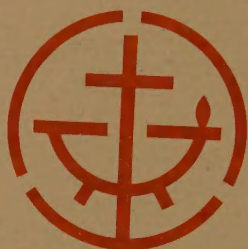


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Three Studies by Professors H. C. PUECH,  
G. QUISPÉL, and W. C. VAN UNNIK. Edited by  
F. L. Cross, D.D., Lady Margaret Professor of  
Divinity in the University of Oxford.

Studies of some unknown Gnostic writings  
discovered at Nag Hammadi near the Nile  
which were acquired by the Jung Institute at  
Zurich, and were the subject of a report in  
*The Times* in November, 1953. They are of the  
first importance, since hitherto our knowledge  
of Gnosticism has been almost wholly depend-  
ent on the accounts of its ecclesiastical  
opponents.

They deserve to rank with such notable recent  
finds as the Dead Sea Scrolls. The three sets  
of studies are by eminent Continental pro-  
fessors, who give a full description and sum-  
mary, and examine the light thrown by the  
Codex on certain New Testament problems.



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 Ν ΣΩΜΑ Μ ΠΩΤΗΡ ΑΒΑΛΣΙΤΗ  
 Τ ΟΝΟΥ ΣΗΓ ΑΒΑΛ ΜΝ Τ ΟΝ  
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THE  
JUNG CODEX

*A Newly Recovered Gnostic Papyrus*

*Three Studies by*

H. C. PUECH      G. QUISPEL

W. C. VAN UNNIK

*Translated and Edited by*

F. L. CROSS



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## PREFACE

THE purpose of the present volume is to put into the hands of English readers an account, free from technicalities, of the important collection of MSS., apparently derived from a Gnostic library, found at Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt in 1945. Of these Codices twelve now repose in the Coptic Museum at Cairo. The thirteenth became separated from the rest and has suffered a different fate. In the course of its many wanderings it had the good fortune to attract the attention of Professor Gilles Quispel of the University of Utrecht, thanks to whose exertions it was acquired by the Jung Institute at Zurich in May 1952 and has thus become accessible to scholars. It is this Codex which is the main subject of the following pages. As it happens, there are good reasons for believing that both in content and character this MS. stands apart from the remainder of the collection and would in any case merit separate treatment. Indeed, it may well prove to be the most important of them all, at any rate for the student of Christian origins.

I am grateful to the authors for their generous collaboration in the present edition. Professor Quispel, to whose hospitality on a visit to Bilthoven last May I owe my closer interest in the subject, has been kind enough to go over a large part of the English text. He has added to the present edition several pages of

## PREFACE

new discussion including some extracts from the Codex which are here printed for the first time. Professor Puech has unwittingly assisted my very limited knowledge of Dutch by allowing me access to the original French text of his paper. To Professor van Unnik all readers of the book will be grateful for consenting to the inclusion of his important discussion on the relation of the Codex to New Testament studies. It will greatly enhance the value of the volume for Biblical students and be sure of a special welcome from his many English friends. It is believed that, apart from the accounts in *The Times* (16 Nov., 1953, on the day after the MS. was first made public) and *The Times Literary Supplement* (30 Apr., 1954; Religious Books Section, p. viii), this is the first account of the Jung Codex to appear in English. At this stage, when much is still *sub judice*, some of the opinions here expressed are necessarily provisional. They must await the testing of the critical edition of the text on which Professor Puech and Professor Quispel are collaborating.

The substance of the first two items was a pair of lectures delivered at Zurich in November 1953. They were issued in Dutch earlier this year under the title *Op Zoek naar het Evangelie der Waarheid* (G. F. Callenbach, N.V., Nijkerk; 1954). Professor van Unnik's paper was originally published as *Het kortgeleden ontdekte 'Evangelie der Waarheid' en het Nieuwe Testament* in the Proceedings of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences (Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel. 17, No. 3, 1954). Publisher and editor alike are much

## PREFACE

indebted to all concerned for their ready consent to this English edition.

As each of the three papers is self-contained, there is a certain amount of repetition. It is hoped that this will be pardoned in what to most readers will be a virtually new subject. In matters of detail, the translator has felt at liberty to make occasional changes or adjustments in the Dutch texts, including a few minor corrections. He has only ventured upon such alterations where he believed that they would have the full concurrence of the authors, though the responsibility for such slight differences as exist in his. A bibliography and an index have been added at the end.

I have also to thank Mrs. W. W. S. March for valuable help with the translation, Miss E. A. Livingstone, B.A., of St. Anne's College, for the great pains which she has bestowed on the preparation of the MS. and Mr. J. V. M. Sturdy, B.A., Dixon Scholar of Christ Church, for assistance with the proofs.

F. L. CROSS

CHRIST CHURCH,  
OXFORD

*November, 1954*



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## ABBREVIATIONS

V.C. *Vigiliae Christianae* (Amsterdam, 1947 ff.)

Z.N.T.W. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Giessen, 1900 ff.)

For further abbreviations see Bibliography.

H. C. PUECH

THE JUNG CODEX AND THE OTHER  
GNOSTIC DOCUMENTS FROM  
NAG HAMMADI



# I

## THE JUNG CODEX AND THE OTHER GNOSTIC DOCUMENTS FROM NAG HAMMADI

THE<sup>1</sup> Djebel-el-Târif is a high cliff of chalk, whose southern slope faces the bend formed by the Nile some sixty miles down stream from Luxor. With its white and bare wall it dominates a plain in which, on the left bank of the river, stands the hamlet of Nag Hammadi, while on the right are the fields of sugarcane which surround the villages of Debba, El-Qasr and Es-Sayyâd, on the very site of the ancient Shenosit-Chenoboskion where St. Pachomius founded his first monasteries in the fourth century. On the east the cliff turns abruptly to the north and looks out above the sands of the desert, always abrupt and desolate, and is pierced by numerous cavities which are as many openings of tombs. Those half-way up are Pharaonic tombs of the sixth dynasty, while at the foot and up to a height of some three hundred feet are more modest tombs belonging to the Greco-Roman period. From a study made on the site by M. Jean Doresse<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered at Zurich 15 November, 1953, formed the substance of this paper. It was published in a German translation under the title 'Der Codex Jung im Rahmen der gnostischen Bibliothek von Chenoboskion' in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (15 November, 1953, Sonntagsausgabe, No. 2708, Blatt 4; 16 November, 1953, Morgenausgabe, No. 2716, Blatt 4, and Abendausgabe, No. 2724, Blatt 12).

