and Frame Story.*

47,1-4. Preamble.

L. 1. There are only a few remnants of the first 4 lines of C II, but these are sufficient to indicate that they were four lines for which we have no parallel in the introductory words of the BG text. Since the first 4 pages of Codex III are missing, no help for a reconstruction is available there. However, with some reservation, such a reconstruction can be made, and the remnants of lines 1-4 suggest that they read about as follows: **ΤΕCBOO[Υ ΝΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ ΝΤΑΙČ 6ΩΛ]Π ΕΒΟΛ [ΜΜΟC 2Ν ΝΨΑΧΕ Ε]Τ2ΗΠ 2Ν ΟΥΜΝΤΚΑΡΩ4 [ΑΥΩ ΠČΩΡ] ΑΥΤCΕΒΟΟΥ ΑΙΩ2ΑΝΝ[ΗC ΑΥΩ ΙΩ2ΑΝ]ΝΗC ΑΥ[CΑ2ΟΥ]¹. These four lines are to be recognized merely as a title to the text which pretends to bring a secret teaching.**

The word **CB00[Υ]** would have been more correct in Sahidic as **CBΩ**, while the form here is more closely related to the Achmimic and Subachmimic **CBOY**².

L. 4. The identity of the John who is mentioned is established in 47,6-7. 47,5-48,24. Frame Story.

47,5-17. John meets Arimānios, who commences to make harsh accusations against John's master.

L. 5. Read: **ΑCΨΩΠΕ [ΔΕ Ν]ΟΥ[Α ΝΝΕΙ20]ΟΥ ΝΤΑΡΕ4ΕΙ**. It is not stated that it happened one day *that* John came up to the temple, but explicitly: that it happened one day *when* John came up to the temple, because **ΝΤΑΡΕ4ΕΙ** is temporalis. This presupposes the important fact that John often came there, and that which the text will relate is the unusual thing which took place on one of these visits to

¹ Cf. The introduction to the Gospel according to Thomas: Pl. 80,10-13: **ΝΑΕΙ ΝΕ ΝΨΑΧΕ ΕΘΗΠ ΕΝΤΑΙČ ΕΤΟΝ2 ΧΟΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΥC2ΑΙCΟΥ Ν6Ι ΔΙΑΥΜΟC ΙΟΥΔΑC ΘΩΜΑC**; cf. the incipit of the Book of Thomas (C II): **ΝΨΑΧΕ ΕΘΗΠ ΝΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΨΑΧΕ ΜΜΑΥ Ν6Ι ΠCΩΡ ΝΙΟΥΔΑC ΘΩΜΑC ΝΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΙCΑ2ΟΥ ΑΝΟΚ 2ΩΝΤ' ΜΑΘΑΙΑC**; cf. First Book of Jeû 39,5-6: **ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΧΩΜΕ ΝΝΕΓΝΩCΙC ΜΠΑ2ΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ 2ΙΤΝ ΜΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤ2ΗΠ**.

² Achmimic in Acta Pauli 4; Subachmimic in Pro 1,2.

the temple. The setting is laid in front of the temple, apparently, the temple in Jerusalem, and the characters who open the plot are John the son of Zebedee, and a Pharisee. John is more precisely identified as the brother of James, and both John and James as sons of Zebedee. By relating this, the author of the Apocryphon of John immediately reveals, although indirectly, his knowledge of the NT and the characters therein: and at the same time assumes that his readers have this knowledge, by making it clear that he is not referring to John the Baptist, but John who is mentioned in Mark 3,17, Mark 10,5 and Matth 10,3, as the brother of James and son of Zebedee. The choice of words in l. 5 indicating that John was used to coming to the temple, can also be interpreted as an indication of the author's knowledge of the NT, cf. Acts 2,46 and 3,1. $\bar{\text{N}}\text{TAP}\epsilon\chi\epsilon\text{i}$ is Achmimic for Sahidic $\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\epsilon\text{P}\epsilon\chi\epsilon\text{i}$.

L. 8. The Pharisee, Arimanios, confronts John. Here, in the Coptic expression for "confront", lies a suggestion of a hostile attitude, which is clearly supported by the brusque behaviour of the Pharisee: in the same manner, the expression $\text{+}\pi\epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\text{i}$ is also used in Acts 19,29 (S): $\text{+}\pi\epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\omicron\text{i}$ ($\omega\rho\mu\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$); however, in the NT it can just as well be used as "come up to" Jesus to question Him, as it is also used about the sons of Zebedee's arrival in Mark 10,35 (S and B), and the high priests' and Pharisee's arrival in Mark 11,27 (S), where it translates, $\pi\rho\sigma\pi\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\text{i}$ and $\epsilon\rho\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\text{i}$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, respectively.

Who is Arimanios? In no other source do we have any evidence of a Pharisee or Jew by that name; nor do we have any knowledge of historical persons who bore that name. The author of John's apocryphon seems to have such a thorough knowledge of the NT that we can eliminate the possibility of the name being a distortion of a New Testament name. The role of the Pharisee in the script seems to be to speak evil of John's master and to sow doubt. For this purpose, the author would not need to use a historical person, but it is highly probable that for the role of such a slanderer and alarmist, he invented a Pharisee whom he gave a *symbolical* name. That this seems to be exactly the case, is supported by the following: Plutarch mentions in *De animae procreatione* in Timaeo 27, that Zoroaster set up god and daemon as contrasts, and called the first Oromasdes, the other, Arimanios: $\text{Z}\omega\rho\omicron\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\rho\eta\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu\alpha$, $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \text{'O}\rho\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\delta\eta\nu\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \delta'\ \text{'A}\rho\epsilon\text{i}\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{i}\omicron\nu$ ¹. Arimanios is the evil spirit, and for this very reason the author of the Apocryphon of John could use this name to characterize the Pharisee. This is also in keeping with the plot, where in 47,8–17, the evil Arimanios who approaches John, blasphemes and sows doubt, and in 47,30–48,24, it is the good Soter who reveals himself to John and comforts him; consequently, as a contrast, $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu\omega\nu$ and $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, the correctness of this probable reason for the choice of the name Arimanios is confirmed by two factors: 1) that $\text{'A}\rho\epsilon\text{i}\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{i}\omicron\varsigma$ in Greek literature is encountered only as a proper name of

¹ Ed. C. Hubert, Plutarch *Moralia* VI, 1 (Teubner); Hubert cites the reading $\text{'A}\rho\epsilon\text{i}\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{i}\omicron\nu$ as well as $\text{'A}\rho\text{i}\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{i}\omicron\nu$.

the evil spirit in Zoroaster; 2) that our text, the Apocryphon of John, which is translated from the Greek, in another context actually refers to Zoroaster (67,9–10: $\chi\chi\eta\zeta\ \varsigma\pi\alpha\iota\ \varsigma\bar{\mu}\ \pi\chi\omega\omega\mu\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\zeta\omega\rho\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma$).

L. 10. $\kappa\alpha\zeta$, *teacher*, *master*, are probably used as synonyms here, as in John 3,10 (SA₂ BF) and in Mark 9,38 (S F), where they translate διδάσκαλος¹. $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\epsilon[\kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta\zeta\ \bar{\nu}\kappa\omega\chi$ coincides well with Matth 4,22 (S), where it is said about the sons of Zebedee $\alpha\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\alpha\zeta\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\kappa\omega\chi$; therefore, we probably have a reference to Matth 4,22 here.

L. 11–12. John's reply, which is reconstructed from BG 19,15–16 to be: $[\pi\mu\alpha\ \bar{\nu}]\tau\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\ \bar{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau\chi\ \alpha\chi\beta[\omega\kappa\ \omicron\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\rho\omega\chi]$ can be compared with the statement in John 13,3: "that he was sent from god and should return to god," but also with John 16,28: "I came from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world, and go unto the Father." Thus, the declaration in John's Apocryphon: $\alpha\chi\beta\omega\kappa$ places the situation chronologically after the ascension, or at least after the resurrection. Consequently, the Apocryphon of John dates its situation as contemporary with that in Pistis Sophia (1,1–2) and BG's Sophia Jesu Christi (77,9–78,15), where the revelation takes place after the resurrection.

L. 13. $\bar{\nu}\chi\epsilon$ instead of the classic $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\iota$, also found in the Fayumic Ep Jer 58 ($\chi\varsigma\alpha\pi\tau\ \bar{\nu}\chi\epsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha$) is another indication of the dialectic differences in the language of C II.

L. 14–17. The accusation against John's master contends that he has led them astray ($\pi\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha$), closed their hearts and turned them from their ancestral traditions. Reproaches against Christ for leading others astray are found in John 7,12, advanced by the "Jews" during the Feast of Tabernacles, and in John 7,47, the accusations are made by the high priests and the Pharisees who accuse their officers (who did not bring him) for being "also led astray". The damaged line 15 probably contained another reproach, but it cannot be reconstructed with certainty, because the parallel in BG is also badly damaged. Carl Schmidt made two attempts to reconstruct this lacuna in BG, proposing first $\pi\iota\bar{\nu}\alpha\zeta\omega\rho\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ [$\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\upsilon\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\tau\chi\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \chi\epsilon\ \alpha\chi\rho\ \alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\iota$], and later $\pi\iota\bar{\nu}\alpha\zeta\omega\rho\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ [$\epsilon\upsilon\pi\alpha\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon\ \alpha\chi\rho\ \alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\iota$] (see Till's edition p. 297).

47,5–17 compares with BG 19,6–20,3. There seems to be a disagreement in the name of the Pharisee, since the name given in BG 19,12, is **A. MANIAC**. W. C. Till makes no conjecture, but simply states that a letter is missing; however, a **PI** may very well have taken such a small space that one dares to assume that it was **A[PI]MANIAC**, which can hardly be understood in any other way than **APIMANIAC**.

47,17–29 (\neq BG 20,3–19) John is grieved and ponders.

These lines of C II are too fragmentary to be reconstructed with certainty, but the remnants of the letters do agree with BG, although C II 47,19 evidently

¹ However, in the NT it can also translate, e.g., γραμματεὺς, like in Matth 13,52 (BF, but never S).

contained the Coptic ΠΕΡΠΕ, while BG 20,5 has the Greek ΦΙΕΡΟΝ. There are other indications of disagreement in the sequence of the sentences, so that from the remaining letters of 47,22–25 and the probable parallel in BG 29,9–14, the lines can best be reconstructed: ΑΥΩ ΧΕ ΕΤΒ[Ε ΟΥ ΑΥΤῆΝ ΟΟΥΥ ΕΠΚΟСМОС/ΕΒΟ]Λ ΖΙΤῆ [ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ ΑΥΩ ΝΙМ ΠΕ ΠΕΥ/ΕΙΩ]Τ ΕΤΑ[ΥΤῆΝ ΟΟΥΥ ΑΥΩ ΟΥΑΨ ἦΖΕ]/ΠΕ ΠΑΙΩΝ Ε[ΤῆΜΑΥ ΕΤΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ]. The relative clause ΕΤΑ[ΥΤῆΝ ΟΟΥΥ] in 47,24 then refers to the other ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ, which also fits more logically than the construction in BG 20,11, where it refers to the first ΠΕΥΕΙΩΤ, and the few remaining letters in C II 47,24 make this necessary.

L. 25–29, with the help of BG 29,12–19, can be reconstructed: ΕΤΒΕ/ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΥΨ[ΑΧΕ ΝΑΝ ᾿ΜМОС]/ΧΕ ΠΑΙΩΝ Ε[ΤΤΑΚΟ ΑΥΧΙ ΠΕΤΥ]/ΠΟС ᾿ΜΠΑΙΩΝ[ἦΑΤΤΑΚΟ ΑΥΩ ᾿ΜΠΕΥΤСЕ]/ΒΟΝ ΕΤΒ[Ε ΠΕΤῆΜΑΥ ΧΕ ΟΥΑΨ ᾿ΜΜΙΝΕ ΠΕ] although, in l. 27, in addition to the ΠΑΙΩΝ, found in BG 20,15 an Ε[ΤΤΑΚΟ] must be inserted. This is supported by a remnant Ε and the length of the lacuna, just as the three letters ΒΟΝ in 47,28–29 make it likely that they should be read [᾿ΜΠΕΥΤСЕ]ΒΟΝ, where BG 20,17 reads ᾿ΜΠΕΥΤΟΥΝΙΑΤΝ. In the context, there is only a slight difference: *teach* instead of *inform*.

In 47,17–29 ≠ BG 29,20,3–19, it appears that John's problem is three-fold: 1) what is the motive for sending a Saviour? 2) who is the father who sent him? 3) what is the aeon like to which the Saviour will go? All three questions are answered in the following revelation to the troubled John, by means of an elucidation of the soterology, theology and cosmology which form the basis of the Apocryphon of John.

47,30–48,9 (≠ BG 20,19–21,13). The Saviour reveals himself to John.

These pages of both C II and BG are very fragmentary, and it is impossible to make a satisfactory reconstruction. Several of the reconstructions which W. C. Till has made must, as Till himself has admitted¹, be considered uncertain. However, it is clear that it deals with a revelation by John's master. The revelation, which commences by the opening of the heavens, takes place during the display of several natural phenomena, such as an overwhelmingly powerful light (47,30–33 ≠ BG 20,20–21,1) and an earthquake (47,33 ≠ BG 21,1–2), in the same way as the description of the revelation is given in several other apocalyptic apocrypha, and especially in Pistis Sophia p. 5–8, where the description of the phenomena is described in much greater detail. However incomplete our source in Codex II (and in BG) may be, it is possible to discuss a few of the details, because we may use the two texts as supplements to each other.

L. 30 is proposed to be emended into Ζῆ ΤΟΥΝ[ΟΥ ΕΕΙΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΝΑΙ Α᾿ΜΠΗΥΕ ΟΥΩΝ ΑΥΩ] by referring to BG 20,19–20. The author has cited the phenomena which are usually cited in the NT in connection with a revelation. That the *heaven opens* is also found in connection with the baptism of Christ (Matth 3,16; Luke 3,21): John sees a door into heaven open (Apoc 4,1); Stephen observes

¹ p. 82.

the opening of the heavens and the son of man (Acts 7,36); Philip and Nathaniel receive a promise from Jesus that they shall see the *heavens open* (John 1,51); John sees the heaven open (Apoc 19,11). Another instance is found in Pistis Sophia 7,6 (ΑΜΠΗΥΕ ΟΥΩΝ).

L. 31–33 is proposed to be emended into ΝΤΕ Α[ΠΑΣ ΝCΩΝΤ Ρ· ΟΥΟΕΙΝ 2]/Ν ΟΥΟΕΙΝ [ΝΤΕΤΑ]ΚΤ[ΙΝ ΕΤΝΑ ΧΙΝ]/ΜΠΙΤΝ ΝΤΠΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΚΙΜ [ΝΕΙ ΠΚΟCΜΟC] with the support of BG 20,20–21,1, while Α[ΠΑΣ] should probably be read instead of BG's ΠΤΗΡΥ, though the remaining letters in C II do not allow an agreement with W. C. Till's conjecture of BG 20,20–21,1, which should preferably be read ΕΤΝ[Α ΧΙΝ ΜΠΙΤΝ ΝΤ]ΠΕ¹. On the other hand, C II's ΑΥΚΙΜ supports Till's conjecture in BG 21,2, to some extent where there must have been a verb which means *move* or *be shaken*, even though it might just as well have stated ΚΙΜ as Till's CΤΩΤ.

48,1–2 is proposed to be read Α[ΝΟΚ ΑΪΡ ΖΟΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΑΪ]ΝΑΥ ΖΡΑΪ ΖΜ ΠΟ[Υ]ΘΕΙ[Ν ΑΥΩ ΟΥΑΛΟΥ ΑΥΑΖΕ]ΡΑΤΥ ΝΑΪ, which the parallel in BG 21,3 and the length of the lacuna indicate; in BG 21,3 it should probably be read [ΑΪCΩΨ]Τ instead of [ΑΪΠΑΖ]Τ as proposed by Till, just as the remaining letters in C II 48,2 make it probable that Till's conjecture to BG 21,3–4 ΑΥ[ΟΥΩΝΖ Ν]ΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ should be corrected to ΑΥ[ΑΖΕΡΑΤΥ Ν]ΑΪ ΕΒΟΛ.

L. 3–5. In l. 3 about 10–12 letters are missing, in l. 4, about 8–10, in l. 5, about 6–8, and by combining this with BG 21,5–f, they may have read: ΝΤΑΡΙ[ΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΥΕΙΝΕ] ΕΥΟ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΝΟC ΑΥΩ ΝΑ[ΙΝΑΥ ΠΕΥ]CΜΑΤ ΕΥΟ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΟΥΑ ΝΝΑΥ [ΕΥΟΥΩΝΖ] ΠΑΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ. The Achmimic influence is also evident here as l. 3 ΝΤΑΡΙ instead of Sahidic ΝΤΕΡ, just as the Achmimic CΜΑΤ in l. 4 instead of the Sahidic CΜΟΤ indicates that it can be read ΝΑ[ΙΝΑΥ], which is the correct perfect II in Achmimic, corresponding to the Sahidic ΝΤΑΪΝΑΥ. The word ΝΟC does not only mean *great*, but also *old*² and in the latter corresponds well with BG's ΞΛΛΟ (BG 21,5).

L. 7–9. Here the conjecture is as uncertain as Till's conjecture in BG 21,8–13; however, it is evident that the text concerns John's observation of the unity as well as the plurality in the revelation, apparently a unity in nature: a unity with many forms. John sees the figure (C II 48,4–5), which was like a unity; this unity has many forms, and these forms are revealed in the light, and there are three.

In the frame story which constitutes the introduction to the didactic revelation which follows, the description of the revealing master's arrival corresponds exactly to the description of Arimanius's arrival, when John came up to the temple, and the latter description is like a dramatic counterpart of the first description. Together, they are an expression of the author's narrative ability, and, as counterparts, they emphasize at once the seriousness and the dramatic suspense in the situation.

¹ Pistis Sophia 5,16 reads ΧΙΝ ΜΠΕCΗΤ ΕΤΠΕ which nearly corresponds.

² Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, 250a and 251a.

48,9–24 (\neq BG 21,13–22,17). A comforting proclamation and promise of revelations.

Admittedly, BG is very fragmentary here, but it is considerably better preserved than C II, and therefore BG must be taken into consideration, primarily in an attempt to understand the contents.

L. 10. John is asked why he is in doubt (BG 21,14–15). C II has here retained the Greek word [ΔΙ]CTAZE (διστάζειν), and if the proposed meaning is correct, i.e. ETBE [ΟΥ ΕΚΔΙ]CTAZE, then we have the same wording as found in Matth 14,31 b(S), where Jesus says the words ETBE ΟΥ ΕΚΔICTAZE to Peter (see Horne's edition, notes on p. 131, where a variant has this form); BG's fragmentary]Ο ΝΖΗΤ CNAY can only be read as a present I or present II: ΕΚ]Ο ΝΖΗΤ CNAY, and, consequently, in C II one must probably prefer the reading [ΕΚΔΙ]CTAZE to the perf. I (as found in the text preferred by Horner) ΑΚΔICTAZE, which would agree with the Greek ἐδίστασας.

L. 12–13. ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ is very similar to Matth 28,20, even though the text preferred by Horner here is ΝΗΕΖΟΥΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ, Horner also indicates attestation of the same form as in our text ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ. Therefore, it is hardly necessary to adopt a deliberate change in the text of C II's quotation from Matth 28,20. At the most, it is a matter of C II choosing one text form in preference to another, and perhaps it can be said that ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ is more in keeping with the rest of C II's presentation of the redeemer being highly superior to earthly days. It is clear that the author makes obvious use of the NT, as we have observed previously in the Apocryphon of John.

L. 13–15. Now follows a proclamation by the revealed one telling about who he himself is. The conjecture of these three lines is supported by BG, but seems to be obvious. The revealed one declares himself to be the Father, the Mother and the Son. Since the above is a quotation from Matth 28,20, it is reasonable to regard this statement as an allusion to that trinity, which is expressed in the preceding lines in Matth 28,19: the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

The idea of a trinity consisting of the Father, the Mother and the Son, is presented in the proclamation of C II, 48,13–15. To avoid using a term with specifically theological connotations, we shall refer to it, not as a trinity, but as a triad. By this triad we understand a unity of three, as the text has expressed it previously (48,6–9 \neq BG 21,19–21). This triad is also found in other texts having related contents, but it is more important that it is also mentioned later in the Apocryphon of John, namely, in C II 57,9–11, where it states ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΤΗΝΑΣΜΟΥ ΝΤΑΤ ΕΟΥΥ ΝΑΚ' ΑΥΩ ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΜΗ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΙΨΟΜΤ' ΠΙΩΤ ΤΜΑΥ. ΠΨΗΡΕ ΤΣΟΜ ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟΥΣ (\neq BG 35,17–20 \neq C III 13,16–19). Furthermore, this triad occurs again in the text in the group of the three, The primordial Father, Barbelo and Christ, who play a leading role in the teaching of the text. But other parallels in related texts can also be included here. In Codex Brucianus's Gnostic Treatise, it states: ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤ ΕΟΥΥ ΜΠΙΟΥΑ ΜΑΥΑΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΤΕΝΝΟΙΑ ΕΤΝΖΗΤΥ ΑΥΩ ΠΛΟΓΟC

ΝΝΟΕΡΟΝ CAY† ΕΘΟΥ ΜΠΙΨΟΜΝΤ ΕΤΟ ΝΟΥΑ ΝΟΥΩΤ (Baynes's edition, II, 19–24). There the triad is described so that the only one contains partly *Thought*, ἔννοια (feminine), partly the intelligible *Logos*, λόγος (masculine). The same triad occurs more distinctly further on in the same text, where X, 9–11 states ΑΥΩ Π[ΕΙΩΤ ΝΖΗΤΥ] ΑΥΩ ΤΜΑΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΠΨ[ΗΡΕ ΝΖΗΤΥ] ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΜΑ[ΥΑΑΥ]. If the conjecture is correct—and this seems to be quite certain—we have another triad, consisting of the Father, the Mother and the Son, and—of particular importance—in such a way that they can be considered as a unity (ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΜΑ[ΥΑΑΥ]).

L. 15. In the manner in which BG 22,1 is proposed to be read by Till, C II 48,15 can hardly be correlated, because the length of the line and the remaining letters make it probable that they should be read [ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΙΑΤΤ]ΩΛΜ ΑΥΩ ΠΙΑΤΧΩ[2Μ]. However, a reading different from Till's ΠΙΑΤΤΩ[2 ΕΜΝ ΠΕΤ] namely ΠΙΑΤΤΩ[ΛΜ ΕΜΝ ΠΕΤ], would fit better with BG's own reason for this attributive, and with this BG's text will also agree better with C II's text.

L. 16–24. Here, one must construct almost exclusively from the text in BG 22,2–17 which seems to correspond with the very fragmentary text in C II. BG relates that the revealed one has come to teach John about three matters: 1) about that which has happened, 2) that which is, 3) that which will happen. As the account later makes evident, this alludes both to something which is temporal: past, present, future, and to something which is causal: the reasons, conditions and subsequent function of the coherence of the world. Objectively, this division of the promised revelation into three parts corresponds exactly to the triad's Father, Mother and Son when one considers the function which the three entities of the triad take on later in the plot of the text in their capacity of, respectively, primeval ground (C II 48,24–52,21), producer of the world system (52,21–57,24), and power of redemption (78,11–79,25).

Not only shall John know these secrets which are now revealed to him, but he shall also preach them further. John's role as a specially chosen medium is not surprising; it is commonly found in apocryphic literature, and is supported partly by John's close relationship to Jesus as testified in the NT, and partly to John's assumed authorship of John's Revelation. In the literature which is related to John's Apocryphon, we find it in Pistis Sophia, where Jesus declares that Maria Magdalene and the virginal John shall ascend over all others who receive the secrets from him¹, and in another instance in Pistis Sophia, John has received the promise from Jesus that he will tell him everything about that which he asks².

However, John has not received the command to bring these teachings to everyone, but only to a certain few; according to BG 22,11–17, he is only to pass it on to those who have the same spirit [ΝΝΕΚΖΩ]ΜΟΠΝΑ. In addition to BG

¹ Pistis Sophia 233,1.

² Pistis Sophia 204,7–21; 272,16–20.

22,14, this word is also used in BG 75,18 and in C III 39,16, while C II 79,30 uses another expression, which is evidently synonymous: **ἸΝΕΚΨΒΡ Πῆᾶ** (**ΨΒΗΡ** actually means *fellow, comrade, colleague*¹; it is often used in the combination **ΨΒΡ ΜΑΘΗΤΗC** *co-disciple*². The Apocryphon of John itself defines what is meant by the expression: it is those who are from the *generation, which does not waver*. This last designation is found in C II in 73,23; 77,10; 79,32; in BG, in the Apocryphon of John 22,15; 65,2; 73,9; 75,20, as well as in Sophia Jesu Christi BG 88,9. In C III it is found in the Apocryphon of John 33,3 (**ΤΓΕΝΕΑ ἸΑΚΑΛΕΥΤΟΝ**) 39,18; in Sophia Jesu Christi 97,9 (but not in Eugnostos's letter which is otherwise parallel³).

The word **ΑΤΚΙΜ** is decisive for the understanding of this expression, because it is that which characterizes the generation concerned. It can be used as a verb **ΚΙΜ**, both intransitive and transitive—its basic meanings are *rock, shake, move, waver*, and it is used in the sense *κινεῖν* Acts 17,28 (S B), *σαλεύειν* Acts 4,31 (S B) *σειεῖν* Isaiah 13,13 (S)⁴. One might suppose that **ΑΤΚΙΜ** referred to an ethical standard: of one who was morally resolute; or to an intellectual attitude: of one, who was firm in the faith, or simply: immovably firm as the house on the rock. It is found in all of these meanings in both the NT and the OT. However, the most certain information about the meaning of the word is given us in BG and C III. C III 33,3 shows us that **ΑΤΚΙΜ** can at least translate the Greek *ἀσάλευτος*, and BG 88,9 gives us some evidence of the objective connection: here it concerns the primeval being, the existing spirit, who decides to create; he did this, says the Redeemer, because he did not wish to be alone to enjoy his wealth of goodness, but so that *other* spirits of that generation which cannot be shaken, should enjoy it (BG 88,5–9: **ΔΕ ἸΝΕΥΡΑΠΟΛΑΥΕ ΜΑΥΑΑΥ ἸΤΥΜῆΤΑΓΑΘΟC ΑΛΛΑ ΖΗΚΕΠΝΑ ἸΤΕ ΤΓΕΝΕΑ ΕΤΕ ΜΑΚΙΜ**. C III 97,9), and so that such other spirits of that generation which cannot be shaken, can do this, he produces “fruits of himself” (BG 88,3–5: **ΑΥΟΥΩΨ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤΥ ῆΜΙΝ ῆΜΟΥ ΕΞΠΟ ἸΖῆΚΑΡΠΟC**). The generation which cannot be shaken, is thus the primeval father's generation, the existing spirit's own generation; and the other spirits of this generation are brought forth as fruits of the primeval father. Thus, it is evident that the generation which is mentioned here, is to be understood as the immaterial and unalterable world, which consists of the primordial father, the first existing spirit, and all of the spirits which come from him later. John's kindred can be considered to be of that generation which cannot be shaken,

¹ Cf. Crum Dictionary 553a–b.

² In C II's Apocryphon of John, however, only once in this sense, i.e., C II 80,4; but otherwise in this text in the sense *co-worker*, C II 54,33, *fellow, husband* C II 57,30; 58,53; 61,17; 61,36; 62,7; 71,15; 71,19; *who has the same spirit, like-minded* (“*fellow-believers*”) C II 79,30.

³ However, here one must comment that Eugnostos's letter does not have this particular passage at all, which is found in the parallel texts, and that therefore it is not only this expression which is missing.

⁴ Cf. Crum Dictionary 108a–109a.

because they have the same spirit ($\bar{\text{N}}\text{NEK}\bar{\text{Z}}\text{OMO}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}$) as he, namely, the spirit which comes from the imperishable world.

Thus, the expression is explained, not on the basis of the Apocryphon of John alone, but essentially on the basis of the closely related text, Sophia Jesu Christi, the contents of which are not more remote than to allow us to use it for explanation of John's apocryphon¹.

However, the Apocryphon of John may well have had a New Testament reasoning as a background, and it is tenable to compare it with Hebr 12,26–28, which mentions things which can be shaken, and things which cannot be shaken, and that they receive a kingdom that cannot be shaken ($\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$); C III 33,3 indicates that **ATKIM** renders $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, as found in the Greek Hebr 12,28; and in the Bohairic Hebr 12,28, **ATKIM** is similarly used. Those to whom Hebr 12,26–28 refers, have a license to an imperishable, unrockable kingdom. In the same manner, the kindred of John are citizens in another world, that from which their $\pi\nu\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ originate.

The command which John is given here at the beginning of the revelation, is that he must be the one to pass the revelation on, and this is the same command which is imposed on him at the end of the revelation (C II 79,27–32 \neq BG 75,15–76,1), and that command which, as the script itself also relates, John obeyed (C II 80,4–5 \neq BG 76,18–77,5 \neq C III 40,7–9). Thus, at the same time, the manuscript has also accorded authority to John and to itself: John has received revelations from the master himself, and John has received them secretly, as one who has been especially chosen; they are now conveyed in the manuscript which, by claiming the highest authority, can approach those who have been chosen.

The designation *the generation which does not waver* is repeated so often, and used only of the same persons, that one hereby receives the impression that it could have been used as a self-designation for the group which followed the Apocryphon of John, or those to whom the apocryphon addressed itself.

48,24–52,21 (cf. BG 22,17–26,15, cf. C III 5,1–7,2) *The Highest Being*.

In Codex II, this section is extremely poorly preserved, and the rendering must be constructed primarily from BG.

As an introduction, it would be rational to point out how, in the present

¹ One can cite several examples of the use of the terms **ATKIM** and $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in related texts; here it is safest to consider the word $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ only, unless it is certain that **ATKIM** or another form of **KIM** covers $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$. In most cases, however, these examples cannot contribute to a deeper understanding of the terms than the above mentioned example from BG 88,5–9 \neq C III 97,9 presents. That $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ designates a special quality in the imperishable world, is shown in the Gnostic Treatise in Cod. Brucianus where the beings of the Pleroma can call the $\sigma\pi\iota\nu\theta\eta\rho$, which Setheus has there sent to the Indivisible for **ACAΛEYTOC** (XXVIII, 3); cf. that the Indivisible has a crown of twelve kinds above him, one of which is called an unshakable kind **ΓΕΝΟC NIM NACAΛEYTOC** (XXIX, 19–20).

editor's opinion, the texts which are reproduced on plates 49, 50, 51 and 52 belong together. The plates published by Pahor Labib, which are reproduced on plates 49, 50, 51 and 52, do not, as one might suppose, constitute four pages, nor remnants of four consecutive pages, but, actually, only two pages (one leaf), because the piece of papyrus illustrated on Pl. 50 should be placed in the upper right-hand corner of the papyrus shown on Pl. 51; Pl. 52 is the verso part of Pl. 51 and Pl. 49 the verso part of Pl. 50; consequently, the verso part of Pl. 51, Pl. 52 is joined with Pl. 49 as upper left-hand corner. The reason for this arrangement of the papyrus is based on an internal nature of the context, supported by an exterior, technical circumstance. The basis derived from the context is that the remaining parts of the text in the lines uppermost on Pl. 51, after restoration of the lacunae, can easily meet their continuation in the fragments of the text which are preserved from Pl. 50; and in the same manner, the lines of Pl. 49, after restoration of the lacunae between them, meet their continuation of the context in the lines uppermost on Pl. 52. The exterior, purely technical circumstance which supports this arrangement of the papyrus is that the fibers of Pl. 50 are vertical like on all of the first 27 recto pages of Codex II; therefore, there is a basis for concluding that Pl. 50 has also been a recto page, and thus Pl. 49 is a verso page, so that the sequence has been Pl. 50 followed by Pl. 49. If this indicates that Pl. 50 is a recto, with its wide margin above and to the right of the column, it must have been placed at the top right hand of a page; this accords excellently in the case of Pl. 51, which actually is a recto, has vertical fibers, and lacks the upper right corner. The opposite is true of Pl. 49; since the fibers are horizontal, it must have been a part of a verso; the remaining top margin to the left of the column (quite clear on the papyrus, but almost invisible on plate 49) motivates its placement uppermost to the left on a page, which accords well with placing it on Pl. 52, which is a verso with horizontal fibers and a missing upper left corner.

Thus, the plates 48–52 are reduced to represent three pages only. The section which is parallel to Pl. 48,24–52,21 in BG is found in BG 22,17–26,15.

This section contains a teaching about the highest being; several of the details which are preserved in C II, are sufficient to convince us that we have had a presentation here which compared to the nearly complete one in BG.

The teaching about the highest being is introduced (BG 22,17; C II 48,24) by establishing that no one reigns over this being, because it is a **ΜΟΝΑΡΧΙΑ** (BG). In his edition of BG, Till has suggested that 22,17–18 read: **ΠΕΧΑΥ ΝΑΪ [ΧΕ ΠΕΠ̄Ν(?)]Α**, and translates: “Er sagte zu mir: ‘Über den Geist(?)’,” This is undoubtedly disputable. In the corresponding lines, C II has: **ΝΑΕΙ ΧΕ ΤΜ[Ο]ΝΑC** that is **ΜΟΝΑC** *unity* instead of the **ΠΕΠ̄Ν(?)Α** *Spirit* as Till suggests in BG; the wording of C II indicates rather, that BG should be read **[ΧΕ ΠΟΥ]Α**; so that it is not stated that “over the *spirit* no one rules, for it is a **ΜΟΝΑΡΧΙΑ**,” but “over *the one* reigns none, because it is a **ΜΟΝΑΡΧΙΑ**.” The reason, that it is a

μοναρχία also seems to accord better with ΠΟΥΑ, which is not too different from ΤΜΟΝΑC¹, than with ΠΕΠ̄ΝΑ.

BG characterizes this highest being as a ΜΟΝΑΡΧΙΑ. The word does not occur in any other place in BG, nor in C II's Apocryphon of John. The meaning of the word is probably presented in the following ΑΡΧΕΙ (ἄρχειν) (BG 22,19) and perhaps by the emendation ΠΟΥΑ corresponding to C II's wording ΤΜΟΝΑC: he is the only true ruler, *the* one ruler. This is also stated in two additional places in BG, namely 23,6–7 (AJ): "He is an ἄρχή whom none rules over," and in 84,9–10 (SJC): "And none rules over him." The word ΑΡΧΗ (ἄρχή) is used in BG several places; but in BG's AJ only in BG 63,11 with the meaning *substance, element*; in BG (SJC) 91,1, it is stated that the father is ἄρχή for all those who shall appear, that is, in the meaning *source, or origin*, being used to describe the highest God. With the meaning *beginning*, SJC uses it in the same codex in BG 84,7–8, 87,5, 98,6 and 110,2. The meaning *power* is most suitable in the use of the word in BG 23,6; in this sense it is used about the highest God in BG 94,8; however, in both places it also contains the sense of *beginning*; on the other hand, the use of the word in BG 112,3 concerning the immortal man and in BG 83,7 concerning the inferior powers, it is hardly used in the sense of *beginning*, but means only *power*.

It appears evident from the context that the connection between the Greek ἄρχή's basic meaning of both *beginning* and *first power* is not forgotten here. This is shown by the continuation in BG 23,7: "for nothing exists *before* him," an expression which is repeated in a slight variation in BG 23,18 and BG 24,5, as well as a more positive statement in BG 26,8–9: "He exists *before* the all;" the declaration in BG 22,22: "he is *above* the all" also leads to the same conclusion. Consequently, he is the ruler over the all by virtue of the fact that he is before or above the all, or the source of the all.

This characteristic of the highest being is certainly connected with his also being called a μοναρχία; this word probably means only ruler, but it also contains the meaning (perhaps first and foremost) of *only beginning* or *source*; that he is the only source, effects also that he is the only ruler. The closest parallel reasoning in related literature is found in Codex Brucianus in the Gnostic Treatise, where it states: ΠΜΟΝΑΡΧΗC ΜΑΥΑΑΥ (LVI, 15), which Charlotte A. Baynes appropriately translated: O One and Only Source (Baynes's edition p. 169). Also in this instance the highest is used as an expression of the highest power, because he is the source of all; in the same manner it is true in the Apocryphon of John: the only, or the unity, or the origin of all and therefore the absolute ruling power of all.

¹ Formally, Μ̄ΝΤΟΥΑ would probably be a better rendering of μονάς in the sense of *unity*, but μονάς can, however, also mean the individual, the indivisible in philosophical terminology, and then ΠΕΟΥΑ is an appropriate rendering. In all events, Μ̄ΝΤΟΥΑ (which is feminine) can hardly be read because ΕΞΟΥ points toward a masculine word.

This highest being is given no name, but several designations. He is the true God (BG 32,14 ≠ C II 55,24), he is the father of the all (BG 22,14 ≠ C II 62,21), the holy spirit (BG 22,20). Thereafter, the following tells about this highest being.

One feature which persistently occurs in this reference of the highest being is the reluctance of the author to say, or his difficulty in saying, what this being is. In the main features, it is a *via negativa* which constitutes the teaching concerning this highest being. So it must be, according to the nature of the matter, for the author of our text also, when he sees fit to call him "he who cannot be described because no one has conceived of him so that he can describe him." (BG 24,2-4 ≠ C II 51,14-15). In this respect, the author of the Apocryphon of John shares the fate of any mystic.

Nevertheless, the author tries to present some assertions about this indescribable, highest being. By relating what the being is not, now and then he says something about it indirectly, and among the negative designations a few positive ones are found. No one can say his name, since there was no one to give him a name. Therefore, he is ascribed the designations, the true God, the father of the all, the holy spirit. It is significant that he is, however, called *God*, indeed the *true* God. Till's conjecture of the word **ΜΜΗΕ** in BG 22,19 can probably be contested, but it is in its favour that this highest being is called the true God in another place in BG, namely BG 32,14 (≠ C II 55,24); he is also the only one who is called this. It is hardly incidental that the highest being, the holy Spirit, is called the true God, here at the beginning of the teaching. Just a few lines further on in the text (BG 23,3-4 ≠ C II 48,31-33) one is taught that one must not imagine him, the holy spirit, as God; for he is more excellent than the gods. Apparently, there is a contradiction between BG 22,19 and BG 23,3-4 (and probably has been in the corresponding part of C II), but only apparently. The author of the manuscript is certainly acquainted with the word **ΝΟΥΤΕ** or (plural) **ΝΝΟΥΤΕ**, and uses it in several places; but for him it is something important that there is one who is called the *true*, the real god in contrast to the others who bear the name of god. The word **ΝΟΥΤΕ** is used about the highest God several places in the Apocryphon of John in C II, C III and BG but in nearly every instance, with just one or two additions, to emphasize the singularity of the highest, as when, e.g. in BG 32,19 and BG 32,14 (C II 55,24) he is called **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜΗΕ** the true God. (Likewise, in BG 51,7, he is called *The God of Light*, but C II does not use this term in this particular place)¹. In BG, the highest being is then called **ΠΙΑΤΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ**, the invisible, BG 22,21; the same designation is used in the Apocryphon of John in BG 23,21, 27,13, 28,18, 29,11; in C II 52,34 and 53,25. The Greek word which corresponds with this, ὁράτος,

¹ When W. C. Till in BG 32,21-33,1 conjectures: **ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ [ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ]** it is undoubtedly disputable, since in the corresponding passage C II 55,32 reads **ΜΠ[ΕΠ]ΝΑ** and not **ΝΟΥΘΕΙΝ**; and C III 11,16-17 opposes Till's conjecture by its **ΖΙΤΜ Π+ ΜΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠΝΑ**.

is used in the same sense in C II 62,21, where it is explained that the invisible is the father of the all, but, otherwise, in the Apocryphon of John of C II, this word is used only in the connection ΠΑΣΟΡΑΤΟΝ (or ΠΑΣΟΡΑΤΟΣ) ΜΠΝ̄Α, possibly ΠΑΣΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΜΠΝ̄Α, although the meaning is the same: the highest being¹, just as in BG. In Codex Brucianus's Gnostic Treatise, also, the highest can be called *the invisible*², but the word there as in Pistis Sophia can also be used in the plural concerning the 24 invisibles in the thirteenth aeon³, while the highest being in Pistis Sophia can be called *the great invisible*. This does not mean that the word is specific for the literature or terminology of that sect; the word is used too often in other places as in the NT in Hebr 11,27 and 1. Tim 1,17, for such to be the case.

Thereafter (BG 22,23), the highest being is credited with incorruptibility, and it is said that he is in the clear light, which none is able to look into. C II 48,27–30 apparently contains remnants of a corresponding text, which seems to have appeared as [ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΝ ΜΝ]ΤΑΤΤΕΚΟ ΕΤΨΟ[ΟΠ ΖΜ ΠΟΥΟΙΝ ΝΤΒΒΟ] ΠΑΙ ΕΤΕ ΜΝ [ΛΑΑΥ ΝΟΥΟΙΝ ΝΒΑΛ ΕΨ ΖΩΨ]Τ Ν̄ΩΥ (—no trace of the expression *clear light* remains here in C II, but it is used by C II 54,11 where the clear light surrounds the invisible spirit). The description might be inspired by 1. Tim. 6,16: “he the only one, who has immortality, dwelling in an unapproachable light, whom no man has seen, nor can see”.

The first part of line C II 48,31 is difficult to reconstruct with certainty from BG 23,3, because the peculiar construction in BG 23,3 with the strongly emphasized, preceding Ν̄ΤΟΥ ΠΕΠ̄Ν̄Α, is too loosely connected with the rest of the sentence to allow one to surmise that the corresponding expression *must* have been contained in C II 48,31. The first of the preserved letters Ν in C II 48,31, does not necessarily point in the other direction, because it can be read together with the succeeding as Ν̄Ν̄ΩΥ ΕΑΝ, which is probably a variant of ΝΕΨΨΕ ΑΝ corresponding to BG's ΨΨΕ ΑΝ or to the classic ΜΕΨΨΕ. But, in addition to that, it does seem possible to reconstruct the last lines of C II 48 to some extent, and they contain the above mentioned warning against imagining him as a God, or in any definite way, because he is more excellent than the gods: Ν̄Ν̄ΩΥ ΕΑΝ [ΕΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟ]Υ Ν̄ΘΕ Ν̄[ΝΟ]ΥΤΕ Η ΧΕ ΕΥΟ [Ν̄+ΜΙΝΕ] Ν̄ΤΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΖΟΥ ΑΝΟΥΤΕ. However, the following lines (C II 48,34–51+50,1) should probably be read in a slightly different manner than BG; they can hardly be read ΟΥΑΡΧΗ ΕΜ̄Ν ΛΑΑΥ ΑΡΧΕΙ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΥ ΠΕ as in BG 23,6–7, but must be read: [Μ̄Ν ΛΑΑΥ] ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΖΙΧΩΥ Μ̄Ν ΛΑΑΥ ΓΑΡ Ο Ν̄ΧΟΕΙC [ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΥ] . . . BG continues the description of the highest being: he is eternal indescribable, without name, an immense light, clarity, unspeakable, perfect, imperishable. The author

¹ It is often used on pages C II 53–57, e.g., C II 53,12 53,28 53,31 53,33 53,34 54,4 54,11 54,19 etc., but in addition to these pages only twice, i.e., C II 62,4 and C II 62,21.

² It takes place on the first page of the treatise, I, 5–6 (Baynes)VIII, 23 and LV, 25.

³ XXX, 13 (Baynes); Pistis Sophia 14,14; 2,9.

⁴ Pistis Sophia 2,8.

of the Apocryphon of John does not consider the usual attributes to a god, such as perfection, blessedness and godliness, adequate for a description.

The reluctance to say what he is, is especially evident in the following: on the one hand, he is not bodily, on the other hand, he is not bodiless (BG 24,16–17); on the one hand, not great, on the other, not small; not a creature, but neither an idea¹; not a part of aeons or time. Thus, he is described as being without destiny and without part in dimension, space and time. He rests in perfect calm, longing only for himself (BG 25,9–10; 26,7–8). The function of all of these privativa seems to be that the highest is hereby elevated above all the ordinary, and also above our human imaginations, or, in other words: as far removed from the world of man as possible.

Finally, however, positive things are stated: He is the majesty, the immeasurable greatness, the eternal (C II 49+52,1–3 ≠ BG 25,13–14), and now he is adorned with a series of names which symbolize his deeds—all of which surely represent the ideals in the Apocryphon of John: eternity, life, blessedness, perception, supreme goodness, charity, mercy, and he grants all of these,—not as *qualifications*, it is stated emphatically, for if they were qualifications, the character of the highest could then be defined, and become finite as that of earthly man, but, on the contrary, they are *functions*. This concludes with (BG 26,1–19) the revealed one declaring with an exclamation that it is impossible to give an adequate description, partly because he cannot describe him to John as he, himself, conceives him, and partly because he cannot describe him with words which John can comprehend. In a note to his manuscript of BG 26,3, which reads ΠΡΟΣ ΠΕΤΑΓΜΕΘΟΜ ΕΝΘΙ ΜΜΟΥ, Till remarks: “D.h. nach meinem Fassungsvermögen. Da Christus spricht, sollte man annehmen, dass es “deinem” (=des Johannes) statt “meinem” heissen soll.” Till refers to the fact that C III (Till’s CG I) has also expressed it in this manner, although with other words, and that, consequently, it must originally have read this way in the common source. It is tempting to make the same assumption as Till, that it ought to read “your” instead of “mine”, and yet this is not necessary because it seems reasonable to assume that the form retained in the Apocryphon of John is the correct one, and by this the manuscript will explain two things: 1) that the revealed one lacks words to describe that which he was able to grasp; 2) nor is the revealed one able to describe it so that John can comprehend it. To the revealed one it is something which is unutterable, and to John it is something which is inconceivable.



52,21–57,24 (≠ BG 26,15–36,16 ≠ C III 7,2–14,9). *The World of Light*.

52,21–53,3 (≠ BG 26,15–27,17 ≠ C III 7,2–22). The manifestation of the primordial father begins.

¹ It is clear that in BG 24,19–20 ΟΥΔΕ ΝΕΨΑΑΑ[Υ] ΝΘΙ ΜΜΟΥ is arranged as an opposition to the preceding ΝΟΥΤΑΜΙΟ ΑΝ ΠΕ, and therefore the expression: that no one can *conceive*, *grasp*, must suggest that he is nothing which has been thought out—nor is he a creature.

The transition to the teaching about how the different beings are manifested by the primordial father is done smoothly by the description of the *primaeval* being who rests in himself and longs for himself gliding into how the resting *primaeval* being, filled with longing for itself, observed his own image in that fount (πηγή) of water which surrounded him, and this fountain (πηγή) is the same one which is called the fountain of life (C II 52,21), and which reflects all of his forms, so that, inspired by seeing them, he fashioned aeons (BG 26,21–22) and worlds (BG 26,22–27,1) after the forms shown in his picture (the probable parallel C II 52,22).

The events are developed from the fact that he *recognized* (BG 27,1–2 [Α]ΥΝΟΕΙ) (C II perhaps *desired* cf. C II 52,24 [ΑΥ]ΟΥΩΨΕ) his own image in the water. The undeveloped possibilities which rest in the primordial father, immediately become active as his *ἐννοία* becomes active and comes forth and presents itself before him. What is meant by *ἐννοία* is not immediately evident, but it is likely to assume that it is the spiritual capacity which, according to the opinion of the Apocryphon of John, first becomes active by the primordial father's observance of his reflection in the water, and, undoubtedly, it should be connected with the use of the Greek verb νοεῖν (in the BG text); νοεῖν shall, therefore, explain the appearance of the being *ἐννοία*; this being is an image of that in itself invisible, virginal spirit which the first being comprises (C II 52,34–35).

The being which has now become visible is called Barbelo (C II 52,36). This being, whose name occurs frequently in related literature, is the one who has come first following the highest. Various renderings of this name, as it occurs in the related literature have been proposed. H. Leisegang's rendering of the word as Hebrew: "Barbhe Eloha—In der Vier ist Gott" with references to the tetras of the Ophites: Father, Son, feminine Pneuma, Christ and to the Book of Baruch: The good, Elohim, Eden Baruch, is dubious¹; and the same is true of Leisegang's rendering of the word as a pun between: "bar" und "baal". H. Leisegang's proposal comes from W. Wigan Harvey², who regarded it as "a very legitimate abbreviation of βαρβαρὶ Ἠλῶ,  , i.e. ἐν τετραδὶ Θεός; but it does not seem to make any sense in the system which we have unfolded in the Apocryphon of John. Two other proposals could make a better sense: the first is that of J. Matter³ who considered it to be from the Hebrew root בר-ב-ל and that it meant *Fille du Seigneur*; W. W. Harvey rejected this proposal not by referring to philological considerations, but because it did not appear from the description of Irenaeus that Barbelo held such a position as *fille du Seigneur* in the system, even though W. W. Harvey acknowledged that Barbelo was called *initium et lumen et generationis omnium* by Irenaeus. The other proposal is that of F. C. Burkitt, that ΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ came from the Coptic

¹ Hans Leisegang, *Die Gnosis* (Stuttgart 1955), p. 186.

² W. Wigan Harvey, *Sancti Irenæi Libr. quinque adv. haer.* (Cambridge 1857), t. I, p. 221–222.

³ J. Matter, apud W. Wigan Harvey, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 221.

ΒΑΒΙΑΕ, which means *grain, seeds, germ*, and, as seed contains all potentialities, Barbelo also contains unlimited potentialities¹. This latter proposal has been taken up by Charlotte A. Baynes, who finds particular support in Hippolytus². Both of these proposals deserve consideration. For philological reasons, I would hesitate to build anything on F. C. Burkitt's proposal, because his hypothesis presupposes that Coptic existed as a language, not only before Irenaeus wrote *Adv. Haer.*, but even at a sufficiently early date to allow the word mentioned to be included in the Apocryphon of John, and therefore, in the excerpt of Irenaeus; such a presupposition is hardly justifiable. W. W. Harvey rejected J. Matter's proposal because he did not find Barbelo described as *fille du Seigneur* in Irenaeus; this is true, but in our manuscript of the Apocryphon of John one cannot fail to note that Barbelo as a being coming forth directly from the primordial father, the ruler of the all, has assumed such a position, in addition, one cannot fail to compare this with the contrasting picture of Barbelo, which later on in the plot is present with Ialtabaoth as *son* of a power of chaos. J. Matter's hypothesis has not been proved, nor has the above mentioned one with Ialtabaoth as the corresponding contrast, but in my opinion the philological reasons are indicative of this, and the contents support them. Although most of the other names for aeon beings archons in the systems are not firmly established, the names Barbelo and Ialtabaoth seem to some extent to be definite names; therefore, they can hardly be entirely incidental, and it is not enough to let them stand without examining their meaning³.

C. II 36ff. Barbelo herself is now called *the glory*. The reason is given in the following: she has been perfected by the glorious aeon (C II 53,1 [ΜΠ]ΕΘΟΥ is adjective genitive), and this took place with the revelation. Here, as in most of the places in the Apocryphon of John, the revelation refers to the coming forth of one being from another; although it is found in C II 48,7 in the sense of coming into sight to bring information about something.

The Virginal Spirit is continuously used to express the highest, the primordial father, and he is also often called the *Invisible Virginal Spirit*. This is true of the text in C II, BG and C III. Here, virginity probably implies that the first spirit is completely unaffected by and distant from all that is earthly, which the last emanations from the heavens are affected by; that the soul has joined the body, can, however, in certain related texts be called *adultery* or *prostitution*⁴,

¹ F. C. Burkitt, *Church and Gnosis* (Cambridge 1932), p. 54-55; 58-60.

² Charlotte A. Baynes, *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise* (Cambridge 1933), p. 50.

³ Thus, F. M. M. Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne*, p. 90, note 2, restricts himself to a brief summary of W. W. Harvey and adds: "En réalité, on ignore l'origine de ce nom".