<sup>2</sup> 'Doresse (6).'

three years ago it would seem that it was here *c.* 1945 that one of the most remarkable finds of our time was made.

We proceed to give in broad outlines the still very uncertain story.<sup>1</sup>

Digging in the southern part of the cemetery, peasants from Debba and the neighbouring hamlet of Hamra-Doum chanced to light on a large jar. When they broke the vessel, a number of MSS. fell out. The fellaheen attached no particular value to their discovery. Some of the pages which had come to light were torn up or burnt; the rest were sold for three Egyptian pounds and brought to Cairo where the writings were divided into three lots. In 1946 one of the codices, by that time no longer complete, was bought by a second-hand dealer who has since died, while a second was purchased by the late Togo Mina for the Coptic Museum at Cairo of which he was Director. Both codices were briefly described by M. Doresse and myself on 20 February, 1948, in a communication to the 'Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles-Lettres' of the Institut de France.<sup>2</sup> The destinies of the remaining MSS. have been far more mysterious. Traces of them come to the surface and then disappear again until the beginning of 1949 when the collector who had succeeded in gaining possession of the whole series decided to ask the Coptic Museum to have an expert examination of them made with a view to

<sup>1</sup> On what follows cf. the articles mentioned below and my paper in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* [sc. 'Puech (1)'].

<sup>2</sup> 'Puech-Doresse (1)'. Cf. also 'Mina (1)' and 'Doresse (1)'.

possible purchase. A report was procured, the substance of which is reproduced in various articles from the hand of M. Doresse issued in 1949. These were published in such periodicals as *Vigiliae Christianae*,<sup>1</sup> *La Nouvelle Clio*<sup>2</sup> and the *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*.<sup>3</sup> In all there were eleven codices. Protracted negotiations with the Egyptian Government then began. They reached their conclusion in 1952 when the volumes were transferred to the Coptic Museum, where they rejoined the MS. bought by Togo Mina. Here they remain, for the present inaccessible. Meanwhile the MS. which came into the possession of a second-hand dealer in 1946 was bought after many wanderings on 10 May, 1952, in the name of the Jung Institute. In honour of the celebrated savant, C. G. Jung, this papyrus was designated 'The Jung Codex' and made public at a ceremony at Zürich on 15 November, 1953.<sup>4</sup>

The MSS. here in question have already attracted considerable attention by their number, their state of preservation, and the care which had been spent in their preparation. Thirteen books, some of which exist only as a *débris*, or, as in the case of the Jung Codex, contain considerable lacunae, but of which ten are more or less complete and four almost entire; some thousand pages whereof 794 are complete; some

<sup>1</sup> 'Doresse-Mina (1).'

<sup>2</sup> 'Doresse (2).'

<sup>3</sup> 'Doresse (5).' See also 'Une Bibliothèque Gnostique Copte sur Papyrus' in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* vi, Nos. 3-4, May-July, 1949, pp. 102-4.

<sup>4</sup> The history of the MS. is described by G. Quispel in the present volume (cf. also 'Der Codex Jung' in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 15 November, 1953, Sonntagsausgabe, No. 2708, Blatt 4). It is the Item II in the classification which I proposed in 'Puech (1)' for the thirteen volumes from Nag Hammadi (cf. p. 94 and p. 103 f.).

## THE JUNG CODEX

forty-eight writings whereof only three occur in a double or triple recension and of which none, with the exception of two which were previously known from a papyrus of the Egyptian Museum at Berlin, have ever been edited,—such in brief outline is the substance of this important discovery.

Eleven bundles have retained their original form, i.e. that of a book or *codex*, consisting of a series of papyrus leaves, stitched together and frequently numbered, and all contained within a binding of supple leather. Many of the 'bindings' (that of the Jung Codex has unfortunately disappeared) somewhat resemble our modern brief-cases; they are prolonged, on the back, by a triangular tongue of leather which, when turned over, with the aid of the long lace attached to it, forms the fastening of the book. At least one of the volumes is adorned with a swastika. The format is in nearly all cases substantially the same, fairly short and broad (on an average 25 cm. high and 15 cm. broad). The Jung Codex, however, is an exception; it is more elongated, tall and narrow (29 cm. high and 14 cm. broad). The pages are covered with writing in a single column which for the most part commands admiration by its regularity, clarity and beauty. One of the bundles in particular is a real masterpiece of calligraphy. It is a matter for regret that in this respect the Jung Codex is the least blessed. Although its workmanship is not bad, not even mediocre, its script, on which several scribes have been engaged, does not reach the perfect form which belongs to that of many of the other items. But such



details are of little significance. In general terms it can probably be said that no Greek or Coptic papyri recovered hitherto have ever been found of such splendid appearance as our codices.

All forty-eight works contained in the thirteen codices were written in Coptic, i.e. the language which, coming into existence in the second century A.D., represents the last stage in the speech of ancient Egypt. Ten of the collections employ Sahidic, the dialect of Upper Egypt; another a special dialect or sub-dialect which has been designated, perhaps a little too hastily, as 'new' and 'unknown'. Finally another makes use now of that mysterious dialect, now of Sahidic. In this matter the Jung Codex stands apart from the rest of the collection. Although after some hesitation it was proposed to identify its language also as a hitherto unknown Coptic dialect or sub-dialect, it now seems clear that it was written in Subakhmîmic, i.e. the language which properly belonged to Middle-Egypt and whose home was in the region of Assiout, to the north of Akhmîm and which was thus the language of the place where the Codex was found.