⁴ Thus, it is in reality the basic theme in *Exegesis on the Soul*, the last but one treatise of Codex II, where we read: "the wise ones who are from before gave the term to the soul with a female name. It is actually woman by its nature. It also has its mother, but she is by herself with the father. She is ■ virgin (παρθένος) and she is man-woman by her likeness. But when she fell into a body and came to this life, she then fell into the hands of many robbers and

and conversely, it is, therefore, a usage which is to be expected when the pure spirit, which is in no way mixed with any bodily element, is called *virginal*.

53,3–4. Barbelo now praises the Virginal Spirit in gratitude for his manifestation. In Coptic, the use of the expression $\epsilon\tau + \epsilon\theta\theta\gamma \epsilon\rho\theta\gamma$ (actually: give honour, or glory) constitutes a play on words with the repetitious use of the term $\pi\epsilon\theta\theta\gamma$ in the three preceding lines, and it is possible that the preceding use of $\pi\epsilon\theta\theta\gamma$ is intended to explain the eulogy $\tau + \epsilon\theta\theta\gamma$ in l. 3. As appears in the following description of the manifestation of the different beings, a eulogy like this belongs to the set pattern in which their manifestation is portrayed; in the portrayal on Pl. 53, alone, it is repeated again and again: Prognosis is revealed, comes forth and praises the Spirit, Incorruptibility is revealed, comes forth and praises the Spirit, and, thereafter, in the same manner, the Eternal Life and Truth. In the context, this laudation has the function of occurring after the aeons have taken their places (literally: *have taken up their positions*), and it stresses the inferior position of these revealed beings in relationship to the one, the spirit who rules over all, to whom they owe their existence.

53,4–11 (\neq BG 27,17–28,4 \neq C III 7,22–8,5). *Barbelo*.

L. 4. $\pi\psi\theta\rho\pi \bar{\mu}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ *the first thought*, called Barbelo here, and that in his image: the Coptic expression $\mu\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ covers the Greek $\epsilon\nu\nu\theta\iota\alpha$, but the Coptic $\psi\theta\rho\pi$ can signify *before* equally well as *first*, and, therefore, the word can also represent $\pi\rho\theta\iota\upsilon\alpha$.

L. 5. Barbelo continues to be mentioned as a feminine being (as throughout the Apocryphon of John). She becomes the mother of the all. Thus, the second of the three beings of the triad is introduced (previously mentioned in 48,14)—i.e., the mother. The all $\pi\tau\theta\rho\bar{\pi}$, is in the singular, and in the definite form here; as in the majority of instances in the Apocryphon of John, it is used in the technical sense of the universe, the all of the world; this universe is the one of which Barbelo has become mother, and the reason is that she existed before all of them. In the following line she receives several attributes, all of which are obviously connected with her role as the Mother of the all, and her existence before all. In addition to the nine attributes enumerated in 53,4–10, another one is found in 53,11, which probably can be understood as the last in the series, but grammatically, it must be directly connected with the following, or implied as the subject of 53,11 $\alpha\chi[\alpha\iota]\tau\epsilon\iota$.

The first nine attributes are as follows:

The Mother of the All
Metropator
The First Man

men of violence. They threw her to one another. some cohabited with her (by violence), whereas others persuaded her with seductive presents that had been robbed. They simply defiled her . . . and she was adulterous with her body and she submitted to anyone”.

The Holy Spirit
 The Three-Fold Man
 The Three-Fold Power
 The Three-Fold Name
 The Androgynous
 The Eternal Aeon

What, then, is implied by these designations? All of them seem to imply a form of something which is ideal, especially something perfect. The designation Metropator is used in C II's Apocryphon of John a total of six times; in the first three instances (53,6-7 54,16 62,19) it is used of Barbelo, in the last three (67,17 68,9 75,33) about the primordial father, but it is not reserved for him owing to the idea of the emanation: that the emanation has received his abilities and his character from the one from which he has come forth; and, therefore, the same designation can be used to characterize both of them.

The first Man. This term is used in C II's AJ four times in all. The explanation for calling Barbelo, the first emanation, *The First Man* is found in 62,22-24; where it is stated of Barbelo that she is the first man, "for his image was revealed in the form of a man." Thus, according to the Apocryphon of John, the designation of Barbelo as *The First Man* originates with this idea.

The Holy Spirit. The primordial father can be called this, and therefore, as explained above, this designation can also be used of Barbelo who has emanated from him.

The Three-Fold Man. This expression is used in C II's AJ in this single instance only, and it is not encountered elsewhere, except in the manuscripts of BG and C III¹. Consequently, it is not found in Pistis Sophia nor Codex Brucianus. It probably contains an expression for the ideal, *the true man* or *the perfect man*.

The Three-Fold Power. This term is used in C II's AJ in this one instance only. In BG 28,1 we find the corresponding ΤΨΟ[Μ]ΝΤΕ Ν̄6ΟΜ, but in C III 8,2-3, another wording is used in the, admittedly, damaged text, where it states [... ΤΨΟ]ΜΝΤ Ν̄ΔΥΝ[ΑΜΙC ...]. Whether C III has also contained the expression *The Three-Fold Name*, cannot be confirmed, but if the conjecture is correct, it did have the expression [ΠΨΟΜΝΤ] Ν̄ΖΥΜΝΟC; what the three hymns refer to, is not clear; none of the many places in Pistis Sophia and Codex Brucianus' Gnostic Treatise which mention hymns, mention three hymns. Following C III's [ΠΨΟΜΝΤ] Ν̄ΖΥΜΝΟC, there is a minor lacuna, and then [ΤΨΟ]ΜΝΤ Ν̄ΔΥΝΑΜΙC, thus, an additional agreement with C II and BG.—The term The Three-Fold Power should probably be understood as the power in its highest potential; in several places in Pistis Sophia and CB's Gnostic Treatise, it is used again as: *with the three strengths*, but none of these seem adequate to explain the term in our text;

¹ BG 27,21; C III 8,1 is damaged, but should perhaps be read ΠΨ[ΟΜΤ200ΥΤ].

the examples which come closest are probably those found in the Gnostic Treatise XVII,9–13: ΕΡΕ ΟΥΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΝΖΗΤΨ ΕΥΖΗΠ ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕΤΟΥΩΝΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΨΜΝΤ ΕΟΜ ΠΑΙ ΕΤΕΜΕΟΜ ΖΝ ΕΟΜ ΝΙΜ and in XVII,20–24 ΕΥΝ ΟΥΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΖΗΠ Ζ[ΡΑ]Ϊ ΝΖΗΤΨ ΕΤΕ ΝΤΟΥ ΠΕ ΠΕΤΡΙΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΕΡΨΑΝ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΠΒΑΘΟΣ . . . However, this is not stated about Barbelo, but about μονογενής.

L. 9. *The Three-Fold Name*. The same is true of this term as of the term ΠΨΟΡΠ ΝΡΩΜΕ; it is not found in any other place in AJ than in the parallel in BG¹; it may have occurred in C III, but in just this particular place, C III is severely damaged; it probably describes the highest name, or is a reference to the fundamental triad in the system (see above, commentary to 48,13–15).

L. 9 ΝΦΟΟΥΤΣΙΜΕ (cf. 54,8; BG 28,3 29,15 C III 9,8–9) expresses the dual aspect, contained in Barbelo, as in all the aeons: a male and a female.

L. 9–10. ΠΑΙΩΝ ΝΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ, compares with BG ΠΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΕ ΜΕΥΡ ΖΛΛΟ (BG 28,2–3) which merely states the same thing in other words; on the other hand, BG contains nothing which compares to C II's ΖΝ ΑΤΑΝΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ, and C III has no parallel to C II's first or second part of speech.

L. 11. ΠΨΟΡΠ ΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ; thus, Barbelo is very aptly characterized; BG has a completely different adjective, namely ΝΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΕΥΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ, by which it agrees with C II only in the term ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ, while it coincides better with C III 8,4–5 [. . .] ΕΛΘΕ ΕΒΟΛ[. . .], which, although it is severely damaged, nevertheless shows agreement with BG and could, no doubt, indicate that the Greek verb, which was employed in the Greek manuscript, was προσέρχασθαι ἐκ; C III and BG are obviously in better agreement with each other here than with C II, and together with other features in the manuscripts could indicate a common source, although it is not the same source which is apparent in other places.

53,11–54,10 (≠ BG 28,5–29,18 ≠ C III 8,5–9,10). *The Pentad*.

L. 11. ΠΨΟΡΠ ΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ preceding this term, at the end of line 10, the word ΑΥΩ was certainly found which is missing now; the lacuna seems to leave just enough space for three letters; ΠΨΟΡΠ ΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ can be understood as the last unit in the above mentioned enumeration, but it can also be understood as the subject in that sentence, which begins in C II 53,11, and it is then repeated in ΑΥ[ΑΙ]ΤΕΙ; this interpretation of the relationship of ΠΨΟΡΠ ΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ would be supported by the word ΑΥΩ as mentioned above, and is strongly supported by the explanatory relative phrase ΕΤΕ ΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ ΤΕ of C II 53,13, which cannot modify ΠΑΣΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΜΠΝΑ, but can, however, probably modify ΠΨΟΡΠ ΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ; thus, it is also explained why we find a masculine form ΑΥ— in C II 53,11,—and not the feminine ΑC—(as in BG 28,4), because it is governed by ΠΨΟΡΠ, while, on the other hand, we have the feminine form ΝΑC (in C II 53,13), because it is governed by Barbelo, which is feminine.

¹ C II 59,15–16 says about Ialtabaoth that he has three names, Ialtabaoth, Saklas and Samael. Neither BG nor C III has such a statement in the parallel section.

That which Barbelo first asks the invisible spirit for is a Prognosis, a fore-knowledge, which is granted her, and when Prognosis is revealed, she places herself up together with *Pronoia* and praises the Spirit and Barbelo; the one who praises must be Prognosis, as the obviously damaged text in C II 53,18 has apparently used the third person feminine singular form $\epsilon\tau[+\epsilon]o[oy]$. Who, then, is *Pronoia*? A being by this name has not been mentioned previously in C II, but an explanation is immediately given by it being said that “That (fem.) is one with the Invisible, Virginal Spirit’s Thought”. This is an explanation which is not found in any comparable section in BG, nor in C III. The identity of the Thought, the Invisible Spirit’s Thought, is known from C II 53,4, where Barbelo is identified with the Thought. The Thought and *Pronoia* are, therefore, a unity, namely, Barbelo. Therefore, it is Barbelo with whom Prognosis places herself, and those who are praised by Prognosis are both the Spirit and Barbelo. W. C. Till (in his edition of BG p. 297) has stated that BG does not relate the creation of that $\epsilon\nu\nu o i \alpha$, which is mentioned in BG 28,9, and which, in W. C. Till’s opinion, must be another $\epsilon\nu\nu o i \alpha$ than Barbelo, the so-called first $\epsilon\nu\nu o i \alpha$, and that that $\epsilon\nu\nu o i \alpha$ which is mentioned in BG 28,9, therefore, ought to be called the second $\epsilon\nu\nu o i \alpha$. W. C. Till gives three reasons (p. 297–298) for his hypothesis. W. C. Till’s theory cannot be applied to C II, and as shown in the following, neither can it be applied to BG. W. C. Till’s first argument for the hypothesis is that “Die (m.E. zweite) Ennoia und die Erste Erkenntnis preisen den Unsichtbaren und die Barbelo (=Erste Ennoia) (28,8–12). Das wiederholt sich: Die Unvergänglichkeit, die (m.E. zweite) Ennoia und die Prognosis (=Erste Erkenntnis) preisen den Unsichtbaren und die Barbelo (=Erste Ennoia) (28,17–20)”. However, this is not correct; in both places the manuscript reads $\epsilon\tau+ \epsilon o o y$ (BG 28,10 and BG 28,19), they are third person, fem. singular in present II, and not plural; what the manuscript relates is: Barbelo asks for Prognosis; that is revealed and places itself beside Barbelo, and she—Prognosis—praises the Spirit and Barbelo: in the same manner as the Incorruptibility in 28,17–20, and W. C. Till’s proposal (in the critical apparatus p. 96) that it would be more correct to read the plural “da alle neu entstandenen Wesen preisen,” is not tenable¹; not until the last emanations is there more than one who makes the

¹ In his note on BG 28,10, W. C. Till (op. cit., p. 96) argues that the scribe wrote $\epsilon\tau+$ instead of $\epsilon\tau+$, because “der Schreiber hatte das unmittelbar vorhergehende feminine $\pi\rho\nu o i \alpha$ im Sinn.” One may assume, rather, that we have to do with a *constructio ad sensum* because $\pi\psi o p \pi \bar{\nu} c o o y n$ renders the Greek $\pi\rho\gamma\gamma\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and, like the following aeons which come forth until the *first born son* (BG 30,7), is a *feminine* being in the eyes of the author of the Apocryphon of John.—In C III 8,9, the corresponding place has preserved sufficiently of the otherwise damaged text that we have a clear feminine mark in the verb referring to $\pi\psi\bar{p}\pi \bar{\nu} c o o y n$, namely $\epsilon\tau[A\bar{z}\epsilon]P\bar{A}T\bar{\eta}$, and this *before* any $\epsilon\nu\nu o i \alpha$ or $\pi\rho\nu o i \alpha$ turns up, which the scribe might have had in mind.—If we have to do with a *constructio ad sensum*, it is most likely a reminiscence from the Greek source which has a feminine word, as does C II 53,15 with its $\tau\pi\rho o \gamma n o \varsigma i c$, cf. C II 53,15 $\alpha c \bar{\gamma} o \lambda \pi$, 53,16 $\alpha c \bar{a} \bar{z} e p \bar{A} T \bar{\eta}$, and 53,18 $\epsilon\tau[+\epsilon]o[oy]$.

eulogy¹. In his other argument (p. 298), W. C. Till asserts that the reason for lauding the Spirit and Barbelo is indicated by a “denn sie entstanden aus ihr,” and by this it is implied that there were others who rose from Barbelo as early as the appearance of the First Perception. W. C. Till, himself, admits that this argument does not carry much weight, since **AY-** and **AY-** are often interchanged, and, moreover C III (Till: CG I) 8,13, also has the singular **NTAY-**. The third and most important argument in favour of W. C. Till is that unless one distinguishes between two Ennoia, the first and the second, it is not possible to arrive at the number five of the pentad. However, one might just as well imagine that BG had neglected to relate about some other being than just the second or first Ennoia. This is exactly the case, if, in place of BG, we use C II as a basis for our observations, because in 53,31–54,2 an account of the formation of *the Truth* is presented. In C II’s pentad, the fifth aeon is the Truth. BG gives no information about the formation of this aeon, and it is, therefore, understandable that W. C. Till has attempted to solve the problem by assuming that there must have been an account of one more Ennoia, but not until the testimony of C II do we have a manuscript which clearly enumerates all five of the aeons in the pentad, namely:

Barbelo (=Ennoia=Pronoia)
 Prognosis
 Incorruptibility
 Eternal Life
 Truth.

Thus, all five of these originated from the Invisible, Virginal Spirit, the first on the Spirit’s own initiative, the remaining four according to the wish of Barbelo. The texts of BG and C III must both be regarded as being incomplete. A particular question is the relationship to the accounts of Irenaeus and Theodoret, which W. C. Till has included in the debate (in his edition of BG p. 298–299). Neither do these give an account of the creation of the Truth in that section which should compare to C II 53,31–54,2, but this problem must be treated in an investigation concerning the relationship between the Apocryphon of John and the accounts of Irenaeus and Theodoret.

54,8–9 repeats that it is the pentad, but adds that it is eternal and bisexual; by this, the following also becomes comprehensible, namely that it is also the eternal decad, because the androgynous character of the pentad allows that it also can be regarded as consisting of ten, and comprising a decad.

¹ In BG not until Eternal Life has appeared. BG 29,5 reads **EY+ EOY**, but in the case of all those who have been previously revealed we read **EC+ EOY**; in C II the plural is used only at the manifestations of the latter two, i.e., that of Eternal Life and Truth in C II, 53,30 and 53,35, but singular in connection with the preceding ones.

54,10–55,4 *Christ and Nus* (\neq BG 29,18–31,11 \neq C III 9,10–10,15).

L. 10 **ΑΥΘΩΤ**, the subject is **ΠΕΙΩΤ** and the object is **ΤΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ**. The opposite is found in BG 29,18, where it is Barbelo who is the subject, and “him”, i.e. the Spirit, which is the object; **ΑC-**, consequently, is not a scribal error in the manuscript (BG 29,18), because the subject is repeated with the participle **ΝῆΙ** (likewise in C III 9,10).

Here, C II is in opposition with BG and C III, and no scribal errors can be pointed out in any of the manuscripts, but it must be assumed that there were divergent interpretations even in their sources. In C II, it is the Invisible Spirit that by his gaze causes Barbelo to conceive; while in BG and C III it is Barbelo himself who looks at the Invisible Spirit, and by doing so becomes pregnant. The meaning seems to be best expressed in the manuscript of C II, because, although one can imagine the Invisible Spirit gazing at Barbelo, one can hardly imagine that Barbelo would be able to look at the Invisible Spirit.

L. 11. **ἌΜ** can either be local: since he was inside the clear light, or about the means: since he saw by the help of the clear light. In both cases, the expression ‘the *clear* light’ is surely intended to emphasize that the Spirit does not see with a gaze full of unclean desire, but is elevated high above this.

L. 12 **Μῆ** [**η**]**ΕΥΠΡΕ**, literally: with his sprout. The light surrounds the spirit and his **ΠΡΕ**, which occurs here for the first time in C II; this apparently expresses a potency which lies in the spirit waiting for its fulfillment.—**ΑCΧΕΟΥΩ**: *she* is Barbelo. The spirit is (according to C II) the one who takes the initiative, and Barbelo becomes pregnant and produces a spark. The possibility which was in the Spirit is fulfilled here as a **ⲕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ**. Here, BG has preserved the Greek by its: **СПΙΝΘΗΡ ΝΟΥΟΪΝ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΝ**; C III also reads **СПΙΝΘΗΡ ΝΟΥΟΪΝ**, but it refers the designation **ΝΑΕΙΑΤΎ**, *blessed*, to that which the spark depicts, namely, the light, just as it is done in C II. In C II, it is emphasized that even though the spark is an image of the light, it is *not equal* to the light (BG has *Barbelo* instead of the light, and, consequently, it is the spark which cannot measure up to Barbelo).

L. 15 **ΠΑΪ ΠΕ ΟΥΨΡ ΟΥΩΤ**, the spark can be called so because it is masculine, while all of the other five aeons, which have come forth so far, must have been feminine words in their original Greek text: βαρβήλω, πρόγνωσις, ἀφθαρσία, ζωὴ αἰώνιος and ἀλήθεια. In this context, it is obvious that our Coptic version of AJ must be a translation from a Greek text.

Besides, it is the first being which has been revealed by an emanation from Barbelo (=Pronoia=Ennoia, C II 54,20–22).

L. 23 **Α[ΥΤ]ΩΖC**, we should certainly read **ΑΥΤΩΖC** and not **ΑCΤΩΖC**, cf. l. 25 **ΑΥΤΑΖCΥ**, which must have the same subject. Since it is a masculine form, the subject is surely **ΠῆΑ**, cf. l. 26. The spark is first anointed with goodness and, thereafter, with the holy Spirit, both of which are parts of the Invisible Spirit. Undoubtedly, the words about the anointing and the goodness comprise an attempt at a preliminary reference to that which the only begotten is called in

C II 55,2 (just as in the case of $\pi\epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ in C II 52,36–53,2, which should refer to $\epsilon\varsigma\tau\ \epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ in C II 53,3, and by $\pi\epsilon\chi\pi\bar{\rho}\rho\epsilon$ in C II 54,13, which referred, by manner of anticipation, to the revelation of $\tau\kappa\ \bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}$ in C II 54,13).

L. 30–32 presents perhaps a dittography with the repeated $\alpha\chi\tau\ \epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ owing to a confusing between $[\pi\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}]$ in the beginning of l. 29 with the corresponding $\pi\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$ in l. 30.

L. 33. The anointed one now asks for a helpmate, Nus, and with the approval of the Holy Spirit, Nus comes forth, places himself with Christ, and praises the Invisible¹. (Here again, it is only the latest one to come forth, Nus, who praises the Invisible, since the manuscript reads $\epsilon\chi\tau\ \epsilon\omicron\omicron\upsilon$ (C II 55,2).

55,4 $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\upsilon\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\tau\kappa\alpha\rho\omega\chi\ \alpha\upsilon\omega\ \pi\bar{\mu}\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$; the understanding of this is determined by the understanding of $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$. It can, naturally, merely mean *in*, that is, about the circumstances in which these beings came into existence, that it happened under the observation of silence and activity of thought; however, one should preferably understand the preposition as concerning the means that it happened *by*, or was *caused by*, and then $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\tau\kappa\alpha\rho\omega\chi$ *silence* and $\bar{\mu}\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ *thought* must signify, not the circumstances of the emanation, but the two beings who took part in the emanation of the great number of beings; one is able to understand it in this sense because $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\tau\kappa\alpha\rho\omega\chi$ probably represents a term for the Invisible Spirit, and $\bar{\mu}\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ a term for Barbelo. In this interpretation, it is thus a rounding off of the teaching about these beings with a reference to the two beings who were their source.—In BG 26,6–7 it can be said of the Invisible Spirit that he is at rest, and rests in *silence*. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that, subsequently, the manuscript can use *silence* as a symbol for the Invisible Spirit.

Thus, the arrival of the Holy Spirit seems to be connected with the *anointment*, and Nus is preceived as an assistant to Christ.

55,4–11. *The Will and the Word*. (\neq BG 31,11–18 \neq C III 10,15–22).

L. 4ff. $\alpha\chi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\epsilon$. To understand the meaning of this, it is vital to determine the actual subject of $\alpha\chi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\epsilon$. If we compare it with BG 31,11–12, it would be tempting to regard the Invisible Spirit as the subject in C II 55,4–5 as well as in BG 31,11–12,—the one who *wants to* or *wishes to*, because BG 31,12 clearly indicates the subject by its $\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\iota\ \pi\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\mu}\pi\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$. However, then it must be considered to be a very incidental expression in C II, if one were to read: He (i.e. The Invisible Spirit) wanted to create a thing by the word of the Invisible Spirit, and his will became a thing; one could, therefore, imagine that the subject of $\alpha\chi\omicron\upsilon\omega\psi\epsilon$ was $\pi\epsilon\chi\bar{\rho}\bar{\varsigma}$, not least because in the following, the reason is stated: For by the Word, Christ created the All; but this can hardly be acceptable, because although Christ creates the All by the Word, the Word is not called

¹ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\chi$ must be The Invisible Spirit and not Christ. The expression $\alpha\chi\alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\bar{\upsilon}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}[\pi]\epsilon\chi\bar{\rho}\bar{\varsigma}$ suggests that the one recently revealed occupies the place set aside for him in the system, i.e., next to Christ.

the Word of Christ in the text, but the Word of the Invisible Spirit. Then, there remains the incidental expression: he, i.e. the Invisible Spirit, wanted by the Word of the Invisible Spirit, etc. If, instead of comparing it with BG, we compare it with C III, we find the same idea expressed quite plainly: **ΑΥΡ̄ ΖΝΑΥ Ν̄ΓΙ ΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ Μ̄ΠΝΑ ΕΕΙΡΕ ΝΟΥΖΩΒ ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΟΥΨΑΧΕ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΥΘΕΛΗΜΑ ΑΥΩΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΖΩΒ** (C III 10,15–18). Thus, BG is not so complete here as C II or C III, because BG indicates nothing about the role of the word, and C III presents only *a word*, not *his word* nor the word of the *Spirit* as the instrument, but on the other hand it contains a more direct rendering than C II; which, in turn, defines *whose* word it is. The circumstantial expression in C II can be due to an attempt to improve a less definite rendering in the source, a rendering which was probably presented in this way in the Greek manuscript. He whose will is expressed, is thus the Invisible Spirit.

Even with the use of the terms **ΑΥΟΥΩΨΕ** and **ΠΨΑΧΕ** that which immediately follows is implied: the establishment of *the Will* and the *Word*. This occurs as predicted. It is hardly accidental that expressions like *create a thing* **ΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΖΩΒ** and *become a thing* **ΨΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ** are employed; one is immediately speaking about something which is not quite as high as that which has previously come into existence, nor is there any indication here that these two beings emanate in answer to Barbelo's prayer to the Invisible Spirit, nor by the will of Christ; it is merely told that he *willed to* create something and then his Will is revealed; and concerning the Word, it merely states that it "followed the Will".

L. 7–8. **ΑΥΩ ΑΥΩΩΛΠ' ΕΒΟΛ Μ̄Ν ΠΝΟΥC**. Here there is apparent evidence of a copying error, since this makes no sense in the context; it should probably read: **ΑΥΩ ΑΥΩΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ <ΑΥΩ ΑΥΑΖΕΡΑΤ̄> Μ̄Ν ΠΝΟΥC** (cf. BG 31,13–15 and C III 10,17–19): to read a more exhaustive **ΑΥΩ ΑΥΩΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ <Ν̄ΓΙ ΠΟΥΩΨ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΑΖΕΡΑΤ̄>**, etc., is not necessary.

L. 8. By **ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ** is meant **+Κ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ**, i.e., Christ, cf. that **ΠΕΥΠΡΕ** together with the Invisible Spirit is surrounded by **ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΤΤ̄ΒΗΥ** (C II 54,11–14). **ΝΑΥ'** indicates the subject for **ΑΥΟΥΩΨΕ** in C II 55,4, i.e. the Invisible Spirit.

L. 9. Previously, in line 5, the **ΖΙΤ̄Ν ΠΨΑΧΕ** predicts that which will now take place: the appearance of the Word.

L. 10. The reason for the emanation of the Word: for by the Word Christ, the autogenons, the divine, created the All, seems conspicuous at this point, but it should be interpreted as an interpolation which anticipates something which is either well known, or about which it will be related later. Here, it might refer to John 1,1–3, cf. Hebr 11,3.

L. 11. **ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝ[Η]C**. This word does not refer to any activity of the one who bears this attribute. Christ has not, according to the Apocryphon of John, created himself, and therefore, he cannot for *this* reason be called **ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗC**. On the contrary, it refers to the acts of the Invisible Spirit; he alone has created

Christ: it is the Invisible Spirit who, without any request from Barbelo, by himself *looks* at Barbelo causes her to become pregnant and give birth to Christ, the spark of light, and when Christ can be called ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ, it is because of the Father's own action. In her commentary to the Gnostic Treatise in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae, Charlotte A. Baynes has presented a very thorough explanation of the entire problem concerning the meaning of the word ΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ, and even though the term is found in a different manuscript there, the explanation presented by Baynes also applies to our text. It is difficult to replace Baynes's translation of ΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ by self-alone-begotten with a less cumbersome term; therefore, we have preferred a rendering of the Greek word here. Moreover, it is conspicuous that the term in C II is not used except on Pl. 55–57.

55,11–15 *The Eulogy of the Spirit and Barbelo* (≠ BG 31,19–32,3 ≠ C III 10,23–11,2).

The text is very brief: four aeons in all: the Eternal Life, the Will, Nus and Prognosis, place themselves and praise the Invisible Spirit and Barbelo. One cannot disregard that the manuscript might be corrupt in this place, but if this is the case, then one of C II's, BG's and C III's common sources must also have been so, since the three texts follow each other quite closely here. As the text appears today, its function in the context does not seem to be evident; one might suppose that the four beings' praise of the Invisible Spirit and Barbelo serves to emphasize their gratitude for that which immediately preceded: the arrival of Christ, Nus, the Will and the Word, but the laudation is based on the fact they had risen because of her (Barbelo), and cannot refer to any other than the creation of the four praising aeons; therefore, only one possibility seems to remain: that the text is corrupt. As mentioned above, this possibility must apply to all three texts; in the case of BG, this probability was presented by C. Schmidt as early as in 1907, and Schmidt tried to emend the text on the basis of Irenaeus' Adv. haer. I, 29,1: "Conjugationes autem fient Ennoia et Logi, et Aphtharsias et Christi: et Aëtonia autem Zoe Thelemati conjuncta est, et Nus Prognosi. Et magnificabant hi magnum lumen et Barbelon," and on the basis of the corresponding evidence of Theodoret (Haer. fab. I, 13), and Carl Schmidt drew the conclusion that "Da nun die beiden Paare den letzten beiden von Irenäus genannten entsprechen und der αὐτογενής ganz isoliert dasteht, werden wir wohl mit Recht die Lücke also ausfüllen:" ἔννοια mit λόγος, ἀφθαρσία mit αὐτογενής." W. C. Till considered Schmidt's emendation as "verführerisch," but proposed that BG's Apocryphon of John did not recognize the arrangement in pairs of the beings who came forth from Barbelo, and W. C. Till seems to have viewed the emendation with scepticism. (Cf. C. Schmidt in Philotesia Paul Kleinert, p. 325, and W. C. Till in the text edition of BG, p. 299).

A closer observation of the Apocryphon of John, as we now find it not only in BG, but in C II and C III as well, and of the evidence of Irenaeus and Theodoret,

however, gives us a basis to proceed further than Schmidt in an emendation. The point of departure for this is the fact which both C. Schmidt and W. C. Till seem to have overlooked, that if the rendering of the arrangement of the world of light began as an account of the genesis of the pentad (BG 28,5–29,18 \neq C III 8,5–9,10 \neq C II 53,11–54,10), then the following is a rendering of the *decad* of the aeons, as it is clearly presented by all three of the texts by the strongly stressed: *this is the eternal male-female pentad which is the eternal decad*. Thus, the decad consists of an androgynous pentad, and one part of the pentad is enumerated in the preceding (C II 53,11–54,8) as consisting of Ennoia, Prognosis, Incorruptibility, Eternal Life, and Truth. This pentad was not previously described as bisexual, but merely as a pentad. However, it is now rendered as androgynous, and thus as a decad, and, therefore, the account will tell us about the partners of the previously named aeons, and how they came into existence; thus, this is what the entire C II, 54,8–55,30 \neq BG 29,14–32,19 \neq C III 9,8–11,14 involves: the genesis of the partners of the aeons, and that which we find in C II 55,11–15 (\neq BG 31,18–32,3 \neq C III 10,22–11,2), are remains of an enumeration of how the aeons of the decad were paired.

Is it possible, then, to reconstruct this enumeration of all ten aeons? From the first eight aeons specified in Irenaeus, Carl Schmidt tried to emend BG, also, to have enumerated eight aeons, but on the other hand Carl Schmidt thought that Irenaeus was guilty of a misunderstanding when he subsequently wrote that, thereafter, an additional aeon had emanated, by the name of *Autogenes*, and Schmidt explained the misunderstanding as follows: “Irenäus ist zu der Annahme eines neuen Äons mit Namen Autogenes dadurch veranlasst worden, dass ihm die Bezeichnung des Sohnes der Barbelo neben “Licht” und “Christus” als αὐτογένητος resp. αὐτογενής entgangen war”. That Carl Schmidt rejected Irenaeus’s words about Aletheia, who was revealed together with the new aeon, Autogenes, is pardonable, because the only copy of the Apocryphon of John which Schmidt possessed, namely, BG’s, does not give an account of the genesis of the Truth, unlike C II. Irenaeus has probably perpetrated a misunderstanding, or else his source has—a misunderstanding which our text in C II can help to clarify. Irenaeus enumerates the following aeons: Ennoia, Logos, Aphtharsia, Christus, Zoe Aionia, Thelema, Nus and Prognosis. However, if we assume that the text for which this was basis, i.e. a Greek text, did not read χριστός, but χρηστότης, we immediately find a basis for a misunderstanding: either by reading χριστός—*Christ* or χρηστότης *Goodness*. In the Apocryphon of John, *Goodness* plays a role in this very section: the Only Begotten Son is anointed with the Spirit’s *Goodness*, so with reference to *Goodness*, he lacks nothing (C II 54,23–27). If we assume that in one of the sources for the Apocryphon of John, precisely here in the enumeration of the decad, the text read ΤΜΝΤΧΡ̅C in the sense of *Goodness*, we will be able to enumerate all of the decad, we will be able to explain Irenaeus’s misunderstanding, and finally, we will be able to explain why a copyist was able to omit two units:

original decad		Irenaeus's decad		C II's text	
ἐννοία	λόγος	Ennoia	Logos		
ἀφθαρσία	χρηστότης	Aphtharsia	Christus		
ἀλήθεια	αὐτογενής				
ζωὴ αἰωνία	θέλημα	Aeonias Zoë	Thelema	ΠΩΝΖ ΨΑ ΕΝΕΖ ΠΕΥΟΥΩΨ	
νοῦς	πρόγνωσις	Nus	Prognosis	ΠΝΟΥC	ΤΠΡΟΓΝΩCΙC
		and			
		Autogenes	Alethia		

Thus, the Irenaeus-text has read *χριστός* instead of, correctly, *χρηστότης*, and in the case of the Coptic text, the copyist has confused the ending of the source's ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΝΗΟΥΤΕ (C II 55,11) with the name of one of the aeons in the following enumeration ΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ and consequently, he omitted the interceding name.¹

55,15–30 *The Role of Christ* (\neq BG 32,3–19 \neq C III 11,3–14).

Earlier, it has been said of Christ that he has been perfected (54,24); that which is stated there is that it is the Goodness of the Invisible Spirit which brings about his Perfection, but the Holy Spirit is also mentioned in this connection (54,24–28); here in 55,15–16, it is the Holy Spirit who is named as the one who perfects him. Thus, Christ is placed with the Invisible Spirit.

L. 17 ΜΝ ΤΒΑΡΒΗ[ΛΩ] with Barbelo; to translate ΠΕΨΗΡΕ ΜΝ ΤΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ: that the Son became perfected *together with* Barbelo, cannot be accepted since at her revelation (52,35–53,2) Barbelo was perfected already *before* the Son. Two possibilities are thus presented: whether to retain the text, or to correct the text. The first can be done: then it does not concern any new perfection of Barbelo, but is a reference to the fact that the Invisible Spirit had perfected Christ as well as Barbelo; the perfection of Christ mentioned in 55,15–16 is then not a new perfection either, but simply a reference to that which occurred previously, and which conditions the following, namely, that the Invisible Spirit can place the Son with himself just as well as Barbelo can. The other possibility: to correct the text, recommends itself, not least when we observe the variant in C III 11,4–5, where, instead, it states ΠΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΒΑΡΒΗΛ[Ω], i.e., *Son of Barbelo*. This immediately presents a far better meaning, and therefore it is proposed to read, either: the autogenous Son with Barbelo (with: begotten with) or, corrected to ΠΕΨΗΡΕ ΝΤΒΑΡΒΗΛΩ Son of Barbelo.

¹ If one imagined that a previous source had contained the abbreviated ΧΡ̄C (*χρηστός*) as a *nominum sacrum*, an error could even more easily lead to the reading *χριστός*; there are in fact references in literature related to the Apocryphon of John to beings which are called *χρηστοί*; this is the case in the Gnostic Treatise in Codex Brucianus XVI, 25 and XXXII, 7 (Baynes). In the latter place, incidently, these beings are closely connected with Monogenes. When we dare not go so far in our supposition as to assume a ΧΡ̄C in the sense of *χρηστός*, it is solely owing to the fact that in the Coptic text no word for the *Good One* is attested as an aeon, although there is a ΤΜΝ̄ΤΧΡ̄C *Goodness*.

Thus at last, the complete triad has been presented: first the Invisible Spirit, then, with him, Barbelo, and now the Son. The other aeons, on the other hand, do not take such a prominent position, since it merely stated of them that they placed themselves near Barbelo (or Pronoia) or Christ, but not directly with the Invisible Spirit.

L. 19f. The holy, autogenous Son is called Christ here; the following **ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑ-ΕΙΟΥ** has **ΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΜΠΝ̄Α** as a subject. Consequently, in this instance it is not the revealed aeon who praises his origin, but the origin who praises his own emanation, while in the case of the other aeons, it was the opposite. But this special position which is given the Son thereby, is not surprising, because it is already implied in the preceding words of 54,19–20, where it is the Invisible Spirit which *rejoices* upon the genesis of the Son.

L. 24 should probably be read **ΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΜ[Ε]**; with the predicate being *the true* a departure from “the gods” as in 48,31–33 is immediately taken.

L. 24ff. The Son is appointed, not only with the Father, but also over(**ΑΧΜ̄**) the All, and every authority is placed under him. By this the Son is the ruler of the All. C II’s remark concerning *the Truth* in 55,26 could be misunderstood, if **ΝΑΥ** were not drawn forward before **ΝΤΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΤΗΡ̄**, since one could then read it as if all authority was placed under him and the Truth, but the emphasis on **ΝΑΥ** and the parallel in BG 32,15–18: **ΑΥΤ ΝΑΥ ΕΖΟΥCΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΤΡΕΤΜΗC ΕΤ̄Ν̄ΖΗΤΥ ΖΥΠΟΤΑCCE ΝΑΥ** where the Truth is clearly subordinate to him, leaves no room for doubt. The reason for subordinating the *Truth* to him is that he should recognize (or know) the All. The Coptic manuscript offers a phonetic play on words between **ΤΜΕ** (55,26) and **ΜΜΕ** (55,27), which, however, is not found in BG nor in C III, both of which read **ΤΜΕ** and **ΝΟΕΙ**; it is also merely phonetic, since it cannot revert to Greek, where instead of **ΤΜΕ** we would find a form of ἀληθεία and for **ΜΜΕ** we would find a form of νοεῖν.

L. 27ff. The name which is raised high above any other name (**ΝΟ[ΥΡΑΝ Ε]ΧΧΟCCE ΕΡΑΝ ΝΙΜ**) is the name of the Son. C II has a much longer form than BG and C III, both of which merely state that it is a “name which will be said to those who are worthy of it,” thus, as in C II 55,29–30. C II, only, calls it a name which is raised high above any other name. This is an allusion to Phil. 2,9 or to the beginning of the letter to the Hebrews, i.e., Hebr 1,4. However, it is not just an emphasis of the sublimity of the name, but also of its esoteric nature: it will be said only to those who are worthy of it. By this no more is stated than the information given in the text about the series of teachings of a secret nature which John has received from the one who was revealed: they must only be confided on to the generation which does not waver, and it is them upon whom the spirit of life descends, making them “worthy of the great things” (C II 73,26).

Consequently, the name is not unmentionable, but only reserved for the worthy. No other comparable assertion about the name is found in the Apocryphon of John, even though the word **ΠΑΝ** is used several times. The name is

not stated literally, but it must be the name of the highest, the Invisible Spirit, which is intended, just as in Phil 2,9 it is the name for God (in LXX) κύριος, which is implied. Furthermore, contrary to several related texts such as The Second Book of Jeu, Evangelium Veritatis and Pistis Sophia, the Apocryphon of John does not seem to make room for any speculation about "the name", although two accounts are given here, as frequently in so-called Gnostic literature, and here they are also joined together, namely, the account of the elevation of the Son, and the account of the Son as one who bears his Father's name. Here, the autogeny is placed with the Invisible Spirit, and he has received a name which is exalted above every other name. (Cf. my *Evangelium Veritatis* and the Epistle to the Hebrews, I [Studia Theologica XIII, 2, Lund 1959], p. 88ff.).

55,30–56,28. *The Four Lights, the Four Powers and the Twelve Aeons.* (≠ BG 32,19–34,18 ≠ C III 11,14–12,24).

An account of the four *lights* is presented at first. They originate from the Light, which is identified with Christ (cf. C II 54,13–16 and C II 55,8) and the Incorruptibility, but, it is inserted, by the Holy Spirit. Here, the lights are called merely φωστήρ and not, as in BG and C II, the four *great* lights. The word φωστήρ has then been sufficient to characterize them when speaking of the four φωστήρ.

L. 32 π† μπ[επ]ν̄ā together with C III's π† μπαζορατον μπ̄ν̄ā indicates that one should not read BG 32,21–33,5 as W. C. Till suggests: ζῆτοτ̄ μπ̄νουτε [νουοειν], but, on the contrary, ζῆτοτ̄ μπ̄νουτε [μπ̄επ̄ν̄ā].—The abbreviation π† for π̄νουτε, which is treated in detail by W. C. Till (in his edition of BG, p. 300–301), and which W. C. Till has found rendered five times in C III (called CG I by W. C. Till), is rendered in two places in C II's Apocryphon of John, namely, here in C II 55,32 and in C II 56,24, which can be added to Till's examples.

That which characterizes this God, is that he consists of spirit, and on the basis of this characteristic alone μπ̄επ̄ν̄ā AJ dares call him God (cf. C II 48,31–33).

L. 33. The copyist has obviously left out a verb; instead of C II's ζιτ̄ν π† μπ[επ]ν̄ā μπ̄ιϣτοοϣ μ̄φ̄ωσθηρ εβολ̄ ζ̄μ̄ one must read: ζιτ̄ν π† μπ[επ]ν̄ā <ᾱϣοϣω̄ν̄> μπ̄ιϣτοοϣ μ̄φ̄ωσθηρ εβολ̄ ζ̄μ̄ The error in the copying could be due to the fact that the copyist or translator has introduced the connective of the sentence in C II 33,30 with a εβολ̄ γαρ̄ ζ̄μ̄ ποϣοειν which later should have been followed by a ᾱϣοϣω̄ν̄, but the great number of interceding words resulted in the omission of the actual verb. The verb is found in BG and C III, but there the construction is different, since the subject is πεϣτοοϣ and the verb ᾱϣοϣω̄ν̄ εβολ̄. In C II μπ̄ιϣτοοϣ, marked with the objective particle μ̄ cannot be the subject, and therefore we must insert ᾱϣοϣω̄ν̄ and not a subsequent ᾱϣοϣω̄ν̄. The error is not common to the three texts, but is found only in C II.

L. 34f. **ΑΥΓΩΝΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΤΡΟΥΩΣ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ**; simply that he *looks out* causes the presentation of the lights. Neither BG nor C III have this feature, but both of them merely relate that the lights presented themselves; in BG their revelation occurs *in order that* **ΧΕ** they shall set themselves up with him, and in C III, where another verb is used: **ΕΥΠΑΡΑΚΤΑΙΣ**, the revelation occurs as a **παράστασις**. C II clearly expresses that the lights place themselves before him *and* (**δέ**) the three, while BG in the corresponding text contains an uncertain **ἢ**- and C III has no conjunctive whatsoever.

56,1. The three are the Will, Ennoia and Life, all three aeons who have been enumerated before, and who together with the two, from whom the lights came, Christ and the Incorruptibility, comprise five of the aeons of the decad. It is possible that in this context the five represent five androgynous aeons, and thus the entire decad with which the four lights place themselves is mentioned; in any case, each one of the five aeon pairs is—according to the above made arrangement—named with one of each individual pair's aeons.—C III gives the succession as the Will, the Life, Ennoia, while BG has the same succession as C II.

L. 2. It is rather peculiar that the Apocryphon of John commences to relate who these four *powers* are. Nothing has been stated about this in the preceding, and one could conjecture that something has been omitted; however, if we examine the parallels in BG 33,5–6 and C III 11,21–22, these four enter the story just as unexpectedly, indeed even more so, because there they are not even mentioned as *the four powers*, but simply as *the four*, which are now enumerated by name, while C II, at least, gives the more specific **ΤΕ[Υ]ΤΟΕ ΔΕ ΝΩΜ**, *the four powers*.

If such an omission actually exists in our Coptic texts, we can presume that the omitted passage might have been retained in the text of Irenaeus. Concerning the four lights, Irenaeus has related: “De lumine autem, quod est Christus, et de incorruptela, quatuor emissa luminaria ad circumstantiam Autogeni dicunt”. This corresponds quite closely to C II's, BG's and C III's accounts. However, the Latin text of Irenaeus continues: “et de Thelemate rursus et Æonia Zoe quatuor emissiones factas ad subministrationem quatuor luminaribus, quas nominant Charin, Thelesin, Synesin, Phronesin.” Enumerated here are the same four, which Irenaeus subsequently relates are attached to each its own of the four lights, giving them the same function as the four (powers) are given in the three Coptic manuscripts. That which Irenaeus contains, beyond the Coptic manuscripts, is that it is “quatuor emissiones factas ad subministrationem quatuor luminaribus . . .” and that they have come “... de Thelemate . . . et Æonia Zoe . . .” Is it conceivable that something that corresponded to these words in Irenaeus has been omitted in the Coptic texts? It can hardly have happened intentionally, at least we cannot establish any reason for it, but in the event of a copying error, it is quite plausible, and, as indicated in the following, also likely. 1) As mentioned above, the four lights are introduced quite suddenly

and completely without connection with the preceding account in the three Coptic texts, which are otherwise very well composed, and marked by a natural development in the sequence of thought. In itself, this allows us to presume, that *something* is omitted. 2) If an omission has occurred, it must have happened between the enumeration of powers with which the four lights placed themselves: *Christ, Incorruptibility, the Will, Ennoia, Life*, and the mentioning of the names of the four powers. 3) That which may have been omitted must have run about as follows:

and in order to serve the four lights,
the Will and the Life revealed four more powers

4) Thus, a copyist has confused the *Life* found in the common source, in the enumeration of those with which the four lights placed themselves, with the *Life*, the latter of the two aeons from which the four powers came, and therefore, after naming the Will, Ennoia and Life, continued: the four are . . . , etc.

L. 2. In C II, the four powers are: **TM̄NTPM̄N̄ZHT**, **TXAPIC**, **TECΘHCIC** and **TΦPONHCIC**; in BG the four are called χάρις, σύνεσις, αἴσθησις and φρόνησις and the same designations and succession are used in C III. However, **M̄NTPM̄N̄ZHT** of C II is an apt translation of σύνεσις, as we find it, for example, in Deuteronomium 4,6 (S) (even though it can very well translate φρόνησις, as found in Proverbs 12,2 (S and A)); thus, in reality, it is merely a disagreement between the three texts concerning the sequence of the four powers. However, if we compare the accounts of the three texts with Irenaeus, we observe that even though Irenaeus lists the three powers by the same names, i.e. Charis, Synesis and Phronesis, instead of the power αἴσθησις in the third position in the Coptic texts, Irenaeus has another: Thelesis, and this in the second position: "quatuor emissiones . . . quas nominant Charin, *Thelesin*, Synesin, Phronesin . . .", consequently, θέλησις instead of αἴσθησις. One might presume, that the difference was original, but the considerable extent of agreement between the three Coptic texts and the text of Irenaeus only allows us to accept the hypothesis that also in this instance the texts were originally in agreement. A mistake in the copying, by which θέλησις would have been confused with αἴσθησις, is quite readily acceptable; after all, some of the letters do agree, and it is impossible to form any basis for a deliberate change. However, the possibility also exists that both of the two words can go back to the same common word, which can mean both *perception* and *will*, but whether such a common source has existed is not known.

The four texts which we have, present the four powers as follows:

C II	BG	C III	Irenaeus
M̄NTPM̄N̄ZHT	Charis	Charis	Charis
Charis	Synesis	Synesis	Thelesis
Aisthesis	Aisthesis	Aisthesis	Synesis
Phronesis	Phronesis	Phronesis	Phronesis

However, the sequence in C II does not in any way seem to be firm or decisive, because immediately following, C II mentions the four powers in a completely different sequence, namely when the manuscript enumerates the lights with which the four powers are placed. Then, C II lists them in the sequence: *Charis*, *Aisthesis*, **ΜΝΤΡΜΝΖΗΤ** and as the fourth—as it appears—*Sophia*. This new enumeration takes place by C II naming each one of the four lights by name and the power with which it is endowed, while it inserts that this power consists of a total of three aeons. It appears that one of these aeons, in each instance, has named the power concerned. Thus, the power which is placed in *Armozel* the first light, is named *Charis*, and together with the aeon of the light there are three aeons, namely, *Charis*, *Truth* and *Morphe*; and, for each of the two following lights: *Oriel* and *Daveithai*, three aeons, namely, *Epinoia*, *Aisthesis*, *Memory* and **ΜΝΤΡΜΝΖΗΤ**, *Agape*, *Idea*. By this, C II has cited the three of the four above mentioned powers, which are to be placed in the light of each of them. The circumstances concerning the fourth power are different; the fourth light whose name is *Eleleth*, according to C II receives the following three aeons: *Perfection* (**ΞΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ**), *Eirene* and *Sophia*. Thus, C II has placed the three powers, but not the fourth, *Phronesis*; however, *Sophia* may have been intended to signify the same spiritual quality or spiritual power as *Phronesis*, the meaning of which is not far removed, and there is only reason to assume that this is the explanation for the disagreement between the first enumeration of the powers and the later arrangement of them. If we consult BG and C III, we notice that they are in perfect agreement, although C III uses the Greek word *μνήμη* for the third aeon in the second light, while BG has the Coptic **ΠΡΗΜΕΕΥΕ** (*the Memory*). And, if we compare these two parallel texts with C II, the only difference is that BG and C III have *Pronoia* instead of C II's *Epinoia*, and BG and C III have the Greek *Synesis* instead of C II's **ΤΜΝΤΡΜΝΖΗΤ**, and BG and C III have **ΤΜΝΤΤΕΛΙΟC** instead of C II's **ΠΞΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ** as the first aeon in the fourth light. In the enumeration indicating how the aeons were distributed, none of the three texts present the fourth power, *Phronesis*, who is mentioned by all three texts (and by Irenaeus) in their enumeration of the powers. To presume that BG's and C III's **ΤΜΝΤΤΕΛΙΟC** and C II's **ΠΞΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ**, both of which render the Greek *τελείωσις*, should go back to a confusion of *τελείωσις* with the *θέλησις* which we have attested in Irenaeus, is not tenable, because the word then ought to occur already in the first enumeration of the four powers in the three Coptic texts. The previously mentioned interchange of *Phronesis* and *Sophia* is much more likely. This can be accidental, but it can also be intentional, because the aeon which later in the account is to take such a determining role, is then already placed, and indeed in a position in the system of aeons which makes its subsequent failure to appear understandable, namely, in the last place among the twelve aeons. Likewise, the circumstance that the two words *φρόνησις* and *σοφία* can very well render the same idea with approximately the same tone in both renderings, makes it probable that *Sophia* does replace *Phronesis* here.

Thus, the Apocryphon of John has enumerated all of the aeons which are attached to the different four lights and their four powers.

The manner in which they are mutually connected in the three manuscripts, and the powers which, according to Irenaeus, are connected to the four lights is presented in the following:

	C II	BG	C III	Irenaeus
1. Light:	Armozel	Harmozel	Armozel	Armoges
Aeons:	Charis	Charis	Charis	power Charis
	Truth	Truth	Aletheia	
	Morphe	Morphe	Morphe	
2. Light:	Oriel	Oroiael	[Oroi]ael	Raguel
Aeons:	Epinoia	Pronoia	Pronoia	Thelesis
	Aisthesis	Aisthesis	Aisthesis	
	Memory	Memory	Mneme	
3. Light:	Davithai	Daveithe	[]	David
Aeons:	Intellect	Synesis	Synesis	Synesis
	Agape	Agape	Agape	
	Idea	Idea	Idea	
4. Light:	Eleleth			Eleleth
Aeons:	Perfection	Perfection	Perfection	Phronesis
	Eirene	Eirene	Eirene	
	Sophia	Sophia	Sophia	

The agreement is very extensive, and the most important features of the disagreements can be explained.

The first light in C II is named Armozel; in C III, it is also called Armozel; in BG, Harmozel; in the account of Irenaeus, Armoges; this has apparently also been the name used in Codex Brucianus's Gnostic Treatise, where the other lights are named in the opposite sequence of that which is presented here, and where the succeeding text is interrupted, because the following page has been lost (Baynes' edition LXI and p. 180). There have been attempts to surmise the meaning of the name on the basis of Armoges mentioned in Irenaeus. W. W. Harvey would repudiate that the Armoges mentioned by Irenaeus was Greek, and was of the opinion that, just as the other three names in Irenaeus, it must have been of Hebrew origin. In this, W. W. Harvey is surely right, but it is hardly possible to establish the meaning with certainty until one day, perhaps, we find the explanation in a more copious text; until then, we must be content with the probabilities which are allowed by the function which the first light seems to have and by the similarity in language. As for the function, it is evident that here it is a question of a supreme light (cf. C II 55,33), and that it is a unit in that system of twelve which in corresponding systems usually denotes the Zodiac. As for the language, the first syllable may stem from אור *light*, rather

than from **הר** *mountain*, then the two last syllables, either from **מזל**, *constellation*, *destiny*, which occurs in one place in OT, i.e. in 2 Reg 23,5 in the sense of *constellations* about the Zodiac, or, from a form of **משל** *rule* (Gesenius p. 470); we have no verb from the root **מזל** attested, from which we could derive a participle **מזל***, as a form which must conceal itself in the last syllables of Armozel, but if we had such a form of a verb **מזל**, which could mean *stand* (Gesenius p. 411 refers to Babylonian *mazzaltu*, resp. *manzaztu* from *nazāzu* “*stehn*” [properly *-zwz** “to stand”]), then the name Armozel could be interpreted as *the standing light*; on the other hand, from the verb **משל** we do have the participle **מושל**, and if we can accept that the Coptic word **APMOZHA** renders **ש** by **Z**, we can render the name Armozel as *the ruling light*. Both of these interpretations are supported by the function of the light and—as we shall see shortly—by the far more certain interpretation of the other light, Oriel, as *God’s light*. Therefore, these probabilities have been presented.

In C II, the second light is called Oriel; in BG, Oroiael; in C III the damaged text can perhaps be reconstructed from BG, so that we read there [Oroi]ael, although the text of Irenaeus reads Raguel. Oriel is even more strongly reminiscent of Uriel, the archangel, than of the Oroiael which is known previously from BG and attested, also, in Codex Brucianus; and this was also the way Carl Schmidt (in his edition of Codex Brucianus, p. 649) and Charlotte A. Baynes (Baynes’ edition, p. 190) interpreted Oroiael. It could also accord with Oriel (which is one of the four lights who stand with the autogenous one) that this light is called *God’s flame* or *God’s light* as **אוריאל** in I Chr 6,9 15,5 and 15,11 as well as 2 Chr 13,2. C. Schmidt explained Oroiael as a blend of Uriel and Raguel (Codex Brucianus, p. 649). Irenaeus’s form: *Raguel*, was explained by W. W. Harvey (Adv. haer. t. I, p. 223) as “**רעואל** the Hebrew equivalent of Thelesis, *The will of God*,” a combination of **רעו** (in the sense of will) and **אל**, although it would rather come from **רעה** *fellow, friend* and **אל**, that is, *God’s friend*, as in Gen. 36,4. Cf. I Hen 20,4.

In C II, the third light is named Daveithai; in BG, Daveithe; in C III, no name is given for the third light; in the text of Irenaeus, it is rendered David; In Codex Brucianus’s Gnostic Treatise we have **ΔΑΥΕΙΔΕ** (LXI, 34). W. W. Harvey was of the opinion (Adv. haer. t. 1, p. 223) that “*Dadud* perhaps may have been the original reading, which is written in the margin of the ed. princ. **דוד** is **ἀγαπητός**.” Carl Schmidt made reference (in his edition of Codex Brucianus, p. 649) to the fact that in Epiph. h. 26,10 an aeon by the name of David is mentioned; however, there the aeon is the fourth in the series and not the third, and there more than four aeons are enumerated as is true of the places to which W. C. Till refers (in his edition of BG p. 41) in Crum’s catalogue of the Coptic manuscript in the British Museum, where both a **ΔΑΥΙΘΕ**, a **ΔΑΙΘΕ**, and another **ΔΑΥΙΘΕ** are named. What, then, is indicated by C II’s use of the word Daveithai as the title of the third light? For the time being, we will have to let the word remain, since we are unable to give any adequate explanation of its significance;

the word *can* have a connection with the royal name David, but one is unable to ascertain why David, in particular, should lend his name to the third light.

In C II, the fourth light is called Eleleth, and the same is true in the Irenaeus text, while the damaged BG-text has preserved the last three letters $\Lambda\Theta\Theta$, which probably can be reconstructed to an original [Ele]leth; C III has not indicated any name for the fourth light. Eleleth is, furthermore, attested in CB's Gnostic Treatise (LXI, 34), and W. C. Till refers (in his edition of BG p. 41) to Crum's Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum 1008, where an $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\lambda\eta\theta$ is mentioned once, and an $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\lambda\gamma\theta$ twice, among the other aeons. W. W. Harvey interprets it (Adv. Haer. t. 1, p. 223) as “ ⲉⲗⲗⲉⲛⲓ , καρπός, or as the CL. MS. has Eleth ⲉⲗⲗⲉⲛⲓ , θεότης”; Charlotte A. Baynes remarked: “ ⲬⲁⲬⲁⲬⲁⲬⲁ might perhaps be transliterated Lilith?” (Baynes' edition p. 190). Another possibility than that proposed by W. W. Harvey, however, seems to be more likely, namely, as a form of the root Ⲭⲗⲗ , which means *to be light* (Gesenius p. 182); the form would then be a feminine of Ⲭⲗⲗ which means *morning star* or *moon* (Gesenius p. 179, who refers to the Arabic Ⲭⲗⲗ “Altmondsichel” and places it in connection with *Ellil*, who was worshipped in Nippur); such a feminine form constructed by the addition of the ending ⲛ , and then by the segolation would result in Ⲭⲗⲗⲛ , which, in Coptic, could very well be transcribed as ⲬⲁⲬⲁⲬⲁⲬⲁ ; such an interpretation of Eleleth as rendering the morning star or, possibly, the moon, would be very suitable for the fourth light, which must signify one of the greater, more important symbols of light in the vault of heaven in the world of light.

To each of the four lights four aeons are affixed, each having attributes of spiritual qualities or abstracts as names. This is the manner in which the dodecad of aeons is enumerated which is attached to the autogenous. The functions of the dodecad are presented by it being stated that the All was *consolidated* by the will of the Holy Spirit; the word ⲧⲁⲭⲭⲣⲟ is used in OT about the organization of the universe, as in Pro 8,29; the word can also be translated by *strengthened* instead of *consolidated*.

56,28–57,24. The Presentation of Adam, and the Installation in the Four Lights of Adam, Seth, the Descendants of Seth and the Souls Who Were Late to Convert. (\neq BG 24,19–36,15 \neq C III 12,24–14,9).

56,28–57,3 *Adam is Presented as the Perfect Man.* (\neq BG 34,19–35,13 \neq C III 12,24–13,11).

Now, a being is brought forth, which is called the first perfect man. Several of the foregoing aeons take part in this emanation, i.e. Prognosis and Nus as well as the wills of both the invisible and the autogenous. The virginal spirit, i.e. Barbelo, gives the new being a name, which in C II seems to be Adamas or, perhaps, Adaman (see the following); in BG, the name appears to be Adam, and in C III, Adamas. This name comes, thus, from heavenly authority, and since Adamas is also called the first revelation ($\text{ⲡⲣⲱⲥⲣⲓⲡ ⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ}$), this designation hardly allows correlation with Barbelo being called the first-to-appear

(ΠΨΟΡΠ ΝΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ) in C II 53,11, unless one recalls that certain designations seem to reoccur as the names of several beings (cf. C II 54,22 and C II 60,17), and that designations of higher beings can be transferred to beings which emanate from them. In addition to this, it may be pointed out that the description of Adamas and Seth, as given here, would fit better further on in the account; it is clearly seen from that which is said in C II 57,18–23 about those placed in the fourth aeon: they are the souls who were at first ignorant of the pleroma, then—it is true—they repented, but not until they had stubbornly persisted in going astray for a considerable time; after their belated repentance, they were placed in the fourth aeon. This indicates that we are here faced with a description of the role which these four lights are to serve *later*, a description which predicts the series of events which only later on occurs in the struggle between the powers of light and darkness, and which for this reason does not belong here, except as an anticipated reference to something which is to follow later. Then, also, the designation “the first revelation” acquires meaning, for it is now clear that it must be connected with events mentioned in the Apocryphon of John, C II 62,21–34, where the Invisible Spirit reveals its image to the powers outside the realm of light by reflecting itself in the water, precisely the first revelation, and precisely an occasion on which he reveals himself as the perfect man (C II 63,10) and as the first man (C II 62,22–23), exactly as it is described here in C II 56,32–33. In C II 56,33, the Coptic text expresses itself rather clumsily when, as an apposition to the words: *the perfect man, the first revelation*, it adds: ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕΕ i.e. *and the true*; grammatically and syntactically, it is probably acceptable, but it is not as direct as the text of BG, which reads ΠΡΩΜΕ [ΝΤΕΛ]ΙΟC ΜΜΕΕ ΠΕΖΟΥΕΙΤ ΝΟΥ[Ω]Ν2 ΕΒΟΛ, and, consequently, it is conceivable that the predicate *the true* was originally omitted in one of the editions of C II, perhaps in C II itself, and that the copyist has then tried to replace it with a ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕΕ. In any case, one must admit that the text is somewhat disorganized, because a verb is missing; this seems to be an error on the part of a Coptic copyist rather than being taken over from a Greek edition, since it concerns a copying error typical in Coptic texts, namely, a mutual exchange of a verb ΑΥΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ in line 32 with the succeeding construct relation ΠΨΟΡΠ ΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ, by which the copyist has omitted the former. It should actually be read ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΕΛΙΟC <ΑΥΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ> ΠΨΟΡΠ ΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕΕ.

L. 34–35 are slightly damaged, and, unfortunately, the damage has affected one of the decisive words; furthermore, a copying error seems evident. The use of ΑΔΑΜΑΝ instead of a more ordinary ΑΔΑΜΑC is not unusual; the ending -C in foreign words has often become -N in Coptic. On the other hand, that which the perfect man is called in C II 56,34 can very well cause some discussion; in the papyrus, the text runs: ΧΕΠΙΓΕΡΑ; no letter has been lost; the word is rendered with a horizontal line over the letters as frequently found in this text when mythical beings are mentioned. The text is not unambiguous although it should probably be read: ΧΕ ΠΙ ΓΕ ΡΑ (=ΧΕ ΠΙ ΓΕ ΡΑΝ), because one can assume that

the scribe has prolonged a superlinear stroke above **A** to the left, this stroke above **A** must be understood as a rendering of the **-N**. The **ΓΕ** can be assumed as the Greek enclitic particle which here (as often in Greek) is placed between the def. art. and the noun.

Thereafter, this Adamas is installed above the first aeon. Line 35 **CEZNY EPATY** must have the preceding **ΠΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΜΠΝ̄Α** as a subject. **AXN̄** indicates an influence from **A**₂, **A**. 57,1 **MN̄**; this word should probably be translated “*with*” or “*by*”, because, according to the preceding (C II 55,34–56,25) the four lights and the twelve aeons (including the first aeon) are installed with the great son, the autogenous Christ. Adamas is placed in the first light (**ΦΩCTHP**), Armozel. Therefore, Adamas is *above* (**AXN̄**) the first aeon and *in* (**ZA2TṆ**) the first light. By this, it is implied that *aeon* (**AIΩN**) represents the type or character of the power or the authority, and that *the light* represents its realm. C II 57,3: *his strengths*, i.e. the strengths of the first light. C II 57,3: **N̄MMA4** is **A**₂) **A**.

57,4–11 *Adamas Euologizes the Invisible Spirit* (≠ BG 35,10–20 ≠ C III 13,9–17).

For that matter, the separation between the preceding and the new paragraph in C II could just as well be construed to rest in C II 57,3, where **AYΩ EY-** might introduce something new; but **AYΩ EY-** does not necessarily have this function, it can also be used about a continuation of the reasoning, and since C III 13,8 does *not* present an **AYΩ**, but on the contrary, by its circumstantial clause **ΕΡΕ ΝΕΥΔΥΝΑΜΙΚ Ν̄MMA4** joins the preceding, and does not introduce a new paragraph until its **AYΩ A4+ NA4 N̄G1 ΠA2OPATON** in the following line, one also dares assume that this relation applies to C II.

L. 4–5. The imperishable strength which the Invisible Spirit grants to Adamas is **NOEPON**, which should probably be translated: *spiritual, intelligible*; it is undoubtedly a term which is added to emphasize the character of the strength as well as of the Invisible Spirit: that it does not apply to any material being.

L. 5–6–7. The presentation of Adamas shows his gratitude to the Invisible Spirit differs from the usual, stereotype rendering of how the one most recently revealed praised the one to which he owed his existence. The deviation is perhaps not extensive, but it is remarkable in its fullness: Adamas *speaks* (C II 57,5), he *praises* and *honours* (C II 57,6) the Invisible Spirit and *says*, etc. (C II 57,5), and, therefore, the eulogy rendered here cannot well be compared with the usual, often repeated account of the aeon’s laudation of the Invisible Spirit—or Barbelo.

L. 5 **N̄NATGPO** corresponds to C II 58,1 **N̄ATXPO**; both words are of the same root, and both of them can be used in **S A A**₂ (the latter form, moreover, in **B**, although this can hardly be revelant here). Therefore, nothing can be said about any dialectal influence in this connection, but it can probably be pointed out that Schenute’s texts (and, consequently, those of his disciple Besa) hitherto have been the only Sahidic texts which have attested the use of **GPO** for us. We can, therefore, take the appearance of **GPO** instead of **XPO** in a Sahidic text like

C II as evidence which points in the same direction as many others, namely, that the language of the text indicates that the manuscript stems from a place which was not distant from the White Monastery near Sohag, where Schenute was active.

L. 7. Here, the wording of a eulogy is presented, while, until now, we have only been told that one and another “praised” one and another. The eulogy is addressed to the Invisible Spirit, and, therefore, -K in **ETBHTK**’ must indicate the Invisible Spirit. For the sake of the Invisible Spirit, everything was created. The laudation begins “and the All will surely return to you”. **ETBHTK**’ can be translated by both “*for your sake*” and “*thanks to you*”. In both instances it indicates here that the Invisible Spirit is the *reason* for the creation of the All, and not as it used in another context in AJ, where **ETBHTC** is used of Barbelo, but=*by request of*, i.e. in answer to Barbelo’s prayer (C II 53,26 C II 54,2). The direct speech could indicate that it was a quotation, but the closest we can come to it in the OT and NT, are places where the context is *similar* to it, not directly quoted, and it is impossible to find any source from which AJ might have taken the wording. That everything was created by the Invisible Spirit, could resemble Pro 16,4, or, perhaps, Gen 1,1; it would be less in keeping with John 1,3, where the all is relegated to Logos. However, it seems best, when one considers the continuation: the All surely will return to him, to regard it as a rendering of Rom 11,36: “For of him, and through him, and unto him, are all things. To him be the glory forever. Amen”. Here the conclusion that the glory belongs to him seems even to be reflected in C II 57,9–11: but I, I will praise and thank you and the autogenous and the three eternal ones: the Father, the Mother, the Son. When one recalls how contemporary literature, including the Apocryphon of John, can freely employ familiar scriptures and sentences, it is also reasonable to interpret this as an echo of a scripture or a quotation, and Rom 11,36 appears to be the source here.

L. 10–11. From being addressed to the Invisible Spirit and the Autogeny, the eulogy is directed to the triad: the Father, the Mother, the Son. It is conspicuous that Barbelo is not mentioned together with the Invisible Spirit and the Autogeny, and not until the laudation of the triad is there also a laudation of Barbelo (concerning the triad, see above, C II 48,13–15). On the other hand, Barbelo is given special mention, after the triad, namely in the laudation of the *Perfect Strength*, which, according to C II 53,19, is identical with Barbelo. It is curious that the Perfect Strength is first mentioned at this point; one could imagine that the expression originally occurred in another instance, namely, between lines 9–10, because then we would have had a more consistent, systematic placement, but if this has been true, a revision of the text must have taken place already in a source common to C II, C III and BG, because today the three manuscripts contain the expression in the same place: *after* the enumeration of the triad. However, it is not necessary to conclude that such a change in the sequence has occurred, because none of the other texts can be said to carry out a

consistent systematic enumeration, and the author might have considered it sufficient to mention all three beings without regard to the sequence.

It is important to note that BG and C III differ from C II by beginning the direct quotation already here, with the words that are not encountered in direct quotation in C II until 57,6, while BG reads here ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕ ++ ΕΘΟΥ ΑΥΩ +CMOY ΕΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠΝ̄Α ΧΕ ΕΤΒΗΗΤΚ etc. (BG 35,13–15); and C III 13,11–12 follows it exactly. Here is a clear example illustrating that BG and C III follow each other closely and are divergent from C II, not only in their choice of words, but in the structure of their syntax.

57,11–24 *The Installation in the Various Aeons of Seth, the Offspring of Seth and the Tardily Converted Souls.* (BG 35,20–36,15 ≠ C III 13,17–14,9).

Following the installation of Adamas in the first light above the first aeon come the installations in the second, third and fourth aeons. The beings who are now installed are of such a diminishing eminence that one can conclude that a comparable distribution of rank must also apply to the four lights and the four aeons: most eminent are Adamas and the first light (first aeon), least important are those souls who were so late in their conversion and with them the fourth light (the fourth aeon).

L. 11–12: ΑΥΤΕΖΟ ΕΡΑΤΨ ΜΠΕΥΨΗΡΕ who is the subject, and to whom does the possessive article ΠΕΥ- refer? It may be reasonable to assume that Adamas should be regarded as the actual subject for ΑΥΤΕΖΟ ΕΡΑΤΨ, since Adamas has been the one who was active in the immediately preceding paragraph, but one can hardly imagine that Adamas should play such an important role that on his own initiative he would install Seth, the offspring of Seth, etc. Therefore, it is most logical to assume that the one who installs Seth is identical with the one who installs Adamas and provides him with the invincible strength, namely, the Invisible Spirit (together with the Autogeny). However, the possessive article ΠΕΥ- clearly modifies Adamas, inasmuch as AJ is definitely founded on Gen 4,25 and Gen 5,3, and later in C II 72,35–73,1, at least, Adam brings forth (begets) Seth.

However, AJ has not hitherto related that Adamas begot a son, nor that Seth had any offspring, let alone an account about souls who, after stubborn resistance, finally were converted. On the other hand, these things are related later on in the Apocryphon of John, namely, in C II 72,35–73,1, in 73,2–74,7 and in 74,32–75,11, and this gives us a good basis for assuming that here in 57,11–24 we have a reference which anticipates something which occurs later, just as in the case of the account of Adamas in 56,28–57,3. The Apocryphon of John has anticipated the situation here in order to portray the role of the lights which surround Christ.

The term which is used to describe the installation in the various lights or aeons in the Apocryphon of John of C II, is given first as CEZΩ= ΕΡΑΤ= and the last three times TEZO ΕΡΑΤ=; in all four instances, BG has used a form of the Greek verb καθιστάναι, while C III has used a form of the Greek verb ἀπο-

καθιστάναι, all four times. C II's $\text{CEZ}\Omega$ or TEZO , in Biblical translations can render ἀνορθοῦσθαι (cf. Pro 24,3 S) as well as καθιστάναι (cf. Ps 9,21) and ἀποκαθιστάναι (cf. Ps 34,17). In Greek, the difference in meaning between BG's $\text{A}\chi\text{KA}\theta\text{ICTA}$ and C III's repeated $\text{A}\chi\text{A}\rho\text{OKA}\theta\text{ICTA}$ is not so insignificant in that καθιστάναι can render *install, arrange*, ἀποκαθιστάναι furthermore renders *reinstall, rearrange* i.e. in a previously taken position. This nuance: that Adam, Seth, the offspring of Seth and the tardily converted souls are *reinstalled*, that is, are placed where they previously belonged, is thus expressed clearly in C III's text, and the terms employed in C II can very well express the same idea, but this idea is not presented in the parallel text of BG. That C III, and perhaps C II as well, expresses this idea, points in the same direction as the above mentioned hypothesis concerning the anticipatory character of the description. When it is not found in BG, it may very well indicate that this text's $\text{A}\chi\text{KA}\theta\text{ICTA}$ is corrected from an original $\text{A}\chi\text{A}\rho\text{OKA}\theta\text{ICTA}$, in order to remedy the incongruous composition of the manuscript.

The identity of Seth's offspring and the tardily converted souls is given partly by the section here, but especially in the descriptions in C II 72,35–75,11. The point of departure for the interpretation is most readily found in C II 57,17: $\text{M}\psi\chi\eta \text{N}\eta\text{CTOYA}[\text{AB}]$. These, the souls of the holy, are joined together with the offspring of Seth, and thus they shall have the same position as Seth's offspring. To acquire this destiny, it does not seem sufficient that one converts oneself, because the souls who remained in ignorance for a long time, and thus did not immediately convert, but persisted stubbornly until they finally came to perception, are merely placed in the fourth light. On the other hand, the souls of the holy can apparently enumerate a spiritual kinship with Seth's offspring and, consequently, with Seth and again with Adamas. All of this seems to indicate that the author of the Apocryphon of John identifies the souls of the holy as the same whom in another context he calls the generation which is unshakable, and that Seth's offspring and the souls of the holy should be understood synonymously as a self-designation for the group of disciples whose teaching is accounted for in the Apocryphon of John. There is hope for those souls who persist and have not yet converted, although by their obstinate persistence they take the risk of reaching no further than the fourth light.

The name of the fourth aeon, *Eleleth* (BG 36,14–15), is preserved in BG's enumeration of the contents of the four lights, which the first enumeration of the four lights (BG 34,3) has preserved only fragmentarily. In C III's enumeration the name of the second light, *Oroiael* (C III 13,19), which was only fragmentary in C III 12,4, has been preserved as well as the names of the third light, *Daveithe* (C III 14,1) and of the fourth light *Eleleth* (C III 14,7), both of which were omitted in the first enumeration. Thus, both BG and C III confirm the names found in C II.

The conclusion of this paragraph varies in the three texts. Even though all of them contain a eulogy of the Invisible Spirit, C II, BG and C III each has

its own text immediately preceding. Thus, in 57,23–24, C II reads: **ΝΑΪ ΖΕΝΧΠΟ ΝΕ**: “these are the ones brought forth”. BG reads: **ΠΕΝΤΑΥΝΟΖΒΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ** (BG 36,14): “the one who (ο: Eleleth) bound them to himself”. C III reads: **ΕΥΚΟΟΥΖ ΕΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ** (C III 14,7–8): “they are united there”. It is hardly possible that these three variants have had any common source. C II’s words are used as a conclusive comment about the three groups: namely, Seth, the offspring of Seth and the holy as well as the late to convert. Subsequently, C II’s text also indicates clearly that all of these are **ΖΕΝΧΠΟ**, *brought forth*, *begotten*, and not *revealed* as were the previous beings in C II’s text (until the enumeration of what the various lights should contain). The first begotten is Seth (C II 72,36) and this happens because the Protarchon has implanted the lustful desire for procreation in Adam (C II 72,28–29), who thereafter raised his offspring (**ΜΠΧΠΟ**, C II 72,30) and introduced the everlasting procreation (C II 72,26–27). The three groups of **ΖΕΝΧΠΟ** is that which, according to C II, praise the Invisible Spirit, undoubtedly in thanks for their placement in the three lights. After all, Adamas *has* praised the Invisible Spirit (C II 57,6–11), and, therefore, he should hardly be counted among those who give praise, in C II 57,24; it is also in keeping with the fact that he cannot be counted among the **ΖΕΝΧΠΟ** named.

The variant in BG contains a substantivized relative phrase, and the subject refers to the preceding *Eleleth*. Consequently, it is Eleleth who ties some of them to himself, that is, the souls who converted late, having now arrived at perception, are placed in the fourth light; that Eleleth embraces them, must mean that they cannot rise and enter the same light as the souls of the holy and the offspring of Seth—the third light; they must remain in the fourth light; bound to it by Eleleth; the verb which BG’s variant uses, **ΝΟΥΖΒ** actually means: *to bind in a yoke, to put a yoke upon*; that is to say that they are bound to Eleleth in a very firm manner.

C III’s variant contains a circumstantial clause; the verb **ΚΟΥΖ** means *gather, assemble*, which is not nearly as strong an expression as that used in BG. The two verbs, BG’s and C III’s, cannot be used synonymously, and so far they have not been attested as translations of the same Greek word; therefore, it is not likely that both of these manuscripts have had the same source here. **ΝΟΥΖΒ** usually translates ζευγύναι, while **ΚΟΥΖ** translates συλλέγειν.

This concludes the secret teaching about how the world of light is organized, as told in C II’s Apocryphon of John as well as in the two parallel manuscripts of BG and C III.

57,25–58,19 (≠ BG 36,16–38,14 ≠ C III 14,9–15,22) *The Fall*.

57,25–35 Sophia’s Independent Deeds (≠ BG 36,16–37,11 ≠ C III 14,9–14,14; C III 14,19–15,4).

The Apocryphon of John makes a transition here to present an account of something new; the conjunction **ΔΕ** in 57,25 emphasizes this, and there is no relationship between the contents of 57,25ff. and the immediately preceding

account; to find a point of departure one must, indeed, search as far back as to C II 56,20 where Sophia is mentioned.

Without the approval of other beings of the world of light, Sophia wants to reveal an idea of her own. This independent action by Sophia becomes the introduction to the entire chain of events in the following account of the genesis of the world of darkness, the struggle for the *pneuma* who originated in the world of light, the genesis, destiny, and the final redemption of man.

L. 25. **ΣΟΦΙΑ ΔΕ ἘΠΙΝΟΙΑ**. Epinoia is mentioned before in C II's AJ in 56,11, as the first of the three aeons which are in the second light Oriel. Sophia is the last of the aeons which according to C II 56,20 are in the fourth light, Eleleth. It is conspicuous that Sophia is joined to Epinoia here. Epinoia is often mentioned later in C II's AJ as "The Epinoia of Light", a strength which is sent from the *pleroma* to help *the pneuma* in the struggle against Ialtabaoth (C II 68,17 cf. C II 68,27). Epinoia is an assistant to Adam (C II 68,17); not even the strongest are able to grasp it (C II 70,31).

It is not clear why Sophia is called **ΣΟΦΙΑ ἘΠΙΝΟΙΑ** here. It could be in order to characterize Sophia as the one who is joined with ἐπινόια: *thoughtfulness, plan, consideration*. If Epinoia were not feminine, it would be natural to regard Epinoia as a syzygy to Sophia, but this is not acceptable because both Epinoia and Sophia are feminine terms. Then the possibility remains to interpret the use of the expression *Epinoia's Sophia* as proleptic, because later on in the text it is Epinoia who will restore Sophia's lack (C II 68,27–28): Epinoia becomes a restoration of the mother's want). However, one must add to this, that C II 57,25–26 may very well presuppose an unknown account, an account which has disappeared from the present composition of the text. Whether or not this is the case, is directly connected with another question, namely, the question about the composition and integrity of the Apocryphon of John. Once related manuscript like Eugnostos's Letter and Sophia Jesu Christi have been investigated in greater detail, there will be a basis for taking up this investigation also, and then the question must be raised whether the Apocryphon of John is a combination of two portrayals, each having its own treatise originally, as one may believe because of the division which seems to occur in C II 57,24–25 (BG 36,15–16 and in C III 14,9), or whether this division is merely specious.

Sophia has only been mentioned once before in AJ, namely in C II 56,20, as the third aeon in Eleleth (as indicated above); thereby Sophia is the last one in the dodecad. Of all the aeons, this twelfth aeon is, thus, the one which is farthest removed from its origin, and the perfection which the primordial father contains in its highest degree seems to diminish in the aeons which are "revealed" (emanated) from him, so that the perfection is least in those who are farthest from him; consequently Sophia must also be the least perfect. This manifests itself immediately.

L. 25 **ΕΨΩΟΠ ἸΑΙΩΝ** can be translated either relatively: *who is an aeon*, or as a concessive: *although she is an aeon*, or also causal: *since she is an aeon*. The last

translation seems to fit best in this case: just because she is an aeon, she can think out a thought, and it happens only by the consideration (ἐνθύμησις) of the Invisible Spirit and by Prognosis.

That Sophia with these powers thinks out a thought does not seem by itself to be wrong. The wrong comes forth in the next stage in the development, that Sophia will "reveal" an image of herself *without* permission from the Invisible Spirit and without Sophia's male element.

That Sophia *thinks* the thought, happens, thus, with (i.e. *with help from*, hardly, *in agreement with*) The Invisible Spirit's Enthymesis and Prognosis; that thereafter she will *reveal* it, takes place without approval and consent from the Spirit and from the husband.

L. 28 ΑCOYΩΨ[ε] the term is not about the future but concerns the volitional: she *will* do it without etc.

L. 29. ΟΥΕΙΝΕ: it is not stated definitely that this image is the same as the thought which according to C II 57,26, Sophia has thought, but it does, however, imply that the thought which she has conceived originates from her and contains only that which its source contains; therefore, one dares assume that it resembles the source, if it has come into existence in the usual manner—with consent and help from the highest beings—however, it does not become an image of her, for when she will "reveal" this image on her own initiative, i.e. outside the usual world system, the result is different: the image comes forth in a corrupt and ugly form.

L. 31: ΜΟΚ'ΜΕΚ is an ordinary translation of φρόνησις, λογισμός or ἐνθύμησις. Here it is probably a translation of the latter, ἐνθύμησις, which we have in C II 57,27. ΜΟΚΜΕΚ translates ἐνθύμησις in Heb 4,12 (B).

In l. 29 and 30, the manuscript is slightly damaged; BG's and C III's texts contain parallels to C II, but not words which might have stood in the lacunae of C II; however, l. 29 can be reconstructed from C II 57,34 to ΑΧ[Μ ΠΟΥΩΨ] ΜΠΕΠΝΑ, and line 30 in its lacuna hardly leaves more space than is required for ΑΥ[Ω ΑΧΜ ΠΕ]CΨΒΡ̄ ΝΖΩΤΡ̄, which agrees better with line 31's ΑΥΩ ΑΧΜ ΠΕΥ-ΜΟΚ'ΜΕΚ than a ΑΥ[Ω ΑΧΜ ΠΕCΘΟΥΝ ΜΠΕ]CΨΒΡ̄ ΝΖΩΤΡ̄ which, even though it would fit with line 35's ΑΥΩ ΠCΘΟΥΝ ΜΠΕCΧΩΝΥ', would require more space than the lacuna in l. 31 allows.

The next stresses that is of her own free will that Sophia brings forth an image. It might appear to be a circumstantial mode of expression which the text employs by first enumerating that the thought is thought by the Invisible Spirit's Enthymesis and Prognosis (57,26–28), that Sophia will reveal it without the will and consent of the Invisible Spirit, without her mate and his thought (C II 57,29–31), and without the will of the Spirit and her husband's knowledge, she brought it forth all the same (C II 57,31–35). This circumstantiality, however, is hardly a sign of the author's lack of stylistic knowledge, but rather an indication that to him it was important to describe the circumstances by this very essential sequence of events; then what the author has to relate about the "fall" of Sophia

is this: 1) Sophia has the ability to think a thought by virtue of the fact that as an aeon she originates from the Invisible Spirit, sharing, therefore, his spiritual strength, which are Ialled Enthymesis and Prognosis. 2) Sophia *can* reveal it without the consent of the Invisible Spirit, but if she does this, she disregards the usual order and *falls*. 3) Sophia does this, and her fall is thereby completely *voluntary*, and the higher powers have neither part nor portion in her fall.

For the terms, [ΠΕ]ΨΩΒΡ̄ ΝΖΩΤΡ̄ and ΠΕCΧΩΝΥ', see the following paragraph (C II 58,1-7).

58,1-7 *Sophia's Thought Becomes an Imperfect Creation* (≠ BG 37,12-18 ≠ C III 14,14-19 ≠ C III 15,4-9).

According to C II 58,1, Sophia contains *the invincible power* (ΤῶΜ ΝΑΤΧΡΟ ΕΡΟC). Christ also has such a power, as told in C II 57,5: Christ has received this power from the invisible. In C II 57,5 this power is furthermore called ΝΝΟΕΡΟΝ (*spiritual, intelligible*). On the other hand, nothing has been stated previously to indicate that Sophia contains an invincible power, but it must be presupposed knowledge since in C II 58,1 it is determined by the positive article (ΤῶΜ ΔΕ ΝΑΤΡΟ ΕΡΟC). What, then, is the nature of this invincible power which, as we are told here, Sophia possesses? Here, we must remember that Sophia was revealed by the invisible, actually she was the last of his twelve aeons. The first of these aeons, Pronoia, in C II 54,21 is called "the first strength" ([ΤΕ]ΨΟΡΙ Νῶ[ΟΜ]). When the first of the twelve aeons can be called the first power, one dares conclude that the last of the twelve aeons can be regarded as a power (the last power). By the first is meant the first revealed. Concerning both the first and the last power, it remains for us to consider what makes it possible to characterize them with the word "power" (ῶΜ). The power undoubtedly refers to that power which the invisible contains in the highest degree. All who have come from the Invisible Spirit, contain this strength, and they pass it on to those they themselves send forth. This situation is most clearly evident when we observe the role which the power comes to play in the following. When Sophia now—thanks to the invincible power in her—has brought Ialtabaoth forth, he is said to receive a great power from his mother (C II 58,20-21: ΠΑΪ ΕΤΑΖΧΙ ΟΥΝΟῶ ΝΑΝΑΜΙC Ε[Β]ΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ ΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ). This strength is referred to in the usual manner in C II 59,21, where it states that Ialtabaoth was ignorant of his strength (ΝΑΤCΟΟΥΝ ΜΠΕΥΤΑΧΡΟ), but, in any case, it is certain that it is presented again in C II 60,5-8 where the strength is that which makes Ialtabaoth lord over his co-archons (C II 60,6-8: ΑΥΡ̄ ΧΟΕΙC ΕΡΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΤῶΜ' ΜΠΕΟΥ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ' ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΤΕΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ). *He* has certainly *not* given this power on to his co-archons (59,8-10: ΜΠΕΥΤῆΝΕΥ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ Ζῆ ΤῶΑΜ ΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΝΤΑΥΧΙΤῆ ΝΤῆΝΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ). Later, when Ialtabaoth is lured into giving Adam his portion of the strength, Adam immediately becomes wiser than the archons (C II 67,25-68-5). The one who has this strength is entirely superior in his sphere to all the others, and the strength is activating. This first observation is made in C II

60,5–8; 68,2–5 and 74,15–19, and the last in C II 67,25–33. The invincible power which Sophia received from the Invisible spirit is, then, that which makes it possible for her thought to become reality. The thought, as the strength, must also be one of the powers or spiritual qualities which have entered Sophia from her source.

By using the expression **ΤΓΟΜ ΝΑΤΧΡΟ ΕΡΟΣ ΕΤΝΖΗΤĀ** in 58,1 C II's AJ clearly departs from the two AJ-texts in BG and C III, as well as from Irenaeus's excerpt in Adv. haer. I, 29; BG speaks of **ΠΡΟΥΝΙΚΟΝ** existing in Sophia instead of the invincible power in C II's AJ; C III uses another term here: **ΦΡΟΥΡΙΚΟΝ**, which must either be a mistaken **ΠΡΟΥΝΙΚΟΝ** or a conscious correction of that term which has been thought to represent the Greek φρουρικός ("of, for a guard"). In Adv. haer. I, 29,4, Irenaeus reads: "quem et Sophiam, et Prunicum vocant". C II's rendering contains a declaration concerning the contents of the power: something which irresistibly urges her on. However, nothing is stated like BG's **ΠΡΟΥΝΙΚΟΝ** which can characterize that strength as something degrading ("lustful" "passionate"). This feature distinguishes the entire portrayal of C II's AJ: it presents an exalted and much less anthropomorphic portrayal of the world of light in comparison with BG's and C III's AJ.

The use of the word **ΔΕ** in C II 58,1 has a slightly unusual effect. Otherwise, this word always occurs in the second position at the beginning of sentences, but here it appears to be relegated to the third position. However, in this instance, one must interpret **ΕΤΒΕ** as being so closely related to **ΤΓΟΜ**, that they read as a **ΕΤΒΗΤ** with the pronominal suffix (**ΕΤΒΗΤĀ**), and that they are felt to be one term.

L. 2 **ΝΑΡΟΝ**; the thought was (or remained) not without result. **ἀργός** is hardly used in the sense of *inactive* here, but rather in the sense *undone*, without result, because in C II 58,3 following **ΖΝΒ** it is apparently a reference to **ΝΑΡΟΝ**. Therefore, **ΑΡΟΝ** is more about the result, the creation, than of the activity itself. **ΖΝΒ** ordinarily means *case, creation, work* or *activity*, and thus, not including this context, it can render both the activity and the achievement; but here it indicates that it is *revealed* as something imperfect. Consequently, it must be the result, not the action. If we consider which Greek words **ΖΝΒ** can render, then we find the word as **ἔργον** (Rom 2,7), **ἐργασία** (Acts 16,19) and **ἐνεργός** (Ez 46,1); in addition to these, its meanings are multifarious. In our text, it is reasonable to accept it as a rendering of a word with the same root as **ἀργός**. The logic of this is clearly indicated by a comparison with that which in the preceding (C II 55,6–8) has been stated about the thought which would create something (C II 55,6 **ΟΥΖΝΒ**), and whose will then became something (C II 55,7 **ΟΥΕΡΟΝ**). There is an obvious identity between **ΟΥΖΝΒ** and **ΟΥΕΡΟΝ** (cf. C II 67,10–14).



Does the fact that the being revealed by Sophia is called **ΟΥΖΝΒ ΝΑΤΧΝΚ** in the Apocryphon of John have any particular function? About the appearance of this being as well as that of the foregoing beings, it is related that they have

been *revealed* (C II 58,3 ΑΥΟΥΩΝΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤῚ cf. C II 53,4, 54,16, 55,21 etc; 53,15 ΑΣΓΩΛΠ ΕΒΟ[Λ] ΝῆΙ ΤΠΡΟΓΝΩΣΙ[Σ] cf. 53,29, 54,32, 55,1 etc.). These are definitely in agreement. Nor does the use of the word ΟΥΖΩΒ state anything unusual, for one of the beings who arrived earlier could also be described as both ΟΥΖΩΒ and ΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ, namely the Will, about which it is stated ΑΥΩ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΑΥΟΥΩΨΕ ΖΙΤῚ ΠΨΑΧΕ ΜΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠῆΑ ΕΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΖΩΒ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΥ'ΟΥΩΨ' ΑΥΩΠΕ ΝΟΥΕΡΓΟΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΓΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ (C II 55,4-7). Therefore, one must not be led to believe that the use of the word ΟΥΖΩΒ about Ialtabaoth indicates something material. This applies no more here than when it concerned the Will. Consequently, Ialtabaoth is not in any way characterized by this word as belonging in the material world. However, the use of the term ΑΤΧΩΚ, imperfect, which is added to ΟΥΖΩΒ, is unusual. It has a special function in the account of the Apocryphon of John. For the first time in AJ, there is an account about something imperfect. In this, the latest being created differs from those previously presented: that although, like them, it was revealed—and not created—and although like them it is called ΟΥΖΩΒ and not e.g., ὕλη, it is imperfect. Neither is there any likeness between Sophia and the revealed being; it is different from her in appearance. Whether this last feature indicates an inferior qualification is not certain; ΕΥΨῆΒΙΑΕΙΤ ΑΠΕΣΣΜΟΤ is probably intended to emphasize the distance between Sophia and the new being. In itself, the use of the expression ΕΥΨῆΒΙΑΕΙΤ ΑΠΕΣΣΜΟΤ does not seem imply any form expressing inferiority. The qualitative ΨῆΒΙΑΕΙΤ (from ΨΙΒΕ) is used in AJ in the sense of *changeable* (C II 76,15 and 76,17); but this meaning hardly applies here in C II 58,4. One is more inclined to accept it in the other meaning, which we find in C II 69,9, 72,32 and 74,20. In all four of these places, it is found in connection with the word πνεῦμα: ΠΕΠῆΑ ΕΥΨῆΒΙΑΕΙΤ, which is most aptly translated by the word “Counter-Spirit” (—in other places, namely in BG and C III this being is named ΑΝΤΙΜΙΜΟΝ ΜΠῆΑ BG 67,15 ≠ C III 34,16). The shade of meaning which ΨῆΒΙΑΕΙΤ receives here, is seen, e.g., in the Sahidic translation of Rom 1,27, where ΤΨῆΒΕΙΩ ΝΒΕΚΕ renders τὴν ἀντιμισθίαν recompense. Forms of ΨΙΒΕ—and especially the qualitative—seem to indicate that something takes the place of, or is diametrically opposite something else. This is also true here. ΕΥΨῆΒΙΑΕΙΤ ΑΠΕΣΣΜΟΤ will scarcely indicate that the new being is a “little different” or merely “changed” in comparison with her appearance; as seem clearly in 58,6: “it was *without* likeness to its mother’s shape”; on the other hand, the expression contains the sense that is completely opposite, as we dare conclude from the use of ΨῆΒΙΑΕΙΤ in C II 69,9, 72,32 and 74,20, where it refers to ΠΕΠῆΑ ΕΥΨῆΒΙΑΕΙΤ, which may mean *counter-spirit*. That it deals with a much stronger divergence than just an ordinary variation between beings who are otherwise very similar, is also apparent when one compares the incidence with two examples where such an ordinary variation is mentioned, i.e. PS 249,14 and PS 249,22, where it speaks of the *different bodies*, in which the high powers and the apostles, respectively, *have not been* and *have been* recast. However, it is used in nearly the same meaning as the one we find

in PS 238,23–239,1, where the types of the forms are said to have each its own different type: ΑΥΩ ΠΤΥΠΟΣ ΜΠΕΣΧΗΜΑ ΜΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΜΟΥΟΥ ΣΕΨΒΕΙΑΕΙΤ ΕΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ.

L. 5. An explanation for the difference between the new being and its source is now presented. As already mentioned in C II 57,30 and repeated here, it is due to the circumstance of the genesis: that Sophia had created it without her mate. No expression of inferiority is implied in the fact that it states that Sophia has *created him* (ΑΤΑΜΙΟΥ) and not that she has *revealed* him; because we have already seen AJ use the word ΤΑΜΙΟ, *create*, concerning the act of the genesis, as we see it in C II 55,6, where the Thought will ΕΤΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΖΩΒ. The wrong, and that which causes the imperfect result, is that it happens *without* her mate, ΑΧΜ ΠΕΣΥΒΡ̄ ΝΖΩΤΡ̄. ΠΕΣΥΒΡ̄ ΝΖΩΤΡ̄ corresponds to ΠΕCCYNZYΓOC in BG 37,16 and C III 15,8. C II's 57,30 ΨΒΡ̄ ΝΖΩΤΡ̄ is also rendered by CYNZYΓOC of BG (BG 37,4–5) and C III (C III 14,21). Corresponding to the Coptic word in C II 57,33, ΠΕCΧΩΝΥ' BG 37,6–7 has ΠΕCCΥΜΦΩΝOC, while C III 14,23–24 has ΠΕCCYNZYΓOC. The meaning of the Greek σύζυγος is clear enough. It can render *comrade* as well as *fellow* or *husband*, and it can be employed in Coptic texts as a terminus technicus for the partners of the spiritual powers (besides in BG and C III, thus also frequently in Pistis Sophia, cf. PS 43,2 45,21, 49,26, 64,3, 70,16), a use which is closely related to that which exists with the use of the word συζυγία in the astronomy of binary stars which are in conjunction and opposition, and about the signs of the Zodiac whose orbits divide the horizon in the same places. This expresses the same harmony which σύμφωνος can also be used to render. In BG 37,6–7 we find precisely the word ΠΕCCΥΜΦΩΝOC while C III 14,23–24, in the corresponding parallel, has ΠΕCCYNZYΓOC and C II 57,33 has the Coptic ΠΕCΧΩΝΥ' in the corresponding place. ΧΩΝΥ' is attested only once before in Coptic literature, but in C II's AJ it is found in a total of four places (C II 57,33 57,35, 63,27 bis) and it must be a dialectal variant of ΨΩΝῩ, which as a substantive usually means *unity*, *fellowship*, *marriage*, and in this sense the Coptic word can render συμφώνησις or συζυγία; in the Sahidic 1 Cor 7,5 it renders the adverbial ἐκ συμφώνου (“by mutual consent”). On the other hand, although it does not translate σύζυγος in any other occurrence in hitherto known literature, it seems to do so here. Here it must either be a rendering of σύζυγος, or the whole—the unity—must represent the part. It will not do to assume that in C II 57,33, the translator has translated a σύζυγος incorrectly, unless one will also assume that this was the case in BG which uses the word σύμφωνος, and if we refer to the other place where C II's AJ uses the word, i.e. C II 57,35, then, we have here an exact parallel to the corresponding places in BG (BG 37,7: CYΜΦΩΝOC) and in C III (C III 15,2: CYΜΦΩΝON). Thus, it is better to understand it as the whole said of the part, that is, in the same sense as ΨΒΡ̄ ΝΖΩΤΡ̄.

Both of the terms ΨΒΡ̄ and ΖΩΤΡ̄ are well known in Coptic literature, but the combination of these two—to my knowledge—is not attested before in Coptic literature. ΨΒHP means *friend*, *comrade*, and in the construct form (ΨΒΡ̄-) it is

used in Sahidic and Subachmimic to render σύν+a nomen, as we find it in 1 Cor 3,9, where **ⲱⲃⲡ̅ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲡ̅** renders συνεργός *co-worker, assistant*. **ⲱⲃⲡ̅** can derive from the hebrew **חֵבֵר** as suggested by Ignazio Rossi¹, while it was called a Hebrew loanword by W. Spiegelberg², who also took it back to the Demotic (for ) ḥ b r and New-Egyptian . Rather than call it a Hebrew loanword in the Coptic text, one should probably call it a word of common Semito-Hamitic origin. The other link in the structural relation **ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲡ̅** means, as a verb, *bind, unite*, and as a substantive *bond, tie, yoke* (also about *the bond of marriage*). **ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲡ̅** is often found with a noun in status nominalis preceding it, but as mentioned before, no example of the combination of **ⲱⲃⲡ̅** and **ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲡ̅** has been attested previously. Thus, the term must probably mean the *co-bound, companion*, literally, and since **ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲡ̅** can translate συζυγία in other instances, **ⲱⲃⲡ̅ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲡ̅** must indicate one of the partners in a συζυγία and is, consequently, synonymous with σύζυγος.

What, then, is this **ⲱⲃⲡ̅ ⲛⲉⲛⲧⲡ̅** to Sophia—or whose σύζυγος is Sophia? No evidence concerning this is available from that which we have been able to learn so far from the Apocryphon of John. In our investigation of C II 57,25 we have come to the expression **ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲛⲟⲓⲁ** where at first glance one could be tempted to assume that Epionia was Sophia's syzygy, but we rejected this because both words are feminine, and instead we regarded the expression as proleptic. Perhaps a text which is related to our text can assist us here. That is Sophia Jesu Christi, which in C III 101,15–17 informs us that the syzygy of the expounder, the first man (i.e. the Saviour, Christ), is Sophia, who from the beginning was destined to a union (**ⲉⲩⲥⲩⲛⲫⲓⲁ**) in him. The text in C III 101,9–19 reads: **ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲁⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲓⲧⲛ̅ ⲡⲓⲣⲟⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲛⲛⲟⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲓⲧⲛ̅ ⲧⲃⲱⲉ ⲁⲓⲧⲛ̅ ⲫⲉⲣⲙⲛⲉⲩⲧⲛⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲙⲛ̅ⲧⲛ̅ ⲱⲁ ⲡⲭⲟⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ⲧⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲫⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛⲥⲟⲟⲛⲉ ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲩⲛⲫⲓⲁ ⲁⲉ ⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲟⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲩⲧⲱⲥ̅ ⲁⲓⲛ̅ ⲛ̅ⲱⲣⲟⲡ̅ ⲛ̅ⲁⲓ ⲛ̅ⲁⲓⲧⲱⲉ ⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲁⲃ̅ ⲁⲓⲧⲛ̅ ⲡⲁⲩⲧⲟⲑⲉⲛⲛⲥ ⲛ̅ⲉⲓⲟⲧ. BG 94,11–95,4 follows this text very closely, but instead of C III's Greek **ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲩⲛⲫⲓⲁ** it has the Coptic **ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲃⲉⲣⲉ**, and instead of C III's Coptic **ⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲁⲃ̅** the Greek **ⲉⲩⲥⲩⲛⲫⲓⲁ**. This frequent and, apparently, arbitrary exchange between the terms which we encounter throughout the text, indicates that **ⲱⲃⲡ̅** is equivalent to σύζυγος.**

On the basis of the text in SJC, can one venture to conclude that the redeemer was the fellow of Sophia, also in AJ? Not directly, even though the two texts are very closely related, as we shall see later on. The basis must be that which AJ itself teaches us, and if we now return to this, we first observe that AJ actually does speak of a mate to Sophia (cf. C II 57,30, 57,35 and 58,5). Secondly, it is obvious that AJ has not related everything which belongs to the secret teaching, but both presupposes something known, and refers to another text for further information. In this manner the comments in C II 57,32 indicate that Sophia

¹ Ignazio Rossi, *Etymologiae Aegyptiacae*, 1808.

² W. Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1921), p. 190.

must be of a bisexual nature—she has a male element—but no mention has been made of this previously; however, it fits very well with the fact that (the other) Sophia in SJC and in Eugnostos's Letter is also of a bisexual nature, cf. C III 81,21–82,5, C III 106,15–24 and BG 102,15–103,7. Here the male aspect is called **ΩΤΗΡ**; the female **ΦΙΛΙΑ**. It is presented even more clearly in a section of Eugnostos's Letter, which does not have any parallel in either of the two SJC (C III's and BG's), namely, in C III 82,7–8 where it states: **ΠΩΤΗΡ ΓΕ ΑΥΧΥ-ΜΦΩΝΕΙ ΜΝ ΤΕΥCYNZYΓOC ΤΠΙCΤΙC ΦΙΛΙΑ** cf. the lengthy account which follows in C III 82,8. To say that Sophia had not found her mate makes no sense, unless it is implicitly understood that such a meeting between the two is forthcoming.

58,7–19. Sophia places her offspring, concealed from the rest of the world of light (\neq BG 37,18–38,13 \neq C III 15,9–21).

The three versions are quite similar in their account of Sophia's attempt to conceal her abominable offspring.

58,19–61,13 (\neq BG 38,14–44,19 \neq C III 15,22–18,25····)

The World of Darkness.

58,19–27 Ialtabaoth leaves the place of his origin and creates other aeons. (\neq BG 38,15–39,4 \neq C III 15,22–16,6).

L. 19 Sophia calls the being which she has brought forth **ΙΑΛΤΑΒΑΘ**; the same name is also used in C II 59,16 (although the last letters in the papyrus are missing here), 59,35 62,16 and 67,23; but C II 67,29 reads **ΑΛΤΑΒΑΘ** and C II 71,36 and 72,12 read **ΑΛΔΑΒΑΘ** in the same context; in C II 59,16–18, in addition to **ΙΑΛΤΑΒΑΘ**, he is called **ΣΑΚΛΑC** and **ΣΑΜΑΗΛ**. BG's AJ uses the form **ΙΑΛΔΑΒΑΘ** five times (BG 38,14 42,10 47,17 61,7 and 62,5); the same text also has the name **ΣΑΚΛΑC** twice (BG 41,6 and 42,10); in C III's AJ, we find **ΙΑΛΔΑΒΑΘ** corresponding exactly to the BG form in C III 15,22 18,9 21,19 and 31,7 as well as probably in the damaged passages in C III 21,19 (**[ΙΑ]ΛΔΑΒΑΘ**) and C III 30,22 (**ΙΑΛΔΑΒΑΘ[Θ]**); the same is called **ΣΑΚΛΑC** in C III 17,12–13, and in C III 18,10 **ΙΑΛΔΑΒΑΘ** is explained as **ΣΑΚΛΑ** (sic).