It appears, however, as far as we can discover at present, that most, if not all, of these works are translations or adaptations of Greek originals. Certainly this is true beyond all doubt of the writings contained in the Jung Codex.

These MSS. were probably written at various dates in the third and fourth centuries. The Jung Codex is one of the latest of them, and, it would seem, was written in the second half, or towards the end, of the

fourth century. But the Greek originals which were translated could be older, and indeed are so, in many cases. Such are those whose text or titles were already known *c.* 180 to Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, or between 222 and 235 to the heresiologist, Hippolytus of Rome, or later still to the philosopher Porphyry, the pupil and biographer of Plotinus.

Likewise it is certain that one of the writings of the Jung Codex, the *Gospel of Truth*, mentioned in Irenaeus' treatise 'Against the Heresies',<sup>1</sup> must have been put together *c.* 150 A.D. Moreover, for reasons of an internal kind all the works in the Jung Codex must apparently be dated in the second century, perhaps as early as the middle of this century, or even slightly earlier still. For that reason, according to present information, they belong to the oldest writings which have now been recovered by the find at Nag Hammadi.

Of what kind are the writings in the Codex? And what, if we consider the matter rather less from the outside, is their relation to the enormous mass of writings which make up the rest of the find at Nag Hammadi? It is difficult to give the answer in a few words. I do not propose to go further into the content of the Jung Codex here, since Dr. Quispel, my collaborator in the projected edition of the text, will give a detailed account of it in the present publication.<sup>2</sup> I will merely state that the Jung Codex contains four writings of which a few pages are somewhat damaged,

<sup>1</sup> Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III, 11, 9 (= III, 11, 12; ed. Harvey, ii, p. 52).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 'Quispel (2)' and, for the first three writings in the collection, esp. 'Puech-Quispel (2)'.

while here and there (especially in the last writing) a certain number of pages are wholly wanting. Happily eight pages detached from the MS. have been reported among the bundles deposited in the Cairo Museum; and these will partly supply these gaps or complete the hundred now existing pages in a collection which in its original state comprised 136 or 138 at least. The four writings in succession are: (1) a *Letter of James*, an 'apocryphon' (i.e. secret esoteric book), which professes to be a letter which the Lord's Brother addressed to an unknown person. It transmits revelations given to the Apostles James and Peter by the Risen Christ before His Ascension; (2) the *Gospel of Truth*, also a revelation of an esoteric character, whose author is not named; (3) a *Letter to Reginos*, a treatise on the resurrection in an epistolary form; (4) lastly a long dogmatic exposition which we have named the *Treatise on the Three Natures*. This last treats of theology, cosmology, anthropology and the philosophy of history. A 'Prayer of the Apostles' (perhaps, 'of the Apostle Peter'), which occurs on a loose leaf, completes the list. On another matter, we may be content to observe that—though with regard to the first item some hesitations might be entertained—all these works were Valentinian, products of the Gnostic school founded in the second century by the Egyptian, Valentinus. Whether we reject or accept the plausible attribution to Valentinus himself of the *Letter to Reginos*, and perhaps also of the *Gospel of Truth*, and to his pupil Heracleon of the *Treatise on the Three Natures*, in any case it is highly probable that the

whole content of the Jung Codex is the product of a single circle and that certainly three of the writings in it reproduce the Valentinian doctrine in one of its most primitive forms. This conclusion is not only important for its own sake, but as we shall see, it also brings to light a new and very marked difference between our collection and the rest of the books from the library of Nag Hammadi. An accurate comparison—that is obvious—presupposes a detailed knowledge, or at least a general idea of the total content, of the newly-discovered writings. No one is as yet in a position, however, to fulfil the first of these conditions. As regards the second, what is needed is the capacity or the time to draw up a complete inventory, bundle by bundle, of the approximately forty-eight writings of the collection which have been as yet established, identified and classified. I have myself attempted such a list in a memoir published in 1950 in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*.<sup>1</sup> Here I must be content to refer the reader to it and enumerate only the essential facts.

Every kind of ancient literature, Christian and especially Greco-Oriental, is represented in our library. First, there are markedly abstruse revelations on the origin of the world, generally ascribed to the 'Great Seth' (the Biblical figure has here become a sort of Supreme Being): the *Book of the Great, Invisible Spirit*, also described as the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, which is present in two forms; the *Holy Book written by the Father*, i.e. by Seth; the *Three Pillars (or Tables) of Seth*

<sup>1</sup> 'Puech (1).'

or the *Apocalypse of Dositheos*; the *All Highest Allogenes*, elsewhere known under the name of *Apocalypse of Allogenes* or of *the Allogeneis* (of the Stranger or of the Strangers, names of Seth and his descendants) and mentioned or cited by Porphyry, Epiphanius of Cyprus and, again in the eighth century, by a Nestorian writer of Mesopotamia, Theodore bar Konaï; the *Paraphrase* of Shem to which the heresiologist Hippolytus alludes under the title of *Paraphrase of Seth*; finally several works which no doubt are of the same kind but of which the titles are not known because the first or last leaf has been lost. Other revelations are placed under the patronage of 'seers', oriental or otherwise; apocalypses of Zostrianos, of Messos, perhaps also of Zoroaster, which were already mentioned by Porphyry who in his *Life of Plotinus* mentions them next to the *Apocalypse of Allogenes*.

We then meet with two pseudo-Biblical apocrypha: a *Revelation of Adam to his son Seth* (once again Seth!) and the *Book of Noria*, the mythical wife of Noah of which Epiphanius, the fourth-century heresiologist, summarizes the principal episode.