While BG's and C III's AJ consistently use their form **ΙΑΛΔΑΒΑΘ**, C II's AJ lacks consistency in the use of the two forms attested there, because in the first part, the form **ΙΑΛΤΑΒΑΘ** (to C II 67,23) is consistently used, and in the last part either **ΑΛΤΑΒΑΘ** or **ΑΛΔΑΒΑΘ** is used (from C II 67,29–72,12).

What is the source of this name, and what does it mean?

In his edition of *Adversus Haereses*, W. W. Harvey quoted several interpretation which he rejected in order to render his own: that Ialtabaoth is taken "from the Chaldee **יְהִי־אֱלֹהִים־רַב־כְּהוֹת**", which he renders as *Dominus Deus Patrum* (W. W. Harvey, *Adv. Haer.* I, p. 230). H. Leisegang is of the opinion (*Die Gnosis* p. 391) that Ialdabaoth is Hebrew and means "Sohn des Chaos"; this interpretation originates from J. Matter (–H. Leisegang does not indicate the source), who in

his *Histoire critique du gnosticisme et de son influence sur les sectes religieuses et philosophiques des six premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne*, Paris 1828, t. II, p. 198 deciphers the name as a rendering of ילדא בהות just as J. Gieseler also did in his *Kirchengeschichte*, Bonn, 3. Aufl. 1831, t. I, p. 189. Carl Schmidt cautiously confined himself in his *Gnostische Schriften in koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus* (1892) p. 559, to state that that explanation "heute wohl als die recipierte gelten kan...". W. Bousset (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, 1907, p. 351), was of the opinion that the name had nothing whatsoever to do with any divine name in the Old Testament, and did not venture to give a philological explanation. Neither did Hans Jonas attempt to explain the name (*Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, I, p. 360). In his *The Gnostic Problem* (1958) p. 230, R. McL. Wilson has referred to other discussions of the question.

Of the interpretations mentioned, two seem to have had supporters, namely that which was presented by J. Matter and J. Gieseler, and that which was proposed by W. W. Harvey. Even though both of these concern Irenaeus's text, and not that of the Apocryphon of John, it can be useful to evaluate them. We cannot ascertain the philological derivation of the name, because the evidence is much too slight for this. If one considers the semantic content, it is a different proposition. Primarily, it is worthy of note that Ialtabaoth is not mentioned in Adv. Haer. I, 29, and in Adv. Haer. I, 30 we have the name in the Latin translation only. Here in Adv. Haer. I, 30, Ialtabaoth is not the son of Chaos, as J. Gieseler and J. Matter proposed, but he is more likely the source of Chaos. Nor does W. W. Harvey's opinion seem to agree with the context. W. W. Harvey supported his rendering of the name as Dominus Deus Patrum by stating "a name peculiarly applicable; Jaldabaoth being said to have made choice of Abraham after the flood" (Adv. Haer. I, notes p. 230). However, he is called Ialdabaoth long before the agreement with Abraham, and it cannot be said that in the following he plays a role such as to characterize him as *dominus deus patrum*. If, now, we apply the interpretations proposed to AJ, we find nothing in the text to support them.

It is safest to say, as F. M. M. Sagnard said of Barbelo in *La gnose valentienne*... (1947) p. 90 "En réalité, on ignore l'origine de ce nom".

However, in the case of C II's AJ, one could also imagine a third possibility which seems more likely. It is conspicuous that C II's Apocryphon of John usually spells the name with τ, where BG's and C III's AJ have Δ; but the form which we find only in C II's AJ, namely ΑΛΤΑΒΑΘ (C II 67,29 cf. 71,36 and 72,12) is more conspicuous. When, as we shall observe later, C II's version seems to be older than BG's and C III's, it is logical to consider ΑΛΤΑΒΑΘ as the oldest form, which already in C II's AJ is about to be replaced by a newer form, ΙΑΛΤΑΒΑΘ, which later in other texts becomes ΙΑΛΔΑΒΑΘ. It is reasonable to recognize that oldest form ΑΛΤΑΒΑΘ as a rendering of אל תאבות in the sense *God of the desires*, or *God of the longings*. This fits with his origin (cf. C II 57,28 ΑCOYΩΨ[Ε Ε]ΟΥΩΝ2 ΕΒΟΛ), with his character later on (C II 69,35), and perhaps

with those who worship him; furthermore, it agrees with the fact his mother can be called ΠΡΟΥΝΙΚΟΝ (-C) in other texts: (cf. BG 37,11; C III 15,3); by comparing it with the Irenaeus text Adv. Haer. I, 29 (which does not mention the name) we arrive at a meaning of the word which agrees well with the fact that the genesis of this being is due to the mother's *longing* for her fellow.

If this interpretation is correct, the other and newer form ἸΑΛΔΑΒΑΩΘ could have originated from יה-אל-תאבות *ruler of the God of the desires*. It would be a determining factor for the correctness of this interpretation of the names ΑΛΔΑΒΑΩΘ, ΑΛΤΑΒΑΩΘ, ἸΑΛΤΑΒΑΩΘ and ἸΑΛΔΑΒΑΩΘ, if we can find a translation of the word, in one of the three versions of the Apocryphon of John which compares with the rendered above, and such a translation is found in BG 51,3 ΠΙΑΡΧΩΝ ἸΝΤΕ ΠΕΠΡΟΥΝΙΚΟΣ ≠ C III 23,21; actually, we do not find a rendering there which uses the word "god" about Ialtabaoth or Ialtabaoth, but the Apocryphon of John carefully avoids *mentioning him* as a god, and only allows him to *declare himself* as a god; therefore, we cannot expect to find him mentioned as a god in BG 51,3 (C III 23,21) either; he is called the *ruler of desire* or *lust* in BG 51,3, and the words ΠΙΑΡΧΩΝ ἸΝΤΕ ΠΕΠΡΟΥΝΙΚΟΣ are a confirmation of the above mentioned interpretation of ΑΛΔΑΒΑΩΘ, ΑΛΤΑΒΑΩΘ, ἸΑΛΤΑΒΑΩΘ and ἸΑΛΔΑΒΑΩΘ.

Ialtabaoth himself is called the first ΑΡΧΩΝ. The powers mentioned in C II 58,28ff. are also archons, as indicated by 59,4, where they are called ΝῆΠΡΟ(ΟΥ), and C II 59,23 where they are called ΝΑΡΧΩΝ.

L. 20 It is said of Ialtabaoth that he received ΟΥΝΟϞ ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙC Ε[Β]ΟΛ ΖΙΤῆΝ ΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ. This power refers to the power mentioned in C II 58,1: ΤϞΟΜ ΝΑΤΧΡΟ ΕΡΟC, which the mother has received from the highest being.—The form ΕΤΑ2ΧΙ is Subachmimic for Sahidic.



L. 21–23. Ialtabaoth's desire for independence is immediately effective; that later on (C II 61,27) he can be called ΑΥΘΑΔΗC is just a further development. By relating about Ialtabaoth's departure from his origin (C II 58,21–23), the author of the Apocryphon of John not only makes a division between Ialtabaoth and his origin, but also places the responsibility for the subsequent development on Ialtabaoth.

L. 23–24 Ms. ΑΥ'ΕΜΑ2ΤΕ ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ ... must be read ΑΥ'ΕΜΑ2ΤΕ <Ν2ΝΚΕΤΟΠΟC> ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ ... (cf. C II 58,23 ΝΤΟΠΟC and C III 16,4) or, perhaps, ΑΥ'ΕΜΑ2ΤΕ <ΝΚΕΜΑ> ΑΥΤΑΜΙΟ ... (cf. BG 39,1). ΕΜΑ2ΤΕ is A₂ for S ΑΜΑ2ΤΕ. As a transitive verb it means *grasp with the hand, lay hand upon, seize*. If one does not correct the text, one must understand ΕΜΑ2ΤΕ as an intransitive verbum, and then it has the meaning *rule*.

L. 24 Ν2ΝΚΕΑΙΩΝ; thus, Ialtabaoth is also an ΑΙΩΝ. C II diverges slightly from BG and C III, since C II speaks about the creation of *other* aeons, BG about the creation of only *one* aeon, and C III, correspondingly, about the creation of *one* flaming fiery aeon.

L. 25. Here as well, C II varies from BG and C II, because C II lets the aeons be created in a fire of luminous light, *which is till now* (ΠΑῖ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΤΕΝΟΥ),

while the other two texts refer this relative clause to Ialtabaoth: the flaming light is that in which *he* is, that is to say that it refers to the luminous cloud in which Sophia concealed Ialtabaoth. The Latin Irenaeus text follows BG and C III by its *in quo et habitare dicunt eum*. However, the preceding words found in the Latin text: *firmamentum coeli* are not rendered in the texts, but it must be this that reference is made to in C II with ΠΑΙ ΕΤΨΟΟΠ ΤΕΝΟΥ.

L. 26. The manuscript reads ΑΥΤΩΜΤ; the verb must either come from the intr. vb. ΤΩΜΤ, which means *meet* (Crum 416b), or else it must be a Bohairic form of ΤΩΜΝΤ, which as an intr. vb. means to be *amazed*, as a tr. vb. *disturb, disappoint*. (Crum 416b); W. Spiegelberg's *Koptischer Handwörterbuch* is far from being adequate here (on p. 146), since the ordinary Sahidic ΤΩΜΝΤ "begegnen" not only in Bohairic, Fayumic and Achmimic, but *also* in Sahidic has attested the form ΤΩΜΤ).—Neither of these two possibilities is suitable here. To correct ΑΥΤΩΜΤ to a more impersonal ΑCΤΩΜΤ would be tempting, just because Υ is often confused with C, but the context hardly allows this; I propose instead that a completely different verb be read, namely ΤΩΜΕ (from   *dmj*, cf. Erman- Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, Vol. V, p. 453–455; Sir Allan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 2. ed., 1950, §. 270; neither is W. Spiegelberg's *Koptischer Handwörterbuch* adequate here, because no form ΤΩΜΕ is indicated under ΤΩΜΙ (p. 146), as we do have it attested, however, in an Achmimic text, i.e., in C. Schmidt, *Epistola apostolorum* (1919), IV, 8 CΕΤΩΜΕ ΕΝ ΑΠΚΑ2). By reading ΤΩΜΕ in the sense of *to bind, join*, we get a closer agreement with BG 39,4–5 ΑΥΝΟΥ2Β ΜΝ ΤΑΠΟΝΟΙΑ and C III 16,7 ΑΥΝΟΥ2Β ΜΝ ΤΜΝΤΑΤCΘΟΥΝ. Bohairic ΤΩΜΙ as well as Bohairic ΝΟ2ΕΒ can render the Greek συνζευγύναι (cf. Crum 415a and 243a), and presumably, it is this Greek verb which is the basis of the Coptic verbs in the three texts. Consequently, we prefer the wording and translate: *he joined himself with his ignorance*.

— ΤΕΥΑΠΟΝΟΙΑ; the ignorance is, therefore, something which is characteristic of Ialtabaoth; this was true of him from his genesis (cf. C II 57,34–35; 58,13–14); later, he can be called a darkness of ignorance (cf. C II 59,10); he is ignorant of his strength (cf. C II 59,21); with the exception of his mother he knows nothing about the beings who existed before him (cf. C II 61,28ff), and that which becomes so vital to the entire plot is that he is ignorant of the strength he inherited from his mother (cf. C II 67,27–28). Thus, this state of ignorance is in him from the very beginning; and thus it is evident that Ialtabaoth must also be an opponent of the things and beings which are characterized by the directly opposite principle: *wisdom, perception*, as we witness in C II 72,12–18.

58,27–59,10 *Ialtabaoth Creates 12 Powers* (≠ BG 39,18–40,19; 41,12–15; 42,13–18 ≠ C III 16,15–17,5; 17,17–20; 18,12–16).

Paragraph C II 58,27–59,10 has parallels in BG as well as in C III, but the corresponding presentations in these two texts are not a complete, continuous

section, partly because BG and C III contains some lines for which C II has no parallel, and partly because the account contains some lines of which the parallel in C II has another context; the first-departure is BG 40,19–41,12 and C III 17,5–17, which begins after C II 59,4 $\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{A}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{T}}\bar{\text{E}}$; the other is BG 41,16–42,13 and C III 17,20–18,12 which —with the exception of a few sentences in BG 42,9–10 (\neq C III 18,8–9)—is found later in the context of C II, i.e. in C II 59,26–60,10.

L. 27 ZENEZOYCIA , even though this concerns *some* (ZEN) powers, the following enumeration shows that there are twelve in all. The word EZOYCIA is attested nine times in C II's AJ. In C II 55,25 it is used, as usual, about *power, authority*, which are attributed to Christ. In the other instances where it is used, namely, in C II 58,28 60,11 62,31 63,1 63,7 63,25 75,5 and 76,12, it consistently concerns the beings who are attached to Ialtabaoth. The section C II 63,1–25 indicates that EZOYCIA can in this sense be used synonymously with DYNAMIC , as is clearly evident in C II 63,7 and C II 63,14. Here in C II 58,27–59,10, twelve $\xi\xi\sigma\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\iota$ are involved and in C II 63,25, seven.

The twelve $\xi\xi\sigma\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\iota$ are enumerated by name in C II 58,27–59,4. A few of them are given two designations; first, their names are mentioned, and then, that which the generations call them. $\bar{\text{N}}\text{GENEA}$ in C II 58,29–30 must have the same meaning as that which in C II 58,35–36 is called $\bar{\text{N}}\text{GENEA } \bar{\text{N}}\text{P}\bar{\text{P}}\bar{\text{O}}\bar{\text{M}}\bar{\text{E}}$; in the parallel to this, C II 58,33–34, we find the impersonal “one”: ΠΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΨ , and in C II 58,31, the explanatory $\text{ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ } [\text{ΠΕ}]$. Thus, like the seven powers mentioned in C II 60,27–33, they have two names; there it concerns a name which is given by the Protarchon, and this name grants the seven beings their powers, and it concerns another name given by “the glory from heaven”, and this name is to conquer the seven and make them powerless. (Cf. Jean Doresse, *Les livres secrets des gnostiques d'Égypte*, I, p. 221). Does this also apply to the twelve names mentioned here in our text? Admittedly, we do not have evidence that they all have dual names, but from the parallel texts and the survival of the dual names of the seven beings, we have a basis for an assumption. However, the dual names which are attested give evidence of two types: names ordinarily known, and secret names; the latter are those which are enumerated here in the secret teaching to John, and it is elucidated that they *are* their names; the first are the names only referred to in a few instances, and it is these names which the “generations” or the “generations of man” use. Reference to these names is apparently intended to identify the hitherto secret name with a name that is known. If we examine C II's parallels in BG and C III, do we find definite evidence that these twelve beings have dual names? Yes, it occurs in a passage found in BG 40,19–41,12 and in C III 17,5–17, but not in C II. Werner Foerster has investigated BG 40,19ff. in his article “Das Apokryphon des Johannes” (*Gott und die Götter, Festgabe für Eric Fascher*, Berlin 1958, p.134–141) and has done so with reference to Walter C. Till's introduction to the edition of BG. In his treatise, Werner Foerster reached the result that “Die zwölf

ἐξουσίαι haben dreifache Namen”; according to this, one series of names is recorded in BG 40,5ff., a second stems from the desire and the anger, and the third is given to them by man: “und die dritte haben ihnen die Menschen gegeben, nach Till wohl die gewöhnlichen Namen der Tierkreisbilder” (p. 136). This interpretation, that the twelve ἐξουσίαι in BG had triple names, must, however, be rejected because it is not supported by the text. BG’s text here—as in other places—is quite circumstantial, and that circumstantiality manifests itself in repetitions. Such a circumstantial mode of expression is found in BG 41,3, where **ΖΗΚΕΡΑΝ ΕΥΚΗΒ**, however, only refers to BG 40,5–19 and not to any third group of names. C III presents a much more elegant and direct form of expression by its: “in short: the names of all of these are double” (**ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΑΠΛΩΣ ΝΕΡΑΝ ΣΕΚΗΒ**, C III 17,7–8). Neither is any third series of names referred to here. In both texts, only two types of names are considered: names from anger and desire, by which Saklas calls them, and names from the glory from above; the first serve to strengthen the twelve beings, the latter to expose their true nature. Consequently, BG 41,3 and BG 41,5 refer to the twelve names in BG 40,5–19, the names from the glory from heaven; BG 41,7’s **ΝΝΙΡΑΝ** are the same names as those which in BG 40,19–41, are classified with the anger and desire. Other names are not involved. Correspondingly, in C III 17,9 we find **ΝΖΗΤΟΥ** and in C III 17,11 a **ΨΑΥ**-, by which both instances refer to names from the glory from above (C III 17,9–10), and in C III 17,13 a **ΝΕΥΡΑΝ**, which—perhaps even more plainly than BG 41,7’s **ΝΝΙΡΑΝ**—refers to the names from anger and desire; obviously, it must be these names and not names from the glory from above, which Saklas employs. Thus, the text does not present any triple series of names. Werner Foerster’s reference to Walter C. Till’s introduction to the edition of BG where Till treated the creation of the twelve ἐξουσίαι p. 43f., seems to concern the identification of a series of names which man should have given them using the names usually given to the signs of the Zodiac; in any case, Till does not present any treble form of names of the twelve ἐξουσίαι. In the edition of Till, it can probably only be found by misunderstanding the text. However, such a misunderstanding has already taken place when Werner Foerster quotes the words of Till as concerning names which are *given* to them by man (l. c. p. 136: “... die dritten haben ihnen die Menschen gegeben, nach Till wohl die gewöhnlichen Namen...”), while, actually, Till has not said anything to indicate that man gave them these names, and when on the same page, Till speaks about the two series of names for the five planets, he is not speaking about names *given* by man, but about names *used* (“gebrauchten”) by man. This detail seems insignificant, but nevertheless it is important for the understanding of our text also. One must distinguish between the two manners in which **ΜΟΥΤΕ** is construed: **ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟ** and **ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟ** **ΝΡΑΝ**; the latter renders that one gives, or bestows a name on someone, the former merely indicates that one calls someone something, without stating anything about who has given

the name. BG's as well as C III's Apocryphon of John relate that the twelve are given dual names, one name is given by the glory from above, the other by Saklas; the first type of names are enumerated, the latter are not, but we have reason to assume that they refer to names which are commonly known, contrary to those names which are enumerated as part of the secret teaching. The names which are commonly known are not necessarily connected with those we ordinarily attribute to the Zodiac: *Aries*, *Taurus* etc., but could have been some of the other names which have been prevalent.

Who are the twelve ἑξουσίαι, or to what do they allude, and—perhaps more important to our investigation—why are they present in the text? According to the explanation which is found, not in C II, but in BG 41,8–12 (cf. C III 17,14–17) with the words ΕΒΟΛ ΜΕΝ ΖΗΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΝΗΝΙΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΨΑΥΚΟΟΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΝΚΕΡ ΩΝΒ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ ΖΗ ΝΑΪ ΨΑΥΓΜΓΟΜ ΝΚΕΑΥΖΑΝΕ it is reasonable to assume that the author (as W. C. Till rightly remarks l. c. p. 43) has had the stellar constellations in mind, which, as time goes by, now shine more faintly, now more brightly. Then the twelve ἑξουσίαι here immediately call the twelve signs of the Zodiac to mind. However, it is not immediately evident in either C II's or C III's AJ, and the words in BG 41,8–12 are not reiterated in C II's AJ; one could, perhaps, just as well imagine that they referred to Dodekaoros. In the astrology of the late Classical Antiquity, the signs of the Zodiac ordinarily played a role inferior to that of the planets. They do not seem to play any part in the development of the ideas in Apocryphon of John until later in C II 76,14ff. Why, then, are they mentioned here—if it is they to whom reference is made,—and why do twelve ἑξουσίαι appear? The answer is presented in C II 60,33–61,5, where reference is made to the world of the first aeons being a model for the world which Ialtabaoth arranged, and so the immediate and subconscious model for that world is the twelve aeons in C II 55,30–56,28: as it is related with regard to ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ that he is surrounded by a dodecad; thus, Ialtabaoth also creates a dodecad of ἑξουσίαι for himself. The enumeration of the ἑξουσίαι is slightly different in C II, BG and C III, and arranged in sequence, we find the following series of names:

C II, 58,27–59,4	BG 40,5–19	C III, 16,20–17,5
1. ΑΘΩΘ [] Ἐ	ΙΑΩΘ	ΖΑΩΘ
2. ΖΑΡΜΑΣ [ΠΒΑΛ] ἸΠΚΩΖ	ΖΕΡΜΑΣ ΠΒΑΛ ἸΠΚΩΖΤ	ΖΑΡΜΑΣ ΠΒΑΛ ἸΠΚΩΖΤ
3. ΚΑΛΙΛΑΟΥΜΒΡΙ	ΓΑΛΙΛΑ	ΓΑΛΙΛΑ
4. ἸΑΒΗΛ	ἸΩΒΗΛ	ἸΩΒΗΛ
5. ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΥ ΣΑΒΑΩΘ	ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΣ	ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΣ
6. ΚΑΪΝ ΠΡΗ	ΣΑΒΑΩΘ	ΣΑΒΑΩΘ
7. ΑΒΕΛ	ΚΑΪΝΑΝ ΑΥΩ ΚΑΗ ΚΑΪΝ ΠΡΗ	ΚΑΪΝΑΝΚΑCΙΝ ΠΡΗ
8. ΑΒΡΙCΕΝΕ	ΑΒΙΡΕCΙΝΕ	ΑΒΙΡΕCΙΑ

C II, 58,27–59,4	BG 40,5–19	C III, 16,20–17,5
9. ἸΩΒΗΛ	ἸΩΒΗΛ	ἸΩΒΗΛ
10. ΑΡΜΟΥΠΙΕΗΛ	ΖΑΡΜΟΥΠΙΑΗΛ	ΑΡΜΟΥΠΙΑΗΛ
11. ΜΕΛΧΕΙΡΑΔΩΝΕΙΝ	ΑΔΩΝΙΝ	ΑΔΩΝΙΝ
12. ΒΕΛΙΑC	ΒΕΛΙΑC	ΒΕΛΙΑC

Several of these names occur again, unaltered or only slightly altered in their spelling, later on in the text (cf. C II 59,25–35; C II 60,15–25; C II 63,13–23; BG 41,16–42,7; BG 43,6–44,4; BG 49,9–50,4; C III 18,22ff and C III 22,8–23,6).

Preliminarily, let us consider the names listed in the above table. If one disregards the minor variations of vowels and consonants which one must expect to find in three texts each having its own dialectal character, the most important differences between C II, BG and C III are found in the 5th, 6th and 7th name, although one must not overlook the fact that C II seems to have a longer form of the 3rd and 11th names than BG and C III. In C II, the 5th name **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΥ** is identified with **CAΒΑΩΘ**, while both BG and C III attest **CAΒΑΩΘ** as the 6th name. On the other hand, C II identifies the 6th name **ΚΑΪΝ** with **ΠΡΗ**. Thus, there is a difference in the numbering of the names in C II on one side, and BG and C III on the other side. In addition, as a seventh name, C II mentions **ΑΒΕΛ**, which does not occur at all in the enumeration given in the other texts, while, inversely, as a 7th name, these texts have a more complete form than C II's 6th name; BG's and C III's 7th, as well as C II's 6th name are identified with **ΠΡΗ**.

C II's combination of **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΥ** and **CAΒΑΩΘ** could have been inspired by combinations which occur in the OT (as Am 9,5) of *Adonai* and *Zebaoth*; although *Sabaoth Adonai* is also invoked in the magic papyrus (Leiden CXXII), although this text is admittedly strongly influenced by Biblical terms, which is otherwise addressed to Hermes (ed. of Carl Wessely)¹. Where the combination of these two names originated, we are at a loss to say; but the divergent enumeration shown in our table could indicate that one of two possibilities applied at the origin of our present texts: either that C II's identification of **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΥ** and **CAΒΑΩΘ** as the fifth ἐξουσία might have developed into an enumeration of **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟC** as the fifth and as the sixth **CAΒΑΩΘ** as is now the case in BG and C III, or that BG's and C III's enumeration of the two as fifth and sixth ἐξουσία have become a combination and identification in C II's rendering. In both cases, the development is most easily acceptable, if one assumes that in the original enumeration of the twelve ἐξουσίαι no ordinal number has been given to each individual name.

¹ C. Wessely, *Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* (Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-Hist. Classe, 42. Bd., p. 58, Wien 1893), CXXII, Col. 3, l. 97: σαβαωθ: αδωναι. In Coptic magical papyri the combination frequently occurs, as well as in the Treatise of Rossi (ed. by A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*, I, 1931, p. 63–78); 9,2; 11,11–12; 17,7: **CAΒΑΩΘ ΑΔΩΝΑΙ**.

As mentioned above, several of the names listed in the above table reoccur later in the text with unaltered or only slightly altered spelling. This occurs in the enumeration of the seven powers (cf. C II 59,25–35 and the other instances listed). In its first enumeration here, C II mentions **CABAΘ** as the fifth, and in its second **CANBAΘ**; the sixth is, respectively, **ΑΔΩΝΙΝ** and **ΑΔΩΝΕΙΝ**, (C II 59,31–33; C II 60,21–23); on the other hand, in the corresponding places BG has **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟC** and **CABAΘ** respectively as the fifth, and **ΑΔΩΝΙ** and **ΑΔ[ΩΝΙ]** as the sixth (BG 42,3–5; BG 43,19–44,2). Only the first enumeration of C III is preserved here, and there the **ΑΔΩΝΑΙ[ΟC]** is mentioned as the fifth, and **ΑΔΩΝΙΝ** as the sixth (C III 18,3–5). Thus, while the three versions—with a few variations in their spelling—agree about the name of the sixth of the seven in their enumerations (although the second is missing in C III) and names it **ΑΔΩΝΙΝ**, **ΑΔΩΝΕΙΝ** or **ΑΔΩΝΙ**, then BG, in addition to C II's **CABAΘ** (or **CANBAΘ**) can also use the name **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟC** for the fifth of the seven. In this manner, we have the same identification of **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟC** and **CABAΘ** as we found in C II of **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΥ** and **CABAΘ** as the fifth of the twelve ἐξουσίαι. The fact that the identification of **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΥ** (-ΟC) and **CABAΘ** is found in C II as well as BG, could indicate that the identification is prior to the differentiation of the two, and for this reason we shall consider C II's version of the enumeration of the twelve a primary text as compared to BG, and furthermore, we shall assume that the development of the enumeration has taken place as outlined above.

It is doubtful whether one should read **ΠΚΩZ'** in C II 58,31, or **ΠΚΩZΤ** as in BG 40,6–7; C III 16,21–22 reads **ΠΚΩZΤ̄**, and in this case the two dots over the last letter certainly indicate that the letter should be erased¹, and by doing so, we have the same form in C III as in C II. However, one cannot disregard the possibility that this correction in the text was made, not by a comparison with the source, but under the influence of an other text like the one we have in C II, and thus, it becomes doubtful which reading is the correct one. However, it is not of great importance because no **ΠΒΑΛ ΜΠΚΩZ** or **ΠΒΑΛ ΜΠΚΩZΤ** occur in any other place in AJ. On the other hand, it is important that the rendering in the texts of **ΠΚΩZ'**, **ΠΚΩZΤ** and **ΠΚΩZΤ̄** with their similarity of spelling, but difference in meaning ("the envy" and "the fire"), does not allow us to conclude that the texts must have had a common *Coptic* text at one stage or another in the history of their development (cf. the investigation of C II 60,10–25).

To the last of the twelve ἐξουσίαι C II remarks that "it is above the depth of Amente" (**ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΤΖΙΔΝ ΠΨΙΚ' ΝΑΜΝΤΕ**). This remark is not found in BG nor in C III's AJ. It might be an explanatory remark which has been inserted in the text, partly under the influence of the words in C II 59,6 concerning the five which are placed above **ΠΨΙΚ ΜΠΝΟΥΝ** and partly the late Jewish form of Satan, *Beliar* or *Belial*².

¹ Walter C. Till has raised this question in the apparatus of his text edition of BG, p. 120.

² It is not unreasonable to assume that **ΒΕΛΙΑC** refers to *Beliar* or *Belial*, particularly in

The twelve names which are enumerated here do not seem to play any significant role in the Apocryphon of John; several of the names are mentioned in just this one instance. It is impossible to say why these particular names have been used. It is reasonable to assume that the freedom with which, in syncretistic movements, names from widely separated places have been put next to one another, has also applied here, so that the Apocryphon of John found it natural to place, e.g., **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΥ**, **ΚΑΒΑΘΘ**, **ΚΑΪΝ**, **ΑΒΕΛ** and **ΒΕΛΙΑC**, on an equal level. With the names of the signs of the Zodiac enumerated in Pistis Sophia¹, neither C II's, BG's or C III's versions of AJ have anything in common. The series of names does not seem to compare with any other enumeration in other texts. At this point, AJ may with some justification describe its teaching as "secret"—that is to say, not hitherto obvious.

The subject for the action in C II 59,4 must be Ialtabaoth. The continuity indicates that one must regard both the seven and the five which are mentioned now as comprising the twelve which have been enumerated hitherto. The seven become "kings" of seven firmaments. The following expression **Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ ΤΜΕ2CΑΨΥΕ ΜΠΕ** should be understood as an explanation to the preceding words from **ΝCΑΨΥ** to **ΝΤΠΕ**. Something distributive (without iteration) is indicated by **ΚΑΤΑ**; one could understand the preceding letter **Α-** as an Achmimic or Subachmimic form of the preposition **Ε-** indicating the distributive, but then a numeral ought to follow, and it is already expressed by **ΚΑΤΑ**; one ought, instead, to correct the text: the manuscript's **ΝCΑΨΥ ΝΡΡΟΥ Α ΚΑΤΑ CΤΕΡΕΩΜΑ ΝΤΠΕ** must surely be the result of a copying error from **ΝCΑΨΥ ΝΡΡΟ<ΟΥ> ΟΥΑ ΚΑΤΑ CΤΕΡΕΩΜΑ ΝΤΠΕ**, and therefore, I propose that we use this wording.

L. 5 **Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ** can be translated in several ways; BG 41,14–15 uses it in the sense of "over", while C II 59,6, correspondingly reads **ΑΧΜ**; but in C II 59,5, **Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ** should certainly be translated by "up to" (e.g. "up to and including"), because the relationship to the preceding distributive phrase: "Seven kings, one for each of heaven's firmaments" makes it apparent that this is an explanation: it applies only up to and including the seventh heaven. This translation agrees well with the fact that **Ε2ΡΑΪ** often serves to define a preposition which includes a description of a movement ("up" or "down"). To translate **Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ** by "over" here would interrupt the continuity. Although, in antiquity one regarded, or, at least, presented the fixed stars as being in the same sphere (the eighth) and having the same distance from the earth, the relationship applying to the planets was different; these were imagined to be in different distances from the earth, each in its own sphere. Our translation of **Ε2ΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ ΤΜΕ2CΑΨΥΕ ΜΠΕ**:

view of the fact that there is a variant to 2. Cor. 6,15 (where the indeclinable **Βελιόρ** must be an accusative governed by **πρὸς** in the texts Ψ, D and K) which reads **Βελιόν** which may well be considered to be an accusative of a declinable **Βελιός**.

¹ PS 361,17–366,13. It may be valid, however, with the names of planets enumerated in the same place in Pistis Sophia, viz., Sabaoth and Hermes. Pistis Sophia in this places counts only five planets.

each of the seven kings has his own firmament up to (and including) the seventh, agrees with this. Considering the astrological character of the entire text, the seven kings surely refer to the seven planets or to their rulers.

L. 6. By referring to l. 4–5, **+OY** a **ṢPPOOY** must be implicitly understood. Thus, the rulers of “the depth of the abyss” are also appointed by Ialtabaoth. **AXM** is an Achmimic feature in place of the more classic—Sahidic **EXM**.—**ΨΙΚ** can translate words like βάθος and βόθυνος, but also words like ἄβυσσος (Sir 1,3) and τάρταρος (Hi 41,23); but also **NOYN** can be employed as a rendering of βάθος (Luke 5,4) or βύθος as well (2. Cor 11,25); but the meaning “kingdom of death” is most frequent; thus it renders the ἄβυσσος found in Apoc 9,11 as well as in Rom 10,7. In comparison with the parallels in BG 41,15 and C III, 17–19, it is obvious that we must understand it to mean “the netherworld”, “kingdom of death”, because here we have a combination of the two words: **ΨΙΚ ΜΠΝΟΥΝ**. Thus, the words take on the same meaning as the one we found in C II 59,3–4: **ΠΨΙΚ’ ΝΑΜΝΤΕ**.

L. 7: It is stated that all of these—seven plus five—shall “rule”, or “be kings”. Both the term **ṢPPOOY** in line 4–5 and the term **ΑΤΡΟΥṖṖṖΟ** here in line 7 indicate the possibility that the word ἄρχων is the basis for the Coptic translation.

L. 7ff. All 12 of these have also received a portion of Ialtabaoth’s strength, namely, the fire which is attached to him (cf. C II 58,25), but all of his strength has not been shared with them, because the strength which, according to C II 58,20–21, he received from his mother is not passed on to them by Ialtabaoth. In the Apocryphon this takes on very great significance later on in the text’s development of the Redemption. It is implied already in C II 59,10 with the reason: *for* it was a darkness of ignorance. Here, the ignorance indicates the circumstance that Ialtabaoth himself was not aware that he possessed the spark of light from his mother (cf. C II 67,25–30). This spark or strength remains undivided, and temporarily concealed in Ialtabaoth. This opens up the possibility of releasing that power which belongs on high.

As mentioned above, in Classical Antiquity’s syncretistic movements, we find names from widely different areas freely placed on equal level¹. Even though the

¹ For motives explaining the use of such names and methods in connexion with their formation into compound names, see W. Gundel’s remarks in his comprehensive study, *Dekane und Dekansterbilder* (Glückstadt u. Hamburg, 1936), in the chapter entitled *Das ägyptische Erbe in der antiken Literatur*. On p. 39 he writes: “Andererseits wird man sich hüten müssen, in den neuen Namen und den Listen bare Willkür eines einzelnen zu sehen. Der Fabrikant neuer Tabellen steht vielmehr unter dem Zwang einer weiteren Abart des Glaubens an den heiligen Namen eines Gottes. Man sieht in der Sprache eines Fremdvolkes und in dessen Götternamen die wahre heilige Weisheit, zumal wenn die eigenen Göttervorstellungen und Götternamen ihren urwüchsigen Einfluss langsam verlieren. Das ist besonders stark ausgeprägt in dem hellenistischen Synkretismus, wo neben die einheimischen Götternamen fremde Namen als wesensgleich und bannkräftig in Hymnen und Gebeten gestellt werden. Wenn also ganze Dekanlisten hebräische, arabische und sonstige Namen oder deren Elemente aufzählen, so ist der Verfasser dieser Listen getragen von der Anschauung, dass er in der Sprache des von

names of the twelve ἔξουσῖαι enumerated here do not seem to play an important role in the context, it can, however, be useful in the final investigation of this paragraph to consider the source of these names, because this could serve to shed a little light on the character of the Apocryphon of John. However, there is a great deal of uncertainty involved when one tries to determine where these names had their source; this is due partly to the lack of information concerning the function of the twelve, and partly to the uncertain spelling of the names. It is appropriate to stress the fact here that, except for a very few of the names given in the Apocryphon of John, it does not pay at all to investigate their meaning. The exceptions are those names which describe beings who have a significant function in the account. The majority of the names occur only once in the text. While it can be important to know what the name Ialtabaoth signifies, it is less important to clarify the meaning of each of the many other names; one gets the impression that the copyist or the translator was not always aware of their meaning, and for the author, the enumeration of foreignersounding names was a medium in itself. This becomes especially obvious by the accumulation of dozens of names within just a few pages of one of the AJ texts, namely, in C II where the great number of beings that are associated with the creation of the human body are enumerated on C II 63,29–66,35.

With these considerations in mind, we can cautiously make a few observations here where the three texts deal with the twelve ἔξουσῖαι. With a certain degree of likelihood, we can compare C II's ΑΘΝΘ¹ with the Egyptian god Thot, even more so since the following ΖΑΡΜΑC is surely Hermes. By doing so, we have one more pair like those pairs which seem to occur later in the enumeration in C II, whose names are joined together in other places: Adonai and Zebaoth, Cain and Abel. BG's ΙΑΝΘ and C III's ΖΑΝΘ have probably had the same source as the form in C II, but at any rate in their present form, just like the names for the 5th ἔξουσῖαι: ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΥ, CΑΒΑΝΘ (C II) and ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΥC (BG and C III) and just like the name for BG's and C III's 6th ἔξουσῖαι: CΑΒΑΝΘ, they should certainly be regarded as a play on the name of the Jewish god². In texts with apocryphical content and magical texts from the same period we often find these names used side by side with several names which must be regarded either as

der Gottheit auserwählten Volkes die wahren, mit magischen Kräften gefüllten Namen mitteilt".—These words by W. Gundel on the subject of names and lists of decans are also relevant for other enumerations of names within the astrological science of late Classical Antiquity and, here, also for instance with regard to the enumerations of the names of the zodiac in the Apocryphon of John.

¹ Thus, also, W. Gundel identified Αὐθῶθ of Testamentum Salomonis with Thot (op. cit., p. 40).

² These names occur frequently in contemporary literature. Thus, in Testamentum Salomonis (from the 3. or 4. century, ed. by C. C. McCown, The Testament of Solomon, London, 1922), the 9th decan is named Ἰαῶθ; the 11th, σαβαῶθ; and the 13th and the 32nd, Ἀδωναί (XVIII 13, 15, 17, 27). Cf. also A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* (Brüssel 1931), I, p. 63ff.

invented by the author himself, or—with minor adaptations—as rendering of the names of familiar gods or powers. Therefore, it is not surprising to find Adonis' name in the form in BG and C III as the 11th ἔξουσία in AJ's enumeration; in the corresponding place, C II has the fuller form ΜΕΛΧΕΙΡΑΔΩΝΕΙΝ, which seems to be a compound word. If one understands the first part of the word as an attempt at rendering a Semitic word, which is likely considering the character of the list of names, one will instinctively come to the word מֶלֶךְ. The correctness of this assumption seems to be confirmed by the circumstance that in the Egyptian *Rhetorius's* excerpt¹ from the treatise by *Teucer Babylonius* concerning the Zodiac we find a constellation mentioned as ἐν οὐρανῷ κεφαλὰ δὺω, οἱ λεγόμενοι βασιλὶς τε καὶ Ἀδωνις². The activity of *Rhetorius* is usually dated to the 5th century³ (that of *Teucer* to the 1st cent. A.D.). As F. Boll has shown⁴, the reading βασιλὶς τε καὶ Ἀδωνις, which is found in only one of the texts of *Rhetorius*⁵, is due to an incorrect tradition which was vigorous enough to sustain up until the 12th century, where it is found in works of the Byzantine poet *Johannes Kamateros*⁶ in the form καὶ κεφαλὰ λεγόμενα Ἀδωνιβασιλίδος⁷.

In the constellation under discussion, Adonis, in other texts, is featured together with Aphrodite, but as shown by Boll, the latter here more likely represents a deity from the Nether World. ΜΕΛΧΕΙΡΑΔΩΝΕΙΝ may well be intended to render an association of this kind, and it may thus be that we find yet another pair enumerated at this point.—It is uncertain what the name of C II's third ἔξουσία ΚΑΛΙΛΑΟΥΜΒΡΙ is intended to render, and from where it is derived; it is clear that the first part of the name ΚΑΛΙΛΑ recurs in the corresponding ΓΑΛΙΛΑ of BG and C III. It is also impossible to trace the significance of C II's ABPICENE, BG's ABIPECCINE, and C III's ABIPECCIA.—It is tempting to regard the ninth ἔξουσία in the enumeration of all three texts: ἸΩΒΗΛ, which is further mentioned as the fourth in BG and C III, and which is probably identical with C II's fourth ἔξουσία: ἸΑΒΗΛ, as a rendering of Hebrew יוֹבֵל, and thus the enumeration of the twelve would at least include a name from the zodiac. In Antiquity, when enumerating the constellations of the zodiac, one started with either the Ram or the Lion. The former procedure was by far the most common among astrologers; but the other procedure was also applied, and by applying it the Ram becomes the ninth sign of the zodiac, just as the ἸΩΒΗΛ of our three texts is the ninth in

¹ The text is cod. Berolinensis gr. 173 (Phillip. 1577) fol. 139–146, ed. by Franz Boll in his *Sphaera*, Leipzig 1903, p. 16–21.

² The edition in F. Boll, *Sphaera*, p. 19.

³ F. Boll writes (*Sphaera*, p. 11–12) that *Rhetorius* "sicherlich an die äusserste Grenze des Altertums gerückt werden muss," and is of the opinion that his lifetime can be placed no earlier than the 5th century A.D.

⁴ *Sphaera*, p. 251–254.

⁵ Berlin Text. Moreover, a closely related text is found in Vienna.

⁶ In his poem about the paranatellonta of the zodiac, edited by F. Boll in *Sphaera* p. 25–30.

⁷ The edition in F. Boll, *Sphaera*, p. 28.

their enumeration. It is, nevertheless, doubtful whether we may consider it a rendering of the name of the Ram; first, it is also found in the place of the fourth ἔξουσία in BG and C III, and second, the preference of AJ is not to mention the known, but to reveal the secret names.

It is not a matter of surprise that the names of Belias and Adonis are associated with rulers installed over the depth of the abyss; therefore, the five kings placed over the depth of the abyss (C II 59,6) are undoubtedly intended to signify the latter five of the twelve; this is also implied by the addition to the name of the twelfth ἔξουσία ΒΕΛΙΑC in C II: ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΤΙΣΧΝ ΨΥΚ ΝΑΜΝΤΕ.

Why, then, does the Apocryphon of John divide the twelve ἔξουσία into two groups: one consisting of seven who govern the firmaments of heaven, and one consisting of five who govern the depth of the abyss?

The two “sacred” numbers may have been the determining factor in this arrangement. It would be better, however, if we can detect an astronomical division of the twelve celestial signs of the zodiac into, respectively, seven and five. It will be reasonable to assume that a division of this kind was the author’s model for dividing the twelve into seven governing heaven and five governing the abyss. This division of the twelve signs of the zodiac does, in fact, occur in the dividing of the ecliptic by the celestial equator.

The two constellations in which the celestial equator divides the ecliptic, together with those which are above it comprise seven in all; those which lie under the equator are the five remaining constellations. If the celestial equator intersects the ecliptic at Aries and Libra, the seven constellations which completely or partly lie above the celestial equator comprise the signs from Aries to Libra, and the five are the signs from Scorpius to Pisces. This definitely presupposes that one adheres to the division which applied up until Hipparchus, where the equator intersects the centers of the signs of the equinox, while thereafter in astronomy the division was made at the beginning of the signs of the equinox¹.

59,10–22 *Ialtabaoth’s Weakness and Imprudent Ungodliness.*

This brief paragraph has no parallel in BG’s nor C III’s Apocryphon of John. Although in the contents of the last part of the paragraph one can trace an agreement with these two versions, to the first part of it, to which we shall count the words up to and including the word ΕΥΘΟΝΕ, not even a similar idea is indicated.

A determining factor in the understanding of the contents is the meaning of the expression ΑΥΤΡΕΚΑΚΕ Π ΟΥΘΕΙΝ (l. 11–12); it can be translated so that one regards it as the complete victory of light over darkness, with the result that darkness now becomes entirely light and identical with light; with this translation it contradicts the following phrases where it is evident that darkness does not completely vanquish light, but merely weakens (“darkens”) it. However, it can

¹ Cf. A. Bouché-Leclercq: *L’Astrologie grecque*, p. 160–161 (Paris 1899).

also be interpreted that light does not vanquish darkness entirely, but merely makes it somewhat lighter; in this sense, it becomes a parallel to the following declaration stating that darkness weakens light. The latter meaning which perhaps finds support by the repeated **ΔΕ** seems to fit the context best, because the Apocryphon of John scarcely wants to recount the superiority of light over darkness¹, but the fact that the blending of light and darkness yields something which is weak—no matter whether it is regarded as light or as darkness—and, likewise, Ialtabaoth, who is a blending of light and darkness, is weak. The point of departure for inserting this line of reasoning is l. 10's statement that he was a darkness of ignorance, and this should serve to explain the weakness of Ialtabaoth (l. 15).

A couple of philological peculiarities are found in the section in l. 11 and 12, where the temporalis form **ΝΤΑΡΕΥ** (bis) clearly indicates a dialectal influence from Achmimic (instead of class. Sahidic **ΝΤΕΡΕΥ**)—In l. 14–15 we have a periphrastic conjugation in the expression **ΑΥΨΩΠΕ ΕΥΨΩΝΕ**². The last verb must be a qualitative of the verb **ΨΩΝΕ** instead of the form **ΨΟΟΝΕ**. To my knowledge the form **ΨΩΝΕ** is not attested hitherto³; however, a single **Ω** instead of a double is not unusual in Sahidic (cf. the qualitative **ΤΟΒΕ** (S) equal to the qualitative **ΤΟΟΒΕ** (S) of the verb **ΤΩΒΕ** “seal”).

L. 15–18 **ΠΑΡΧΩΝ** must be Ialtabaoth; in C II 62,15, he is named **ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΩΝ**, but elsewhere in C II he can also be named merely **ΠΑΡΧΩΝ** (C II 75,6) like in BG 69,8 and C III 35,13. To stress the word **ΑΡΧΩΝ** it is not only modified with the demonstrative article, but also brought forth and placed at the beginning of the sentence. Ialtabaoth has two other names here: Saklas and Samael. In BG (BG 41,6 and 42,10) and in C III (C III 17,12) Ialtabaoth also bears the name **ΣΑΚΛΑΣ**; in C III 18,10 we have the form **ΣΑΚΛΑ**. On the other hand, we do not find the name Samael in BG's and C III's Apocryphon of John. In C II, it is not only found in AJ, but also in the treatise about the Archons' Hypostasis, where the ruler of the powers is twice addressed as **ΣΑΜΑΗΛ**, namely in C II 135,3 and 142,25–26; after both instances, it is explained that Samael means “God of the Blind”. In the same text the same being is named **ΣΑΚΛΑ**, and this name is identified as Ialtabaoth (C II 143,7–8). In the following text without a title (concerning the genesis of Chaos) in C II Ialtabaoth is also called **ΣΑΜΑΗΛ** (C II 151,18); there the name is also associated with the meaning “blind”, since

¹ If this were true, one could imagine the section to be inspired by Joh 1,5. Even though the term **Π̄ ΟΥΕΙΝ** (S; B correspondingly reads **ΕΡ ΟΥΩΙΝΙ**) is also found in John 1,5, it has the significant difference that in Joh it is the *light* which shines or lights, while in the Apocryphon of John it is the *darkness*.

² Cf. P. Jernstedt, *Zum Gebrauch des koptischen Qualitativs* (Comptes rendus de l'Academie des sciences de l'U.R.S.S., Leningrad 1925, p. 74–77), and Kurt Sethe: *Ein Missbrauch des Qualitativs im Koptischen* (Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache, 57, p. 138, Leipzig 1922).

³ To my knowledge only a Sahidic qualitative of the verb is attested; perhaps the qualitative which we have here is A or A₂ and as such is another of the many expression indicating Achmimic influence in the text.

it is defined as "the blind God"¹. In Irenaeus' work we find it in Adv. Haer. I, 30, but not in I, 29. Thus, of the three names which C II's Apocryphon of John attributes to the same being, we find two repeated in BG's as well as C III's AJ, and the third name is found, in addition to C II's AJ, also in other texts of C II, but all three names are only found in C II's AJ in the grouping in C II 59,15–18.

L. 18–22. The last word in l. 18 should probably be **ΑΠ[ΟΝΟ]ΙΑ**, cf. C II 58,26, where Ialtabaoth is also associated with **ΑΠΟΝΟΙΑ**. This imprudence which was characteristic of Ialtabaoth already at the beginning (C II 58,26–27), is also associated with the ignorance of Ialtabaoth's own strength and origin, as accounted for in l. 21–22². Now, Ialtabaoth's ungodliness is added to this; the term **ΨΑΥΤΕ** is usually a rendering of the Greek ἄσεβης; as we also find it in BG 56,7, where **ΜΝΤΨΑΥΤΕ** compares to C II 69,22 **ΜΝΤΑΨΕΒΗΣ**. In the eyes of the Apocryphon of John, Ialtabaoth's arrogant proclamation in C II 59,20–21 is blasphemy. No parallel to the proclamation is found in BG or C III, although, in BG's Apocryphon of John as well as in C II 61,8–9, we do have the proclamation that God is an envious or jealous God (BG 44,14–15; C III has a lacuna here, since pages 19–20 are missing). This last proclamation, which is made up of the words in Ex 20,5 (or 34,14) and Is 46,9 (or 45,5–6), has a function different from the first which renders Isaiah 46,9³. The first proclamation in C II 59,20–21 is to reflect the offensiveness of Ialtabaoth's daring to call himself God (the second serves to introduce new events). Consequently, if we do not have a parallel to C II's tradition in the first proclamation in BG (we must disregard C III because of the lacuna), the context does not vary greatly from that of BG 44,14–15. That which separates them is the present composition.—It might be pertinent to point out here briefly, that C II 59,20–21 is not the only instance presenting this version of the proclamation; we find it in the same codex in C II 134,30–31, 142,21–22 (The Hypostasis of the Archons) and in 151,11–12 (The Anonymous Treatise); oddly enough, all three instances present it in connection with Ialtabaoth being called **САМАНА**, just as here in C II 59,17–21. In spite of the otherwise variant composition, this indicates a close association between the contexts.

The entire paragraph of C II 59,10–22 is, thus, without parallels in BG's and

¹ See H.-M. Schenke, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 83 (1958), 663–664 (where several occurrences of the name Samael (Sammael) are attested), and the same author's article in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 84 (1959), 251 (where the secondary interpretation of the name as the blind God is referred to Syriac); see also references in R. McL. Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem*, p. 242, note 163; Wilson when he published the work mentioned, could not know that not only Irenaeus (Adv. Haer. 30,9), but also an AJ-text (C II) attests the name.

² The ignorance and the imprudence are constantly emphasized as circumstances of Ialtabaoth genesis and behaviour; cf., in addition to C II 58,26–27, mentioned above, also C II 57,34–35 and 58,13–14.

³ LXX.

C III's AJ, but only the remarks concerning light and darkness are found exclusively in C II's Apocryphon of John; to the rest of the section we can find fragmentary agreements with the teachings of BG's and C III's Apocryphon of John.

Are we, then, to regard this as an interpolation in the paragraph of C II's text—or has BG omitted a corresponding passage?

The clues which we have to go by in the two texts indicate that the later possibility is involved, and that C II's text belongs in the complete text: 1) BG 41,6 mentions Saklas without any further comment; but BG relates nothing about him, even though this text is otherwise careful enough to enumerate the various names of the less important beings. This particular relationship is explained if we assume that BG has omitted a passage corresponding to the one in C II 59,10–22, which enumerates the three names of Ialtabaoth. Similarly, it applies to C III, where 17,12–13 also mentions Saklas without explaining who this being is. 2) In C II, the section C II 59,10–22 fits well into the context of both the preceding and the following. However, if we compare the composition in C II with that in BG and C III, we immediately observe that it is obvious that BG not only contains a passage corresponding to C II 59,10–22, but also presents the parallel to the preceding C II 59,7–10 in a completely different context, namely in BG 42,13–18, and contains a passage comparable to the following C II 59,22–25 in another context, namely in BG 39,10–15. (The corresponding relationship is apparent in C III where we find the two sections in C III 18,12–16, and 16,11–13, even though the latter instance is a little more brief than BG 39,10–15 and C II 59,22–25). The most logical explanation for this is that two different editorial methods have been employed; C II using one method, and BG and C III another, because BG's and C III's AJ first present a brief resumé of the entire assembly of beings who were created in the world of Darkness (BG 39,6–18 ≠ C III 16,8–15) and thereafter reviews the individual groups (BG 39,18ff. ≠ C III 16,15ff.), while C II immediately reviews these beings, group by group, in its presentation. Since, as mentioned earlier, BG 41,6 and C III 17,12–13, presuppose a passage mentioning the names of Ialtabaoth corresponding to C II 59,15–18, it is reasonable to assume that not only the omission of a similar passage, but also the difference in sequence which is found in C II's, BG's and C III's present texts of Apocryphon of John is due to editorial revisions and changes in BG's and C III's Apocryphon of John as compared to a more original tradition.