Then there come the whole series of apocryphas of a more specifically Christian character, some of which profess to transmit the discourses of the Redeemer with His disciples and His teaching after His Resurrection, others the secret traditions and doctrines of the Apostles: a *Gospel of Philip*, already known to Epiphanius; a *Gospel of Thomas*, which has no connexion with the Christian apocryphal writing of this name, but is doubtless identical with the work used by the

Naassene Gnostics and the Manichaeans and, as I discovered in 1952, is nothing less than an abundant and complete collection of the *Logia*, the 'Sayings' of Jesus, the beginning of which coincides exactly with the text of the very famous Oxyrhynchos Papyrus No. 654; the *Secret Words spoken by the Redeemer to Judas Thomas and noted down by Matthias* or the *Book of Thomas* (probably the *Traditions of Matthias* appealed to, among other writings, by the Basilidean Gnostics); the *Wisdom of Jesus* of which a Berlin codex preserves a second Coptic copy and of which I have recovered in another Oxyrhynchos papyrus (No. 1081) two pages of the original Greek; the *Dialogue of the Redeemer*; an *Apocalypse of Paul*, similar it would seem to the *Ascension of Paul*, a writing in use among the 'Gnostics' properly so called and the Cainites; an *Apocalypse of Peter*; two *Apocalypses of James*; the *Doctrine of Silvanus* (doubtless the companion of Paul); some *Acts*, very short and romancing, of *Peter and of the Twelve Apostles*.

In a place quite by itself must be put the *Apocryphon* or *Secret Book of John*. This elaborate revelation, cosmological, historical and eschatological, of Jesus to the Apostle John, must have been one of the fundamental books of the sectaries who brought the library of Nag Hammadi together, and certainly of their predecessors too. We here find it copied in three different codices and since c. 1898 the Egyptian Museum at Berlin has possessed a fourth copy, of more recent date, however, than ours. Moreover, it was the *Apocryphon of John* which was drawn on by St. Irenaeus (c. 180 A.D.) for his account of the Barbelo-Gnostics.



The Epistles form another class of writings: the *Epistle of Peter to Philip* and the *Epistle of Eugnostos the Blessed*, a writing of a Gnostic teacher of that name, the content of which was later cut up into fragments and put into the mouth of Christ and utilized to make the Gospel dialogue which professes to be the *Wisdom of Jesus*. Nor are there wanting treatises of a dogmatic abstract kind, with a more speculative, or, if one will, a more philosophical, exterior: an *Exposition on the Soul*, for instance, and an *Interpretation of Gnosis*. Finally it is most remarkable that in one of the volumes, juxtaposed with metaphysical or eschatological writings of a Christian colour, we find two works at least of pagan Gnosis: two Hermetic *opuscula*, the one a dialogue of Hermes Trismegistos with his son Tat and the other a treatise in dialogue form which reproduces in instalments the final prayer and several chapters of the *Asclepius*, a work of the Hermetic *corpus* which survives in Latin.

Even so this enumeration is incomplete. I refrain from adding further items for fear of wearying the reader. Although sketchy and very compressed, it should give an idea—perhaps somewhat vague and tumultuous—of the extraordinary richness and extreme diversity of the documents recovered at Nag Hammadi at a single stroke. For a long time it had been suspected that certain of these works might be discovered, but without any great hope; the finding of the others is a complete surprise. What has happened surpasses all expectations and we now find ourselves superabundantly endowed (I had almost said overwhelmed)



by a profusion of texts as original as diverse. More particularly, the picture, or rather the sketch, which I have just outlined should enable us the better to define the place which the Jung Codex occupies within this whole collection and to bring out more clearly the traits which characterize it.

At first sight, there is nothing, as far as the form of its contents is concerned, to distinguish the Jung Codex from the majority of the other volumes. The *Letter of James* and the *Letter to Reginos* belong to the same epistolary genre as the *Letter of Peter to Philip* or that of *Eugnostus* which we find elsewhere; the *Gospel of Truth*, though more impersonal, naturally takes its place in the list of those secret and sublime revelations which form the *Gospel of Philip* and the *Gospel of Thomas*, or the *Secret Words of the Saviour* or the *Wisdom of Jesus*, writings which were intended to complete, if not to displace, the canonical Gospels. And we have already observed the presence of several dogmatic treatises, more or less mixed with mythical elements, to which—from the outside at any rate—our *Treatise on the Three Natures* appears to be related. The names of the Apostles Peter and James, who are the great authorities in the *Letter* ascribed to the latter, give their patronage to many items in the other collections. Indeed, it is even possible that one of the two *Apocalypses of James* which we have mentioned in passing is identical with the document which the 'Lord's Brother', as he states at the outset of his *Letter*, dispatched six months before to his correspondent. In general, as regards both the writings of the Jung Codex

and those of the other volumes, what we have before us is a body of esoteric literature all of the same general kind and using the same devices. They are 'apocrypha', as the *Letter of James* expressly describes itself, i.e. good tidings reserved for a privileged *élite*, for those whom the *Gospel of Truth* terms the 'Perfect' and the Divine 'Seed', as well as the 'Children of God' who have their 'place' and their 'root' in Him.

But side by side with these traits which the Jung Codex possesses in common with the remainder of the find, there are other and very decided peculiarities which no less emphatically mark it off from the rest so to give it a definite and almost exceptional character. We have already noted in passing some of the peculiarities which belong to our collection: its format, its language, the character of the different writings utilized in its preparation. Still more: the Codex comprises solely writings of Valentinian origin. Now as far as we know, no other work of the same *provenance* is contained in any of the eleven other volumes. On the contrary, apart from two or three Hermetic items, the 'neutral' text of the *Gospel of Thomas* and a few other writings, these appear, as far as present information takes us, to contain, in the vast majority of cases, writings fabricated or utilized by the more or less mutually related sects of the Barbelo-Gnostics or of the 'Gnostics' in the strict sense of the word, the Sethians and the Archontici.