Consequently, we have only reason to assume that a reasoning comparable to the one conveyed in C II 59,10–15, once existed also in the source of BG and C III, exactly as the sources from which BG and C III stem must at one time have presented a tradition which defined the name of the archon as being treble.

Thus, C II's tradition must be regarded as more original than that of BG or C III. BG and C III have merely shortened their texts.

59,22–25 — 365 *Angels are Created Gradually*] ≠ BG 39,10–15, partly ≠ C III 16,11–13).

The tradition varies in C II, BG and C III. The latter AJ text has not conveyed a number for the total of the angels, C II computes 365, BG only 360. The details also vary: while C II and C III have the 3. pers. plural as subject prefix for **TAMIO: AY-** (C II 59,22, however, only has the preliminary subject for the following **ÑAPXΩN**, C III 16,11), BG has the 3. pers. singular **AΥ-**; in C II, seven powers are involved, each having six angels, but in BG and C III there are seven angels, each having three strengths: BG, furthermore, involves seven angels for *each* (BG 39,10–11 **ΜΠΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΑ ΜΜΟΥΥ**) of the twelve angels or **ἐξουσίαι**, who are under him, while C III merely states that seven angels are created for them (C III 16,12 **ΝΑΥ**). Likewise, C II only has a **ΝΑΥ**, nor does it express a distributive; however, one can logically derive the distributive in C II from that which follows where it states concerning the creation of the six angels, that it happens **ΑΠΟΥΑ** (C II 59,24–25), and the same undoubtedly applies to C III, since in the following it is added that it happens **ΚΑΤΑ ΠΙΝΕ ÑΠΙΨΟΡΙ ΠΤΥΠΟΣ ΠΗ ΕΤΣΑ ΤΕΥΕΣΗ** (C III 16,13–15, cf. BG 39,15–18). This refers to the world of light where, e.g., the four powers come forth, each having three aeons (C III 11,14–12,24). In C III 16,12, **ΝΑΥ** signifies the twelve angels; in BG it is for each of the twelve that seven angels are created; but in C II it is not immediately clear what is meant by **ÑAPXΩN** who create seven strengths for themselves. It can be interpreted as the twelve **ἐξουσίαι**, but one can also understand it as the seven kings who are mentioned in C II 59,4–5, because the Greek **ÑAPXΩN** (C II 59,23) corresponds with the Coptic **ÑPPOOY** (C II 59,4–5). By the latter interpretation even more divergences appear between the teachings found in the three versions of AJ. The variation becomes especially evident when one attempts to estimate how the totals of 365 and 360 angels mentioned in C II 59,25 and BG 39,14–15, respectively, are calculated. Even though one can, perhaps, remove some of the discrepancy, e.g., by not regarding the **ÑAPXΩN** mentioned in C II as the seven kings, but as the twelve **ἐξουσίαι**, or by, e.g., regarding the creation of seven powers or angels mentioned in C II and C III as being distributive: for *each*, a difference still remains which cannot be accounted for, and which can only indicate a variation in the tradition of the source. C II's seven powers and six angels conflict with BG's and C III's seven angels and three angels, and C II's total: 365 conflicts with BG's total of 360. However, the final total was probably more important in the Apocryphon of John than the individual units of its enumeration. Of course, one can try to set up the mathematical basis for the result, as Walter C. Till has already done for BG¹, but one must remember that AJ itself apparently placed no importance on giving a detailed explanation of how the sum of 360 or 365 was calculated. Walter C. Till made the calculation in this manner²:

¹ Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, p. 42–43.

² Op. cit., p. 42–43.

twelve angels.....	12
each having 7 angels, 7×12	84
each of these having 3 powers, 3×84	252
Total...	348

To this, another 12 should be added, either as one more power for each of the 12 angels, or as the seven kings of heaven plus the five of the nether world which BG enumerates later (BG 41,13ff.). Thus, the total of 360 would be the result.

For the sake of completeness, an attempt to arrive at C II's total of 365 will also be presented here; furthermore, this will serve to emphasize the uncertainty which is apparent in the nonspecific account in C II, but it will also indirectly serve to stress that the establishment of the host of 365 angels was not important, but the total of 365 was important in itself.

One can set up the calculation as follows:

The three <i>names</i> of the Archons are three (C II 59,15-18).....	3
Twelve (C II 58,28-59,4).....	12
Seven archons of heaven (C II 59,4-5).....	7
These seven each has 7 powers (C II 59,23).....	49
These 49 each has 6 angels (C II 59,24).....	294
	365

However, it can also be set up as follows:

The archon constitutes one (C II 59,15).....	1
The archon has three names (C II 59,15-18).....	3
Heaven's 7 kings are the archons, which create 7 powers each (C II 59,23).....	49
These 49 powers, together with the 3 names, comprise 52, which each creates 6 angels, in all 312 (C II 59,24).....	312
	365

More important than speculations concerning the mathematical problem—speculations which must remain uncertain because of the nature of the material available,—is the final sum of 365 angels. It is obvious that the two numbers refer to the sum of the days of the year, and that one of them, 360, surely refers to the number of degrees in the zodiac as well. If it concerns the days of the year, then 360 must be reminiscent of the civil year of 360 days, before the insertion of the five epagomens, while 365 signifies the astronomical year of 365 days, or the calendar year of 365 days like the year of Sosigenes without the intercalary day.

One cannot determine which one of these was original in the three versions

of the Apocryphon of John. Nevertheless, it is clear that each of the texts consistently maintained its numeral; this is observed in C II, which in C II 67,3 once more attests the number of angels as 365, and in BG, which in BG 50,18–19 once more attests the number of 360, as well as in C III even though in the place which corresponds to C II 59,25 and to BG 39,14–15 it has not mentioned the total, it seems to attest 360 as the sum of the angels in C III 23,17–18 (damaged). Nor can one determine what has caused a change in the original sum.

The decanal and decad teaching of astrology with its division of the zodiac into zones of the 36 decans, each containing a decad of the degrees of the zodiac, still existed after the number of days of the civil year was changed to comprise, not 360+5, but 365 (+1, under given circumstances).

The difference especially shows us that C II digresses from BG and C III not only by its longer and more detailed account, but also in a few particulars in the content of its teaching.

59,26–60,10 *The Forms of the Seven, Ialtabaoth's Multitude of Forms, His Role as Ruler, and His Self-Glorification.* (BG 41,16–43,6 ≠ C III 17,20–18,22).

The text of C II 59,26 is undoubtedly corrupt, because **†ΔΕ ΝΕ Ν̄CΩΜΑ Ν̄ΝΡΙΝ** in the manuscript does not make sense; BG's and C III's versions do not assist us here because they deviate greatly and are mutually different; in the corresponding 41,16–17, BG reads **ΝΡΑΝ ΔΕ Μ̄ΠΕΘΟΥ Ν̄ΝΕΤΖΙΧΝ ΤCΑΨΥΕ Μ̄ΠΕ**, while C III 17,20–21 reads **ΝΕΤ̄Ν̄2ΡΑΪ ΖΙΧ̄Ν ΤCΑΨΥΕ Μ̄ΠΕ ΝΕΥΡΑΝ Ν̄ΕΘΟΥ ΝΕ ΝΑΪ**. It would be logical to interpret **†** as being the verb *to give*, and then to imagine that the copyist made an error by omitting an **ΑΥ** or **ΑΥ** before **†**: but then it would become difficult to carry on the continuity in the sentence because of the **ΝΕ** which follows **ΔΕ**; consequently, it is better to imagine that it was originally a nominal clause which read **ΝΑΪ ΔΕ ΝΕ Ν̄CΩΜΑ Ν̄ΝΡΙΝ**. We prefer this reading here, because a confusion of a **ΝΑΪ** with a **†** is not inconceivable, and because by accepting this we avoid difficulty with the following **ΝΕ**, which must now be interpreted as a copula in the nominal clause. Naturally, one cannot completely disregard the possibility that the copyist has omitted a complete line which nearly corresponded either to BG's 41,16–17 or to C III 17,20–21. The possibility of an attempt to correct C II 59,26 might be indicated by the nearly erased **†**, and if this is the case, the fact that it is only a matter of a correction in the letter **†**, points in the direction of the reading which we prefer here, where **†** is corrected to **ΝΑΪ**.

The seven are enumerated by name for the first time in C II 59,26–35, and for the second time in C II 60,15–25. The corresponding enumerations are found BG in BG 41,16–42,7 and BG 43,6–44,4, respectively, as well as in C III 17,20–18,7 and C III 18,22ff., respectively, but only the introductory words of the latter are preserved. To this we may add that powers attached to each of the seven are also mentioned twice, namely, in addition to C II 61,15–25 ≠ BG

43,6-44,4 ≠ C III 18,22ff. (fragment.), also in C II 63,13-23 ≠ BG 49,9-50,4 ≠ C III 22,18-23,6.

Formally, however, there is a variance between C II and BG+C III, because in C II 59,26-35, it is the different *bodies* (ἸΚΩΜΑ) which the *names* (ἸΠΙΝ) have, which are to be enumerated, while BG and C III state that an enumeration of the names which the glory has given those who were placed over the seven heavens will follow; however, the names are also mentioned in C II, so that, actually, the contents are identical: an account of the names as well as the forms of the seven beings. The term ΠΙΝ in C II 59,26 must represent a designation of those who bear the names. The form ΠΙΝ is admittedly Sahidic, just like the usual form ΠΑΝ, even though ΠΙΝ is a rare form.

L. 26 ἸΚΩΜΑ is explained by the repeated 20, which can mean "face", but has a much wider meaning; it often renders the Greek πρόσωπον (nearly always plural), and it can also render μορφή; the context definitely seems to indicate that a definite *terminus technicus* is implied by the term 20. Neither Carl Schmidt nor W. C. Till seem to present this in their treatment of BG. W. C. Till renders the word 20 by "Gesicht": "damit ist überhaupt das Aussehen, die Erscheinung gemeint" (Die gnostischen Schriften des Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, p. 123, notes). This is a correct translation, but the very special sense of the word in this instance is indicated by the use of the word ἸΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ in C II 60,1, where it obviously replaces Ἰ20, and the use of 20 seven times in C II 59,26-34. The sense in which ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ as well as 20 is presented here compares with the one we find in the astrological prosopa-speculation (cf. W. Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansterbilder*, 1936, p. 31 and p. 248ff.), where πρόσωπον not only describes the face, but includes the entire being who bears the face, or, in other words, the shape or forms. This also appears in the example from Testamentum Salomonis, which W. Gundel (p. 31) adduces, because there (Test. Salom. XVIII, 1) alternatively the terms -πρόσωπα and -μορφα characterize the appearance of the 36 decans. While C II, in 60,1, uses the term πρόσωπον, in the corresponding place BG 42,10 uses a form of μορφή, and C III also has this in its parallel (C III 18,10). Thus, ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ, 20 and ΜΟΡΦΗ seem, in our versions of the Apocryphon of John, to be used in the sense of "shape or form", and the various forms which are enumerated are the ἸΚΩΜΑ which C II 59,26 mentions. —The use of 20 and ΑΠΕ in C II 59,30-31 shows that 20 is not intended to convey the meaning "face" but must have the same meaning as ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ and designate the entire shape or form; on the other hand, the term ΑΠΕ means the head of the body.

C III 17,22-18,6, instead of C II's and BG's Sahidic 20 consistently uses 2Α, which is usually, although not exclusively, found in Achmimic texts.

The tradition concerning the seven names and the seven bodies is not entirely identical in C II, BG and C III. The spelling varies between the texts, and in a couple of instances completely different names are handed down. In C II, the first of the seven names is ΑΘΩΘ in the first enumeration as well as in the

second; and as far as the name is concerned, originally, it is certainly the same word as the first of the twelve, which is repeated in BG's **ΙΑΩΘ**, which we find in both enumerations of the seven in BG, and the same word is found in C III's **ΑΩΘ** in the only enumeration preserved there. Thus, this word has developed into **ΑΘΩΘ** in the text of C II.

In C II 59,27–28, the second name is **ΕΛΩΑΙΟΥ**, but in the same codex in 60,18, it is **ΕΛΩΑΙΩ**; in BG and C III, we have the form **ΕΛΩΑΙΟC**. The name is undoubtedly derived from Hebrew Elohîm, as Origenes (*Contra Celsum* VI, 32) supposed with regard to Ἐλωαῖος which he quoted in the diagram borrowed from the Ophites.

C II enumerates the third name in the first enumeration as **ΑCΤΑΦΑΙΟC** and in the second, **ΑCΤΡΑΦΑΙΟC**; BG calls it **ΑCΤΑΦΑΙΟC** and C III reads **ΑCΤΟΦΑΙΟC**.

The fourth name in C II is **ΙΑΩ** as in BG, but in C III 18,1, it is **ΙΑΖΩ**. The sixth is named **ΑΔΩΝΙΝ** or **ΑΔΩΝΕΙΝ** in C II and C III, and in BG **ΑΔΩΝΙ**; in C II 59,33, the seventh name is **CAΒΒΕΔΕ**, while in C II 60,25 it is called **CAΒΒΑΤΕΩΝ** and in BG as well as in C III, **CAΒΒΑΤΑΙΟC**.

More important than these different spellings is the fact that, as mentioned earlier, a completely different name has been conveyed in C II than in BG and C III. One of these is the name which is **CAΒΑΩΘ** in C II's first enumeration (C II 59,31), and in the second enumerations has the form **CANBAΩΘ** (C II 60,20) which corresponds to BG's fifth name in the second enumeration **CAΒΑΩΘ** (BG 43,20–21), instead of **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟC** as found in the first enumeration in BG and C III (BG 43,3; C III 18,3). Unfortunately, the second enumeration in C III is not preserved. As mentioned before, (in the investigation of the twelve ἔξουσίαι), by comparing C II 58,27–59,4 with BG 40,5–19 and C III 16,20–17,5, we find that the latter two texts attest **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟC** and **CAΒΑΩΘ** as fifth and seventh of the twelve ἔξουσίαι, respectively, while C II identified **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΥ** with **CAΒΑΩΘ** and endowed the fifth ἔξουσία with these two names. This direct identification of **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΥ** with **CAΒΑΩΘ** is the same as the indirect identification of **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟC** with **CAΒΑΩΘ** which we find here in BG 42,3 and BG 43,20–21, where the fifth strength is given these names in both of these places. The last name, **CAΒΑΩΘ**, compares well with C II 60,20 **CANBAΩΘ**; the first is found again in C III 18,3 **ΑΔΩΝΑΙ[ΟC]**. The most logical explanation for these variations and agreements is to assume that in AJ **ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟC** was identical with **CAΒΑΩΘ**, or it was just another name for the same being. In this manner, it is readily understandable that the one name can very well have been the only designation used, like in C II 59,31 and C II 60,20, but also that the Apocryphon of John can freely interchange them as in BG 42,3 and BG 43,20–21 (cf. C III 18,3).

In the case of the name of the first of the seven which C II calls **ΑΘΩΘ** in its first as well as in its second enumeration, it is certainly the same name which—as mentioned previously—is repeated in BG's **ΙΑΩΘ**, as found there in both enumerations and in C III's **ΑΩΘ** in the only enumeration preserved there; this

name has then developed into **ΑΘΩΘ** in C II; cf. above remarks concerning C II 58,29.

ΑΘΩΘ is called **ΟΥΖΟ ΝΝΕCΟΥΥ**. This could mean: the form of a lamb, or the head of a lamb, if one reads **ΟΥΖΟ ΝΝΕCΟΥΥ** for **ΟΥΖΟ ΝΝΕCΟΥΥ**, but according to the reading of the text, it can also mean: a head for the six. The first possibility would be very compatible with the following enumeration of the animal forms, and a copying error confusing **Ν** with **Ν** is frequently found. The second possibility renders a good meaning, because the other six beings are mentioned in the following; but then it is necessary to interpret **ΖΟ** in a different sense than the one used in the following six instances, namely "forms" (=πρόσωπον or μορφή); and if this is true, it must be understood in the sense "chief", to which **ΖΟ** would fit poorly, while **ΑΠΕ** or, perhaps, **ΧΩ** would fit well. However, it does not involve the rank which the seven various beings hold, but which **CΩΜΑ** the particular name possesses (cf. C II 59,26). Therefore, the second possibility must be excluded or considered secondary in the relationship of C II to BG and C III, resulting from a lack of understanding of the character of the text. Yet, what about the reading of **ΟΥΖΟ ΝΝΕCΟΥΥ** in the sense of: the shape of a sheep? Here it must be noted that a correction of the text may not be necessary, because the line above the first **Ν** should, perhaps, continue above the second **Ν**. It remains to compare C II's text with that of BG and C III.

The corresponding being in BG and C III does not have the form of a sheep, but the form of a lion, because BG attests **ΦΟ ΜΜΟΥΙ** and C III **ΠΖΑ ΝΜΘΕΙ**, respectively, for **ΙΑΩΘ** and **ΑΩΘ**. Is there connexion between C II's portrayal of **ΑΘΩΘ** as "the shape of a sheep" and BG' and C III's "the shape of a lion"? **ΜΟΥΙ** usually renders **λέων** and **ΕCΟΥΥ** **πρόβατον**; but in a few individual instances we find the term **ΜΟΥΙ** in the sense of "the ram", as we find in the place name **ΘΜΟΥΙ** (Thmuis). It is reasonable to assume that when a scribe who was copying the text which eventually became C II's Apocryphon of John, came upon a **ΜΟΥΙ** (comparing to the texts of BG and C III), he interpreted it to be **ΜΟΥΙ** in the sense of "ram", but being aware of the dual meaning of the word (lion—ram), to avoid the dual meaning, he chose to substitute it with the more ordinary **ΕCΟΥΥ**. This presupposes a Coptic source for the present Apocryphon of John contained in C II.

C II ascribes a **ΤΥΦΩΝ**- form to the second name. Even though the term **τυφῶν** can be employed in astrological texts about Ursa Major (as found in Teucer Babylonius's text in Cod. Laurentianus XXVIII, 34, ed. of F. Boll in *Sphaera* p. 41ff.), in magical texts the meaning of "ass" is attested, and in this sense C II's **ΤΥΦΩΝ** agrees with BG's and C III's Coptic **ΕΙΩ** which means ass.

L. 29 has a lacuna; however, by the help of the context in C II and BG 42,1 and C III 17,24-18,1, it can be restored to read: **ΟΥΖ[Ο ΝΖΘΕΙ]ΤΕ ΠΕ**.

L. 30-31, the minor lacuna in the text should certainly be restored to **ΟΥΖ[Ο ΝΔΡΑΧΩ]Ν ΠΕ ΕΥΗΤΕΥ CΑΥΥΕ ΝΑΠΕ**, cf. BG 42,2 **ΦΟ ΝΖΟΥ CΑΥΥΕ ΝΑΠΕ** and C III

18,2 ΠΖΑ ΝΔΡΑΧΩΝ ΝΖΑ ΝΜΟΥΕΙ. The use of ΖΟ and ΑΠΕ in C II 59,30–31 clearly indicates that ΖΟ in first position as mentioned above, cannot be in the sense of “head” or “face”, but must have the same meaning as ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ and ΜΟΡΦΗ, namely, form, figure or shape. On the other hand, ΑΠΕ means the “head” of the body.

With its addition of ΕΥΝΤΕΥ ΣΑΨΥΕ ΝΑΠΕ C II agrees with BG’s ΝΣΑΨΥΕ ΝΑΠΕ, while C III varies by stating that ΙΑΖΩ had the form of a dragon with the face (head) of a lion. C II and BG describe a creature here which is like the one in Pistis Sophia, a basilisk having seven heads (PS 137,18), but C III’s being corresponds to the description of Ialtabaoth which C II 58,9 presents (≠ BG 37,20–21 ≠ C III 15,11), and which in one context of Pistis Sophia is also ascribed a single power (PS 141,22).

In C II, the fifth name, ΣΑΒΑΩΘ, apparently has the form of a snake which resembles that of the fourth name—except for the seven heads; in BG and C III, the fifth name (ΑΔΩΝΑΙΟΣ) has a similar form.

In C II, the sixth name has the form of an ape (ΟΥΖΟ ΝΗΝΕ ΠΕ), and likewise, one must also (as W. C. Till correctly asserts in his edition of BG p. 125) interpret BG’s ΦΟ ΝΓΑΠΕΙ (and C III’s ΠΖΑ ΝΓΑΠΙ), while W. E. Crum—even though formed as a question—placed BG’s ΓΑΠΕΙ in connection with ΚΑΠΑΙ (partridge) (W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, 114a). BG and C III have the same Coptic word here; C II has a completely different one. On the other hand, C II is followed by BG in the description of the form of the seventh name as a shining shape of fire with reference to the term ΚΩΖΤ, where conversely, C III has the word ΚΡΩΜ.

For philological reasons, the exposition in C II 59,34–35 ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΖΕΒΔΟΜΑΣ ΝΤΕΠΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ might, with its ΤΑΙ ΤΕ, well refer to the last named, seventh being, but the preceding enumeration of seven beings in all indicates that it should be interpreted as applying to all seven of them, cf. the corresponding exposition in C II 54,8–9: ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΠΕΝ[Τ]ΑΣ Ν[ΑΙ]ΩΝ ΝΖΟΥΤΣΙΜΕ. C II’s ΤΖΕΒΔΟΜΑΣ compares to C III’s ΘΕΒΔΟΜΑΣ—which is perhaps more elegant, while BG has the Coptic ΤΜΕΖΣΑΨΥΕ; but all three texts use the same term for week: ΠΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ; not here, but in another connection, this word can also signify Saturday. The question arises whether there is an intentional difference in the use of ΤΜΕΖΣΑΨΥΕ in BG, and ΤΖΕΒΔΟΜΑΣ in C II and C III. Now, ΖΕΒΔΟΜΑΣ can mean week as well as a number of seven or a unit of seven; even though the context in C II and C III makes it apparent that the word must mean number of seven here, at first glance the word might cause the reader to be astonished because it is not a univocal terminus. But the word which BG uses, ΤΜΕΖΣΑΨΥΕ (BG 42,8), in this connection cannot be misunderstood; it can only mean the seventh here. Consequently, we have a more precise terminology in BG than in C II and C III, but this does not indicate that BG’s reading is earlier than C II’s and C III’s, because as a Coptic word BG’s reading cannot have been taken over from a Greek text, while, on the other hand, C II’s and

C III's can be a transcription of a word from a Greek text. It must be assumed that BG (or even a Coptic source for BG) by its use of the term **ΤΜΕΖCΑΨΥΕ** has attempted to express itself more clearly than was possible by using the word **ΤΖΕΒΔΟΜΑC**, since, otherwise, it would be expected that in order to render ἑβδομός BG would have used the ordinary Coptic translation, **ANĒ** (cf. Deut 16,16 in Sahidic and Bohairic translation; Ex 34,22 in Bohairic trans.). Until now, **ΤΜΕΖCΑΨΥΕ** has not been attested as a translation of ἑβδομός.

C II diverges from BG and C III in that C II, unlike these two texts (BG 42,9–10; C III 18,8–9), has no explanation of the function of the seven; BG's and C III's nearly identical explanation (BG: **ΝΑĪ ΝΕ ΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΠΚΟCΜΟC**; C III: **ΝΑĪ ΝΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΕΖΡΑĪ ΕΞΝ ΠΚΟCΜΟC**) relating that it is these who rule the world, has no parallel in C II. Does this involve an omission in C II, or an insertion in the texts of BG and C III? There is no interruption in the continuity of the sentences in C II, BG nor C III which could indicate either an omission or an insertion. The content of the texts alone can give us an opportunity to consider the nature of the matter. The explanatory remark in BG and C III differs from similar phrases found in other places of AJ's account of the establishment of the world of light and the world of darkness by not merely explaining what the various units contain, but presenting an interpretation of the meaning of this particular unit—the hebdomad of the week; cf., e.g., the explanatory remarks in C II 54,9–10 ≠ BG 29,15–18 ≠ C III 9,9–10. Furthermore, even though the construction of BG 42,9 and C III 18,8 is not incorrect, instead of **ΝΑĪ ΝΕ ΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ** and **ΝΑĪ ΝΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ**, respectively, one would expect to find the ordinary relative connection introduced by **ΕΤΕ**, as we find it in other contexts (e.g. BG 29,15; BG 33,16; C III 9,9; C III 12,7). On the other hand, the introduction to the clause as found in BG 42,9 and C III,9 would fit well with an explanatory marginal note by a commentator, a marginal note which slipped into the later during the copying. The clues which we have to go by indicate, thus, that C II has not omitted anything, but that BG and C III, on the other hand, contain an explanatory phrase not originally found in the Apocryphon of John.

After C II, in 59,26–35, has enumerated the forms with which each of the seven names were provided, it now relates that Ialtabaoth himself in contrast—expressed by the term **ΔΕ** in C II 59,36—to these seven had many types of forms. From the words **ΝΕΟΥΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΜΗΗΨ[Ε] ΜΠΡΟCΩΠΟΝ** (C II 59,36–60,1) and **ΚΑΤΑ ΠΕΥΟΥΩΨΕ** (C II 60,3), his form or appearance could be conceived to the constant, but this is hardly the intention, because it is more likely the idea concerning the emanation of the various beings from Ialtabaoth and his participation in the beings subordinate to him which is implied by the expression **ΕΥΟΥΗ2 ΖΙΧΩΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΖΩCΤΕ ΑΤΡΕΥΕΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΖΟ ΝΑΖΡΕΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ** (C II 60,1–2). Thus, the idea which C II's Apocryphon of John will present is that Ialtabaoth is the one who is responsible for all of them, because he was their source, and therefore the different forms of the various beings are also forms of Ialtabaoth.

These forms must be conceived as possibilities which are innate in Ialtabaoth, indeed as possibilities which Ialtabaoth has realized in the individual forms of the beings. The realization occurred when—as it is stated—Ialtabaoth “rested upon them all”, and thereby brought a shape to them all according to his will. The sentence in C II 60,2, which is introduced by **ΖΩΤΕ** + **Α** + causative infinitive, should be regarded as denoting the intention (“in order to”) rather than being consequential (“so that”), because consequential clauses with **ΖΩΤΕ** have a verb in the conjunctive, and we do not find a **ΝΕΥΕΙΝΕ** here, but an **ΑΤΡΕΥΕΙΝΕ**. This clause naturally modifies the preceding **ΕΥΟΥΗΖ ΖΙΔΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ**.

However, if we compare the passage in C II with the corresponding passages in BG and C III, we immediately see that the text in BG 42,12 and C III 18,10–11 and the context to which it belongs has a construction very different from that of the C II text. BG and C III are shorter than C II, and, in turn, BG is a little shorter than C III. The clause beginning with **ΖΩΤΕ** + the conjunctive in BG and C III, and which seems to be consequential, must depend on that which is stated about Ialtabaoth in the two texts: **ΝΑ +ΑΨΗ ΜΜΟΡΦΗ** (BG) and **ΝΑ ΠΙΑΤΟ ΝΜΟΡΦΗ** (C III). It cannot be dependent on a clause comparable to C II’s **ΕΥΟΥΗΖ ΖΙΔΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ** for such a clause is not found in BG and C III. The content is also different since C II states that Ialtabaoth *brought* a shape to all of them, while BG and C III state that Ialtabaoth *revealed* himself in each of the shapes. The consequential clause in BG and C III is obviously dependent on the qualification of Ialtabaoth: “the one with the multitude of shapes” (BG: **ΠΑ +ΑΨΗ ΜΜΟΡΦΗ**, C III: **ΠΑ ΠΙΑΤΟ ΝΜΟΡΦΗ**), while C II’s clause beginning with **ΖΩΤΕ Α-** does not depend on Ialtabaoth’s qualification: **ΝΕΟΥΝΤΑΥ ΜΜΑΥ ΝΟΥΜΗΝΨ[Ε] ΜΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ**, but on the following clause relating that Ialtabaoth rested above all of them. In BG, we find the word **ΣΑΚΛΑΣ** as an apposition to Ialtabaoth, not as a relative clause as in C III with **ΕΤΕ ΠΕ**; in C II it seems that there is more of a progressive development, because the connection of the sentences here begins with **ΤΟΤΕ**.

C II’s account is somewhat more detailed, but it is hardly possible to form a conclusive opinion concerning the mutual relationship between the two groups of texts on the basis of this section. It seems as if BG and C III presuppose the knowledge of Ialtabaoth’s many shapes; perhaps this qualification is the essence of Sakla(s), being attested as the second name of Ialtabaoth in the two texts, but not in C II.

The word **ΣΑΡΑΦΙΝ** in C II 60,4, describes beings which surround Ialtabaoth; the identity of these beings is not directly stated, but it is most reasonable to assume that they are the seven mentioned previously. They are not mentioned in BG and C III. Here, as in 59,7–8, C II allows Ialtabaoth to share his fire, but does not mention that Ialtabaoth does not impart any of the strength of light he received from his mother, as the text in C II 59,8–10 related; on the other hand, the text does state that Ialtabaoth ruled because of this strength of light. Perhaps C II presupposes that John—and the reader—remember the

information in C II 59,8–10 that the strenght of light was withheld. However, it is most certainly not a deficiency in C II's account that the withholding of the strength of light is not mentioned here, even though BG and C III both mention it in this context (BG 42,15–18; C III 18,13–16), because C II motivates Ialtabaoth's position as ruler by his possession of the strength of light from his mother. Thus, Ialtabaoth's exclusive position is sufficiently stressed, for in C II 60,4–5, it was only its *fire* which was shared.

The presentation in BG is different: there, Ialtabaoth not only shares his *fire* with them, but also his *strength* (BG 42,14–15 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΚΩΤ ΕΤΕ ΠΩΥ ΠΕ ΜΝ ΤΕΥ6ΟΜ), and, thus, it was necessary for BG to emphasize at once that it did not concern the light-strength from the mother (BG 42,15–18). However, it would not have been necessary for C III to clarify this point, because C III contains no account which compares to BG's ΜΝ ΤΕΥ6ΟΜ. All the same, in its main features, C III 18,13–16 does follow BG 42,15–18. Nevertheless, a slight disagreement gives us the impression that the text of C III may once have been different: in BG, the pronominal suffix object in ΝΤΑΥΤΑΚΜΕΥ (BG 42,17) is masculine just like the suffix in ΝΖΗΤΥ (BG 42,18); it refers to BG 42,16 ΠΟΥΟΪΝ. On the other hand, C III 18,16, lets the object (ΜΜΟC) be feminine, even though it really should have referred to ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ (masculine) in C III 18,13. The suffix must have become feminine because the author has been thinking of the ΤΔΥΝΑ-ΜΙC of the sentence inserted in C III 18,14 (but not inserted in BG). This inserted relative clause serves to define the preceding ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΖΙΛΙΚΡΙΝΕC. The anacoluthon which is recognized by the transition from masculine to feminine is explicable by the inserted ΤΔΥΝΑΜΙC, a word to which yet another feminine suffix has already referred (C III 18,15). But it would have been even more obvious if also C III had stated that Ialtabaoth had given them from his strength; then, perhaps, C III's source also contained an ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΕΥΚΡΩΜ followed by an ΕΤΕ ΠΩΥ ΠΕ ΜΝ ΤΕΥΔΥΝΑΜΙC. If this is true, the contrast expressed by the following ΔΕ will be most readily understandable, because in that case it will have been stated, one, which was his own, and, two, which was his mother's.

According to C II 60,8 f., Ialtabaoth's position as ruler causes him to call himself God. C II has already related this in 59,19–21. BG and C III, on the other hand, mention it only now (BG 43,3–4; C III 18,19–20). BG states that he "lets himself be" called ([ΑΥΤ]ΡΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ, causative infinitive), and also presents a group of Ialtabaoth's followers, while C III has the same form as C II, but adds ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΟΥ (above them.) In all three texts it is obvious that this very elevation or selfelevation, is an expression of disobedience, just as in C II 59,19–21 it was an expression of ungodliness.

60,10–25 *Seven Strengths are Attached to the Powers Surrounding Ialtabaoth* (≠ BG 43,6–44,4 ≠ C III 18,22–25 ... (fragmentary)).

The powers which surround Ialtabaoth (C II 60,11–12) must be the seven enumerated in C II 59,26–33, since the names given here coincide with those

presented in C II 60,11–25, even though the spelling differs slightly. Various strengths are now attached to these powers. The strengths seem to designate conceptions which cover different areas: goodness, providence, divinity, lordship, kingdom, zeal (or envy), and wisdom. In three of these strengths Greek words are used completely or in part (1st, 2nd and 6th power). It may be advantageous to use the Greek words in the following, instead of translating them.

It is conspicuous that the two first strengths mentioned in C II are masculine, while the last five are feminine. In BG and C III, the corresponding words are indicated as being feminine. The fact that C II uses masculine for the former, is probably due to a copying error, caused by a scribe being misled to considering **PAN** (C II 60,14) as the word implied in the following ordinal numbers, cf. C II 59,26, or it occurred under the impression of the preceding enumeration of the seven where they are referred to in the masculine form (C II 59,26–34). While writing C II 60,18–19, the scribe forgot to name the strength which was associated with the third power. On discovering this omission, the scribe also realized that the feminine form of the ordinal number should be used, but he did not notice that because of C II 60,12 **ΝCΑΨCΕ ΝCΟM** a **CΟM** ought to be implied; perhaps under the impression of Ialtabaoth's self-designation in C II 60,9, he thought that a **ΝΟΥTE** (in the feminine) should be implied. Therefore, the scribe corrected and original **ΠΜΕΖΨΟΜΤ ΔΕ ΠΕ ΑCΤΡΑΦΑΙΩ** to **ΤΜΕΖΨΟΜΤ ΝΟΥTE ΤΜΝΤΝΟΥTE ΖΑΤΝ ΠΜΕΖΨΟΜΤ ΑCΤΡΑΦΑΙΩ**, where it is best to imply a copula (**TE**) between **ΝΟΥTE** and **ΤΜΝΤΝΟΥTE**, undoubtedly a case of haplography. Then the scribe used the feminine form for the following four numerals. On the basis of C II 60,12, we will read an implied **CΟM**, which must have been in the source, instead of the copying scribe's **ΝΟΥTE** in C II 60,18.

If we compare C II 60,10–25 with corresponding passages in BG and C III, we notice first, that since pages 19–20 are missing in C III, only the introductory words are preserved (C III 18,22); in BG, we observe certain variations from C II. The sequence of the seven strengths is different in C II 60,10–25 and BG 43,6–44,4, and there are also disagreements concerning the seven strengths involved. However, the sequence of the seven strengths in C II 60,10–25 is exactly the same as that in the second enumeration in C II 63,13–23, while there is further disagreement in the sequence of the strengths enumerated in BG 43,6–44,4 and BG 49,9–50,4. The sequence in the latter enumeration seems exactly parallel to C III 22,18–23,6 even though this is very fragmentary.

Among its seven strengths, C II 60,10–25 has named one **ΚΩ2**; the word can be translated by zeal, jealousy or fervour. This strength is not mentioned in BG's version of AJ, but in its place as the fourth strength **ΚΩ2Τ** (BG 43,18) is mentioned. This word means fire. Even though these words are used consistently in C II and BG, and the second enumeration in C III also has its particular tradition (C III 22,22–23) where one must read **[ΚΑΥ]ΜΑ**, which means fire, heat or ember, it would be logical to assume that a confusion occurred in one of

the texts. If we venture to assume that C III's Greek [KAY]MA is not original and was adopted from a Greek Apocryphon of John—a logical assumption even though it cannot be proved—it could be used to clarify the relationship between ΚΩΖ and ΚΩΖΤ. The conspicuous fact that in these enumerations in C II, BG and C III using Greek terms to designate the strengths, KAYMA *alone* is masculine, while all of the other Greek terms are feminine, gives us reason to surmise that the word is not original. Thus, we have a rare instance where a Greek word in the text (C III) is hardly adopted from the Greek text, but must rather be interpreted as an attempt to render a Greek word occurring rarely in Coptic texts by a Greek term occurring more frequently in these texts. During this substitution of one Greek word for another, the translator has failed to notice that the word chosen was not feminine like the other Greek words. It is likely that it is a KAYCIC which was set aside in the Coptic text for a KAYMA. If it were a confusion of the two words, one would hardly have had a following π[ε], but a τε. The word means the act of burning, corrosion, violence, fervour. It is found in LXX in Is 4,4 in ἐν . . . πνεύματι καύσεως in the sense of God's burning spirit (Vulgata: spiritu ardoris), his spirit marked by zeal or burning fervour which cleanses. Both the zeal and the characteristic of burning fervour is rendered by ΚΩΖ and ΚΩΖΤ in Coptic. However tempting it may be to believe that an exchange of the two words has occurred in one of the texts, it is hardly the case, but we can justifiably interpret them as individual, valid attempts to render the same Greek word which also C III or its source, has found occasion to substitute with another. Thus, we can retain ΚΩΖ and ΚΩΖΤ. The word KAYCIC is not attested in the Sahidic NT, and only once in the Greek, namely Hb 6,8. On the other hand KAYMA is attested in several places, indeed it has even substituted the Greek NT's καύσων, in Ja 1,11.

In its two enumerations of the seven strengths, C II has TMNTXPC̄ as the first strength in C II 60,16 and a completely spelled out TMNTXPHCTOC in C II 63,14. As the fourth strength, C II 60,19–20 and C II 63,18 attest TMNTXOEIC. We observe that in his edition of BG, W. C. Till (p. 138, notes; cf. p. 55) has proposed that it is likely that BG 49,13 TMNTX̄C̄ should be read TMNTX̄C̄, because in C III (Till: CG I) it reads TMNTX[OEIC] in the corresponding place. The fact that W. C. Till in the edition of BG (43,16) has not made a comparable correction of TMNTX̄C̄ already in the first enumeration, is probably due to the circumstance that no parallel has been preserved in C III (C III 19–20 is missing). It is possible that X̄C̄ and X̄C̄ are sometimes mutually confused, but there does not seem to be any possibility for this assumption in C II's two enumerations of the seven strengths, because there TMNTXPHCTOC as well as TMNTXOEIC have apparently each taken its position among the seven strengths. However, only one of them is mentioned in BG's enumeration, and on the basis of C II's text one cannot find a reason to make any correction. In BG's enumeration also a strength now appears whose name seems to be C[YNECIC]; this name is not mentioned in C II's enumerations; remnants of the same name are found in C III, but the

complete name is not preserved in the corresponding places in BG nor C III, and we could perhaps read a **CYNΘECIC** instead. However, considering the number of letters, one should probably prefer **CYNECIC**.—In the matter of text, C II with its clear tradition of **TMNTXPHCTOC** as well as **TMNTXOEIC** seems to read more reliably, while BG and C III not only indicate an uncertain tradition by their fragmentary **CYNECIC**, but also hesitate between the tradition of **TMNTX̄C** (BG 43,16 and BG 49,13) and **TMNTX[OEIC]** (or perhaps **TMNTX[̄C]**) (C III 22,21). It is not easy to determine which form was earlier here, but it is reasonable to assume that C II's form is the earliest, and that BG and C III have had a source whose scribe has interpreted a **X̄C** and a **X̄C̄** as being one and the same, and therefore has corrected two names which actually were two different names in the source to one name; and to complete the seven he has inserted a **CYNECIC** as the sixth strength preceding the seventh **COΦIA** as a new name. The occurrence of **σύνεσις** and **σοφία**, sometimes almost as pairs (cf. LXX, Ex 31,3 and Ex 35,3), could have drawn **CYNECIC** into the tradition.

Judging from the names of the strengths, the seven strengths in C II as well as in BG and C III seem to mean spiritual powers of different content; they are all of such important nature that they contribute to the subsequent creation of man (C II 63,13–23 ≠ BG 49,9–50,4 ≠ C III 22,18–23,6).

60,25–61,5 *The Powers of Ialtabaoth, of which Each of the Dual Names has its own Effect, are Arranged in the Image of the Incorruptible World.* (BG 44,5–9; C III lacuna).

L. 25 One instinctively refers **NAĪ** to the preceding seven strengths which are consequently arranged so that each has its own firmament in the same manner as their powers from Athoth to Sabbateon, cf. the declaration about the kings in C II 59,4 ff.

L. 26. The identity of **NAĪ**, however, immediately seems less clear; undoubtedly, it is best to go on the correspondence which seems to exist between **NAĪ MEN** and **NPAN ΔΕ**. These words certainly reflect a Greek text which has had a **τὰ μὲν τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα**. Thus, if we imply a **PAN** in l. 26, the meaning becomes clear, since it then states: these (scil., names) were given according to the glory from heaven but the names which were given by their archigenetor

Thus, the names with which glory endows these strengths, are given for their own destruction. This means that if one knows these names which reveal the innate character and capacity of the beings, one has at once made them powerless. But if one uses the names which stem from Ialtabaoth, they are able to exercise their power.

L. 28–29 contain lacunae which can be restored with the help of C II 60,32 to read: **ΕΠΘΟ[ΡΨΡ̄ ΜΠΟΥ]ΣΟΜ NPAN ΔΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΑΥ ΕΡΟ[ΟΥ ΣΙΤΝ̄ Π]ΟΥΑΡΧΙΓΕΝΝΗΤΩΡ**. In place of the classical Sahidic possessive article **ΠΕΥ** in l. 28, one should probably read **ΠΟΥ** (A₂ or A), cf. l. 29 **ΠΟΥ**. We are thus faced with a case of Achmimic influence.

L. 28 **ĒPAN** is the above mentioned names. As such they are endowed by Ialtabaoth and are powerful. The other names, those from glory, are undoubtedly those named in the first enumeration (C II 59,26–35), which *are* their names, i.e. their real, true names.

L. 33–34 **ĒKA ΔΕ ΝΙΜ' ΑΥΤΕΝΟΥ** seems to initiate a final concluding comment which merely intends to state that the lower world uses the higher, imperishable world as a model. Nevertheless, the obvious idea that Ialtabaoth must have seen the "incorruptible" beings is immediately rejected. This agrees well with the instance in another context (C II 61,29–30) that Ialtabaoth does not believe that anyone, except his own mother, existed before him (cf. C II 62,15–18). The lower world, on the other hand, is created in the image of the higher world because of the strength which Ialtabaoth contains and which comes from the higher world. The strength from the mother also plays a decisive role here; even when serving Ialtabaoth, it has the ability to arrange an orderly world, although it has the shortcomings which result from the shortcomings of the archigenetor. Thus, the strength accounts for the similarity between the world of Ialtabaoth and the world of light.

Now if we compare C II 60,25–61,5 with BG 44,5–9, we immediately observe that BG is much shorter, but also that a certain difference is involved in the content. One can interpret BG as an abbreviation of a text which compared to C II's, and then one would instinctively stop at the word **ΑΙΩΝ** in C II 60,26 and the same word in C II 60,35 because it is the intervening section which is missing here in BG's tradition, and also because BG presents the same word twice in the same line (BG 44,7) precisely where C II's longer tradition commences (C II 60,26–35). It is not possible to say at which stage such an abridgment occurred, but it seems more reasonable to assume that there was an abridgment in BG than that C II was expanded at this point, for BG 44,7 is hardly intelligible with its reference to the aeon which is created in the image of the first aeon to exist, while C II 60,25–35 fits well with the preceding and the following. There is a good transition in C II from the more specific which is told in the preceding, and which is still the theme at the beginning of C II 60,25–61,5 where the double names are involved, through the passage containing the names from the glory from heaven, to the more general conclusive remarks that everything in Ialtabaoth's world is fashioned after the world of light. This rounding-out of the creations which is plainly introduced by the words **ĒKA ΔΕ ΝΙΜ** in C II 60,33–34, is not found in BG. How did the AJ text we find in BG happen to omit a section corresponding to C II 60,26–35? It seems that the explanation must be sought in the circumstance that BG's AJ already in BG 40,19–41,8 presents a few remarks about the double names of Ialtabaoth's beings and speaks of names both from heaven's glory and names which Saklas uses; these remarks to no small degree recall an extensive part of the text in C II 60,26–35, and one who was revising or editing the source of BG's AJ, remembering the words in BG 40,19–41,8 has omitted a section comparable to C II

60,26–35, and thereby a concluding remark corresponding to C II's has also been dropped.

A significant difference appears between C II's and BG's conception of the form of Ialtabaoth. C II denies the possibility that by his own strength Ialtabaoth should have created the world of darkness in the fashion of the world of light (C II 61,1–5); this limitation of Ialtabaoth's creative ability is not directly made in BG.

Dialectal peculiarities which indicate Achmimic or Subachmimic are found in C II 60,35 **ENTA2-** (A₂), C II 61,1 **CMAT** (A₂ A F) and C II 61,2 **NTAЧ** (A A₂ F).

61,5–13 *The Proclamation of Ialtabaoth that he is a jealous God, and the Only God* (≠ BG 44,9–19; C III lacuna).

Nearly as a contrast with the preceding emphasis of the fact that Ialtabaoth did not see the incorruptible beings, the following stresses that he saw his own work, that which was created and the multitude of angels. Seeing this completed creation, which Ialtabaoth believes to be entirely his own, although as the author of AJ has just informed us it has received its likeness with the perfected world order in the world of light, causes Ialtabaoth to proclaim himself God. His proclamation is based on false premises. This is the third time that the Apocryphon of John in C II relates that Ialtabaoth calls himself God (cf. C II 59,20–21; C II 60,8–9), but it is the first time that he calls himself a *zealous* or *jealous* God. Ialtabaoth's words here as in C II 59,20–21 are a clear reference to the OT and an intentional identification of Ialtabaoth with the God of the Old Testament (cf. Ex 20,5; Isaiah 45,5–6; cf. also Ex 34,14). The repeated accounts of Ialtabaoth calling himself God hardly refer to the various revelations of Jahve in the OT, but shall probably serve to emphasize Ialtabaoth's erroneous overestimation of himself, for in the context of C II 59,20–21 he is described as ignorant, imprudent and without knowledge of his strength; in the context of C II 60,8–9 it is emphasized that the important strength is the one which entered Ialtabaoth from Sophia and that he is disobedient. The context of C II 61,9–10 also points out Ialtabaoth's limitations. The Apocryphon of John by way of reasoning points out the exposure which Ialtabaoth gives himself by his declaration, and makes use of the double meaning of the word **KΩ2**: *zealous-jealous*.

BG in 44,9–19 has a rather exact parallel to C II's account, although BG merely has an **ANOK** (BG 44,14) which is not quite as strong as C II's **ANOK'** **ANK'** (C II 61,8); and BG seems to prefer Coptic terms in place of C II's **TKTICIC** and **ḤCHMANH**. **KTICIC** in C II 61,5 can, of course, render the act of creation, but it can just as well be read in the sense of the created, and the latter meaning seems to fit best here where the situation takes place after the completion of the act of creation; then the use of **KTICIC** compares with that in the Sahidic translation of Rom 8,39.

In C II 61,5–6, there is a reference to Gen 1,31. C II 61,11 reads **ΨΑΠΟ**, but BG 44,13 reads **2ΑΠΟ** which means *under*; C II's **ΨΑΠΟ** cannot have the usual

meaning of *to* in this context; a confusion of Ψ and Σ is possible, but C II 63,1 attests it again. Thus, it remains that ΨAPO has the meaning of *with*, just like the word from which it is derived: ⲡⲟ ; cf. W. C. Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik* 33 q.

61,13–62,15 (\neq BG 44,19–47,16 \neq (partly) C III 21,1 (from the end of the lacuna)—21,18 (fragmentary).

The Repentance and the Restoration.

61,13–17 Sophia's Perception of the Event (\neq BG 44,19–45,5; C III lacuna)

While Sophia's son was the main character in the preceding extensive paragraph of the account of the Apocryphon of John (C II 58,19–61,13), the figure of Sophia now takes the leading role. Actually, she is referred to as the mother (TMAAY), but one can only identify her as the mother of Ialtabaoth (cf. C II 57,25 and 58,20–21), namely, Sophia. She is the one who has conceived the thought of revealing an image of herself without the consent and aid of the Spirit and her fellow (C II 57,25–31), and by realizing her thought (C II 57,35) she is responsible for the existence of the imperfect thing (C II 58,3–4) and, therefore, responsible for the series of events which commence. At first, she merely becomes aware of the change in herself: her light darkens. She has indeed given light-strength to Ialtabaoth (C II 59,9), and thereby her own portion of light was reduced, but she has moreover interrupted the harmony of the world order by emanating Ialtabaoth without the consent of her fellow.

How the latter point should account for the darkening of her light, is not immediately seen. C II 61,16–17 uses nearly the same terms as AJ used previously to emphasize Sophia's wrong behaviour (C II 57,30–35; 58,5) and which AJ also uses later (C II 61,35–36). Thus, apparently it is important for AJ to establish Sophia's error firmly with precisely these expressions. This makes the idea obvious that these are didactic phrases belonging to the core of the teaching which is the basis of AJ.

As indicated by the text a little further on in AJ, the scene of the mother going to and fro is then identified with Gen 1,2. In C II 61,13–14, the term $\Psi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ is used; but in the parallel in BG 45,1 $\epsilon\pi\iota\phi[\epsilon\rho\epsilon]$ is used. In itself this one term does not suffice to show that AJ refers to Gen 1,2. This is seen by C II 61,19–21. The fact that BG here in 45,1 has preserved the Greek term with its $\epsilon\pi\iota\phi[\epsilon\rho\epsilon]$, makes it clear that it is actually the expression $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron$ in Gen 1,2 (LXX) to which reference is made.

Another Coptic term in C II, $\Psi\text{B}\bar{\text{P}} \Sigma\text{NT}\bar{\text{P}}$ (C II 61,17), also has a Greek parallel in BG: $\text{CYNZY}\rho\text{OC}$ (BG 45,3).

Both texts agree that the mother's lack, ΨTA , is that there is something in her which has diminished, but in C II it is her light (ΠΡΡΙΕ ΜΠΕCΟΥΟΕΙΝ), while in BG, it is her perfection ($\chi\omicron\kappa$). This difference can hardly be explained by

two different renderings of one word. Here we must ascertain a significant departure in the tradition, a departure, the commencement of which we have no possibility to explain; nor can we say which of these was original.

61,17–26 *Sophia's Repentance* (\neq BG 45,5–19; C III lacuna).

For the first time in the long teaching in the Apocryphon of John, John interrupts to ask Christ something, namely, the meaning of the expression used about Sophia's motion: $\Psi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$. Christ refers to that which Moses has said, and as shown in C II 61,20–21 ⲉⲓⲁⲛ̅ ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ , it is a reference to Gen 1,2 concerning God's spirit which moved *above the waters*. This scripture is now disclosed to John by Christ as being said about the repentance of the mother.

The brief dialogue in this paragraph takes us back to the situation which precedes the long teaching in C II 48,24–61,17. Again, it is the questioning John who receives an answer from Christ. Abruptly, though, this answer in the dialogue turns into a new and long teaching during which one might easily forget the situation which the entire Apocryphon of John professes to narrate, namely, the dialogue between John who inquires, and Christ who replies.