Thus it would seem that the library of Nag Hammadi was assembled, formed and consulted in the course of the third and fourth centuries by members

of a community living in Upper Egypt and which from the circumstance that it attached so great importance to the person of Seth, we will call Sethian. Doubtless we should not rule out the possibility that doctrinal affinities and actual relations may have existed between these Gnostics and the Valentinians. We may even suppose that the *Apocryphon of John*, the Barbelo-Gnostic work which fills such an important place in our collection, may have contained a more or less mythical system of Gnosis, which Valentinus would have partly taken over, elaborating it in a more speculative form and giving it the stamp of his personal genius. But it remains true, that in fact as in theory, Valentinianism and Sethianism are two different branches of Gnosticism. Hence the Jung Codex, seen in relation to the whole find, appears as an erratic block and we may even suspect that it was from without and at a late date that it was introduced into the library gradually built up by the Gnostic community at Chenoboskion. It might well be that it was put together in a small Valentinian group which existed in the neighbourhood of Nag Hammadi, either in the Thebaid where, according to the testimony of Epiphanius,<sup>1</sup> there still existed in the fourth century some distant disciples of Valentinus, or perhaps somewhat further north, as its use of Subakhmîmic would suggest. The volume could then have passed into the hands of the Sethians who may have been sufficiently large-minded to receive it as a gift or to have bought

<sup>1</sup> Epiphanius, *Panarion*, XXXI, 7, 1 (ed. Holl, i, p. 395, 16-19).

it for their collection in which other texts at variance with their own beliefs, such as the Hermetic *opuscula* already referred to, had been admitted. Thus quite definitely and in more than one respect—indeed right down to its latest destiny which has detached it anew from the body of esoteric writings with which it had been associated for more than fourteen centuries—the Jung Codex occupies a place apart.

For these reasons we may expect that the conclusions resulting from the study of the Jung Codex will themselves also be of a peculiar nature and special interest. It is self-evident that the discovery of the Codex and of the other writings of the collection will put our knowledge of Gnosticism on an entirely new footing. In place of the indirect accounts of the anti-heretical writers, which were more or less suspect of simplification or hostility, and of the small number of fragments of Christian or Christianizing Gnostic literature, which had hitherto been preserved in Greek, we shall henceforth have at our disposal a large mass of documents. They come to us directly from the very circles that produced or possessed them and by their number, extent and quality infinitely surpass the few productions of an already decadent Gnosticism which we hitherto possessed in Coptic: the *Pistis Sophia*, the *Books of Jeu*, the anonymous writing of the *Codex Brucianus*. Not only can we now apprehend the Gnostic thought and doctrines in and by themselves, but it should be possible besides to trace the evolution of this thought and the history of the movement from

the first half of the second century down to the eighth. From the eighth century we have evidence for the existence of sectaries in Mesopotamia related to the Archontici and the Sethians and who still availed themselves of certain of the writings recovered at Nag Hammadi.<sup>1</sup> And while one or another of the writings from our library should help us to resolve the enigmatic and controverted problem concerning the origins of Valentinian Gnosis and of Gnosticism in general, the Jung Codex in particular should put us in a better position to understand the development of Valentinianism itself or at the very least to ascertain its most primitive phase.

The Codex will also teach us much else of interest for the history of Christianity and relating to the religious movements contemporary with the birth of the Church: how and where the ideas of St. Paul and St. John made their influence felt in the first half of the second century; how certain circles understood the 'mysticism' of the Pauline Epistles and of the Revelation of John; how it was then customary to think about the Trinity, the pre-existence of the Church, the resurrection and baptism; the influence exercised by Valentinian Gnosis on the theology or intellectual outlook of such thinkers as Clement of Alexandria or Origen. The Codex will also tell us about certain aspects of pagano-Christian syncretism; of the various

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my paper 'Fragments retrouvés de l'Apocalypse d'Allogène' in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, iv (*Mélanges Franz Cumont*; Brussels, 1936), pp. 935-62, and my artt. 'Archontiker' and 'Audianer' in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (ed. T. Klauser), i (1950), cols. 633-43 and 910-15.

opinions then held by Jewish thinkers; etc. But I am compelled to break off in order to reach the essence of the matter.

What above all else we shall discover in the writings of the Jung Codex—indeed, perhaps more immediately here than in the other writings—is the significance of Gnosis for a Gnostic, a psychological experience lived or imagined by him and which means for him the Advent to Knowledge, and, in a word, to Salvation. What, fundamentally, is Gnosis? An experience or a theory which has reference to some definite interior mental happening, destined to become an inamissible and inalienable state whereby in the course of an illumination, which is regeneration and divinization, man is re-established in himself, again remembers himself and becomes conscious of himself, of what he really is by nature and origin. In this way he knows or reknows himself in God, knows God and becomes conscious of himself as an effluence from God and a stranger in the world. He thus acquires, with the possession of his ‘ego’ and his true and ontological being, the meaning of his destiny and the final certainty of his salvation, thus discovering himself as a being who, by right and for all eternity, is saved.

Now all we need to do is to read some passage from the *Gospel of Truth*, one of the two most considerable writings in our Codex, to find a description such as this, less abstract and adorned by the most characteristic themes, formulae and images of Gnosticism. We read of how the ‘spiritual man’, the pneumatics, is



called by name by the Father, the hitherto unknown God. I translate<sup>1</sup>:

Therefore he who knows is a being from above. If he is invoked, he understands, he replies, he turns to him who invokes him; he comes back to him, understands how he is invoked. Possessing Gnosis, he carries out the will of him who has called him and desires to do what pleases him. He receives rest. . . . He who thus possesses knowledge knows whence he has come and whither he goes. He understands like a man who frees himself and awakens from the drunkenness in which he was, returning to himself.

In other words, there is response to an appeal and this appeal invites to self-consideration and to life, to that 'conversion' to oneself and to God which is Gnosis, to the discovery and re-acquisition of our true 'ego' and at the same time to knowledge of God and return to Him in Whom our true being has its beginning and its end. The Gnostic awakes from torpor, from the state of ignorance and unconsciousness into which he had been plunged like a drunken man in his crapulent sleep. He suddenly comes to consciousness and to Truth, and discovers the falsehood and the nothingness of his former condition.

Here you have the most significant and striking pages of the *Gospel of Truth* which describe the emptiness and night of this former state of ignorance and unconsciousness, this inconsistent illusion and nightmare which hand man over to phantasmagoria, to insanity, to distresses and to the terrors of his unconscious.

<sup>1</sup> P. 22, 2-19 of the Codex.



In the pages which precede this passage it is related how error is made of none effect by the revelation of Jesus and His Living Gospel, so that the Elect receive the revelation of the Father of Truth, since 'although they were in Him, they knew it not'. The being 'who has no root', we are then told, ought, still immersed in his nothingness, to think thus about himself: 'I am as the shades and the phantoms, the phantasms of the night'.

But [the text continues<sup>1</sup>] when the light appears he takes knowledge that the terror which seized him was nothing. Thus men were ignorant of the Father, of Him Whom they saw not. When this ignorance left them unstable, hesitating and divided and dismembered, there were many vain illusions and absurd and empty fictions which tormented them as sleepers when a prey to nightmares. Either one flees one knows not where, or else one remains inert in pursuit of one knows not whom. Either one beats oneself in giving oneself blows or one receives them. Either one falls from very high or one flies carried in the air without even having wings. At other times it is as if one were killed by an invisible murderer, without being pursued by anyone. Or else it is as if one were killing one's very close relations (are not one's hands stained with their blood?). Down to that moment, when those who have passed through all these dreams awake. They then see nothing, those who have passed through this, for all these dreams were nothing. It is thus they have cast far from them ignorance, like the sleep which for them is of no account. And their other works they no more hold to be realities, but they abandon them as a dream by night. For them the Gnosis of the Father has the value of the Light. Each one so acted as if he had fallen asleep, at the time when he was ignorant; he so returns to

<sup>1</sup> P. 28, 28-p. 30, 16 of the Codex.

himself, as if he were waking up. And it is good for a man to return to himself and to wake up. Blessed is he who has opened the eyes of the blind!

This description is the more curious in that its opening appears to have been partly inspired by lines 199–201 of Book XXII of the *Iliad*. It sets in clear relief the significance which the Gnostic attached to the coming of the Saviour, the Bringer of Revelation, who is the very manifestation of the Truth, of Gnosis: the abolition of ignorance and—what is the same thing—forgetting; the awakening, or rather the re-awakening, of the spiritual man to the knowledge of himself and his origin; cognition, in fact recognition, and becoming conscious of his primitive condition and of his true being, so that the obsessions and the absurd and fantastic incoherence of an illusory existence, which until then had been engulfed in the darkness of a world of fictions that all at once reveals its vanity, its vacuity, its noughtness are left behind; which is no longer nothing, which is nothing. The old and the new state by their very nature are mutually exclusive. One cannot be at the same time awake and asleep, conscious and unconscious. Knowledge, which is reminiscence, can no more co-exist with ignorance and forgetting, than the day with the night, light with obscurity, the full with the void. What is in question here is two autonomous and irreconcilable conditions, two modes of being: it must be either the one or the other. ‘Conversion’ means a passage from the one to the other without transition and without anything of the previous state existing in the person who drives it

away and succeeds to it. From an 'alienated' existence we return to our ontological condition, to the deep, total and permanent reality of our ego; we pass, as our writings say, from the domain of the 'cosmos', from the temporal and phenomenal world to the aeon, to the eternal and non-temporal. The seeming falsehood, the lie makes place for truth; the Nothing for the All.

Do I deceive myself? But it would seem to me not wholly a matter of chance that as the outcome of a series of circumstances a MS. which contains such descriptions has received and will henceforth bear the name of 'Jung Codex'.

This lecture would never end, however, were we to enumerate all the riches contained in our collection. It is time to finish and we will do so with a conclusion which is compelling. Our age has been fruitful in unexpected discoveries. There is in the first place the recovery, still in progress, of Hebrew, Aramaean and Greek texts on the shores of the Dead Sea which in a remarkable way have increased our knowledge of a certain Jewish pre-Gnostic movement—Essenism, or at any rate the sect against the opinions of which the fourth writing in the Jung Codex might well have been directed ('the action of God is double and creative of both good and evil'); the discovery in the Egyptian Fayûm c. 1930 of seven volumes of Manichaean writings, translated like those of our Codex into Subakhmîmic Coptic, and documenting for us another type of Gnosticism, the dualist Gnosis or the Iranian

Mani<sup>1</sup>; the discovery, finally, in 1941, in some ancient quarries adapted during the War as stores for munitions, near Toura, some six or seven miles from Cairo, of a great number of *inedita*—in this instance preserved in Greek—of Origen, the great Alexandrian representative of an orthodox Christian Gnosis, and of his disciple, Didymus the Blind.<sup>2</sup> By reason both of their large extent and their contents these three finds are all significant: two of them may even be described as of capital importance. All of them have a greater or less interest for different aspects of the single historical and human phenomenon which is known as Gnosis. There is no need to insist on the point. The discovery of a Gnostic library of forty-eight writings made in 1945 in the environs of Nag Hammadi finds a wholly natural setting in this total pattern and is a worthy rival of all the rest. It is to Egypt, as was the case with the Manichaean books and the Origenist papyri, that we are indebted for the discovery. We may be led to recall some words in the Book of Exodus (vii. 3): 'I will multiply my signs and my wonders in the land of Egypt'.

<sup>1</sup> For this discovery see esp. C. Schmidt-H. J. Polotsky, 'Ein Mani-Fund in Aegypten', in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1933, pp. 4-85, and A. Böhlig, 'Die Berliner koptischen Manichaika' in *Actes du Ve Congrès International de Papyrologie* (Brussels, 1938), pp. 85-93.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. O. Guéraud, 'Note préliminaire sur les Papyrus d'Origène découverts à Toura' in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, cxxxi (1946), pp. 85-108, and H. C. Puech, 'Les nouveaux Écrits d'Origène et de Didyme découverts à Toura', in *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses*, xxxi (1951), pp. 293-329.