In C II 61,18 the term $\Psi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ is used about the movement of the mother; the following lines show that this is a reference to something which Moses is to have said (C II 61,20), and by the words in C II 61,20–21 one can see that it recalls Gen 1,2. However, it is conspicuous that none of the customary translations of Genesis in to Coptic uses this term ($\Psi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$) to render Gen 1,2's $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron$ but they do use the expression ⲉⲓⲁⲛ̅ ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ to render $\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \upsilon\delta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$. That Gen 1,2 is recalled, is supported by the fact that BG's text does not read $\Psi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$, but the Greek $\epsilon\pi\iota\phi[\epsilon\pi\epsilon]$ instead, that is, a clear reminiscence from Gen 1,2 (LXX). What is the result of this observation? That the author or copyist of the present version of the Apocryphon of John did not have a Coptic translation of Genesis 1,2 in mind, for then AJ would certainly have taken care to ensure that this particular word which one would interpret in its own way were precisely the same term as the particular translation; on the contrary, it is a Greek translation of Gen 1,2 which is underlying. Thus, a Greek version of the Apocryphon of John probably (as in BG's AJ $\epsilon\pi\iota\phi[\epsilon\pi\epsilon]$) read a $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron$ corresponding to LXX's. In one instance of the translation of the Apocryphon of John (BG) has preserved the Greek word, in another, namely, our C II's AJ, the translator has chosen a term which *he* thought was comparable to the Greek term without considering what a possible Coptic translation of Gen 1,2 might have used. This, together with other evidence, indicates a Greek source for the Apocryphon of John.

It is important for the tenability of this argument that C II's AJ consistently uses the term $\Psi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ during the discussion of the meaning of the word, namely C II 61,13–14; C II 61,18; C II 61,26. $\Psi\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ is not previously used to render $\epsilon\pi\iota\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, but, contrarily, $\pi\epsilon\pi\iota\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ as in Ephes 4,14.

L. 22–23 $\text{ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲁⲩⲓⲧⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ̅ⲉⲓ ⲡⲉⲥⲱⲛⲣⲉ}$ literally means “the taking away which

her son had taken", i.e., "that which her son had taken". This points to the same as C II 61,2-3 Τῶμ ἐτῆζητῇ ταῖ ἐνταχσίτῃ and as C II 59,9-10 τῶμ ἡπουοεῖν ἐνταχσίτῃ points to, namely, C II 58,20-21 παῖ ἐταρξί οὐνοῦ ἡδυνάμικ ἐ[β]ολ ζίτη τεχμααῦ. In other words, the mother has realized that the son has decreased her light-power. BG 45,11-13 has a different tradition, since the word ΑΠΟΣΤΑCΙΑ is used in BG. This word is rendered by W. C. Till in the edition of BG by "die Abtrünnigkeit" ("...sie sah die Schlechtigkeit (κακία) und die Abtrünnigkeit (ἀποστασία), die ihrem Sohne anhaften würden"). Ordinarily, ἀποστασία in its religious sense can also be translated by this word, but the context in BG and the text in C II (πξι) indicate that another equally likely translation should be preferred, because ἀποστασία can mean *departure* or *disappearance* (cf. Liddell & Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (1953) 218 b, art. ἀποστασία, 2). BG 45,4-5 shows that what depresses the mother is the *decrease* (ΠΤΡΟΥΨΕΓΕ) of her perfection; her light-strength has diminished. Likewise, BG 45,10-13 must refer to this and does not refer to any solicitude for the offspring. Therefore, it is more fitting to interpret BG 45,11-12 as a statement about the decrease of, or the disappearance of, her light-power, owing to her son. This interpretation of BG agrees well with C II 61,22-23's words about that which her son had taken. The wickedness (ΚΑΚΙΑ) which is mentioned in both texts must also be interpreted as a statement about the condition of the mother and her light-strength, not about the son or his powers.

C II 61,24-25 might seem ambiguous, but this is partly due to the construction using ΑΥΩ—ΑΥΩ, which is hardly intended to express two correlating events; the first clause should rather be rendered as a subordinate clause and the latter as a main clause. It is best to regard ΑΥΒΨΕ as dependent on ἡΤΑΡΕCΝΑΥ in C II 61,21, just like ΑΤΚΑΚΙΑ (C II 61,22) and πξι (C II 61,22). The preposition Α- is then repeated before ΟΥΒΨΕ, which must consequently be regarded as the subject for an infinitive ΨΩΠΕ (cf. W. C. Till, Koptische Grammatik (1955), § 340).

The oblivion which came over the mother, refers to her wrong which precisely according to C II 58,13-14 occurred as a result of her ignorance. This is referred to by the fact that the oblivion occurred in the darkness of ignorance (C II 61,24-25), but also probably to Ialtabaoth being called a darkness of ignorance in C II 59,10.

It is remarkable that in this section we have a distinct attitude towards a proclamation from the Old Testament, a proclamation which has its own hidden meaning here, and which the revealer relates to John.

In C II 61,21 ἡΤΑΡΕC we have a dialectal influence which cannot be the final ΤΑΡΕC with a ἡ placed before it, but must be temporalis as in Achmimic texts, corresponding to the Sahidic ἡΤΕΡΕC; ἡΜΑΝ in the same line also points toward Achmimic or Subachmimic influence; it compares to Sahidic ἡΜΟΝ. Furthermore, as often found in the text, we find the preposition Α- (Α, Α₂, Ο) for Ε- (S) in C II 61,22 and possibly in C II 61,24 as well.

61,26–32 *Ialtabaoth's Egotism* (\neq BG 45,19–46,9; C III lacuna).

We find no declaration in the text to indicate that the explanation of the problem which John raised is now concluded, and that what is now narrated is a continuation of the teaching; the following context alone makes this evident. Once more the word concerning the son's having taken a strength from the mother are involved, but now they are immediately followed by an emphasis on the ignorance of the son, corresponding exactly to C II 58,19–27. Here, however, the ignorance is defined as ignorance of the existence of the world of light; he is only aware of the existence of the mother, and she has indeed shunned him away to conceal him from the immortal beings. This probably implies that nor is he able to see the immortal beings. Consequently, he is in no way aware of his own genesis nor his imperfection. This makes the description of his feeling of self-esteem even more impressive, when he looks down upon his host of angels. In relationship to the rest of the account in the Apocryphon of John, the section in C II 61,26–32 has the effect of an explanatory amplification of the reason for Ialtabaoth declaring himself as the only, jealous God in 61,5–9. According to AJ, the reason for this proclamation must be sought in his arrogant egotism and an exaggerated opinion of himself on false grounds.

L. 27 calls the one who creates the angels ΠΑΥΘΑΔΗC; the prefixed definite article signifies that ΑΥΘΑΔΗC is not a proper name, but a characteristic of his being; he is the impudent, complacent, obstinate one. The parallel text in BG also describes him with this word; in both of these versions of AJ, the word is used only in this one instance. There is no doubt that ΠΑΥΘΑΔΗC designates Ialtabaoth.

L. 28 ΝΑΥΟ must be imperfect and express an Achmimic influence of the Sahidic ΝΕΥΟ, just as in l. 29–30 we have an Achmimic feature with a ΕΙΜΗΤΙ Α- for a Sahidic ΕΙΜΗΤΙ Ε-. In its corresponding text, BG 46,2 also attests the form ΝΑΥΟ. In C II 61,30 we find another instance of Α- for Ε- in ΑΠΑΨΑΙ.

L. 29–31 in the text of C II we find minor lacunae owing to the tear in the papyrus. These lacunae can, however, be restored with reasonable certainty—even though BG contributes very little—so that l. 29 reads ΜΝ[ΛΑΑΥ ΨΟΟ]Π' l. 30 ·· ΟΥΑΑΤ[C ΑΥΝΑΥ] ΔΕ and l. 31 ···ΝΑΙ Ε[ΝΤΑΥCΟ]ΝΤΟΥ.

BG's corresponding paragraph in BG 45,19–46,9 is probably a parallel to C II 61,26–32, admittedly, with a few variations in its presentation. These variations occur by BG also relating that the obstinate being does not know that *there are many who are superior to his mother*, and BG describes the host of angels as *great*. It is not possible to determine whether C II's or BG's text is most original; as BG's text stands now, it could without other changes be shortened to C II's, and C II could be revised to compare with BG's text merely by adding the extra words from BG.

61,32–62,15 *The Pleroma's Prayer for the Mother and a Temporary Help* (\neq BG 46,9–47,16; C III lacuna, thereafter \neq C III 21,1–18).

C II has, admittedly, just mentioned (C II 61,23) that the mother of Ialtabaoth repented, but then it was merely a link in the explanation of the word $\text{ACY}\epsilon\epsilon\text{I}$, and therefore C II's AJ does not concentrate on the account of the mother's repentance until now. She becomes aware of her error simultaneously with the revelation of her lack. By using very human characteristics like the mother's weeping and her associates' praise of the highest, a teaching about the first help to the mother is presented. This help is given by the Holy Spirit who grants her some of his fulfillment; the mother must remain outside her own aeon in the heaven of the son until the lack which has occurred in her is completely restored.

The word in $\text{ZBC}\Omega$ in C II 61,33 seems to be important for an understanding of the text. It can mean "veil" or "clothing" or "garment", and one could interpret it with the meaning "veil" in the connection here $\text{TZBC}\Omega \text{ M}\Pi\text{KAKE}$, as describing the increasing darkness which the mother noticed when she realized that her own light-power had decreased, but since directly afterwards there is a declaration where the pronominal suffix in the masculine obviously refers to the son, one surmises that the present text is perhaps not a true rendering of the original text. The transition from the feminine term $\text{ZBC}\Omega$ to the masculine pronominal suffix is too sudden for us to disregard the difference. If one compares C II's text here with the corresponding BG text, it only strengthens the idea that the text of C II has been changed. BG 46,9–11 relates that the mother recognized that the abortion of darkness ($\Psi\text{OYZE M}\Pi\text{KAKE}$) was not perfect, because . . . , etc. However, in BG it is merely a natural continuation of ΦOYZE in the following $\text{N}\eta\text{ZN OYXOK AN}$. The latter compares well with C II's $\text{M}\Pi\epsilon\chi\psi\text{O}\Pi\epsilon \text{ Z}\eta \text{ OYXOK}$. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that C II or its source has altered an expression which compared to $\Phi\text{OYZE M}\Pi\text{KAKE}$ (the abortion of darkness), to its $\text{TZBC}\Omega \text{ M}\Pi\text{KAKE}$ (the veil of darkness or raiment). BG's tradition "the abortion of darkness" can only be said of the son, Ialtabaoth, while C II's tradition ("the veil of darkness" or "the raiment of darkness") has a dual meaning. "The raiment of darkness" can describe the one who wears the clothing of darkness, i.e. Ialtabaoth. But "the veil of darkness" can describe the faltering of the mother's light-power which results in the increasing darkness (as mentioned above). In the latter interpretation ($\text{TZBC}\Omega \text{ M}\Pi\text{KAKE}$) this becomes an expression of that which must be implied in C II 61,24–25 where the oblivion (or slip of memory) which arose from the darkness of ignorance, must also refer to the mother's relationship to the world of light where she belongs.

The alteration of C II's text which we seem to be able to trace here, thus illustrates a weakening of the anthroporphic character of the high beings: "the abortion of darkness" has become "the veil of darkness". The difference between C II 61,24–25 and BG 45,14–15 should perhaps also have been in this relationship. Obviously, BG also has a play on the word ($\epsilon\text{ΠI}\Phi\epsilon\text{PE}$) involved by its "she walked to and fro ($\epsilon\text{CNA } \epsilon\text{CNHY}$) in the darkness of ignorance", while C II seems more distant from any reference to this word with its tradition of "an oblivion (forgetfulness) came upon her in the darkness of ignorance". We do not have linguistic

criteria that there was a text revision in this particular place, as we have in C II 61,33–34, but by comparing it with the obvious change it seems preponderantly likely that a text change also occurred in C II 61,24 from an earlier text which corresponded to the one preserved in BG **ΕCNA ECNHΥ ZṀ ΠKAKΕ**, to the form we now have in C II **ΑΥΒΨΕ ΨΩΠΕ ΝΑC ZṀ ΠKAKΕ**. This also involved a diminishing of the strongly anthropomorphic character: the mother no longer goes to and from as a desperate woman out in the dark, but an oblivion exists for her in the darkness.

The text parallel to C II 61,36—**ΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙ** commences again in C III 21,1 with ···] **ΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙ ΑCΠΙΜΕ**, (the parallel which was interrupted by the lacuna comprised by the missing pages in C III 19–20).

C II 62,3–4 **ΠΕΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΤΗΡΥ'** with its **ΤΗΡΥ'** indicates the assembly of beings in the Pleroma, while the **ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ** in l. 6 must describe this assembly's special quality of strength or light. The text of the manuscript is corrected here, the letter **Υ** having been added above the line after **ΠΕ**, so that it should not read "the total Pleroma" but "*their* total Pleroma"; thereby excluding any misunderstanding: it must involve the power which makes the beings perfect. **ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ** in line 8 of the same page must indicate the same. It is impossible to say when the change was made, but it is likely that it was made by the copyist who discovered an error in his script or wanted to amplify the meaning. It is difficult to find any support in BG and C III, since BG 47,3 reads **ΠΧΩΚ**, while C III 21,7–8 reads **ΠΕΥΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ**, and the context in BG and C III varies greatly from that in C II. However, C III 21,7–8 by its **ΠΕΥΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ** seems to make it reasonable to assume that also C II may have had a form in its source which corresponded to the corrected text in C II 62,6.

The help which according to C II comes to the mother, does not come from her own fellow, but from the highest, namely, from the Holy Spirit who must here be identical with the Invisible Spirit. The help does not immediately result in the restoration of her perfection, but it aims at a situation where this restoration can occur. The plan which is carried out in the following, namely, the gradual release of the power from the world of light which was bound in the world of darkness, is presented here as an objective: the lack must be restored and until this is accomplished, the mother must remain in the kingdom of her son. The heaven of the son must be the heaven of Ialtabaoth. It is said that the mother should be in "the ninth", (**ΠΜΑΖΨΙΤ**). By this word which is preceded by the definite article in masculine, one would instinctively imagine that there must be an implied **ΝΑΙΩΝ** (masculine) owing to the **ΑΙΩΝ** mentioned in C II 62,10, and not a **ΠΕ** as mentioned in C II 62,11 which is feminine; nevertheless, one cannot exclude the possibility that the masculine form **ΠΜΑΖΨΙΤ** can be a true rendering of a Greek word which referred to the word which in the Greek text was the foundation for our **ΝΤΠΕ**, i.e. the masculine word οὐρανός. C II has previously mentioned the seventh heaven (C II 59,9–6), and here "the ninth" also designates a sphere, no matter whether we call it an aeon or a heaven. It

is the heaven of the son, e.g. Ialtabaoth's heaven, which with one common heaven for the twelve powers (as the sign of the zodiac) and one for each of the seven archons (as the signs for the planets) under it becomes the ninth.—In his edition of BG, W. C. Till translated (p. 135) BG 47,11–13 with “ist sie in der Neunheit, bis sie ihren Mangel richtig stellt”. We believe that we must reject this translation of **ΤΜΕΖΨΙΤΕ** “Neunheit”, because the prefix **ΜΕΖ-** is not used to form a collective numeral in Coptic; for this the prefix **ΑΝ-** is used, or the Greek numeral substantives. On the other hand the prefix **ΜΕΖ-** is used in BG 47,12, which is the usual method of forming ordinal numbers, and there is no reason to assume that a different method was used here. Consequently, one ought to read **ΤΜΕΖΨΙΤΕ** in BG 47,11–13 in the sense of the ninth, i.e. heaven (sc. **ΜΠΕ**). That “the ninth” in C II 62,12 means the ninth heaven, agrees well with the following statement that a voice came from the eternal heaven (C II 62,13–14).

The words which come from the eternal heaven to the mother who is now in the ninth heaven, must understood as a comforting reassurance to the mother, while she is still outside of her rightful environment.

Several places of the text in C II 61,32–62,15 show archaic forms and influences from Achmimic or Subachmimic, e.g., the prefix **ΜΑΖ-** (C II 62,12), which is attested several times in C II's AJ, and is probably an archaic insertion in the Sahidic text, even though **ΜΕΖ-** is more frequently used. Furthermore several instances of **Α-** for **Ε-** (prep.) occur as in C II 61,33 62,1 62,10 and 62,11.

Even though the paragraph has much in common with both BG 46,9–47,16 and C III 21,1–18, but the decisive factors in C II's tradition depart from the two other texts, which also mutually have disagreements in their tradition. The divergence in the tradition of the two texts is hardly directly due to scribal errors, but to different sources, and even if they are not important in themselves, they are important for two reasons. The first reason is that the teaching of the texts consequently varies somewhat, the other is that in spite of the great extent of the agreement it is otherwise evident that the traditions which preceded our versions of AJ have at times followed different ways.

The most significant difference is the one that according to C II the mother's fellow does *not* come to her, while both BG (47,4–5) and C III (21,8–9) relate that her fellow comes down to her and helps her—C III's text, in spite of the slight damage, does not seem to vary from BG's. Both BG and C III present the very human picture of her *brothers* making a plea for her, while C II has the more philosophical tone that the entire *Pleroma* praises the invisible for her sake. BG and C III both relate that the Invisible, Holy Spirit mercifully gives its promise (**ΑΥΚΑΤΑΝΕΥΕ**). This feature is not found in C II, while BG is the only source to repeat quite circumstantially hereafter that after the Invisible Spirit had given her promise with a nod, then, etc. All three texts mutually vary in the following, since C II merely allows the Invisible Spirit to *shed some* of their entire *Pleroma* over her, while BG states that it is a *spirit* which is shed over her and C III, moreover, calls it a *holy* spirit. As mentioned, that which is

shed comes, according to both C II and C III, from *their* fulness; according to BG, it merely comes from *the* fulness. In C II's AJ, that which comes to her from the fulness in C II 62,8 undoubtedly means that which, according to C II 62,5–6, is shed over her from the fulness. It cannot be a case of an obvious scribal error in C II's account that her fellow does not come to her; C II is quite convinced that her fellow does not come. This is seen clearly in the following ΑΑΑΑ (C II 62,8) which serves to emphasize that which on the other hand *did* come to her. Neither is there any parallel to this in BG or C III. Nevertheless, the fact that both BG and C III relate that *Pronoia* played a role in the restoration of the mother's lack, and at least BG (C III—21,13—has a lacuna here) also states that it is the great ignorance which has been discovered in the mother which causes her to remain in the ninth heaven; C II makes no mention of this. The rather human features of the account at this point are also missing in C II. In turn, C II is the only text to stress the exaltation of the voice which sounds, since only C II 62,13–14 relates that it comes from the eternal, high heaven.

Otherwise, the three versions of AJ have so much in common that one wonders why and when certain changes have been made in the tradition, and where they were made. Has C II's tradition been changed, or BG's and C III's? When, as in our opinion, it is C II's tradition which has undergone changes, it is due, not least, to observations in the evaluation of C II 61,33 ff. where we believed that the original text was changed in comparison with BG 46,9–11, and from which we also believed that we could prove an alteration in C II 61,24–25 in comparison to BG 45,14–15. This also involves a decrease in the human features in the account of C II in comparison to BG's tradition. On the basis of observations in C II 61,33–34, we also venture to assume that the same decrease was continued in the entire account of precisely this series of events in C II.

62,15–68,5 ((partly) BG 47,16–52,11 ≠ (partly) C III 21,18–2).

The Creation of Man as an Immaterial Being in the World of Darkness.

62,15–34 *An Image of a Man is Revealed.* (≠ BG 47,16–48,10 ≠ C III 21,18–22,3 (fragmentary)).

The words from the high heaven to the mother comfort her, but they also have the effect that when Protarchon heard them and saw the image of a man shine in the darkness, he decides to imitate the image in order to have a light. Ialtabaoth makes the false assumption that it must be his mother who has spoken the words; this is due to Ialtabaoth's ignorance and isolation from the world of light—the mother had surrounded him by a cloud (C II 58,14 ff.). Here, Ialtabaoth is called ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΩΝ for the first time in C II's AJ. This designation is used ten times in all in this manuscript; however, it is merely the form which is the basis of the Copticized designation ΠΣΩΡΠ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ which initially find in C II 58,20, and which is found a total of 5 times in this version of AJ. Consequently

both forms are current. The definite or indefinite article is never used in connection with ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΩΝ in C II's AJ; the word seems to be used as a personal name.

L. 19 ΜΗΤΡΟΠΑΤΩΡ here as well as in C II 53,6 ff. must indicate Barbelo, even though it is masculine here, whereas in C II 53,5–6 it was feminine. In C II 53,9 Barbelo is described as male-female, and among the designations used about Barbelo in C II 53,4 ff. both masculine and feminine words are used. In C II 53,4–5, Barbelo is called the first thought in his image; according to C II 53,1–3 she is perfected by the Spirit, and in C II 53,16, she is obviously called Pronoia. The same assertions are used here in C II 62,19 ff. about the Metropator. Here is the important explanation of why the Metropator can be called the first man: it is because the Metropator or Barbelo, as this being is also called, which according to C II 53,4–5 is in the image of the Invisible Spirit, has the shape of man.—Here the Invisible is called ΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΣ; the ending -OC certainly does not require an implied ΝΕΙΩΤ, but can easily indicate an implied ΜΠΝΑ since we have the words ΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΣ ΜΠΝΑ in both C II 54,4 and C II 54,26. Whether it is the Invisible Spirit or the Metropator (Barbelo) who is called the father of the All could seem dubious, but the relative clause which is a nominal clause with its demonstrative ΠΑΙ points back to ΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΣ, so it must be the Invisible who is called father of the All here.

The Metropator taught them, or as it should probably be translated: showed himself to them;—the word ΤΕΒΟ can mean instruct, teach or show, and in this context it is probably reflexive. At any rate, the teaching consists in that the Protarchon and his powers are allowed to see an image of the Metropator. This is indicated by the phrase in C II 62,23 which is introduced by the explanatory ΧΕ. In the parallel texts, both BG and C III are damaged, but C III 21,21 seems to have an Α[Υ]ΟΥΩΝΖ ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ corresponding to C II 62,19. This merely supports the translation chosen here (cf. W. C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* (1955), § 262, note 27). A common Greek word is certainly the basis for the different translations of the two texts. C II's choice of the term ΑΥΤΕΒΟΥΥ, is probably due to the influence of that which is stated immediately prior to the new chain of events: that Ialtabaoth *did not know*, etc. This ignorance is somewhat remedied when the Metropator makes him wiser by *showing himself* to him, or by *teaching* him and his powers; both of these meanings are contained in the word.

The last of the designations which are used about the Metropator in C II 62,19–23 is *the first man*; the image which Ialtabaoth and his powers are allowed to see is an image of a man. This seems to indicate clearly a connection with the words which the voice from the eternal heaven let the mother hear: "Man exists and the son of Man".

Now we are better prepared to determine what the Apocryphon of John means by this assertion. We have seen that the Metropator is called the first man (cf. C II 53,5–6), and in C II 54,15–16 Christ is called the only son of Metropator.—

We could also use the words Barbelo or Pronoia as designations of Metropator. Consequently, man is Barbelo (or Metropator) and the son of man is Christ (e.g. the *only* son).

In the coming struggle which according to AJ involves the flame of light from the eternal heaven, it is constantly these two, Barbelo (Metropator) and Christ, who aid this spark of light. The words about man and the son of man refer to these two assisting strengths, but at the same time, as we see now, to comfort the mother they also serve to introduce an action in the world of Ialtabaoth, an action which commences when Ialtabaoth and his powers see an image of something which they have not seen before, namely, a man.

Ialtabaoth and his powers's view of man is most indirect: it is just a reflection in the water they see. The lowest region of the heavenly light casts its glow upon the water. The water is defined as lying above the matter; the word **MOOY** can mean rain, but the idea behind C II 62,26–28 may also be inspired by Gen 1,7. It is by looking at the water that the Protarchon and his powers see the image. Although it actually states that they see all of the lowest region which glowed, apparently they did not see an image there; it is definitely emphasized that it is in the water that they see it (the emphasis consists in that **2PAI 2M NMOOY** is brought forward in front of the object and placed just after the verb). The details concerning Ialtabaoth's looking at the waters is undoubtedly an attempt to stress the distance between the world of light and the world of darkness; the exalted character of the light world is stressed. The revelation which is mentioned in C II 62,29–30 consists of the appearance of the image as related in C II 62,33–34.

The corresponding accounts in BG and C III are handed down in damaged condition in these two papyri. C II is also damaged here, but the lacuna is very small and it is easier to restore it (a proposed reading in C II 62,38: **A4P[OYOEI]N** in C II 62,29: **NOY[OEIN NTN]E** and in C II 62,30: **OYON2 [AY]Q**). We will retain the conjecture which W. C. Till proposed in his edition of BG p. 134, note 20, to BG 47,20 **E[BOL 2M NXICE A4...]**, but we will continue it so that it reads **E[BOL 2M NXICE A4TCAB]OY** (cf. C II 62,18–19 and C III 21,19–22). The text handed down in C III is even more impaired. Nevertheless, one can see that this text as well as BG's deviates from C II's; particularly by being somewhat shorter. C III and BG have not—nor have they ever had—the long series of assertions about the Metropator and the Invisible Spirit which C II 62,19–23 contains, but the assertions found in BG and the remnants of those in C III are also found in C II's series. The account of circumstances at the revelation is also significantly shorter in BG and C III than in C II. BG and C II relate nothing about the quaking or trembling (the phenomena which, as stated earlier, often accompany the revelation), and they relate nothing about the role which the light and the water above matter have played. C III does not even seem to have stated that the image was a figure of man, although BG does include this information. BG and C III, moreover, depart from C II by having a slightly

different tradition at the end of the account: according to BG and C III the one who reveals himself is The Blessed, C III in 21,24 involves a ΝΤΕΥΙΔΕΑ and not as in C II 62,21 a ΤΖΙΚΩΝ; BG and C III both relate that the revelation was welcomed with acclamation (ΚΑΤΑΝΕΥΕ) by the powers—BG more precisely states the seven powers—which in both texts comprise a troop of archons (ΑΡΧΟΝΤΙΚΗ). On the other hand, C II describes the reaction of the powers as a stare, and prior to this described their trembling.

How can this difference in C II's tradition from BG's and C III's account be explained? The tenor of the preceding paragraph of C II seems to be an emphasis of the sublime and a diminishing of the human features. The same tenor is found here in C II 62,15–34 in comparison with the account of BG and C III: the great number of assertions about the Metropator and the Invisible Spirit have the effect of a series of lauding words where each word leads to another. The extreme indirectness of the revelation discloses a reluctance towards the idea that the world of darkness should be able to perceive the beings of light, and the details in the revelation in C II stress the exaltation of the light. Actually, BG and C III merely present the same teaching as C II, using fewer words and a less dramatic presentation: by the reflection in the water of an image the powers are allowed to see the figure. C II has also stressed the sublime in its rendering, and during the history of the tradition this may have caused an expansion of the text.

The words which C II, and then BG and C II use to describe the reaction of the powers deserve special attention. They are, respectively, ΕΙΩΡΜΕ (C II 62,30) and ΚΑΤΑΝΕΥΕ (BG 48,6; C III 22,1). To my knowledge the word ΕΙΩΡΜΕ in this form is found only in one other instance in Coptic literature, also in C II's AJ, C II 68,32, where it must mean *stare*. On the other hand, an other form ΕΙΩΡΜ is frequently attested as in C II's AJ. This word usually means *stare*, and often means *stare with amazement or surprise, agape*; but precisely in this text it is found in the meaning of *approve, sanction*—a sense which has never been attested previously, but which compares exactly to BG's ΚΑΤΑΝΕΥΕ in the parallel instance (e.g., C II 54,34 ≠ BG 31,6–7). Nevertheless, we have an isolated instance of ΕΙΩΡΜ for νεύειν in Prov 4,25 instead of LXX's νεύειν. This word νεύειν could have been the basis for both C II's ΕΙΩΡΜΕ (C II 62,30) and BG's and C III's ΚΑΤΑΝΕΥΕ (BG 48,6; C III 22,1) since it could have the meaning of *stare* as well as *approve*.

63,1–13 *The Powers Reproduce the Image of Man* (≠ BG 48,10–49, ≠ C III 22,3–18 (damaged)).

Ialtabaoth's and his powers' objective in creating a man is clearly expressed in C II 63,4–5: it is to attain light. The same is presented again as the motive for calling him Adam (C II 63,12–13). Ialtabaoth's request to his powers to help him create a man uses nearly the same words as Gen 1,26. The purpose of the revelation in C II 62,18–34 is not stated, but as indicated by the subsequent

action it is to make Ialtabaoth and his powers recreate the image which they saw. The plan is completely successful: in the image of the reflection they have seen the powers create a man of their own substance, each power contributing that which is characteristic of himself. The fact that the powers want to call the creation Adam in order to attain a light-strength does not indicate that the author of the Apocryphon of John did not know the meaning of the word Adam, but should rather be interpreted as an expression of the author's subtle presentation of the powers of darkness as being ignorant: man was named as an introduction to the coming of the glow of light (C II 62,14 ff.), and in order to make their creation shine the powers also call it man (C II 63,11–13).

C II 60,24 ff. related that Ialtabaoth created everything in the image of the light world, but it emphasizes that he did not see these images, but imitated them unconsciously. However, now he has seen a picture of the First Man, and this is also imitated. Thus, the world of light remains the world which is imitated in Ialtabaoth's creation.

C II 63,6 **MAÏN** means sign, symbol, feature or peculiarity. The interpretation of this word is very important to the understanding of C II 63,6–9. Does **KATA M̄MAÏN** refer to the prototype's peculiarity or to the characteristic features each of the powers bore? The same question arises with regard to **AY+ ÑOYMAEIN** in C II 63,7. The words in 63,6 **ENTAY+ M̄MOOY** give little help, since they are just as ambiguous. On the other hand, the limitation which seems to be implied in the words as a result of the insertion in C II 63,8, more closely defining **OYMAEIN**, namely **2PAÏ 2Ñ TETΨYXIKH** (C II 63,9), might help us. They show that it involves features which do not have character of the light world, but merely the psychic **ΨYXIKH** nature of the world of darkness. Thereby, it seems certain that the signs which are given to the powers in C II 63,6, do not designate their own peculiarities, but are signs which characterize the prototype, while the symbols they give to the figure (C II 63,7) must be symbols of a lower nature, although they compare to the higher nature of the ideal they themselves had.

L. 8–9 the masculine suffix in **ENTA4-** and **A4-** must modify the individual power, even though C II 63,7 clearly uses the feminine form to modify the same word.

There are pronounced influences of Achmimic in this section. We find them in C II 63,2 where **AMHEINE** is Achmimic 2nd plural imperative for Sahidic **AMHEITÑ**, and in C II 63,4 where **APC- NA-** is prefix for II future in Achmimic for Sahidic **EPc- NA-**.

BG and C III vary somewhat from C II in their corresponding sections, but mutually there are only slight variations. However, C III is severely damaged.

In BG and C III, the summons to reproduce the image is initiated by a majority of powers, and not by just a single power as in C II. The verbal forms employed agree well with this, since BG and C III express the mutual request by an optative, while C II begins with an imperative and continues with a conjunctive.

The choice of terms in all three texts' rendering of the request are very similar to the Coptic translation of Gen 1,26; but there are disagreements. All three texts use the expression "God's image", where Genesis reads "our image", but C II is the only one of the three texts which continues as Gen 1,26 with ΠΝΕΙΝΕ (C II 63,3) cf., e.g., the Genesis text edited by R. Kasser, CSCO vol. 177; the form quoted by P. de Lagarde (Der Pentateuch Koptisch) ΤΕΝΙΝΙ must be an error, since ΙΝΙ is masc.; instead of "our likeness" C III (and BG) reads "his likeness", and BG—by using an ellipsis—reads God's image and (God's) likeness. On the other hand, the introductory optative in BG and C III agrees exactly with Gen 1,26. BG and C III do not state that he creates a being (ΟΥΖΥΠΟΤΑCΙC) like C II, but that they (the powers) formed a creation (ΟΥΠΛΑCΜΑ); (C II 63,9–10; BG 48,16–17; C III 22,8). C II merely relates that *the name* (C II 63,12) will shine for them, but BG 49,8 relates that it is both his name and *strength* (ΤΕΥCΟΜ) which will shine, and in the nearly fragmentary C III 22,16–17 it appears as if there was a similar tradition. All three texts relate that it is in this manner that the powers will procure light for themselves. BG's and C III's words concerning the name and the strength undoubtedly testify to the presence of an idea which is revealed later in the Apocryphon of John: that which causes the form of man to shine and dominate is the strength which Ialtabaoth infused in it. However, this is an event which is not related until later, and thus, the fact that these versions of the Apocryphon of John also mention the strength as a source of light, must depend on a subsequent development, and C II's version which does not mention the strength here must be an earlier form. This also applies to C II's initial reference to the image as a source of light (C II 63,4). Here where the others are urged to make a creation, a motive like that found in C II naturally belongs, and when such a motive is not found in BG and C III, it is reasonable to assume that it has been omitted because one has been thinking of the words in Gen 1,26, and because the following motives for calling him Adam (BG 49,7–9, cf. the fragmentary C III 22,16–18) could replace the omission to some extent. The above mentioned dialectal variations are found at this very point in C II 63,4 (and 63,2); in any case they suggest a certain age, and should probably be regarded as stemming from an earlier source which was influenced by Achmimic rather than being interpreted as more recent interpolations, for such would have been completely revised in to Sahidic.

63,13–23 *The Powers First Create Seven Spiritual Substances* (≠ BG 49,9–50,4 ≠ C III 22,18(19)–23,6 (damaged)).

While the preceding paragraph in C II merely related the main features of the creation of man, it is now followed by a teaching of the details of this creation. From this appears that the Apocryphon of John visualizes man created by the powers as consisting of seven substances: bones, sinews, flesh, marrow, blood, skin and hair, all having "psychic" character and each one produced by one of the seven strengths which Ialtabaoth earlier associated with his powers. Each

of these seven strengths has names indicating qualities or ideas which the Apocryphon of John intends to indicate as inherent in the substances which they produce. Just as the qualities and the ideas are of an immaterial nature, thus the designation "soul" $\Psi\Upsilon\chi\eta$ describing the seven substances also designates something immaterial. The use of the term agrees well with the traditional distinction between spirit, soul and matter, and the founding of the material body in which the immaterial qualities are enclosed is not accounted for until later in the Apocryphon of John (C II 68,5–70,28).

BG and C III here diverge from C II, but they also vary mutually in so far as it is possible to ascertain from the extremely damaged text of C III. When BG and C III both have had the powers start at the bottom, while C II merely states that they began, it agrees with the sequence of the seven substances in the remembrance where the coarser and heavier parts are mentioned first (bones, sinews, flesh, etc.), and there is an increasing degree of delicacy in the emanations (from bones to hair). C II has nothing which compares to BG's (and C III's) $\Sigma\text{IN NECHT}$. It is possible that it is omitted by C II, because its following text presents a detailed account of the formation of the human being, and introduces this account by saying that the first began by creating the head; thereafter, it itemizes the individual parts of the man, from the head and downwards (C II 63,29 ff.). The fact that this description goes from top to toe might have resulted in the omission of a remark that the powers began from the bottom (as in BG 49,10 and C III 22,19) in the emanation of the substances. BG and C III, however, contain no description comparable to C II 63,29 ff, and therefore, they have nothing which contradicts the words relating that the strengths began at the bottom.

While C II's enumeration of the seven different strengths in 63,13–23, follows the same sequence as its first enumeration in C II 60,10–25, as mentioned before (p. 226), BG's enumeration in BG 49,9–50,4 varies from its first enumeration in BG 43,6–44,4; furthermore, this enumeration (as mentioned before) also varies from C II. C III's tradition is very fragmentary here, but its tradition consisting of the remnants of one single word ($[\dots\text{KAY}]\text{MA}$ in C III 22,22–23) is of significant value for the understanding of the development of the text. See also p. 226 f. —Except for the type of "soul", the long addition in BG 49,17–19 is not found in C III in the account concerning the fourth power, but after the words about the soul of the sixth power (C III 23,4–5); even though the assertion is a little shorter it does concern the entire body as in BG. Furthermore, there is the important difference between C II on one side, and BG and C III on the other side, that in the latter texts the seven powers themselves are the particular seven "souls", but in the former the seven powers create the seven "souls" mentioned there. C II must have an earlier tradition than BG and C III which by being concerned with a definite teaching regarding the problem with which powers the different substances could be identified, disregarded the foundation for this teaching and neglected to record how each of the powers created the

substances. It may have happened under the influence of the first enumeration of the powers which is also merely an identification. Instead, their creation is mentioned collectively at the end.

63,23–65,6 *The Host of Angels Creates the Individual Parts of the Body* (C II 63,23–29: BG 50,6–11 ≠ C III 23,7–11).

Apparently it was important for C II's AJ to present a detailed account of the construction of the human body. While the text in C II 63,1–13 initially taught the general features of man's genesis, it made a transition in C II 63,13–23 to explain the details where the substances entered the nature of man; thereupon the text proceeds to relate the minute details telling who has created each and every part of the body, who was responsible for it, which passions govern man, and which powers are responsible for these. Of the long enumeration in C II, we find parallels to its introductory and concluding lines in BG and C III; a long section of C II, running from C II 63,29 to C II 67,10 must be regarded as a tradition completely exclusive to Codex II's Apocryphon of John. Whether or not one regards this long section as an organic part of the Apocryphon of John, in its present tradition it contributes to give C II's Apocryphon of John a very specific character in comparison to BG's and C III's Apocryphon of John.

The host of angels in C II 63,23 is mentioned before in C II 61,6 and C II 61,30–31; it is comprised of the 365 angels which are enumerated in C II 59,25 (cf. C II 67,3). The work of this host is represented by the psychic substances created by the powers, and their creativity consists of the creation of the individual parts as well as the combination of them.

BG and C III agree to some extent with C II's account here, even though the expression "host of angels" is not used in them. In BG it does not appear until the text which corresponds to the end of the long enumeration in C II, i.e. in BG 50,13–14 ≠ C II 67,11 (where it merely reads *all* the angels and demons). Unfortunately, C III is quite fragmentary. The texts correspondingly say that the angels *place themselves*; C II is the only one to mention the *seven* substances, but otherwise the texts also agree in their remarks about them.—The ending of $\alpha\iota\chi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ in BG 50,7 must have caused the copyist to forget a $\tau\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\gamma$ (cf. W. C. Till's ed. of BG, p. 141).

So far the texts agree fairly closely with each other, but then C II in 63,29 commences its long teaching about the details, while BG 50,11—and C III's remnants in 23,12–14 seem to agree—very briefly presents a conclusion of its account about the angels.

Unfortunately, C II's special material is not handed down entirely without holes in the papyrus, nor is it always rendered in correct linguistic terms; therefore our understanding of parts of this specific material must necessarily be encumbered with a degree of uncertainty, although this only applies to parts of it. Since we have no basis for comparison with BG and C III here, our investigation of this section can be brief.

It is important to establish firmly that the section in C II which is introduced by C II 63,29 **ΠΨΟΡΠ** in its present form seems to join the preceding section as a natural continuation of it. When C II has hitherto mentioned a number of beings collectively, it usually introduced a following enumeration of their names, their type or their functions; this occurs in C II 58,28, 59,16 59,26 60,15 and 63,14. This enumeration is consistently begun with *the first* (**ΠΨΟΡΠ** or **ΤΨΟΡΠ**). Therefore, it falls completely within C II's usual mode of presentation when in C II 63,29 just after having named the work of the host of angels collectively, an enumeration of the details commences with its **ΠΨΟΡΠ** This merely illustrates the usual composition of C II's Apocryphon of John. Nevertheless, it is unusual that it does not continue by mentioning the second, the third, etc., which is otherwise generally used, but this can easily be explained by observing that the great number which are to be enumerated would hamper such a numbering. Thus, if C II 63,29 ff. is an interpolation which did not originally belong in C II's AJ, at least it is inserted in such a way that one is not aware of it here. Perhaps the contents of the section and its conclusion can give us another impression.

Unfortunately, as mentioned before, there are lacunae in the text, and no parallel texts assist us in restoring them. Nevertheless, the context indicates that it first states that the creation began with the head, and thereafter the actual enumeration follows beginning with the angel who created its (man's) head. Only the beginning is composed in complete sentences; first the name of the angel involved is mentioned, then the verb follows in I perfect, and then the object in the accusative, as we find in C II 63,31–32. The verb is soon dropped, and the accusative mark before the object is also frequently missing (e.g. C II 63,34 **ΠΜΑΑΧΕ**, C II 64,32 **ΠΜΗΡΟΣ**), so that one only has the sequence presented in the beginning of the sentence to show the function of the units and where they belong. The necessity of adhering to this sequence is indicated by the question concerning the frame of reference for the word **ΛΑΒΗΡΝΙΟΥΜ** in C II 65,6, where there are several other possibilities, if one does not maintain the first sequence presented. Not only because of the linguistic mistakes the transcript is characterized by a certain degree of carelessness, but the writing also reflects a lack of precision; e.g., even though the scribe usually renders the names of the individual angels with a horizontal line above, he occasionally omits it as in **ΜΙΑΜΑΙ** in C II 65,6 or in **ΒΕΔΟΥΚ'** in 64,28. Something also seems to be missing in the contents. The text usually mentions the pairs of bodily parts separately: first, the right palm, then the left, first the right hand, then the left, etc; but this detailed enumeration even fails to mention some of the bodily parts; thus, although the left shoulder is mentioned (C II 64,6), the right is not, and even though the left hip (or loin) is mentioned (C II 64,18), the right one is not.

Several of the designations used for the parts of the body are of Greek origin as, e.g., **στοφυλή** (C II 64,3), **σφόνδυλος** (C II 64,4), **κοιλία** (C II 64,15), **ὑποχόνδριος** (C II 64,16), etc. On the other hand, it is more difficult to determine the

origin of the names of the angels which C II's Apocryphon of John names as the creators of the various parts of the body. A few of them are Greek or Greek-sounding, others, as for example those which have the endings -ΗΛ or -ΩΘ are more reminiscent of Semitic terms. If one disregards the mentioning of some of the seven powers, there remain in this and the following section of C II's AJ's account of the creation of the human body more than a hundred names which are only mentioned this one time. All of them are names which sounded foreign to those who employed the language in which our present Apocryphon of John is extant, but they are names which perhaps by their very unfamiliarity are intended to impress the reader. That this particular paragraph in the Apocryphon of John must have had one or more sources, even though neither BG nor C III contains a parallel, is indicated by two features. In this manner, one can most easily explain the isolated position which the term **ΛΑΒΗΡΝΙΟΥΜ** in C II 65,6 assumes by concluding that something following this word in the source has been forgotten, for the word **ΛΑΒΗΡΝΙΟΥΜ** cannot modify the preceding **ΝΕΙΕΙΒ ΝΟΥΡΗΤΕ**, since the sequence in the enumeration has so far been that of subject + (possible) verb + object. Nor can it modify the following, because in C II 65,7 a Greek conjunction follows which must assume the second position in the clause. The fact that the long enumeration of unfamiliar names have also been successful in avoiding repetitions (most closely related are C II 65,27 **ΑΡΧΕΝΤΕΧΘΑ** and C II 65,33 **ΑΡΧΕΝΔΕΚΤΑ**), could indicate that the Apocryphon of John is not citing names derived from pure imagination, but names which have an established tradition in a source. The omissions which the text seems to contain also implicate a source; the copyist has confused the first **ΝΤΝΑΖΒΕ** of a source with its last **ΝΤΝΑΖΒΕ** and therefore did not follow it by **ΝΟΥΝΑΜ** but, on the contrary, by **ΝΓΒΟΥΡ** (C II 64,5-6), and the same has occurred with a **ΜΠΚΕΛΕΝΚΕ2** of the source (C II 64,6-7) and **ΝΤ+ΠΕ** (C II 64,18).

In its present form the section in C II 63,23-65,8 seems to enumerate the names of 69 angels, even though a couple of names are only partially preserved because of the damage of the papyrus. If one includes the three names which must have been omitted by a scribal error, we reach a total of 72 as the probable number of angels enumerated in this section.

The section is a melothesis which combines the internal organs of the body as well as its exterior parts with the angelic powers. C II 65,7-8 informs us that these angelic powers are installed by the seven. It seems as if AJ has forgotten how it previously related that each one of the angels created its part, and now instead teaches that the angels are merely placed as rulers of the individual parts. Admittedly, the Apocryphon of John states that the seven installed them, but nevertheless only mentions the names of four, namely the first four of the twelve powers enumerated in C II 58,27 ff., since the one mentioned in C II 58,32 **ΚΑΛΙΑΑΟΥΜΒΡΙ**, is merely called **ΚΑΛΙΑΑ**, a name which compares well with the name which BG and C III both have in their parallels to C II 58,32 in place of C II's **ΚΑΛΙΑΑΟΥΜΒΡΙ**, i.e., **ΓΑΛΙΑΑ** (BG 40,8 and C III 16,23).

65,8–32 *Other Powers Ruling the Parts of the Body, and the Rulers of these Powers.*

A total of 30 other powers are now enumerated as being active in the parts of the body. They are names having the same character as those in the preceding enumeration. The parts of the body which are now enumerated, with the exception of a few, are all included in the preceding enumeration, and they are found here in nearly the same sequence; nevertheless, this second enumeration varies from the first in certain respects. With the exception of the seven which are mentioned at the end as being above the others, the enumeration comprises only thirty powers here, while the first enumeration involved more than twice this number, probably seventy-two angels. Furthermore, the latter enumeration does not seem to involve the internal organs which the first also included, but only the more exterior parts. It is conspicuous that the second enumeration of the parts of the body uses only relatively few Greek designations, actually, only four out of thirty, while the first uses Greek words for at least every fourth of the parts of the body listed. Moreover, the Greek words employed in the second enumeration all seem to be used in the first enumeration as well. On the other hand, none of the seven powers mentioned at the end of the second enumeration is included in the first; indeed only one of the names, *ΟΥΡΙΗΛ* (C II 65,30) resembles any of the names which C II has mentioned elsewhere; it can resemble but certainly has nothing in common with *ΩΡΙΗΛ* in C II 56,9 and *ΩΡΩΙΗΛ* in C II 57,14, which designate a being in the kingdom of light, namely, the second light. Nevertheless, there was an exact agreement between the four of the seven powers mentioned in the first enumeration (C II 65,8) and the first four of the twelve powers mentioned previously in C II 58,28 ff, even as the first name (65,8) is already mentioned in C II 58,29, 59,26 and 60,16. In the second enumeration of the thirty parts of the body, the Apocryphon of John has consistently rendered the particular part in the definite form, apparently nominative, but actually having an implied *ΖΠΑΙ ΖΝ* before it based on C II 65,9 *ΖΠΑΙ ΖΝ ΝΜΕΛΟΣ*, while in the first enumeration it seems as if the accusative was originally used in connection with the object.

Is there any connection between the two enumerations, and what is the relationship between them? In spite of the digressions which have been pointed out, there are, as mentioned, also similarities which indicate that the two enumerations are placed side by side merely by coincidence. With the exception of one part of the body—*ΤΜΕΤΖΗΤ*—the second enumeration only mentions parts which were all mentioned in the first enumeration, and moreover, in the same terms. Furthermore, it is significant that none of the sixteen Greek designations which the first enumeration has in addition to the second, is rendered in the second by Coptic designations. If the second enumeration had been completely independent of the first, it would have been logical that both enumerations used different designations for the same part of the body, and this would have stood out clearly where the one enumeration had used Greek desig-

nations. However, such is not the case. The relationship between the two enumerations seems to be that the latter shall be interpreted as an excerpt of the first, and excerpt comprising a definite group, where *other* angelic powers were also active (cf. C II 65,9 KATA ΜΕΡΟΣ). This interpretation is not shaken by the circumstance that the second enumeration, as stated above, has mentioned one part of the body which is not found in the first, because this circumstance can easily be explained when one recalls the carelessness which the copyist displayed elsewhere in the preceding section.

This paragraph is only impaired by single lacuna, but unfortunately it occurs precisely where the verb has been, C II 65,29; two readings seem possible, namely, either ΝΕΥ[ΤΟΥΟΥ] ΕΞΡΑΪ ΖΙΧΝ̄ ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ, which is supported by C II 65,7 ΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΟΥΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΞΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ̄ ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ, or ΝΕΥ[ΥΟΥΠ] ΕΞΡΑΪ ΖΙΧΝ̄ ΝΑΪ ΤΗΡΟΥ. On the basis of C II 65,7, however, the first should probably be preferred, but this phrase is scarcely important for the proposed interpretation concerning the two enumerations.

65,32–67,2 *Powers who Rule Human Abilities and Passions.*

While the preceding account in C II's AJ from C II 63,29 to C II 65,32 expounded the construction of the human body and the angelic powers which were involved, now it is no longer man's body, but its abilities and passions which are reviewed. This review is just as thorough as the preceding one, but here the Apocryphon of John is not content to present a systematic enumeration; it includes a systematic explanation of the source of the various passions and the activity of each of them. Neither do the versions in BG and C III contain a parallel to this explanation.

C II 65,32–33 has the plural forms ΝΕΤΖΙΧΝ̄ ΝΑΙΟΘΗΟΙΟΙ, whereas the singular is consistently used in the following; this, however, is scarcely an error in C II 65,32–33 but the plural form ΝΑΙΟΘΗΟΙΟΙ must be used to denote the individual senses here, not perception which seems rather, to be expressed with the following ΤΑΝΑΛΗΜΨΙΟΙ in C II 65,33–34. In addition to the senses, it seems to involve the conscious mental life: understanding and imagination are named, but because of a lacuna the third term in the series cannot be determined with certainty. It appears to be a masculine word since a π is preserved just before the lacuna, and this π is probably the definite article in the masculine form. The three areas which the Apocryphon of John named before were all feminine words, and thus, if the term were Greek, one could probably expect a feminine word, but since it seems to be followed by a masculine word, one ventures to assume that a Coptic word followed. However, since we have nothing certain to go on, a conjecture must be made with extreme caution; a word like πΧ[ΩΝ]Υ, union, unicity, would fit well into the context and the remnants of the letters as found in Pl. 65 line 35 are not difficult to combine with a reading like πΧ[ΩΝ]Υ.

C II 65,32 ff. should either be interpreted as nominal clauses with implied

copula, or as units in the succinct enumeration where the verb is not necessary to the understanding.

The four powers who are named as being above these abilities sound like names which are just as foreign as the preceding names. The most conspicuous name is **APXENΔEKTA** C II 65,33, which resembles the name used earlier for one of the angels who rules over the body: **APXENTEXΘA** (C II 65,27), however, it is imperative to point out that the words are not spelled exactly alike, and that the pronunciation of them was different enough to allow one to hear the difference so that it is not necessary to interpret the similarity as a mistake.

Oddly enough, the Apocryphon of John in C II 66,2 abruptly proceeds to relate, not about angels, but about daemons which rule over certain things. The Apocryphon of John has not used this term before in the text in C II; it is used only six times in all in C II's Apocryphon of John, and of these, three occur in the paragraph exclusive to this version, the fourth occurrence makes the transition from this specific material to the resumption of the parallel account. The fifth time, it is used in C II's Apocryphon of John is the only time that it has a parallel in BG 72,7 and C III 37,10 where it is the only instance in the AJ of these two texts; the sixth instance in C II (C II 79,18) has no parallel in BG nor C III.

This clearly illustrates that it is particularly C II's Apocryphon of John which teaches about the daemons. It is also done with thoroughness. First, it relates about the sources of the daemons, comprising the pairs of contrasts: heat—cold, dampness—dryness, which in turn is ascribed to **TZYAH**. Only then are the names of the daemons mentioned who are the rulers of these four. The mother of these four daemons who is mentioned in C II 66,11–12, **ONOPΘOXPACAEI**, should probably be understood as the ruler of **TZYAH**, who is indeed the mother of heat, cold, etc.

The daemon-mother's close connection with the substance is explained by the fact that she nourishes them, and this must mean that the four sources of the daemons stem directly from **TZYAH**, and that the four daemons themselves are indirectly dependent on **TZYAH**. These four daemons and the four sources, heat, cold, etc., seem to be conceived of as being outside the body, for the following enumerates four leading daemons which must have had their station inside the body (C II 66,14–18); these four daemons must stem from the four "founts" mentioned in C II 66,2 as the fount of the daemons for the whole body. The four daemons are characterized by the pairs of contrasts to which they are attached: lust—pain, desire—fear, just as the four founts mentioned above were also pairs of contrasts. In C II 66,18–19, the mother of these daemon-designations is also mentioned, but it first seems to name the power to which the daemon is attached. This seems especially apparent in the rather vague C II 66,33–67,2 where it speaks of their true thought; unfortunately, a small lacuna appears precisely here in the text so that only the first letters of the key-word in this connection are preserved: **ANA**[]. To read **ANA**[**ΓKH**] can fit well with the

length of the lacuna, and this reading can fit the context well. However, it is certain that this power can be called their true thought because it is joined with ΕΘΗΝΙΣΤΟΥΧΕΠΙΠΤΟΗ (C II 67,1-2). This being must be identical with the one mentioned in C II 66,18-19 ΕΘΗΝΙΣΤΟΥΧΕΠΙΠΤΟΗ, who is indicated there as being mother of the daemons of lust, desire, fear and pain. If our conjecture is correct, then it is ΑΝΑΓΚΗ from which lust, desire, pain and fear are derived. When ΑΝΑΓΚΗ is not mentioned before, it is owing to the fact that the Apocryphon of John intermittently expounds the passions and torments which these four have caused, and exposition containing a whole catalogue of depravity.

The account of the beginning of these passions and depravities is systematically constructed, since for each of the four basic concepts a consequence is given. Here, human experience seems to form the basis for the exposition; e.g., fear can cause both consternation and flattery, or desire is the root of insatiability (or greed) as well as anger.

This account which is otherwise so thoroughly developed, shows particularly by its repetitious, succinct reference to similar depravities or passions (C II 66,23-24: "... and the rest"; C II 66,26: "... and things which are like these"; C II 66,29: "... and things which are like these") that this is scarcely the original forms of the tradition. On the basis of the form we have here, we can surmise a little about the development of the text into its present form. The reference to "things which are like these" could indicate that, prior to the present tradition, during one phase in the history of the development of the Apocryphon of John, a more copious and more detailed text existed which also named each of the units which the present tradition merely makes reference to by "the rest" or "things which are like these". Thus, that which we have here is just an excerpt. That this must be so is illustrated by the fact that our version of AJ has otherwise been very careful to go into details (e.g., C II 55,30-56,28 where there is an exhaustive account of the four lights and the four powers each having three aeons). This was also true of the enumerations prior to this section, where each individual part of the body and its angel was enumerated (C II 63,13-23; C II 63,23-65,8; C II 65,8-32); but now the Apocryphon of John seems to have tired from the thorough enumeration. In addition to this, we have the distinct reference which AJ gives in C II 67,6-10: "There are, however, others over the remaining passions, those of whom I have not told you, but if you wish to know them, it is written in the book of Zoroastros". Thus, the Apocryphon of John admits not having related everything in this connection, but states where it can be found, and at the same time, undoubtedly, where one should seek the source which the Apocryphon of John has drawn on here.—In a couple of places where the Apocryphon of John mentions the names of the different daemons a question arises, whether these names have a meaning or whether it is pure coincidence that they resemble, e.g., Greek words. This applies to the name of the daemon which according to C II 66,6-7 rules over *the heat*: ΦΛΟΞΟΦΑ. The name instinctively recalls the Greek φλόξ = *fire*, or *flame*, or to connections with φλόξ as

e.g. φλογωπός = *burning*; and it might be a conscious construction of the name which without actually meaning anything shall, however, lead the reader's thoughts in a definite direction. The same can be true of the name of the mother of the daemons which rule over heat, cold etc. About her it is stated that "she is unlimited", and that "she mingles with them all", and that her name is "ΟΝΟΡΘΟΧΡΑΧΑΕΙ", but it also states that she "placed herself in their midst" (C II 66,10–13). The name indicated, with its elements, can recall Greek words like ὀρθός, κρᾶσις and derivatives of these. Now it is remarkable that the verb which in C II 66,11 expresses the act of the mother: she "places herself": **CAZE EPATĒ**, sometimes actually translates the Greek ὀρθοῦσθαι (e.g., Ep Jer 26, Bohairic), and it is just as remarkable that the verb which in C II 66,12 is used to state that she "mingles" with them: **ΤΩΖ** can translate the verb κεραννύειν related to (Isaiah 5,22, Bohairic). The use of this name can also be a conscious play on the effect of the daemon without involving actual meaning of the name. However, in **CAZE EPATĒ** and in the words from **ΕCΨΟΟΠ** to **ΤΗΡΟΥ** (incl.) in C II 66,12–14, it can just as well be an attempt to define the name; and that this is probably the case seems to be indicated by the circumstance that the Apocryphon of John does not ordinarily contain such an interpretation of the daemons' actions. Nor is there any reason to associate the name of the four leading daemons' mother, who in C II 66,18–19 is called **ΕCΘΗNCICΟΥΧΕΠΙΠΤΟΗ** and is certainly the same who in C II 67,1–2 is called **ΕCΘΗNCICΖΟΥΧΕΠΙΠΤΟΗ**, with any definite meaning, however much it may resemble Greek words like αἰσθησις or ἔσθησις and πτόη.

67,2–10 *Concluding Remarks about the Creation of Man.*

The number of angels comprises a total of three hundred and sixty-five; the number compares to that attested in C II 59,25 as the sum of the angels who stemmed from Ialtabaoth, but not to the number of names which are recorded in the previous section; even though many names are mentioned, it is still far from three hundred and sixty-five—for the remaining names John is referred to the book of Zoroastros. It seems as though those who are not named include only the daemons which are attached to the passions (cf. C II 67,7–8); in this manner, one can consider the enumeration of angels attached to the individual parts of the body as being complete. Oddly enough, the exclusive material in C II's Apocryphon of John concludes by allowing the work of the angels to involve the completion of both the psychic (**ΨΥΧΙΚΟΝ**) and the hylic (**ΖΥΛΙΚΟΝ**) human body; it is as if a transition has occurred from the original subject (cf. C II 63,6–10 and C II 63,13–29) concerning the creation of the "psychic" man to a creation of both the psychic and hylic man (cf. C II 66,34–35 and C II 67,3–6). That man becomes a mortal man with an earthly body, is not related until in C II 68,32–69,14. In the context in which this specific paragraph is now presented, in spite of the use of the term **ΖΥΛΙΚΟΝ**, something immaterial must be meant by this term, and it must designate the same as that which the

text earlier, at the creation of the body, described as ΝΖΥΠΟCΤΑCΙC ΝΤΕΤΨΥΧΙΚΗ (C II 63,25–26), as ΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝCΑΡΞ (C II 63,17–18), as ΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΚΑC (C II 63,15) or as, e.g., ΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΨΑΑΡΕ (C II 63,1–22). On the other hand, it may very well be that in the context in which this paragraph perhaps originally belonged, the term has signified something quite different from ΨΥΧΗ, as this word is otherwise used in C II's Apocryphon of John. In 67,5–6 both terms seem to have a meaning slightly different from the usual one, in that they describe the individual man as being equipped with an immaterial body and with a personality which could be affected by passions under the influence of the daemon powers.

The reference to the book of Zoroastros is surely correct, in so far as it appears that AJ has made use of another work here, but the title can very well be fictitious, used merely to emphasize the authority. However, texts bearing this name were in circulation in circles which do not seem distant from texts like the Apocryphon of John (cf. Carl Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften in Koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus*, p. 614 ff. and cf. Jean Doresse, *Les apocalypses de Zoroastre, de Zostrien, de Nicothées*, *The Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute*, II, 1950, p. 255 ff.).

Besides Porphyry (Vita Plotini 16), Clemens Alexandrinus has stated that manuscripts bearing Zoroastres's name were in circulation in such groups (Cl. Alex. Strom. I, cap. XV. 69,6 (Stählin p. 144); also Strom. V. cap. XIV. 103,3 (Stehlin 2, p. 395) mentions Zoroastres as author). Important is Doresse's demonstration that the cryptogram which is placed as a colophon under one of the manuscripts from the same find as C II, actually contains an occurrence of the title of "Zoroastres's Treatise" (.... ΛΟΓΟC ΖΩΡΟΑCΤΡ[ΟΥ]), but as long as this text is not available, any possibility for establishing a connection between this text and the one in C II 67,10 is beyond our reach.

67,10–15 *The Body Which Was Created Lies Inactive.* (≠ BG 50,11–51,1 ≠ C III 23,12–19).

The parallels to C II's tradition are now resumed in BG and C III, although they do not immediately compare closely with the text of C II. The latter is significant because of its renewed mention of the work of the angels and the daemons; its purpose is probably to stress the limitations of the power of these beings, which is expressed by the fact that although all of them have taken part in the creation, they were not able to make the body move.

The peculiarity in this repetition of the description of the angels' creation is that here it *only* involves the embellishment of the "psychic" body, while only a few lines before in the text it related that they perfected *both* the "psychic" and the "hylic" body. The explanation is surely that we have now returned to the original idea in C II which was expressed in C II 63,6–10 and C II 63,13–29 where the creation of the "psychic" man was involved, so that once more only the creation of the "psychic" is involved. The intervening paragraph's narration about the creation of both the "psychic" and the "hylic" body is consequently

most aptly interpreted as an interpolation which is adopted from another source whose teaching has digressed from the one we have had in the earlier presentation in C II's Apocryphon of John. The use of the terms $\Psi\chi\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$ and $\Sigma\upsilon\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$ is clear evidence supporting this theory, and it supports our interpretation that the special material which C II has handed down without parallels in BG and C III must be insertions coming from somewhere else.

The repetition of the narrative concerning their creation of the body is also thus explained, in that C II's Apocryphon of John originally had only the last account of it (C II 67,10–12), while the first stems from the text in which the insertion occurred.

The emphasis on the word $\Theta\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ in the Coptic text is difficult to render in a translation of C II 67,10–11. Literally, the text states: "and they all worked, namely these angels and daemons"; the word $\Theta\eta\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ ('all') covers both $\text{NIA}\Gamma\Gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ and $\text{N}\Delta\text{AIM}\tilde{\Omega}$, so that one must understand the text as: all of the angels and all of the daemons worked until the body was completed.

Thereby, it also becomes clear that this emphasis on all of the angels' and daemons' efforts leads up to stressing the inferior result which is accounted for in C II 67,13–15. That the immobility of the created body is expected by the Metropator and its powers, indeed that it is an essential part of the plans for the redemption of the fallen power, is not stated here, but this is evident by the general context of C II's account.

The fact that C II's account in C II 67,10–15 varies somewhat from BG 50,11–51,1 and from C III 23,12–19, is best explained as being brought about by the editor who inserted the lengthy specific paragraph in C II. This editor can very well have found it expedient to omit a remark like the one in BG 50,13–14: $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \gamma\mu\ \mu\eta\eta\eta\upsilon\epsilon\ \text{NIA}\Gamma\Gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \text{NTAI}\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \text{N}\Psi\omicron\text{RP}$ because it could be misunderstood in connection with C II's $\text{NAI}\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon,\ \text{M}\mu\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \text{NAK}$ in C II 67,8. In the same manner, it is possible that an editor has preferred to revise the mention of the seven, as well as the 365 (BG: 360) angels' powerlessness (BG 50,16–51,1) to a comprehensive powerlessness of the works of all the angels, because the 365 were just names (C II 67,2); the daemons were added because they are mentioned in C II's specific material.

67,15–68,5 *The Spirit is Breathed into Man* (\neq BG 51,1–52,11 \neq C III 23,19–24,20).

The endeavours to release the strength originating with the mother from the Protarchon are carried on, and the motive for making the Protarchon and his Powers create a body which at first must lie motionless is now revealed: it was an essential part of the scheme to entice the Protarchon to relinquish the power he inherited from his mother. The powers of light now succeed in persuading the Protarchon to breathe his spirit into the lifeless body. The meaning of the text seems clear, but it is vague in certain details, and its relationship to individual points in the parallels in BG and C III also need clarification.

The temporalis form in C II 67,15 **ΝΤΑΡΕCΟΥΩΨΕ Α-**, which, incidentally, is an Achmimic form for Sahidic **ΝΤΕΡΕCΟΥΩΨΕ Ε-**, must not be understood as a new desire of the mother, but should probably be interpreted as a reference to the mother's prayer of repentance, as mentioned in C II 62,2.

L. 19–20 relates that five lights are sent forth. To whom does this refer? In C II's Apocryphon of John, specific reference is made to five lights in the world of light as comprising a special group; the first of these is Christ who in C II 54,13 is referred to as a spark of light, indeed, in C II 55,30–31 the light is definitely and clearly identified as Christ; in C II 55,30 ff., it states that the four lights came from him. The first and the four following lights, mentioned in C II 55,30 ff., are the five lights sent out by the Metropator here. As the text is handed down in the manuscript, it states in C II 67,20, that they are sent to the place of the Protarchon's angels: **ΕΞΡΑΪ ΕΧΜ ΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ**, but C III 24,3 reads instead: **ΜΠΤΥΠΟΣ ΝΝΑΓ[Γ]Ε[ΛΟΣ··]**, i.e., that according to C III the angels are sent in the form of the Protarchon's angels, and this compares with BG 51,10–11: **ΖΜ ΠΕCΜΟΤ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ**. However, a confusion of **ΤΥΠΟΣ** with **ΤΟΠΟΣ** is not unusual in Coptic texts (cf., e.g., *Evangelium Veritatis* 23,3), and it is likely that this also occurred here, so that in C II 67,20 we should read **ΠΤΥΠΟΣ** instead of **ΠΤΟΠΟΣ**. Thereby, to the Protarchon the list seems even more to be a prominent feature in the plan to release the strength from the mother: even disguise plays a role in the drama. The Protarchon's ignorance is that which makes it possible for the light-angels who act as Ialtabaoth's own angels, to make him give away his strength. Actually, BG does not mention five lights like C II, but four lights. C III's parallel to BG 51,10 agrees by also mentioning four lights (C III 24,2–3); however, in addition to the narrative relating that she prayed to the very merciful father, C III 23,23–24,1 reads: "and the five lights" In his edition of BG, W. C. Till (p. 142, notes) demonstrates that C III 23,23 (Till: CG I 23,23) **Π+ΟΥ** cannot be correct: "fünf Lichter ist aber unmöglich, da es ja nur vier gibt". According to W. C. Till, BG has the correct reading **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ**, and the copyist, in the source of the Cairo text, has found the abbreviation **Π+**; he did not understand the meaning of this abbreviation and substituted it with **Π+ΟΥ**. Commenting on this, one might say that even though a group of four lights is enumerated, it cannot be correct that only four lights should be found; BG has also specifically named Christ as a light (BG 30,11), and BG 32,20 defines the light as Christ, relating thereafter that from him four great lights emanated.

W. C. Till's supposition that a copyist has substituted a **Π+** (abbreviation for **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ**) with a **Π+ΟΥ** (=fem.) can well be correct even though the basis for not allowing a reading "the five lights" must be rejected as untenable.

We also find the five lights mentioned in Codex II's Apocryphon of John (C II 67,18–19), but this occurs in the same place where C III and BG mention the emanation of the four lights; contrarily, C II does not continue its remarks about the mother's prayer to the merciful father with the further elucidation

that the prayer was also directed to the god of light or to the five lights, as do BG and C III. The problem concerning $\text{N}+\text{OY } \bar{\text{M}}\Phi\Omega\text{CTHP}$ in C II 67,18–19 has, thus, a different significance than in C III. If we did not have a tradition like the one in BG and C III that there were four lights which were emanated, there would be no reason to discuss the reading of C II: the five lights, because the text has obviously mentioned five lights: Christ as the light and the four lights which go forth to him (cf. above and C II 56,20–21). It is not decisive whether we can determine from the text if it were the four lights or the five lights who persuaded the Protarchon, but the question which spontaneously arises: is there any connection with the mentioning of five lights in both C III and C II so that we can trace the traditions of the two texts? BG and C III both have: 1) passed on a tradition after the mention of the merciful father, and 2) passed on that four lights are emanated. C II has no unit after mentioning the merciful father, and allows five lights to be emanated. BG's form of the tradition of the second unit under 1) must be considered as earlier than C III's because BG's tradition under point 2) does not conflict with that under 1), while C III's tradition under 2) conflicts with the one under 1). For palaeographic reason, C II must be established as being an earlier manuscript than C III. It must be assumed that a manuscript existed before both of these manuscripts, which after mentioning the merciful father contained a unit like $\text{N}+\text{OY}$ (from $\text{N}+$) $\bar{\text{N}}\text{OYOEIN}$. This part then disappeared from C II's tradition because a copyist has either confused it with the $\text{N}+\text{OY} \bar{\text{N}}\text{OYOEIN}$ (or: $\bar{\text{M}}\Phi\Omega\text{CTHP}$) which must have followed in the source, or has felt that there was a contradiction between the tradition about the five and the four lights, and since he knew that there were five lights, he chose to correct the tradition's text. In the first instance, it is most likely the word repeated in the source: *light*, which has caused the confusion. This is a frequent copying error, and it is probably the reason.

The main thing is that apparently we have an indication here that at one stage in the history of development of the texts nearly the same reading existed in both traditions.

The event in this section of the teaching in AJ: the breathing of the spirit into the lifeless body, is a clear reference to Gen 2,7 concerning the breathing of the spirit of life into the man formed from the dust of the ground which becomes a living being.

L. 30 A- in $\text{A}\Psi\chi\text{IKOC}$ should hardly be interpreted as an alpha privativum, but as a preposition which serves to amplify the preposition ϵZOYN ; this amplification seems necessary to clarify the movement inside the body. The fact that we then have A- (A A_2) instead of ϵ - (S), is not unusual in C II's Apocryphon of John.

68,5–73,16 (\neq BG 52,11–64,13 \neq C III 24,20–32,22).

The Struggle for Man between the Powers of Light and Darkness.

68,5–70,28 The immaterial man is confined in the material body, but is assisted by the Epinoia of light (\neq BG 52,11–59,6 \neq C III 24,20–29,12).

The moment the light-strength from the mother, the pneuma, emerges from the Protarchon and is installed in the being created by spiritual strengths in the image of the first man in the world of light, a struggle beings for man who is in the world of darkness. The contest is for the spirit of this man, and that which happens to man and around him is all the result of the two opposing parties' plots against each other.

When the spirit has been concealed in man, Ialtabaoth's powers make the first move. Although they have accomplished their wish: to attain a being which could shine for them (C II 63,4-5 and C II 63,12-13), this being is still superior in wisdom to these powers; the physical strength, is, however, stronger and is set in action. What is meant by the powers placing man in the lowest region of the substance is not immediately comprehensible; it could have been said about a removal of the psychic man from a higher aeon to the lowest, but it can also be an anticipation of the teaching which is more explicitly narrated in C II 68,35-69,14, namely, the creation of an earthly, material, and mortal human body which serves as a mortal frame to encase the psychic man imbued with the strength from the world of light. This agrees with the fact that C II 68,5-7 is also just a brief anticipation of the narration of that which is described in greater detail in C II 68,28-33 as man's disclosure of his own superiority, thanks to the effects of the light strength which he now possesses. Nevertheless, the words of C II 70,7-9 which tell about casting him down to the lowest region of the earth, undoubtedly imply both meanings: a casting down to the lowest aeon, and a casting down into the prison which the material body is (C II 69,9-12).

In preparation of this onslaught from the powers of Ialtabaoth, the Metropator has already taken measures to counteract the expect threat, which C II 68,13-14 presents as the reason for the Metropator's actions: also because they want to take power over the psychic and the sensual body. The Metropator has placed an assisting spirit in Adam, light-Epinoia, who teaches him the truth (C II 68,21 ff.) and wakens them (C II 71,5 ff.); the purpose of Epinoia is to be a restoration of the mother's want, (C II 68,27-28, cf. C II 61,14-15). This restoration is obviously that which according to C II 62,5-9 is to come from the Holy Spirit and restore the mother's lack.

Whether AJ has made a distinction between the mother-figure whose light-strength diminished, the loss of which is to be restored, and the light-strength concealed in man who is in the world of darkness, sometimes seems vague.

The Epinoia of Light is called an assistant (ΒΟΗΘΟΣ) and receives the name ΖΩΗ. This is an obvious play on Gen 2,18 (LXX) and Gen 3,20 (LXX) where we are told, respectively, about making a βοηθός for Adam, and that the woman was called Ζωή. The help consists of a teaching (C II 68,21-24), which must be directed to Adam, or more precisely: actually to the strength from the light world which exists in him. However, AJ also anticipates the subsequent development here by letting the help benefit the *whole creation* (C II 68,19-20).

The word ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ (C II 68,21) must designate the state of being fulfilled,

and points toward the final result which does not exist until the light-strength is finally released. On the other hand, **ΕCΨΕΠ ΖΙCΕ** (C II 68,20–21) designates the whole deed of the Epinoia of light.

The teaching is a message concerning the genesis, the fall, and the redemption.

C II 68,22–23 **ΠCΠΕΡΜΑ** is spontaneously understood as relating to the offspring of the mother, Ialtabaoth, in whom the strength was concealed, but this expression should also be understood in a wider sense as an anticipation of something to occur later, because it involves an assistance to the whole creation, and consequently it would be logical to interpret it as being stated about the generation of man which is called **CΠΕΡΜΑ** in C II 73,10.

C II 68,32 renders the subject of the sentences in 3. pers. plural, and it is merely a paraphrase for the host of archons and angels mentioned in C II 68,34–35.

C II 68,35 ff. That which is created now as the body of man, is also created from four elements, just as the daemons (C II 66,2 ff.) were said to have their fount in four things. Strangely enough, there is a degree of similarity between these two groups, each having four elements: the daemons had their fount in heat, cold, dampness and dryness, while here it is fire, earth, water and wind which are joined together in a creation. In this combination of the two descriptions apparently, the latter is to describe the genesis of a body having a less refined nature than the first. Thus, it would be reasonable to regard the two groups as designations for elements having a more lofty nature in the first, and a more substantial nature in the second creation. Whether this distinction would also have been possible if C II 66,22 ff. had been handed down in its original context, is uncertain, but in the present composition of C II's AJ, there is a distinct advance in the presentation: the created being becomes more and more substantial.

C II 69,4–5 **ΤΖΑΪΒΕC ΜΠΜΟΥ** is an augury of the metamorphosis which takes place, and which is mentioned in C II 69,12–13: man has now become mortal because he consists of material things which are perishable; the shadow of death probably is intended to paraphrase C II 68,8–9: the lowest region of the matter and C II 70,1–2: Amente.

C II 69,5–6 **ΕΥΝΑΠΛΑCCE ΝΚΕCΟΠ** corresponds to the substantive **ΤΑΝΑΠΛΑCIC** in C II 69,10.

C II 69,6–9: the four elements are identified with the matter, **ΤΖΥΛΗ**, just as matter, **ΤΖΥΛΗ**, in C II 66,5–6 is specified as the mother of the four elements mentioned in C II 66,2 ff. Certain powers or passions are also associated with the elements here, but it is done directly and not by introducing specific daemons.

C II 69,9–10 **ΕΤΕ ΠΑΪ ΠΕ** can hardly define the immediately preceding **ΠΕΥΠΝᾶ ΕΤΨΒΒΙΑΕΙΤ**, but goes back to C II 69,5–6 to modify **ΕΥΝΑΠΛΑCCE ΝΚΕCΟΠ** and

defines what the re-creation consists of: the grave in which the bodily creature is now placed by becoming enclosed in a material, mortal frame which will fetter the strength firmly in oblivion.

C II 69,13–14 ΝΤΑΖΕΙ ΕΞΡΑΪ ΝΨΟΡΙ' refers to 68,8–9 where it tells about the descent to the lowest region of matter. However, what is meant by C II 69,14 ΠΩΡΧ, is not clear. In his edition of BG (p. 151 notes), W. C. Till has asked whether the ΠΕΘΥΕΙΤ ΜΠΟΡΧΥ ΕΒΟΛ (BG 55,14–15) refers to the dual nature of man. One can also imagine that it refers to the decisive separation from the world of light, since C II's ΠΩΡΧ not only means *division*, but *separation* as well. Furthermore, it is worth remembering that ΠΩΡΧ has several meanings; in the Bohairic translation of I Cor 14,33, it translates ἀκαταστασία, and here it seems to correspond to the Sahidic translation ΨΟΤΡ, which, like the Greek term, means *confusion*.

C II 69,19 The word ϸΨΥΕ, which can mean ease, freedom, must render the same as ΤΡΥΦΗ, as indicated by the following. BG 56,1–2 and C III 27,7–8 seem to agree with this because these two texts actually read ΤΡΥΦΗ in the same context in which ϸΨΥΕ occurs in C II. C II is the only one of the three texts which has the imperative ΟΥΩΜ.

C II 69,19 ff. is an exposure of the new move on the part of the powers of darkness when they placed man in paradise.

The intention is to present a secret teaching which allows John to understand the idea behind that which is related in Gen 2,9. In denunciation of the customary interpretation of the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, the ordinary conception is turned upside down: in reality, the tree of life is the tree of death of which Ialtabaoth's powers want man to eat, and the tree of knowledge is the tree from which the redeemer, not the serpent, allows man to eat. The fruit of this tree is explained as the Epinoia of light who enters man in this way. In this connection, it does not seem to recall that the installation of the Epinoia of Light in man was discussed before (C II 68,24–26). Since the procreation which the serpent teaches them is also characterized by the same expression which was previously used about the tree of life (e.g. C II 69,35), it must be identical with that which is called to eat from the tree of life.

C II 70,9 ff. John now commences with a question; incidentally, this occurs more frequently in the following, giving the teaching the effect of a conversation or perhaps, rather a catechesis. The revealed saviour is constantly the friendly teacher, who with a smile—which expresses patience rather than superior knowledge, frees John from delusions as they are bound to occur if, for example, one only has the words of Genesis without the true interpretation to serve one as a guide.

C II 70,15 ff. shows that Ialtabaoth is now aware of the reason for man's superiority, namely, that man has the light of Epinoia as a helping strength. Therefore, Ialtabaoth's new move becomes an attempt to seize this strength.

This is also a reference to Genesis (Gen 2,21), and a new question from John gives his master an opportunity to teach him the truth of the matter by referring to Isaiah 6,10.

A comparison with BG's account in BG 52,11–59,6, the text in C III 24,20–29,12 which is much damaged, and C II 68,5–70,28, by and large shows a close agreement between all three texts, but there are, however, certain variations which are worthy of attention. One must observe, first, that a couple of lines in C III's tradition are obviously placed in the wrong position, since C III 24,26–28's contents must be placed after C III 24,17 $\bar{\text{N}}\text{NEY}\Delta\text{YNAMI}[\text{C}]$; C III's scribe already seems aware of this, since he has otherwise never written more than 26 lines on one page and usually uses only 24–25 lines per page. Nevertheless, here (C III p. 24) he has as many as 28 lines of text, obviously in order to add that which he has forgotten higher up on the page. This circumstance becomes especially clear because both the preceding and the following page are very short with respect to their number of lines, having only 23 lines each. When this correction has been made, the text also follows BG's.

While C II 68,13 reads $\text{X}\epsilon$ $\text{CENAG}\bar{\text{M}}\text{GOM}$ (I future, 3. pers. pl.), BG 53,2–3 corresponding to this reads: $\text{X}\epsilon$ $\text{ECEG}\bar{\text{M}}\text{GOM}$, which must be III future, 3. pers. singular fem. Consequently, BG lets the strength from the mother (BG 52,20) be that which shall take power over the body, while C II lets several do this; this plural is best understood as referring to the powers of the Protarchon. Even though C II's CENA- could be defined as I future, 3. pers. singular fem., it is not necessary to correct the text; both BG's and C III's text give a good meaning, and if we do not have basis for a necessary correction, it is better to let the disagreement stand as a result of a different tradition.—C III lends no assistance, because the text is damaged precisely here.—However, at the end of its phrase in BG 53,3, BG has an AN , which as W. C. Till correctly asserts in his edition of BG (p. 146 notes) cannot be the negation. Peculiarly enough, C II 68,13 has an ON in front of $\text{X}\epsilon$ $\text{CENAG}\bar{\text{M}}\text{GOM}$. This Sahidic ON , which in A_2 and F read AN , in C II must be read as an amplification of the preceding $\text{AY}\Omega$: *and also*, while by itself it means: *again*. As far as the form is concerned, the AN which BG has (BG 53,3), may well be the adverb corresponding to Sahidic ON , and there are also Subachmimic influences in BG; this understanding of the text seems to be supported by the text of C II. We would then understand BG 53,2–3 as follows: in order that it should *again* have power over the body. In BG 53,2–3 ECE- (III future, 3. pers. sing. fem.) there can also be a confusion, namely with CE- (I pres., 3. pers. pl.), and if so $\text{X}\epsilon$ should be translated by a *because*. This solution is supported by the likelihood that the $\text{X}\epsilon$ in front of the ECE- may have contributed to the confusion, and we will propose this reading for BG, since by doing so we avoid letting AN stand as a word without a meaning, as happens in the edition of BG. Each of the two texts has had its own understanding of ON/AN ; C II has interpreted it as introducing another reason for

the Metropator's help, while BG has interpreted it as belonging to the verb, describing a return of the former relation of power.

Although C II 68,21 is in common agreement with C III 25,14 in handing down the word ΠΕΥΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ (in C III 25,14 which is damaged only a ΛΗΡΩΜΑ is left), BG 53,13–14 has ΠΕΥΡΠΕ ΕΤΧΗΚ. BG's Coptic terms may have caused the variation, since they may be an attempt at a derivation of ΠΕΥΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ.

The severely damaged BG 54,1–2 and C III 25,20–21 have not been in mutual agreement; W. C. Till calls attention to this in his edition of BG (p. 148–149, notes); nor have they agreed completely with C II 68,27–28, since this text does not mention the “co-sister” nor “Sophia”, as do C III+BG and C III, respectively. The damaged texts, however, do not permit any conclusion with regard to the mutual relationship of the texts.

C III 26,18 reads ΜΠΚΑΚΕ, which W. C. Till in his edition of BG (p. 150–151, notes) proposes to emend by means of BG 55,7 ΜΝ ΠΚΑΚΕ; however, C II 69,7–8 in the parallel to BG and C III reads ΕΤΕ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ which obviously serves to define the preceding word ΤΖΥΛΗ. BG correlates the words ΘΥΛΗ, ΠΚΑΚΕ, ΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ and ΠΕΠΝᾶ ΝΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ in order to explain the preceding four elements. ΤΖΥΛΗ in C II represents a collective designation of the four elements, and in turn it is defined by the three following: the ignorance of darkness, desire, and the opposed spirit. Thus, we can also construe the text of C III where it is not necessary, as done by W. C. Till, to emend the text from BG; ΤΖΥΛΗ ΜΠΚΑΚΕ can represent a genitive relation denoting what ΤΖΥΛΗ consists of, corresponding to the defining ΕΤΕ ΤΑΙ ΤΕ of C II.

Unlike BG and C III, C II (in C II 69,19) has a direct quotation of the powers' request: eat! in reference to Genesis 2,9 where it tells that the trees in the garden are good for food, and to the words of the Lord God in Gen 2,16–17 concerning what man may eat.

In the statements concerning the imitated spirit, the opposed spirit, in C II 69,29, C II also digresses from C III and BG, since unlike them C II states nothing about the purpose of this opposed spirit (BG 56,15–17; C III 25,19–20). C II can have omitted something here, but it can also involve a different tradition. Later on in the texts, during the treatment explaining what imitated Pneuma is, the motive is also stated (C II 77,25–26), and this shows that C II was well aware of it.

C II 70,24–25 is considerably shorter than BG and C III, but there is no reason to suggest that a transcription error occurred here: ΑΥΧΤΟ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΖΝ ΝΕΥΑΙΘΗ-ΘΙC is merely an elliptic construction for a more lucid ΑΥΧΤΟ ΜΜΟΥ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΥΧΤΟΥ ΖΝ ΝΕΥΑΙΘΗΘΙC. C III is, in turn, shorter than the form of BG, but here it merely involves a more elegant form of expression than the circumstantial account in BG (C III 29,5–7; BG 58,17–59,1).

In this section, all three texts mutually make extensive use of Greek words; only a few of these vary from text to text. The translation in W. C. Till's edition

of BG 55,11 (\neq C II 69,10) should not lead one to believe that in this place BG uses a different word than C II's $\text{C}\Omega\text{MA}$; it is merely by mistake that $\sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$ was omitted after "*des Leibes*"; the same error is also found in the translation of BG 51,20.

Three remarks having the same nature are found in BG (BG 56,2–3; 56,16–17; 57,12–16) and C III (C III 27,7–8; 27,19–21; 28,10–12 (fragm.)), where C II knows no corresponding tradition. All three are assertions intended to motivate something—this happens by the word $\text{X}\epsilon$; the three assertions help to give the situations in BG and C III a more common and human quality, since the cunning attacks of the powers of darkness come forward more clearly as if they were inspired by human reasoning. C II does not present these three motivations, and therefore it has not diminished the impression of loftiness which characterizes this particular text in several places where the character of the powers is discussed.

A strong influence of Achmimic or Subachmimic penetrates several places in the section of C II 68,5–70,28: e.g., prep. A- for ϵ - in C II 68,8 68,21 68,32 70,7 (bis) 70,9 and 70,18; $\text{A}\text{X}\bar{\text{N}}$ (for $\epsilon\text{X}\bar{\text{N}}$ -) C II 68,11 70,21 and 70,26; verbal prefix $\text{A}\text{z-}$ in C II 68,31 and 69,13; ΠTEKO (for ΠTAKO) in 70,14; III future, neg., $\bar{\text{N}}\text{NOY}$ in C II 68,26 and 70,27 is A_2 (of the Gospel of John type) for $\text{S}\bar{\text{N}}\text{NEY}$.

70,28–73,16 *The Epinoia of Light who is Concealed in a New Creation, Escapes the Conspiracies of the Struggle for Man in whom an Imitated Pneuma is Implanted.* (\neq BG 59,6–64,13 \neq C III 29,12–32,22).

In the struggle for man, which, in reality, is a struggle for the strength of the mother which is concealed in man, several of the attacks made by the powers of darkness have a result entirely different from the one intended, because the Epinoia of light takes precautionary measures. Consequently, the contest wavers back and forth.

In spite of the attack against man which caused his perception to sleep, light's Epinoia could not be seized by the enemy (C II 70,31–32). This Epinoia is ATTEZOC ; this term is not preserved elsewhere in C II's AJ, but if we revert to BG's AJ, we find it used in BG 26,2 about the Invisible Spirit; BG 26,2 seems to have had a parallel in C II 52,10, but here, as in the rest of the first pages of the papyrus, C II is very seriously damaged. Even though the term is not preserved in the initial description of the Invisible in C II's AJ, it agrees well with that which we can surmise about this being from the remnants of the assertion about him in the first pages. All of these are characterized by a negative expression, and this also agrees with the impression we get indirectly later on in the text. Strangely enough, apparently something else besides light's Epinoia can be removed, if not seized, from the Invisible Spirit: that is "a part of his power". Here the Apocryphon of John refers to Gen 2,21 f., but repudiates that it should be man's *rib* from which woman was made. It is the *power* from him which is implanted in a creature which the Protarchon has made (C II 70,34–36)

according to an image, just as the first human creation was formed according to an image (C II 63,9–11). The motive for the creation of the woman and for placing some of the strength in her is first announced in C II 72,15–32: in part, this makes it possible for Ialtabaoth to bind the power from the world of to the bodies in the world of darkness by the constant reproduction, and in part to implant an opponent to the Epinoia of light, his opposing spirit, in man. Before this motive is expressed, AJ has related the positive importance the creation of woman has for man, thanks to the Epinoia of light which is placed in her (C II 71,4–35). At first, the Epinoia of light removes that which hinders man in exercising his perception, and when it has regained this ability, the sight of the new creature becomes a perception of himself (C II 71,9). Later on, it involves a message about the knowledge of salvation (C II 73,13); nevertheless the revelation in 71,26–35 is probably merely the same which is mentioned once before in 71,5–7, only it is elaborated in the latter description: already then the redeemer assisted, bringing the truth in the form of an eagle. Here, in C II 71,28, as earlier in C II 70,5, the Epinoia of light is made identical with the tree of knowledge.

The text in C II 71,11–20 is corrupt, because the copyist, by mistake, probably by confusing ΤΥΜΑΑΥ (71,16) with ΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ in 71,12–13, has repeated himself; the words from C II 71,17 ΑΥΩ ΝΥΤΟΕΥ' incl. to C II 71,20 ΤΥΜΑΑΥ incl. should thus be dropped, ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ in C II 71,11 introduces an explanation why the combination should be made, and line 16 repeats the words concerning the father and the mother in order to explain who the mother is by the reference in C II 71,20–21 ΤΗΩΝΕ ΔΕ ΤΟΦΙΑ, which is a closer definition of ΤΥΜΑΑΥ, therefore ΔΕ should be translated by "namely".

C II 71,23 ΕΡΟC must refer to the woman; thus, it is she who is named Zoe, the mother of all living. If, instead, one refers the word ΕΡΟC to the nearest preceding feminine being, Sophia, neither the assertion that she became the mother of all living, nor its reference to C II 58,18 and to Gen 3,20, receives its due importance. In C II 58,18, the holy spirit is mentioned as "the mother of the living", and undoubtedly, here the living meant the beings in heaven in the kingdom of light. In C II 68,19 the Epinoia of light who is sent to Adam as helpmate is called "Zoe". Now the idea of C II 71,23–25, is that woman in whom the light of Epinoia has revealed itself (C II 71,5: cf. C II 70,34–36) can also be named Zoe because she becomes the mother of the living, i.e. helps to release them to live.

The metaphorical expressions in C II 71,25–35 are to describe the manner in which the perception will appear: it can be tasted, especially by enjoying the fruits of the tree of knowledge; the tree is identified with Epinoia, and from the tree the sleeping are awakened by the teaching words of the saviour who sits in the tree in the shape of a heavenly bird. These metaphorical expressions are intended to explain the words of Genesis concerning the tree of knowledge, rather than actually explain the deeper meaning of the perception.

The following events are, likewise, references to or explanations of Genesis.

C II 72,2 ΠΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ must mean the resolution, which is referred to in C II 67,19, where the very same terms are used; it is the resolution to save the spark of light by allowing Ialtabaoth to create a man in which the light can be transplanted and through which it can be saved.

Zoe is rescued in time from the woman whom the Protarchon makes pregnant. AJ's teaching that Zoe is meanwhile removed from the woman is designed to ensure that the Epinoia of light is not combined with the powers of darkness; in this instance, it is Eloim and Iave who appear as the sons of the Protarchon. Thus, it is the presence of Epinoia in woman which allows her to be called Zoe.

Admittedly, it states that Eloim and Iave have each received two elements to govern, but it is hardly intended that these two powers are mentioned just to teach who governs the elements; its purpose is much rather to explain how the sexual intercourse so abominable to the Apocryphon of John came about thus, it began with the powers of darkness. That Adam produced offspring, as stated in C II 72,28–32, probably refers to Cain and Abel who are identified with Eloim and Iave, but presumably to later generations also.

—What is meant by ΤΑΑΔΑΜ in C II 72,29? Presumably it does not concern an urge for procreation devoid of desire, but, on the contrary, ΤΑ- refers to Adam's woman.

Eloim and Iave govern the graves of the later generations, i.e., their bodies (cf. C II 69,9–10), because they govern the elements of which the bodies are composed; there is a distinct agreement between C II 72,22–24, and the explanation of the construction of the material body in C II 69,6–7.

In the meantime, Adam has become aware of his high origin; he no longer sleeps; since thereby he has become aware of his prototype, the perfect man in the world of light, he also produces an image of the son of the perfect man (cf. C II 57,11–12) and calls this son of man by the same name as the son of man in the world of aeons: Seth. Thus, C II 73,2 ΚΑΤΑ must be connected with 73,1 ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥΨ ΧΕ ΧΘΨ. The spirit which comes from the mother must be a heavenly spirit who also enters Seth.

C II 73,6 ΝΑΙΩΝ (Ν)ΕΤΝΝΗΥ should *perhaps* be read for ΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΝΝΗΥ. This text correction will make it necessary to interpret the prepared eternal place as being in heaven, while in the sense which the manuscript conveys the place descends: the text correction allows the place to the prepared *for* those who come down, i.e., the generations who by the fall of the spirit to the world of darkness gradually become implanted in the kingdom of the Protarchon. The text correction *is not* necessary, since the text of the manuscript *is* grammatically correct and *can* make sense.

C II 73,7. The substantive which is implied by ΑΥ-, must either be the Protarchon himself, or the imitated spirit. Moreover, the following alludes to general conditions: the existence of the offspring, i.e., the generations, was

hampered by the opposed spirit and alleviated by the helpful Epinoia; the resurrection does not occur until the final arrival of the spirit, but at that time the goal, recorded in C II 62,8–13, is also reached: the restoration of the lack.

By and large, a comparison between the paragraph of C II and C III and BG shows agreement, but significant digressions are also apparent. However, to this must be added not only that C II's text must be considered as being corrupt (C II 71,11–20), but there are also confusions in the text of BG even though they are of less importance: BG 16,16 has its $\Delta\epsilon$ added above the line, BG 63,10 has had a τ (after $\Lambda\psi$ -) which has been dropped. Nevertheless, it is not necessary to agree with W. C. Till (edition of BG p. 166) that the text in BG 63,16 f. is corrupt, for the text is grammatically correct and makes good sense if one interprets BG 63,18 NAC as an ethical dative: "for her", and does not interpret it as in W. C. Till's translation purely local: "zu ihr". Admittedly, it is a tradition different from that of C III, but the two texts do *not necessarily* have to agree.

As usual, C III mainly follows the tradition of BG, but as far as we can see because of the many breaks in the text of C III, there are passages in C III which contained something corresponding to C II's tradition, while finding no parallel in BG. This applies to C III 32,8, which just as C II 73,2 lets KATA join a comparison directly to the preceding, while BG 63,14 by an $\text{AY}\Omega$ could allow the reader to believe that it introduces something new—as it also seems to be interpreted by W. C. Till (edition of BG p. 167). However, in other places C III is followed by BG, since BG 62,10–11 like C III 31,12–13 describes Iave as having the appearance of a bear and Eloim the appearance of a cat, while the reverse is true in C II. Nevertheless, it is more significant that C II states that the saviour reveals himself in the shape of an eagle, while in BG as well as C III it is Epinoia. This does not mean that this revealed figure teaches them to eat perception as in BG and C III; this *has* been mentioned before in C II (C II 70,9), but now it seems to be invalidated and substituted by expressions as teach and wake; thus a more sublime rendering of Genesis seems to penetrate at the end, at the same time as there is an exposition giving a longer account of the figure of the saviour. C II is the only one of the three texts to relate about the water of forgetfulness being a drink which caused man to sleep. This involves a reference to Greek mythology, which may give us some indication concerning the editor of C II.

C II's $\text{OYMOOY } \bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{B}}\Psi\epsilon$ would be a translation to be expected for a Greek text's Λήθης ὕδωρ , but the reference to the waters of Lethe does not necessarily presuppose a Greek text. The myth has been so well known (e.g., from Plato's *Polit.*, Book 10, 621) that it may have been familiar also to a translator acquainted with Greek.

73,16–78,11 (≠ BG 64,13–75,18 ≠ C III 32,22–39,11).

The Different Destinies of Man and the Reasons for them.

73,16–75,31 *Man's Chances for Salvation and for Damnation* (≠ BG 64,13–71,2 ≠ C III 32,36,15 (fragm.)).

A paragraph which is strongly marked by catechesis presents the Apocryphon of John's view of man's approaching salvation and his chances for rebirth in the matter until perception and thereby salvation come at last (C II 73,16–74,22), its teaching about the dwelling place and destiny of those who are redeemed and those who are not (C II 74,22–75,31). The form of the account is joined together by the questions of John and the answers from the Saviour. These answers usually contain initial appreciative words addressed to the questioner, but if we disregard the frame of the questions and the introductory words of the replies, a didactic account remains which could have stood by itself without the frame. If, on the other hand, one considers the entire section C II 73,16–75,31, in its relationship to the other composition of AJ, one must admit that the former is a digression in the teaching concerning the struggle for man which persists between the powers of light and darkness. It is only after the questions asked by John in C II 75,31–33, that the account reverts to its description of the individual phases of the struggle.

John's first question involves the problem whether all souls will be saved. Initially, the answer implies that all souls to which the spirit of life comes will be saved. John's next question does not become manifest in the text of C II because something is evidently missing in the text, so that the question runs into the answer. The error is a typical copying error, the scribe having mistaken the words of the question, "over whom the power of the spirit of life descended, namely, the spirit", (74,9–11), for the corresponding words of the answer (cf. BG 66,15–18 and BG 67,1–3). The text of C II must be emended. It then shows that the Saviour rejects the idea that there might be a possibility that the souls which he just mentioned would not be saved; they simply cannot go astray with the spirit of life in them. Following this assurance, it is stated that rest, **ΤΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ**, is that which is in store for them after the redemption.

Next, John's questions refer to those who do not reach perception. This must be a reference to people who have not been wakened by the spirit of life. Salvation is in store for them too, although not until they have been fettered in a prison and then, some time, succeed in receiving the same spirit as those mentioned above. At this point, by means of a reference to the rebirth of the body, the conversation turns to the problem of the reincarnation of the soul in a new body. However, it does not involve the actual rebirth of the body, for the saviour rejects this; on the contrary, the soul of the dead is joined with another soul which still dwells in its earthly prison, chained to the material body, but this is a soul in which the spirit of life has entered. The idea that the soul of the dead should be implanted in a new body is rejected; instead,

it must mean that the soul of the dead which has not yet reached perception is joined with another as a co-spirit. Thus its trials are also those of the co-spirit, but the redemption through knowledge is also shared. That John's question expresses doubt about the possibility that the soul could become small again and enter a man shows something about the conception of souls as it is entertained here. As W. C. Till correctly remarks (in his edition of BG p. 179, notes), the soul is imagined as being spacious. This is only to be expected in accordance with the teaching the Apocryphon of John has previously conveyed about the genesis of the "psychic" man. It was created by the "souls" of the seven powers, but in the image of the perfect man. Only later is it cast into that prison which the material body constitutes. Thus, perhaps the soul involved is imagined to be of the same size as the material body, because it is patterned after man, but in any event, it is conceived of as having extension in space. This, as mentioned, is only to be expected, but what is surprising is that so much is said about the *soul* being the object of salvation. Actually, it was the power which had entered the realm of darkness owing to the mother's misdemeanour, namely, the spirit, or the spark of light from heaven which was to be saved from the realm of darkness; now, however, it becomes a matter of saving souls. The explanation of this apparent discrepancy must be looked for in an oscillation in meaning of the term for "soul"; for in C II 74,26, we have a definition of the soul as the power: $\Psi\Upsilon\chi\eta \epsilon\tau\epsilon \tau\omicron\omicron\mu$. The power is the customary designation for the part of the heavenly spirit, the pneuma, which was encased in the world of darkness as a result of the fall; the word power, $\tau\omicron\omicron\mu$, has been encountered in C II in a context which is very important in this connection: in C II 60,12 ff., 63,5-6 and 68,3, it was used about the strength with which Ialtabaoth endowed his seven powers (C II 60,12 ff.), and which these seven powers used to procure the seven souls from which man was created (C II 63,5-6, cf. 63,13-23), and with regard to which it turned out that it had been handed over to man and surrendered completely by the seven powers (C II 68,3). Man did not come alive until he acquired the pneuma which Ialtabaoth had retained in himself, the power of life which he had not given to others (C II 59,8-9); that which Ialtabaoth had given them, was his own fire and, later, strength. Here where it is a matter of souls being saved, the word soul is not likely to have been used as denoting the substance originating with Ialtabaoth, and which the powers had used in creation; C II 75,22-31, seems to teach that some souls will forever be lost, and the word cannot then have been used to denote the strength of light from the mother, which was infused into mankind by Ialtabaoth, for according to the teaching of the Apocryphon of John it will eventually be saved in its entirety, and none of it will be lost. Soul, therefore, seems to be used about the personality of the individual human being as an immaterial being, AJ not having made the usual distinction between $\pi\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ and $\Psi\Upsilon\chi\eta$ in this connection.

Damnation can become final for certain souls, namely for those who fail

after they have reached knowledge; it is conceived as blasphemy against the spirit—a clear allusion to Matthew 12,31.

Instinctively, one may ask whether this use of the word soul $\Psi\chi\chi$, does not signify that this is an interpolation in the text originating from another teaching whose terminology was different from C II. If we now return to compare C II with the corresponding sections in BG and C III, we observe that the same condition applies in these texts; if interpolations are involved, then these must have occurred early in the history of the development of the Apocryphon of John, since the tradition is common to all three texts. We have characterized C III 73,16–75,31 above as a digression in AJ's account, because the advancing events in the teaching of the history of salvation is interrupted here by a catechetical insertion. Meanwhile, the subject which the digression discusses may have caused a slight change in the terminology; the section specifically discusses the destiny of different types of persons, i.e., the contemporaries of John—not the destiny of the first people; therefore, it is not unreasonable that the terminology is slightly different here. During the composition of the Apocryphon of John, the section we have now in C II 73,16–75,31, could have been taken from another context, but all available evidence suggests that it must have come from the same interpretation of the teaching as the rest of the Apocryphon of John; its specific topic alone necessitates the altered terminology, and therefore it is not necessary to interpret C II 73,16–75,31 as being adopted from another context. The digression can very well be understood as an integrated part of AJ's account of the teaching.

BG and C III follow C II's account. A comparison between the texts furnishes two important details. BG 66,5–6 with its Greek demonstrates clearly ΝΙΠΑ-ΡΑΛΗΜΠΤΩΡ that it is thought that fixed powers in the world of light had the function of receiving the redeemed; C II's corresponding NETXI (C II 74,1) is a good rendering of the Greek terminus, but in itself this Coptic expression would not allow us to accept the interpretation that specific powers with fixed functions are involved. BG 68,18 reads the Greek ΠΝΑ ΝΑΝΤΙΜΙΜΟΝ where C II 74,27 correspondingly reads the Coptic ΠΝΑ ΕΤΨΗC . The term $\Psi\chi\chi$ is probably to be derived from $\Psi\Omega\Psi$, to make equal, to imitate; in this connection an indication that the spirit which Ialtabaoth produces was fashioned as an imitation of the assisting spirit of the world of light, but admittedly as an opposite image.

The text of C II here exhibits similar dialectal features as elsewhere in C II. Thus, C II 74,33 and C II 75,5 have MME (A or A_2), C II 75,13 has NAY2= (A or S^a), etc.

75,31–78,11 *Heimarmene, the Deluge and the Opposing Spirit* (\neq BG 71,2–75,10 \neq C III 36,15–39,11).

The question about the origin of the opposing spirit also causes a teaching on two other plots against man: Heimarmene and the deluge, and according to the Apocryphon of John it is apparently the intention to present the coming

and the work of the opposing spirit as the culmination of cunning on the part of Ialtabaoth, a climax reached only after other evil plots have been essayed as, e.g., the origin of the inexorable fate (C II 75,31–76,34) and a violent attempt to destroy everything with the power of darkness (C II 76,34–77,17); eventually, this opposing spirit seems to bring results for Ialtabaoth in his plot against mankind (C II 77,16–78,11).

C II 75,33–34: ΠΜΗΤΡΟΠΑΤΩΡ can be regarded as the subject of a nominal clause so that we can translate as follows, the Metropator who is rich in grace (is) the Holy Spirit in every form

Ialtabaoth's constant endeavour to acquire the Epinoia of light is still the reason for his acts; now the hard fate which binds everything is appointed master of everything; the circumstance that measures, times and seasons are bound (C II 76,30–31), must be construed to express that the course of all events is fixed. The Apocryphon of John for the first time seems to admit the notion of time. "the changeable chain" may be a reference to astrological speculations, but we cannot entirely dismiss the possibility that C II 76,15–16 may also be translated: the imitated chain, i.e., the last imitation of the world of light which is otherwise the pattern for the world of darkness. The context would indicate that the former translation is preferable, for in C II 76,17 the verb is alternately in the plural and in the singular and the first verb with its plural form expresses the very changing of the constellation which celestial bodies mutually assume.