G. QUIPEL

THE JUNG CODEX AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE



## II

### THE JUNG CODEX AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

It is more than possible that our notions about the beginnings of Christianity will need to be considerably revised in consequence of three recent finds. Of these the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls is that most widely known. And rightly so, since it seems clear that these MSS. will have much to contribute towards a better understanding of the origins of the Christian religion. For professed scholars the recovery of the writings of Origen at Toura is also a find of much importance, since these texts enrich our knowledge of the teaching and life of the great theologian of the Greek Church whose thought has left its unmistakable mark on Eastern Orthodoxy right down to the present time; though in this case Origen's teaching is so well known from his surviving works that the new documents could not completely overthrow the existing view of him.

In the case of the forty-eight Gnostic books found at Nag Hammadi the situation is different again. Christian Gnosticism is so fragmentarily known, and chiefly from the works of its opponents, that there has hitherto been the greatest uncertainty about the character of this astonishing heresy. And although the information which has so far reached us about the writings at Nag Hammadi indicates that their contents

belong for the most part to the vulgar Gnosis of the Sethians, and not to the learned Gnosis of a Valentinus and Basilides which for the history of Christianity is of infinitely more importance, and although the dating of the writings, with one exception, still presents the greatest uncertainties, it may yet be said that through these discoveries at Nag Hammadi a forgotten religion, viz. the heretical Gnosticism which was once a great influence and has not lost its importance for the understanding of European cultural history (e.g. of German Idealism), has come to light.

An interested outsider will necessarily ask whether some connexion does not exist between the finds near the Dead Sea, the discovery of writings of Origen at Toura and the Gnostic writings found at Nag Hammadi. This question, though wholly reasonable, must be put on a broader basis. We must inquire: Does there exist any connexion between Jewish heterodoxy as it finds expression, e.g. in the 'Essene' documents from the Dead Sea, heretical Gnosis which flows in the ancient world as a broad river at the side of Greek philosophy and orthodox Christianity, and the 'true', that is the orthodox, Gnosis of the Alexandrians? The answer to this question, which is of great importance, prejudices a number of problems which confront the student of the New Testament, and will, perhaps, give the death-sentence to Bultmann's hypothesis of a pre-Christian Gnostic Redeemer and to Harnack's basic thesis that early Catholicism was the Hellenization of primitive Christianity. Was there, then, any connexion between Jewish heterodoxy, heretical Gnosis in the



second century and the orthodox Gnosis of the Alexandrians? To this question the available material has hitherto provided no clue.

The Dead Sea Scrolls are still being recovered and are as yet only very partially published. Of the manuscripts of Origen *cum suis* from Toura there has so far been printed only a single ecclesiastical discourse taken down in shorthand. A great part of the find has not yet been bought and at the moment is being offered for sale, now here, now there, by all kinds of mysterious ways at fantastic figures. The Gnostic codices of Nag Hammadi have reposed for some years sealed up in the Coptic Museum at Cairo where they are inaccessible to scientific investigation, so that there can be no question of the MSS. being published in the near future. Everywhere the unrest in the Near East raises insuperable barriers to science.

And nevertheless—or so it seems to me—the question raised above as to the connexion of the three discoveries will from now on be the fundamental issue and govern the interpretation of the new *data*. The reason for this is that a Codex from Nag Hammadi, which *mirabile dictu* contains not the vulgar Gnosticism but the authentic Gnosis of the Valentinian school, is now at the disposal of students. It is quite possible that the contents of this Codex will enable us to draw conclusions both as to the relations between the great Origen and this heretical Gnosis and also as to the dependence of this heretical Gnosis on a pre-Christian Jewish form of heresy.

## THE JUNG CODEX

To introduce these important problems conveniently to my hearers, it may be well to divide our subject as follows. I will first describe briefly the contents of the Codex and then discuss the questions how far this Codex can be a missing-link and how far we can draw conclusions from it about the connexion between Jewish heresy, heretical Gnosis and Origenistic theology.

### A. HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY

It was on 10 May, 1952, that I acquired at Brussels a Coptic codex of a hundred pages which contained four unknown writings from the second century A.D., one of them a heretical Gospel. This is how it came to pass.

In the spring of 1948 I received at Leyden vague reports from Jean Doresse about an important discovery of Coptic MSS. in Egypt. Since I had myself been engaged for several years on a study of Valentinus, the most important Gnostic from the middle of the second century A.D., and as I considered it possible that Valentinian texts were included among these writings, I gave M. Doresse the address of an institution with which I was acquainted, the Bollingen Foundation at New York, with the request that it be handed over to a person in Egypt. At the same time, viz. in August 1948, I urged on Jack D. Barrett, the Secretary of the Foundation, the purchase of the Gnostic writings. Such was the beginning of laborious negotiations and investigations which lasted for several years and can be reported only briefly here.

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What happened was that in the winter of 1948-9 the possessor of a Gnostic Codex appeared at the offices of the Bollingen Foundation and sought to interest Mr. Barrett in its purchase. He asked 12,000 dollars for it, saying that the University of Michigan had already offered him 6,000 dollars. If American scholars really had the Codex previously in their hands, it is not easily conceivable that they would not have paid the price demanded. At a later date the same person inquired, after he had failed to sell the Codex, whether he might store it in the safe of the Bollingen Foundation. This request was naturally refused in view of the responsibility involved for its safety and the owner returned to Europe.

The situation was extremely delicate. The rumour went round—which later turned out to be correct—that its owner had died. It was not known where the Codex was to be found, what it contained and who was its new owner. It was no imaginary risk that the MS. might remain inaccessible to investigation for a great many years, and perhaps for good. Such writings sometimes happen to disappear mysteriously from the market. Moreover, at a time when foreign currencies were scarce, who could make such a large sum available for a papyrus codex?

The only possibility seemed to be that the generous Bollingen Foundation should interest itself in the matter. With this end in view I approached Professor C. G. Jung of Zürich who with great willingness wrote several letters to the members of the Board of the Bollingen Foundation, in which he emphasized

the importance of the Codex and urged the Foundation to buy it.