Also the deluge becomes the object for a specific interpretation by the Apocryphon of John. It looks as if the Apocryphon of John rejects the usual understanding of Genesis 6,6 ff. It is not directly stated that a deluge was not involved, but C II 77,15 seems to show that the Apocryphon of John considers that a darkness came over the earth; the meaning of water as darkness has been met with before in the Apocryphon of John in C II 61,19–25; and here, in C II 77,6–15, water must also have been interpreted as darkness owing to the fact that those who are saved are placed not in an ark, but in a place surrounded by light which separates them from darkness.

The opposing spirit is created from a heavenly pattern; the creation seems to entail no difficulties, but it is decisive whether Ialtabaoth succeeds in implanting the opposing spirit into mankind. After vain attempts he is successful owing to slyness and fraud. The narrator of the Apocryphon of John has turned the suspense to best advantage to the limit by, first, relating the efforts which failed before relating the attempt which succeeded.

In a few lines the Apocryphon of John then reviews the bitter lot of humanity after Ialtabaoth succeeded in bringing the opposing spirit into mankind. Ignorant of the true God, the whole creation remained slaves until the time of John.

C II 76,21–30 seems to have no parallel in BG or C III, but otherwise the three texts follow each other almost precisely; only C III is considerably damaged and does not always, therefore, permit a reliable comparison.

There are examples of Subachmimic influence also in C II 75,31–78,11; e.g.,

6AYAN for 6AYON (C II 78,5). The character of this section is quite as were to be expected from the numerous Achmimic-Subachmimic features previously noted in the text.

78,11–79,25 *The Deed of the Redeemer.*

78,11–79,1 (cf. partly BG 75,10–15+76,1–5 and C III 39,11–14+39,18–21) *The Three Comings of the Redeemer.* 79,1–25 *The Raising and the Sealing.*

The entire section C II 78,11–79,25 is concerned with the acts of redemption, first with regard to the repeated intrusion into the realm of darkness by the redeemer and then about the act of redemption itself. Neither the Apocryphon of John of BG nor that of C III has any parallel to this teaching of the Apocryphon of John of C II. Only about ten lines of these two versions can be utilized in a comparison of the texts, and there are only faint resemblances with the tradition of C II in these lines. C II 78,11–79,25 must be regarded as specific material in the tradition of the Apocryphon of John.

The redeemer, who has so far been addressing John, now presents himself as the perfect Pronoia. This Pronoia has entered the realm of darkness on three occasions. The first time it was unknown to the powers of darkness, but not without effect because the foundations of darkness were made to tremble, one of the usual signs of the revelation of or the intrusion by heavenly powers into the world of darkness. The same signs of tremblings also occur at Pronoia's second coming, but they are then of such strength that Pronoia must again withdraw because the realm of darkness will collapse and thus also crush those who were to be saved. The third coming fulfills salvation, and on this occasion external circumstances seem to play no role.

In this description of the work of the redeemer it is conspicuous that the redeemer is nowhere referred to as Christ, nor as Jesus or Saviour or Lord. Although they all occur in the AJ of C II, these terms are not used as self-designations by the one speaking. Words which suggest the realm of light are used as self-designations. Pronoia and the memory of Pronoia, or the memory of fulfillment (Pleroma), the light which is in light, the richness of light, such are the self-designations which are used.

The term "the memory", ΠΝΙΜΕΕΥΕ, is used here about the one that brings memory of something, i.e., makes those who have gone to sleep remember their true origin (fulfillment, Pronoia), by which they reach perception.

The actual rising of the one sunk in the "prison of the body" is described as an awakening of one who sleeps in a deep sleep. Then, a sealing of the one who has been raised follows as a final confirmation. This sealing occurs with five seals by "the light of water". The purpose of the sealing is to safeguard against death.

This section of C II is important for two reasons, one, with regard to the special teaching which this version of the Apocryphon of John provides, and, two, with regard to the fact that only C II brings it. This is significant for the

teaching of the Apocryphon of John and for the tendency in the composition of the AJ in C II.

We have thus in C II 78,11–79,25 information concerning how a surrection has occurred, and the words said about the sealing are surely a reference to a ritual act. Whose surrection is involved? No name known to us is mentioned, but the term ΠΕΤΩΤΩΜ, “he who hears”, must refer to the one who reaches perception, the reason for this being that in C II 79,8–9 the one concerned has considered this address as his name. In addition to this we have the peculiar phrase in C II 79,15: ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕ ΝΤΑΖΩΤΩΜ, which means: you are he who has heard, and not merely: you have heard. No doubt the phrase contains a reference to a specific term for the one who will arrive at the knowledge concerning the origin of his own self. Such a term may be a terminus technicus within the circles which have used the Apocryphon of John, a term denoting the one that arrived at perception.

Admittedly, in its context with the preceding part of the Apocryphon of John, C II 78,11–79,25 is placed in such a way that the latter section must be interpreted rather as a description of the redeemer and his work than as an actual description of the acts of redemption, but the last part of the section (C II 79,1–25) in itself is, nevertheless, an account of the way this redemption took place, and it will be reasonable also to connect this account with that which is found in the Apocryphon of John elsewhere concerning the redemption. In C II 73,7–16, we found a description of the existence of the “slumbering”, an existence which is brought to an end only when the coming of the *spirit* awakens them. In C II 71,26–35, there is a reference to the deep sleep from which they are awakened, and there it is the redeemer who, in the first person, relates how he awakens them and brings them to perception as the Pronoia, or Epinoia, of the pure light. Both passages refer, like C II 79,1–25, to the redeemer who awakens the sleeper to perception either as Pronoia, the spirit, or Epinoia, and hence it is tempting to consider that C II 79,1–25, refers to a disclosure of the secret which the redeemer alone could unveil, viz., how the first redemption took place.

It is possible, however, to adopt a different interpretation of C II 79,1–25. It may be a description of how knowledge came to him who wrote the book, i.e., John. It is true that during his conversation with the saviour John introduced his own speech by “I, I said”, but from C II 79,32 onwards John is referred to in the third person only, as was the case at the beginning of the text to C II 47,10. The description of the saviour’s third coming in C II 78,32 ff. fits surprisingly well with description of the revelation to John which we have in BG 20,19–21,2, a description of which there are only fragmentary remains in C II 47,30–33, where faint traces of letters suggest an agreement with BG 20,19–21,2, and nothing more. The third coming, then, is the saviour’s revelation before John as it is described in the Apocryphon of John; only with this revelation has John been informed of the actual lofty origin of himself; the exclusive character of the treatise has thus also been emphasized.

We conclude that the latter interpretation of C II 79,1–25, is the more likely one, because the section acquires the closest connection with the entire preceding treatise in this way. John has heard about the deed of Epinoia and Pronoia before; now, in C II 78,11–79,25, it is related how the saviour makes himself known to John as the Pronoia which John had heard about, and which had appeared on two previous occasions; and it is related how the redeemer calls forth perception in John who doubted and feared at the beginning of the story (C II 48,9–11, cf. BG 21,13–16). This interpretation is also supported by the references to the John figure at the end of the Gospel of John which may be detected in C II 79,15 and C II 79,24–25. In C II 79,15 it is said that he is to *follow* the saviour, an order which is given also by Jesus in John 21,19, and which is complied with by John in John 21,20. C II 79,24–25 contains an assurance that *death shall acquire no power over him*, and Joh 21,23 contains a corresponding statement with regard to John (cf. Joh 21,22 and Joh 21,24). In the Apocryphon of John of C II as well as in the Gospel of John these statements are made immediately before the end of the text. Other cases of such conscious attempts at playing on certain words in the Bible (cf., e.g., C II 61,18) support the conclusion that references or hidden quotations are indeed involved. The transition which occurs from referring to the one redeemed in the third person to addressing him in the second person and, again, to mentioning John in the third person (C II 79,22–34), does not detract from the correctness of the interpretation; the transition is merely a result of the composition of the Apocryphon of John, the reason being that the frame story, in which the teaching of the Apocryphon of John is contained, and the attempt to endow the treatise with authority by referring to an experience and to the words of the Saviour, is responsible for this change.

In the tradition of the section with regard to the self-presentation of the redeemer, there is a clear tendency towards emphasizing the heavenly being; there is no room whatever for any image corresponding to the man Jesus of the New Testament, indeed the spiritual is emphatically stressed, and there is a total disregard of anything personal in the account of the redeemer (cf., the redeemer calling himself, e.g., the wealth of light, the light which is in light, Pronoia). This agrees well with the over-all character of the version of the Apocryphon of John otherwise found in C II.

As mentioned, BG and C III have no parallel to C II 78,11–79,25. The text of BG as well as C III seems to be incoherent, as W. C. Till correctly remarks (in his edition of BG, p. 191). BG 78,10–15 plus BG 76,1–5 (and, correspondingly C III 39,11–14 plus C III 39,18–21) seems to be very brief—and incomplete—digest of that which C II 78,11–79,25 relates. BG 75,14–15 reads ΝΥΟΡΠ ΑΙΕΙ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΕΠΙΑΙΩΝ ΝΤΕΛΙΟΥΣ; this appears to be an abridged presentation of the words which, in C II, frame the section to which BG has no parallel, viz., C II 78,13–14 ΝΕΙΨΟΡΠ ΓΑΡ ΝΨΟΡΠ', which introduces the section, and C II 79,26–27 ΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΑΠΤΕΛΕΙΟΝ ΝΑΙΩΝ, which concludes it. BG 75,10–13 and BG 76,1–5, seems

to be an adapted version of the fuller tradition of C II, and BG 75,14-15, therefore, probably has not come into being by an error as the result of a merging of her two statements provided by C II, for which reason the entire text between those points has not been omitted owing to a copying error, but was left out by reason of the editorial revision which has, however, assumed the character of an incoherent exposition. The editing of BG 75,10-13, consists in the tradition having been transposed into a statement about the third person, and TA2H of BG 76,1-5, must denote John, TMAAY must be, the same as the Pronoia of C II 78, and 79; but also in this place it is no longer the saviour's own words which are recorded; the entire redemption as related in C II 79,1-25 has been reduced to the following brief statement: "but this is what she has done in the world: she has resurrected her offspring" (BG 76,2-5).

The fragmentary tradition of C III here follows BG, and this shortening of a more comprehensive tradition has been a common feature in the history of the development of the texts.

Influence from Subachmimic is present also in C II 78,11-79,25, such as EMNTE (for AMNTE) in C II 78,26 and C II 79,1; NTA2- (for NTA-) in C II 79,15; and OY2A= (for OYA2=) in C II 79,15.

79,25-80,6 (\neq BG 76,5-76,6 + 75,15-76,1 + 76,7-77,5 \neq C III 39,21-22 + 39,14-18 + 39,22-40,9).

Concluding Frame Story.

The preceding section was a transition which served, in the composition of the Apocryphon of John, to connect the account of the secret teaching with the situation in which this teaching could be set forth. The teaching of redemption through the coming of perception by Pronoia has become reality when John reached perception in C II 79,1-25. Now follows a conclusion of the story of John's experience of meeting the Saviour after the clash with Arimanius. The beginning of the section C II 79,25-80,6 is clearly conceived as the conclusion of the account of how perception came to John: C II 79,25-32 furnishes the motivation of the detailed revelation of the secrets; the motivation is that the Saviour himself will go to his aeon again, and he has therefore caused John to have such detailed information that he can hand the teaching on. The restriction that it may take place only to his brothers in spirit adheres to this handing on of the teaching. This probably denotes the same as the unwavering generation (C II 79,31-32), whereas the co-disciples (C II 80,4-5) must be imagined as a circle within this unwavering generation.

The concluding injunction against money or presents for passing on the teaching indicates nothing to the effect that attempts at luring initiates to disclose the secrets are involved, but with its words is directed exclusively against accepting anything material in order to hand on the teaching. In a different fashion this is already restricted to the chosen to whom it will be passed on.

In terms of contents, BG and C III have nearly the same tradition as C II for their conclusion, but they present the tradition in a slightly different sequence and also review it slightly differently. BG 76,10 has the curse said to "me", whereas C II states that it was to "him". BG 76,5-6 reads: "I will proclaim to you (plural) that which will happen"; the usage of the 2. pers. pron. in the plural is unusual and conflicts with the other account where, so far, only one has been addressed; we should probably consider, therefore, that BG 76,5-6 was edited on the basis of a different source which read approximately like C II 79,27-28: "I have completed everything for you (singular) in your ear"; BG must have found it difficult to utilize such a tradition after having omitted or rewritten the account of the coming of perception to John. It has therefore been changed into a general promise of prediction to several, presumably the readers.

The change of sequence which BG and C III seem to exhibit in their relation to C II, has presumably been occasioned by the previous adaptation.

80,7-9 (\neq BG 77,7-8 \neq C III 40,10-11)

Explicit.

From the heading—which even in its damaged condition clearly states that the text deals with a *teaching* (ΤΕCΒΟΥΥ)—it would be tempting to assume that in the *explicit* of John's Apocryphon a ΤΕCΒΟΥΥ is implied; and, therefore, the title of the manuscript should be translated: "John's secret teaching" and not "John's secret book." Although this question presents itself in the very first words of the preamble to the text, it is logical to include this problem in this investigation which concerns the explicit of the text. We have parallels to C II's explicit both in BG and C III, where BG in 77,6-7 reads ΠΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ Ν̄ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ and C III, 40,10-11 also reads ΠΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ Ν̄ΙΩΖΑΝΝΗΣ; in both places ΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ is clearly understood as a masculinum. This coincides with an original, now implied, Ν̄ΧΩΜΕ, which gradually became superfluous¹. In the same manner, it is most reasonable to assume that the *explicit* in the Apocryphon of John, which we have in C II, should be translated as John's secret book, that is, with an implied ΠΧΩΜΕ in the text, or that ΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ is to be used in the technical meaning of *secret book*, as we find it in Clemens Alexandrinus.

As in BG and C III, C II indicates the title of the treatise at the end of the text. As we just have mentioned, BG's and C III's ΠΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ, which

¹ This interpretation seems obvious to me when one considers the use of the word ἀπόκρυφον in Clemens Alexandrinus. When Clemens in Strom. I, 69,6 (II, 44,5-7) can relate that the followers of Prodicus the Gnostic boasted about their possession of Zoroastres' βίβλους ἀποκρύφους then Clemens can also be content to use the term ἀπόκρυφον about the *secret book*, as he does in Strom. III, 29,1 (II, 209,17) with the words: Ἐρρῦη δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ δόγμα ἐκ τινος ἀποκρύφου, where the quotation in the following Strom. III, 29,2 (II, 209,21-26) clearly indicates that the word ἀπόκρυφον alone means a *secret book*.

is a masculine, suggest that a $\bar{\text{N}}\chi\Omega\text{ME}$ (masc.) is implied, not, e.g., a TECBOOY , which is fem. With the $\text{KATA IΩZANNHN N̄APOKPYΩN}$ of C II, we may then also imply a $\text{Π}\chi\Omega\text{ME}$ or take ΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΝ in the sense of secret book (as in Clemens Alexandrinus' work) so as to read The Secret Book of John.

The Relationship Between the Different Versions of the Apocryphon of John.

The study which we have undertaken of the Apocryphon of John as contained in C II, with constant reference to the versions of the same treatise according to BG and C III, has clearly revealed the close mutual relationship of the texts, but also brought out certain differences. It is not only a case of a clear differentiation between a shorter and a longer tradition, but also of a clear difference in the tradition of many details in accounts which are otherwise parallel, a difference which frequently reflects a distinct tendency.

In the following, we shall attempt to present the conclusions which may be drawn concerning the relationship between the different versions of the Apocryphon of John from this investigation.

It will not be amiss to anticipate these conclusions with a consideration of the method adopted. When trying to interpret the Apocryphon of John we find ourselves almost without information with regard to the question how the author of the treatise—or the readers of his time—would interpret the statements of the treatise. At this point, however, the three versions of the Apocryphon of John assist us in some measure in that the numerous small divergencies with regard to the choice of words, the syntax of the clauses, etc., which exist in the tradition of the three texts that are otherwise nearly identical, may sometimes guide us. The “specific material” which the AJ of C II contains in its relationship to the AJ of C III and BG, therefore, is not so very important, however interesting this separate tradition may be by itself; it is rather the common tradition—with its shades between the texts—which must remain a decisive factor, and therefore, first and foremost, we must lean on this common tradition. The significance of the specific material is on a different level of importance by contributing primarily an essential part of the specific character of the Apocryphon of John in C II.

The Apocryphon of John of C II is a copy from another Coptic text of AJ. This is shown by the usual scribal errors which forever in Coptic texts testify to the process of copying (cf., thus, C II 56,32, where a verb ΑΥΟΥΩΝΣ ΕΒΟΛ must have been mistaken for the construct relation ΠΨΟΡΠ’ ΟΥΩΝΣ ΕΒΟΛ). In this respect the AJ of C II resembles the AJ of BG and C III which must also be regarded as copies from Coptic texts as W. C. Till (edition of BG, p. 12) states with regard to BG.

It is also important to decide whether the Apocryphon of John of C II was taken down from dictation, or whether the scribe had a written source lying before him. A copying error like the one found, e.g., in C II 59,26 where instead of ΠΨΟΡΠΕΑΘΩΘ of the manuscript one must read ΠΨΟΡΠ <Π>Ε ΑΘΩΘ, cannot have occurred by mistake though hearing, for the first word must be pronounced *pe-scho-rep*; but the error is easily explained as having occurred by copying a written source. The serious error extant in C II 71,17–20, where the copyist has mistaken the ΤΥΜΑΑΥ of 71,16 with ΤΕΥΜΑΑΥ of C II 71,12–13, can also be explained only as an error which has occurred by copying a written source; the error is typically visual, not auditive, and of the same kind is an error like 59,45 ΝΡΡΟΥΑΚΑΤΑΚΤΕΡΕΩΜΑ for ΝΡΡΟΥ <ΟΥ>Α ΚΑΤΑ ΚΤΕΡΕΩΜΑ.

Nowhere in the AJ of C II do errors occur which suggest that the text may have been taken down by dictation, but only errors which indicate copying from written sources. Therefore, we believe that the Apocryphon of John of C II came into existence by a scribe having another copy of the Apocryphon of John in Coptic lying before him using this as his source. This does not imply a scribal school with one dictator and, perhaps, many scribes who prepared other copies of the Apocryphon of John simultaneously. The AJ of C II has, broadly speaking, the same linguistic peculiarities as BG and C III. The AJ of C II is written in Sahidic with dialectal features. In the AJ of C II, these dialectal features are forms which we otherwise find in Achmimic, Subachmimic or Fayumic texts, but by virtue of the fact that in the AJ of C II there are no examples of that which particularly characterized Achmimic or Fayumic texts as such i.e., the letter *z* and lambdacism—the dialectal features in the Sahidic text must be considered an influence from Subachmimic. This is also characteristic of the AJ of BG, perhaps to a lesser degree characteristic of the AJ of C III.

Once we have established the linguistic agreement, the question arises whether there was a common Coptic source of the AJ of C II, BG and C III, or whether there was a common Greek source distinct though one or several links further back in the development of AJ, a source which might have formed the basis for varying translations into Coptic. Is it at all possible to establish a stemma for our texts? In addition to this, we shall also have to consider a question of importance for our understanding of the teaching which AJ brings: whether the relatively original version is contained in C II, in BG or in C III.

We shall attempt to solve the latter question from the investigation of AJ which has now been undertaken. Our study of the AJ of C II with constant reference to the versions of AJ in BG and C III has resulted in several observations to illustrate this relationship, and these have led us to drawing the conclusion that we cannot generally regard any one of the texts as the original version, but that the evidence must be evaluated in individual places. The only general conclusion which we may draw from our investigation is that the AJ of C II represents a more original form in terms of comprehensiveness as compared to the two other versions, and BG as well as C III must represent abridged editions.

In C II it is possible to detect a distinct tendency towards emphasizing the sublime and playing down anthropomorphic elements; for this reason BG and also C III must at times be regarded as somewhat more reliable in terms of content.

We shall here resume one or two of the observations which have led to this conclusion. When dealing with C II 59,10–22, we saw that BG 41,6 mentions Saklas without any introduction, although BG has not mentioned him before; BG, like C III 17,12, at this point introduces Saklas as if this being were well known, but the two texts have made no previous reference to him; this situation made us assume that BG and C III had omitted a passage which must have corresponded to that which we find in C II 59,15–18. From this we concluded that at this point C II had retained the original tradition, but we proceeded to assume that at one time the entire passage C II 59,10–22 must have parallels also in the sources of BG and C III, and that, furthermore, the discrepancy discovered in the sequence of the common material which BG and C III exhibit in their relation to C II in the context of this codex to 59,10–22, must be due to the fact that an editorial revision of one of the sources of BG and C III had been undertaken simultaneously with the shortening. In that connection we found that in their versions of AJ, BG and C III first provided an initial review of the entire assembled host of beings in the world of darkness, *whereafter* they dealt with details accounting for group after group (BG 39,6–18 \neq C III 16,8–15; BG 39,18 ff. \neq C III 16,15 ff.), whereas C II *immediately* accounts for these beings, group by group. The latter procedure must be considered more primitive than that adopted by BG and C III, where the description is further from being an account of the development and has acquired rather the character of a dogmatic exposition of a closed didactic system. Also here we must then consider the AJ of C II a more original account.

BG and C III do contain remarks, however, which are not met with in C II. In connection with C II 59,26–60,10, we thus saw that C II contained no remark like BG 42,9–10 \neq C III 18,8–9, which we interpreted as a marginal note added by a commentator, which was subsequently adopted into the text. The reason for doing so was that at this point we found an *expounding* of the text's explanation of the coherence of the matters, which was unusual and conflicting with the ordinary presentation of the texts. Here, too, C II must be preserved in a more original form.

Other places in BG (and C III) bear traces indicating that the text is edited in comparison with C II. By a comparison of C II 60,25–61,5 with BG 44,5–9 (C III has a lacuna here) during our investigation of C II 60,25–61,5, we found that an adaptation of the tradition of BG must have occurred, because BG has obviously been abridged in comparison with C II; the abridgment of the tradition of BG in BG 44,5–9 by omitting a section which must have corresponded to C II 60,26–35 could have been made by an editor who felt that the words in

BG 49,19-41,8 had said enough about the matter. Here, too, C II's tradition was preserved in a more original form than BG's.

We found another example while investigating C II 63,13-23. Here we observed that the second enumeration of the seven powers in C II was an exact repetition of the sequence in the first enumeration in C II 60,10-25, while BG 49,9-50,4 digressed greatly from its first enumeration in BG 43,6-44,4 (C III is quite fragmentary); the editor of BG and C III, versions which we found less original than the tradition of C II, has disregarded the foundations for the teaching identifying the strengths with the substances, and merely related which strengths were identified with which substances, while in C II, we have a more thorough account which we must consider as being more original.

During our review of C II 78,11-79,25, we found that BG 75,10-15+BG 76,1-5 and C III 39,11-14+C III 29,18-21 must be a very brief account of the tradition we have in C II 78,11-79,25, an account which in spite of its incoherence still contains the words which correspond to the introduction and conclusion of C II's presentation (in C II 78,13-4 and C II 79,26-27), and shows that a conscious shortening of the tradition is involved, therefore we have a more original form in C II's AJ.

By our investigation of the various versions of the Apocryphon of John, primarily, we can deduce that with regard to BG and C III, these two texts were shortened in several places in comparison with the version of C II. On the other hand, no change seems to have been made in the tendency of their teaching. When an abridgment has occurred in BG's and C III's tradition of the Apocryphon of John, it was not intended to give the didactic content a specific turning, and in general, the alterations in the tradition are primarily of an editorial nature.

If we then turn to Codex II, we are faced with a different result. The Apocryphon of John of C II has not experienced the shortenings which we found in BG and C III. The text of C II, in general, is handed down without abridgments, and in this respect we find that the AJ of C II represents the most original text of the three with which we have dealt. To this we may add, however, that the AJ of C II does contain examples of insertions, some even fairly long. In so far as we are able to determine which passages of the text of C II must be considered insertions, we may take from this version the tradition of the Apocryphon of John, which, as far as comprehensiveness goes, most closely approaches an original tradition of the three tests involved.

It does not follow from this that the AJ of C II presents an account of the teaching which these circles round AJ had taught from the very beginning, nor does it follow that the tradition of the teaching has been expounded in a less distorted form than the didactic exposition of BG and C III. For it must be remembered that the AJ of C II contains a clear tendency towards a distinct didactic system, a tendency which repeatedly turns out to represent an innovation in the tradition of AJ.

This tendency of the Apocryphon of John of C II is a tendency towards detracting from the anthropomorphic character of the high beings and towards stressing the lofty. A clear example of this was disclosed by linguistic analysis, e.g., when we examined C II 61,32–62,15; by examining C II 61,33 and the parallel accounts we noted that the text of C II had been subjected to a tendentious change in relation to BG, where Ialtabaoth in BG is referred to as the abortion of darkness, whereas C II had changed it into “a veil of darkness”. We have seen another example when dealing with C II 61,24–25, where in the parallel of BG 45,14–15, the fallen Sophia is described as a desperate woman walking back and forth in the darkness (BG 45,14–15), whereas the text of C II knows no more than to state that oblivion came forth for her in the darkness of ignorance. This tendency is naturally not noticeable everywhere, yet frequently in the Apocryphon of John of C II, and one must bear it in mind when trying to define the original teaching of the Apocryphon of John. Where the versions of BG and C III are equally primitive in terms of comprehensiveness, they occasionally contain accounts which in the version of C II have undergone changes according to the tendency of C II.

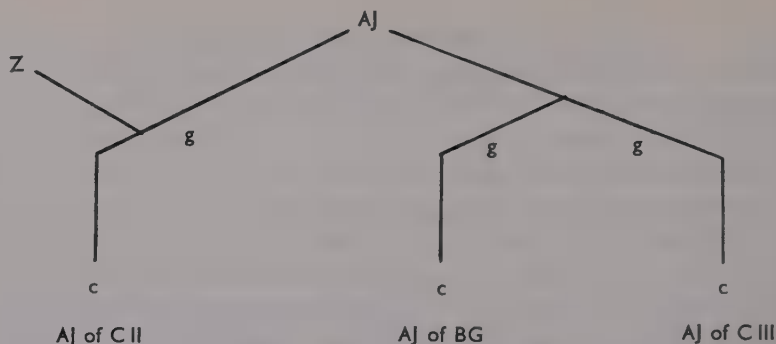
Our examination of the AJ of C II showed that this version of the Apocryphon of John in C II 63,29–67,10, contained a very specific tradition. It is the largest section of “specific material” in the AJ of C II. We found, however, that with its introductory words it is closely connected with that which precedes that one cannot at this point assume that the specific material does not constitute an organic part of AJ. Examination of C II 65,32–67,2 showed that this specific material contained traces suggesting abridgement from a more comprehensive source, and by examining C II 67,2–10, we found indications in this section to suggest semantic transition in the words **ΨΥΧΙΚΟΝ** and **ΖΥΛΙΚΟΝ**, whereas when examining the following paragraph C II 67,10–15 where the parallels in BG and C III have again become available, we arrived at the conclusion that the text had now reverted to using the words in the same sense as that which applied before the large section of specific material commenced. From this we must conclude that the specific material which was introduced by C II without parallel in BG and C III should be considered an insertion taken from elsewhere, an assumption which was supported by C II 67,6–10, which refers the reader to further information in the Book of Zoroastros. The question is, then, whether this long passage of specific material was adopted into the Apocryphon of John at such an early stage of its development that it was present also in one of the sources which, during the development became the AJ of BG and C III or whether it came into AJ at a later time when the branch of the stemma of AJ which developed into the AJ of C II began to grow, and thus at a time when the AJ of BG and C III were not affected by the insertion.

We cannot prove that this insertion entered AJ only when the tradition of BG, C III, and C II began to follow their separate paths, but if we consider the general tendency of the passage, it seems clear that it agrees well with the

tendency which has otherwise been found to characterize the AJ of C II, and in consequence hereof we shall assume that the large insertion entered the tradition of C II at the time when the tendency towards playing down anthropomorphic features made itself felt in C II. The extensive passage in C II 63,29–67,10, in fact, deals with the structure of the human body, and it is worthy of notice that everything in this connection, even the minutest details, is connected with angelic powers and daemons in such a way that earthly and human qualities are diminished, and the point of gravity is referred to the world of superhuman beings.

When evaluating the three versions of the Apocryphon of John as sources, we shall postulate, therefore, that as far as comprehensiveness is concerned, the Apocryphon of John in C II represents a form which is more original than that of BG and C III, but when utilizing the three texts, e.g., for an account of the didactic contents of the treatises, one must realize that C II has experienced a revision as far as its teaching goes.

When we consider the translation of the Greek source of AJ into Coptic, it is evident that all three texts seem to indicate that each had its own previous source in Coptic, and that no single common Coptic source was extant. In view of the circumstance that there was no common Coptic source behind the two texts which are most closely related, i.e., the AJ of BG and C III, each must presuppose a separate translation from Greek, and it would be a tempting assumption that these were to go back to a common Greek text, but the two Coptic translations, nevertheless, exhibit so many discrepancies that we must believe that two slightly different texts are behind the translations; it will suffice, however, to assume that the same abridged form of the text which has lived on in C II without significant changes is represented by a text which is no more than one or a few links further back in the stemma. This text, the translated form of which represents the third Greek source, has adopted insertions from other sources in addition to the tradition which is or has been common to all three versions; as an example to this we may quote C II's own indication that there are names which are not included in C II, but may be found in the Book of Zoroaster. It seems that with this reference C II admits to have borrowed material from "the Book of Zoroaster". We can only guess what this book was; no clear information is given by the text, nor by Clemens Alexandrinus who relates that the men of Prodicus, "the Gnostic", took pride in possessing secret books from Zoroaster (Stromat. I, Ch. XV. 69,6 (Stählin p. 44), conveys information in this respect. We must, therefore, calculate that the book of Zoroaster is a source otherwise unknown when trying to establish the stemma which we shall now bring (c=Coptic text; g=Greek text):



Carl Schmidt's demonstration that Irenaeus, in *Adv. haer.* I 29, has used a version of the Apocryphon of John as a source is important in this connection. The version of C II is apparently that which is most closely related to the excerpt of Irenaeus; but we cannot determine whether the specific tradition of BG and C III took form before or after Irenaeus.

Carl Schmidt, in his article *Irenäus und seine Quelle in Adv. haer. I, 29* (Philotesia Paul Kleinert zum LXX. Geburtstag, Berlin 1907, p. 315-336), demonstrated that the Apocryphon of John in the Berlin text, then the only version of the text which was known, was a Sethianic treatise, and the newly discovered versions of the text have produced no evidence to change this conception. The Apocryphon of John must be regarded as an account of the Sethianic teaching. The texts which we have at our disposal under this name, and have examined in the preceding pages, are only some of the texts of approximately identical didactic basis now available; but the versions of the Apocryphon of John which have been discussed here will serve for an account of the Sethianic teaching and its historical development when, in the future, necessary investigations have been undertaken to determine the contents of a larger number of Sethianic treatises which constitute an essential part of the Nag Hammadi find. When the time arrives, the three versions of the Apocryphon of John will have to be used concurrently with the other Sethianic treatises. No one of the three versions can be used in preference to any other as a better general source; they will have to be utilized with a view to their own individual and separate nature and with a view to what their combined evidence may teach us. The Apocryphon of John according to C II is advantageous as compared to the two others by containing no abridgments, whereas the others may here and there furnish a better documentation with regard to earlier stages of Sethianic teaching. The tendency of the AJ of C II which we believe to have traced is by itself significant as an important testimony to a development which occurred within Sethianic teaching. Taken together the three texts enable us to reach a better understanding of the contents owing to the slight differences between them, and once the necessary preparatory work and a critical evaluation of the sources has been undertaken in connection with the other Sethianic texts, the Apocryphon of John will have to be examined in its relationship with these.

Appendix

Extract from Irenaeus *Adversus Haereses* I, 29 (Massuet).

The text established by W. W. Harvey.

Super hos autem ex his qui prædicti sunt Simoniani multitudo Gnosticorum Barbelo exsurrexit, et velut a terra fungi manifestati sunt, quorum principales apud eos sententias enarramus. Quidam enim eorum Æonem quendam nunquam senescentem in virginali spiritu subjiciunt, quem Barbelon nominant. Ubi esse patrem quendam innominabilem dicunt: voluisse autem hunc manifestare se ipsi Barbeloni. Ennoeam autem hanc progressam stetisse in conspectu ejus, et postulasse Prognosin. Cum prodiisset autem et Prognosis, his rursum petentibus prodiit Incorruptela: post deinde Vita æterna: in quibus gloriantem Barbelon, et prospicientem in magnitudinem, et conceptu delectatam, in hanc generasse simile ei lumen. Hanc initium et laminationis, et generationis omnium dicunt: et videntem Patrem lumen hoc, unxisse illud sua benignitate, ut perfectum fieret. Hunc autem dicunt esse Christum: qui rursus postulat, quemadmodum dicunt, adiutorium sibi dari Nun, et progressus est Nus. Super hæc autem emittit pater Logon. Conjugationes autem fient Ennoia et Logi, et Aphtharsias et Christi: et Æonia autem Zoe Thelemati conjuncta est, et Nus Prognosi. Et magnificabant hi magnum lumen et Barbelon. Post deinde de Ennoia et de Logo Autogenem emissum dicunt ad repræsentationem magni luminis, et valde honorificatum dicunt, et omnia huic subjecta. Coëmissam autem ei Alethiam, et esse conjugationem Autogenis et Alethiæ. De lumine autem, quod est Christus, et de incorruptela, quatuor emissa luminaria ad circumstantiam Autogeni dicunt; et de Thelemate rursus et Æonia Zoe quatuor emissiones factas ad subministrationem quatuor luminaribus, quas nominant Charin, Thelesin, Synesin, Phronesin. Et Charin quidem magno et primo luminario adjunctam; hunc autem esse Sotera volunt et vocant eum Armogen: Thelesin autem secundo, quem et nominant Raguel: Synesin autem tertio luminario; quem vocant David: Phronesin autem quarto, quem nominant Eleleth. Confirmatis igitur sic omnibus, super hæc emittit Autogenes hominem perfectum et verum, quem et Adamantem vocant: quoniam neque ipse domatus est, neque ii ex quibus erat, qui et remotus est cum primo lumine ab Armoge. Emissam autem cum homine ab Autogene agnitionem perfectam, et conjunctam ei: unde et hunc cognovisse eum qui est super omnia: virtutem quoque ei invictam datam a virginali spiritu: et refrigerant in hoc omnia hymnizare magnum Æona. Hinc autem dicunt manifestatam Matrem,

Patrem, Filium: ex Anthrope autem et Gnosi natum lignum, quod et ipsum Gnosin vocant.

Deinde ex primo angelo [qui adstat Monogeni,] emissum dicunt Spiritum sanctum, quem et Sophiam, et Prunicum vocant. Hunc igitur videntem reliqua omnia conjugationem habentia, se autem sine conjugatione, quæsisse cui adunaretur: et cum non inveniret, asseverabat et extendebatur, et prospiciebat ad inferiores partes, putans hic invenire conjugem: et non inveniens, exsiliit tædiata quoque, quoniam sine bona voluntate patris impetum fecerat. Post deinde simplicitate et benignitate acta generavit opus, in quo erat ignorantia et audacia. Hoc autem opus ejus esse Proarchontem [Protarchontem] dicunt, fabricatorem conditionis hujus: virtutem autem magnam abstulisse eum a matre narrant, et abstulisse ab ea in inferiora, et fecisse firmamentum coeli, in quo et habitare dicunt eum. Et cum sit ignorantia, fecisse eas quæ sunt sub eo potestates, et angelos, et firmamenta, et terrena omnia. Deinde dicunt adunitum eum Authadiæ, generasse Kakian, Zelon, et Phthonum, et Erinnyen, et Epithymiam. Generatis autem his, mater Sophia contristata refugit, et in altiora secessit et fit deorsum numerantibus octonatio. Illa igitur secedente, se solum opinatum esse, et propter hoc dixisse: Ego sum Deus zelator, et præter me nemo est. Et hi quidem talia mentiuntur.

Summary in Danish

Dansk resumé

Indledningen til bogens første del gør først rede for den særlige betydning, som man må tillægge Apocryphon Johannis. Det fremhæves, at Apocryphon Johannis ikke umiddelbart kan forventes at påkalde den samme interesse, som de skrifter fra Nag Hammadi, der indeholder *agrapha*, som f. eks. Thomasevangeliet gør, men at Apocryphon Johannis alligevel er af den største betydning for udforskningen af den såkaldte gnosticisme, fordi den ikke blot bringer en nogenlunde sluttet læremæssig fremstilling, men især fordi den er overleveret i flere versioner; en sammenligning af disse versioners forskellige ordvalg vil kunne bidrage væsentlig til faste holdepunkter for en fortolkning af tekstens indhold, men de forskellige overleveringer rejser samtidig spørgsmålet om forholdet mellem de forskellige versioner.

Der peges derefter på metodiske principper, som må anses for grundlæggende for forskningen af den såkaldte gnosticisme. Overfor W. Boussets programmatisk erklæring i »Hauptprobleme der Gnosis« om at målet var at fremstille de for de fleste gnostiske systemer til grundlæggende anskuelser, snarere end at behandle de enkelte anskuelser, fremhæves vigtigheden af, at man foretager enkeltundersøgelser. Det fremhæves, at det er nødvendigt at lade disse enkeltundersøgelser gå så langt tilbage som til undersøgelse af kildematerialet i litterær henseende, og at de første opgaver må være en kritik af kilderne og en tilvejebringelse af et sikkert grundlag bestående af en vurdering af kildernes indbyrdes forhold, samt tilvejebringelse af nye kilder i tilforladelige udgaver. Der gives her udtryk for tilslutning til de metodiske principper, som er fremhævet af E. de Faye, J. Munck og H.-Ch. Puech.

Indledningen gør derefter rede for planen for den foreliggende studie, der er koncentreret om to opgaver: at fremlægge en ny kilde og at vurdere forholdet mellem denne kilde og tidligere kendte kilder, herunder at give en ny vurdering af hidtil kendt kildemateriale. Denne plan søges derefter bragt til udførelse med en udgave af den såkaldte »lange« version af Apocryphon Johannis, hvis koptiske tekst ledsages af en oversættelse, medens et forudgående afsnit bringer resultaterne af en nøjere undersøgelse af papyrusen, palæografiske og sproglige ejendommeligheder, og et følgende afsnit bringer et glossar til teksten; derefter foretages der en nøjere undersøgelse af teksten set i stadig relation til de to bedst bevarede kortere versioner.

Indledningen slutter med en kort opregning af de få, men vigtige publikationer, med direkte relation til Apocryphon Johannis, der hidtil har foreligget, herunder det af Pahor Labib udgivne bind fotografiske plancher af papyrusen med den lange version og W. C. Till's kritiske udgave af den korte version i Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, hvor Till også offentliggør alle varianterne i den parallelle korte version, der findes i en papyrus fra Nag Hammadi, samt Carl Schmidts studie over Berlinerpapyrusens Apocryphon Johannis.

Håndskriftet, som rummer den her publicerede lange version, søges i det følgende nærmere undersøgt og bestemt. Først søges det fastslået, hvor mange sider det pågældende håndskrift, der er en kodeks, som har udgjort eet eneste læg, har og har haft. Herunder gøres der rede for tidligere bestemmelser: J. Doresse's bestemmelse af papyrusen som en kodeks med 175 sider (1949) og senere (1959) som rummende 168 sider afvises, ligesom også H.-Ch. Puechs angivelse af antallet til 157 sider (1950) forkastes, og i stedet gøres der rede for, at kodeksen, da undersøgelsen fandt sted (1957), rummede 150 sider, og at den oprindelig har rummet 152 sider. Af de 150 sider er 145 beskrevne, 4 blanke og 1 side har svage spor af bogstaver. Ved opgørelsen er det søgt bevist, at 4 af de af P. Labib publicerede plancher (Pl. 49, 50, 51 og 52) i virkeligheden kun udgør resterne af to sider og ikke af fire. Da kodeksen engang forelå komplet, har dens 38 dobbeltblade ligget således, når bogen var opslået på midten, at der forneden har ligget 27 dobbeltblade med vertikale fibre nedad og horisontale fibre opad; oven på disse blade har der ligget 11 dobbeltblade med de horisontale fibre nedad og de vertikale fibre opad. Sidernes størrelse bestemmes derefter, idet J. Doresse's angivelse af størrelsen som 27×15 cm og H.-Ch. Puech's tilsvarende angivelse ligesåvel som J. Doresse's senere angivelse af størrelsen som 21×27 cm afvises, og målene bestemmes til at være konstant for højden mellem 28,3 og 28,4 cm, medens bredden varierer fra 13,8 cm for den inderste til 15,5 cm for den yderste (målelige) side. Den betydelige forskel i bredden gør, at de midterste siders skriftspejl kun er 10 cm mod de yderstes 12 cm. De her konstaterede ejendommeligheder stemmer godt overens med en enkeltlægs kodeks's sædvanlige træk.

For at placere Codex II i den boghistoriske sammenhæng opregnes derefter andre koptiske enkelt-lægs codices, og der gøres ganske kort rede for den anvendte indbindingsteknik og udsmykningen af bindet med hankekors. Indbindingsteknikken synes at placere Codex II meget tidligt, og den af J. Doresse anførte opfattelse, at brugen af hankekors på bindet godtgjorde, at bindet først kunne være fra efter Serapeums ødelæggelse i 391, afvises under henvisning til M. Cramer's (*Das altägyptische Lebenszeichen*, 1943) og J. Simon's (*Orientalia* 1943) arbejder og til forholdet mellem Rufins, Sokrates' og Sozomenos' beretninger.

Palæografiske iagttagelser søges derefter først anvendt til en relativ datering af håndskriftet, d. v. s. til et forsøg på at fastslå hvilke andre håndskrifter det synes samtidig med, tidligere end eller efter. Her synes håndskriftet tydeligvis i palæografisk henseende at stå nærmest ved det achmimiske 1. Clemensbrev (Berlin),

den sahidiske tekst med Deuteronomium, Jonas og Acta (British Museum) og den sahidiske Ecclesiasticus-tekst i universitetsbiblioteket i Louvain. Codex II bestemmes derefter til at være efter Ecclesiasticus-teksten og før papyrusen med Deuteron., Jonas og Acta; den første af disse tekster antoges af L. Th. Lefort for at være fra slutningen af 3. eller begyndelse af 4. århundrede, medens den sidste udfra græske fragmenter i bindet og en kursiv efter Acta dateredes til at være ikke senere end midten af 4. århundrede, formentlig fra 340–350. Ved sammenligning med håndskriften i et koptisk brev fra ca. 330–340 (British Museum Pap. 1920) føres vi derefter til en absolut datering af Codex II som værende fra omkring 330–340, i videre forstand fra første halvdel af 4. århundrede.

Sproglige iagttagelser af teksten indskrænkes bevidst til kun at gælde een tekst, nemlig Apocryphon Johannis. Dette sker, fordi flere tekster i een codex ikke nødvendigvis har samme oprindelse i sproglig henseende. Vi kommer her til det resultat, at den koptiske oversætter ikke bare har kunnet det sahidiske, som han i almindelighed anvender, men at han også har haft kendskab til subachmimisk, således at forstå, at de subachmimiske former må have været anvendt af oversætteren i hans daglige sprog, og derfra har de slået igennem i hans litterære virksomhed.

Med varsomhed mener vi dernæst at kunne fastslå, at sproget må høre hjemme i et grænseområde mellem dialekterne, hvor sahidisk var trængt frem på subachmimisk bekostning, således at egnen omkring Nag Hammadi og lidt nord derfor (Det hvide kloster) kunne passe. De sproglige ejendommeligheder tyder kun på rigtigheden af den palæografiske bestemmelse af teksten.

Det følgende afsnit bringer en udgave af *den koptiske tekst til Apocryphon Johannis*, som vi finder den i Codex II. Papyrusens tekst er gengivet på plancherne 47–80 i den af Pahor Labib besørgede fotografiske udgave (*Coptic Gnostic Papyri in The Coptic Museum at Old Cairo, Vol. I, Cairo 1956*). Til disse plancher refereres der med Pl. (eller med C II) + planchens nummer. Den koptiske tekst følger i udgaven linie for linie teksten i papyrusen, og oversættelsen løber, så vidt det er muligt, parallelt hermed. Da plancherne ikke altid er lige tydelige, er der i tekstudgaven tilstræbt en så tro gengivelse af papyrusteksten som muligt. Det vil sige, at medens lakuner i teksten nok er udfyldt, hvor dette må anses for forsvarligt, så er forbedringer af den overleverede tekst (udeladelser, tilføjelser eller rettelser) anført i fodnoter og ikke i selve teksten. Det skulle derved være lettere for læseren at få et indtryk af, hvorledes teksten må antages at have løbet, da den forelå fra skriverens hånd, og dermed lettere at vurdere de foreslåede forbedringer.

En væsentlig ulempe er det, at de første sider af papyrusen er stærkt ødelagte. Ved hjælp af læsemåderne i tilsvarende afsnit i den af W. C. Till publicerede Berliner-version af Apocryphon Johannis kan en del af lakunerne udfyldes med en vis sandsynlighed, men kun hvor dette skønnes forsvarligt, er det gjort. Plancherne 49, 50, 51 og 52 foreslås læst i rækkefølgen Pl. 51 + 50 og Pl. 49 + 52, idet 49 og 52 må være dele af samme side, og 51 og 50, der også må være dele af

een side, må udgøre recto til 49 + 52's verso. Lakunerne mellem 51 og 50 og mellem 49 og 52 kan tilsyneladende udfyldes med en vis sandsynlighed. Teksten er rimeligt nok mest beskadiget forrest i papyrusen. Men i sig selv har kopistens arbejde ikke været fejlfrit, idet det kan påvises såvel overspringelser som gentagelser. Eksempler på det første finder vi f. eks. i Pl. 58,24 og 70,9 og på det andet f. eks. i Pl. 71,17-20. Også rettelser findes i manuskriptet som f. eks. i Pl. 60,18, hvor der er tilføjet flere ord over linien, medens f. eks. Pl. 60,19 har fire bogstaver slettet ved overstregning.

I *oversættelsen*, der tilstræber at lade forskellige muligheder for forståelsen stå åben, hvor udtrykkene ikke er enstydige, er den koptiske teksts brug af græske ord markeret ved, at de græske ord er anbragt i parentes lige efter ordet, således som det er skik i vesterlandske oversættelser af koptisk litteratur (substantiverne er angivet i nominativ, verberne i infinitiv).

Tekstudgaven og oversættelsen følges af *indices* over de i den koptiske tekst anvendte *koptiske* ord, over de i teksten brugte *græske* ord, samt over *egennavne*; navne på væsener, der kun nævnes i forbindelse med beretningen Pl. 63,29-67,2 om det menneskelige legeme er for overskuelighedens skyld registreret for sig.

Part II begynder med en *analyse af indholdet* i den udgivne tekst, til at begynde med suppleret med referat af de første sider af Berliner-papyrusens version af Apocryphon Johannis, da de første fire sider af Codex II's Apocryphon Johannis er stærkt beskadigede. Indholdet søges delt i afsnit efter den tankemæssige udvikling. Analysen munder ud i den opfattelse, at indholdet af den publicerede tekst trods afvigelser fra de to andre kendte versioner af Apocryphon Johannis er så nær op ad disse, at det vil være rimeligt at anlægge en undersøgelse af Codex II's Apocryphon Johannis som en sammenligning med Berliner-tekstens (BG) version og med Cairo-tekstens (C III).

Den følgende *kommentar* til Codex II's Apocryphon Johannis (AJ) er da søgt anlagt som en nøje undersøgelse af C II's Apocryphon Johannis under stadig hensyntagen til BG's og C III's versioner af Apocryphon Johannis.

Kommentaren er søgt anlagt over det samme skema, som analysen af indholdet har opbygget.

Så vidt det er muligt, søges der ud fra det overleverede gjort rede for såvel enkelthederne som hovedlinierne i den i Apocryphon Johannis bragte belæring. Denne belæring giver sig ud for at være af hemmelig og eksklusiv karakter, idet skriftet henfører den til en åbenbaring af Jesus, der skal have vist sig for Johannes. Denne åbenbaring er ifølge skriftet forbeholdt »den slægt, som ikke rokkes«, og den bringer oplysning om tilblivelsen af lysets og mørkets verden, om menneskets oprindelse i lysets verden, om dets fald og om dets forløsning fra mørkets verden.

Tankegangen er i store træk den samme som i BG's og C III's versioner af Apocryphon Johannis, men den tekstmæssige overlevering rejser en række spørgsmål, som en undersøgelse af enkelthederne i teksten ofte kan besvare.

Under disse iagttagelser bliver det klart, at de tre sammenlignede tekster

ikke bare har tydelige vidnesbyrd om et nært slægtskab, men også at der er visse betydelige afvigelser.

Disse afvigelser tyder de fleste steder på at være fremkommet som resultat enten af en tendens til forkortelser i overleveringen i BG og C III, eller også som følge af en bevidst læremæssig tendens i C II.

Resultaterne af hvad denne undersøgelse lærer os om *forholdet mellem C II's BG's og C III's Apocryphon Johannis* gøres op i det følgende afsnit.

Det er ud fra disse iagttagelser f. eks. klart, at C II's Apocryphon Johannis er en afskrift af en koptisk tekst. Det viser bl. a. sædvanlige kopistfejl (f. eks. C II, 56,32). Kopisten har efter alt at dømme skrevet efter forlæg, ikke efter diktat.

Generelt kan der ikke ud fra undersøgelsen af versionerne siges, hvad der er oprindeligt. C II synes at være oprindelig for så vidt angår omfanget af overlevering, men den har en læremæssig tendens. Af undersøgelsen af C II 61,32–62,15 fremgår det, at medens Jaldabaoth i BG omtales som »mørkets misfoster«, så er det her ændret til »mørkets slør«. Medens BG 45,14–15 skildrer den faldne Sophia som en jamrende, fortvivlet kvinde, der går frem og tilbage ude i mørket, så er denne menneskelige skildring i C II blevet til, at der opstod en glemsel for hende i uvidenhedens mørke.

Tendensen i C II er bestandig at understrege det ophøjede og afsvække de høje væseners menneskelige karakter. Det store afsnit i C II 63,29–67,10 rummer en særlig overlevering, der er det største stykke »særstof«, som vi finder i C II's Apocryphon Johannis. Dette særstof er ganske vist nu nøje forbunden med den øvrige fremstilling, men dets tendens falder i god tråd med den tendens, som vi andetsteds har fundet karakteristisk for C II, nemlig en afsvækkelse af anthropomorphe træk.

Ved vurderingen af forholdet mellem de tre versioner af Apocryphon Johannis finder vi, at alle tre tekster synes at pege på hver sit forlæg på koptisk, og at der ikke har foreligget en fælles koptisk kilde, men at der allerede, da teksten forelå på græsk, var tale om forskellige versioner.

Når der ikke har været noget fælles koptisk forlæg for de to tekster, der ligger hinanden nærmest, nemlig BG's og C III's AJ, må de gå tilbage til hver sin oversættelse fra græsk, og det ville være fristende at antage, at det var fra en fælles græsk tekst, men de to koptiske oversættelser udviser alligevel så mange uoverensstemmelser, at man må antage, at der har ligget to lidt forskellige græske tekster til grund for oversættelserne, som dog et eller flere led tilbage kan føres tilbage til den samme forkortede form for den tekst, der er gået videre til C II i mere eller mindre uændret skikkelse.

Undersøgelsen konkluderer i, at de her behandlede skrifter vil kunne benyttes til en fremstilling af den lære, der var gængs i sethianske kredse, når man engang har gjort de nødvendige forundersøgelser af et større antal af de beslægtede skrifter.

Bogen slutter med et appendix, et uddrag af Irenæus' *Adversus Haereses* I,29 (Massuets inddeling, Harveys tekst), samt en bibliografi og en navneliste.

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