In the meantime it had become known that the MS. contained a collection of four writings, one of them with the title: *The Gospel of Truth*. More than the title, however, was hardly known. And yet all our passionate exertions rested on the supposition that this *Gospel of Truth* was identical with the 'Evangelium Veritatis' about which the Church Father, Irenaeus, writing c. 180 A.D., tells us that it was in use among the disciples of the Gnostic Valentinus.

The result of all these negotiations was that in August 1950 I instituted some investigations at Paris on behalf of the Bollingen Foundation and could establish that the Codex reposed in a safe at Brussels. On 19 July, 1951, Dr. C. A. Meier of Zürich succeeded in discovering the address of the new owner and of the price which he asked for the Codex. It was accordingly decided at Ascona in August 1951 that the Bollingen Foundation should provide the money for the purchase and I was commissioned to investigate whether or not the writings had been forged and if they were of value. For even if the writings were genuine it remained a possibility that their contents were Gnostic speculations of little worth, whereas what we primarily hoped for was the writings of Valentinus. The expert examination took place at the beginning of March 1952 at St. Idesbald (Coxyde). Although it was not possible to unpack the papyri, and such indeed was not justified because of the dilettante way in which they had been packed up, the

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reading of a single page convinced me that it was Valentinian. Hence, despite a certain risk, I ventured to recommend their purchase. This, however, did not happen forthwith. The owner suddenly asked for delay, and there were also alarming signs which seemed to indicate that other interested parties, if not offering a higher sum, were at any rate negotiating. At the same time the Bollingen Foundation made certain very understandable stipulations about furnishing the purchase money, which it was not possible at that moment of pressing urgency to comply with. It appeared as if our exertions spread over four years had all come to nothing and our endeavours had failed.

It was at this juncture that Dr. C. A. Meier, acting with great decision, rendered a real service to learning. He put the situation before George H. Page of Wallisellen, who proved a new Maecenas and made available the money for the purchase. The result was that on 10 May, 1952, I bought the Codex at Brussels on behalf of the C. G. Jung Institute at Zürich. At the request of its previous owner, this acquisition was not to be made known until 10 November, 1953. The study of the papyrus, however, could be immediately taken in hand. It appeared that the *Gospel of Truth* beyond doubt came from the school of Valentinus and was identical with the writing which was referred to by Irenaeus of Lyons c. 180 A.D. A new heretical Gospel, the only one of its kind which is as yet available to students, had been discovered. Our surmise has proved to have been correct.

There still remained one great source of anxiety for us. In the examination of the MS. at St. Idesbald in March 1952 it was stated that it showed a lacuna of about forty pages. Moreover, during this examination it became clear, as we had suspected, that a photograph of the Codex had already been made in Egypt in 1947 or thereabouts and had somehow come into the hands of a French student, and it was our hope that this photograph would also give us the missing sheets. The owner requested the student in question to restore the photograph to its rightful possessor. The latter stated in a letter his unwillingness to do this, but he sent it none the less. It seems, however, that this photograph contained nothing that was not in our Codex. So there remains the by no means easy task of finding out whether or not these missing pages still repose in Egypt and whether there is any way in which they are, or can be made, accessible.

On closer examination it appeared that the four writings in the MS. were all translations from the Greek. Three of them are without doubt Gnostic and come from the school of Valentinus. Professor Henry Charles Puech of the Collège de France and myself have been commissioned to edit them while Professor W. C. van Unnik will concern himself with the significance of the discovery for the study of the New Testament. Professor M. Maline of Paris is primarily entrusted with the constitution of the Coptic text. In particular, the *Gospel of Truth*, which was written round about A.D. 150, appears to be of special importance.

B. CONTENTS OF THE CODEX

The Codex extends, roughly, to about a hundred pages, for the most part numbered. At least thirty-eight pages are wanting. It contains:

1. A *Letter of James* (p. 1, 1-p. 16, 29);
2. The *Gospel of Truth* (p. 16, 30-p. 43, 24);
3. The *Letter to Rheginos* (pp. 43, 25-p. 48 end; continuation and conclusion wanting);
4. A *Treatise on the Three Natures* (a very elaborate exposition, of which the beginning and pp. 59-90 are wanting: pp. 51, 1-134 end);
5. Two very damaged pages of the *Prayer of the Apostles*.

I. THE LETTER OF JAMES

The opening words of the first writing, which reproduce a commonplace phrasing of Greek epistolography, at once make it clear that the letter was translated from the Greek. It professes, however, by an artifice sufficiently familiar from other instances, to be the translation of a Hebrew letter, written by James, the Lord's Brother, and to contain esoteric revelations which Christ is said to have communicated to James and Peter before His Ascension. This was a form and kind of fiction practised by other Gnostics. But Clement of Alexandria also mentions that James, Peter and John were said to have transmitted a secret Gnosis. Now we may inquire: Did the writer really draw on this more or less ecclesiastical Gnosis, or did



he under the cover of an Apostolic tradition communicate his own conceptions or those of the particular sect to which he belonged? The history of the Egyptian Church in the second century is too little known to enable us to answer this question. Moreover, the work contains too few data which would enable us to say with certainty whether its contents are Gnostic or more or less orthodox. It appears as if the author were anxious to give an answer to the burning questions of his own age, the second century. He refers to the persecutions, which in his view were willed by God and must be willingly embraced by men, thus taking part in a debate which was being carried on at Alexandria in the second century. He also speaks of prophecy, which was brought to its end by John the Baptist, in a way which recalls the interpretation of Origen and the Manichees. Also on the matter of faith, love and works, the author freely expresses his thought. He says:<sup>1</sup>

For the Word is first of all the origin of faith, secondly of love, thirdly of works. For herein life consists. For the Word is like a grain of wheat. If any one has sown it, he has faith in it, and if it has germinated he loves it, since he sees many grains in the place of one and while he works he is being saved, since he can prepare it for a meal and further has enough over in order to sow. This is the way whereby it is possible for you to receive the Kingdom of Heaven. If you do not receive it by Gnosis, you will not find it.

This appears to be an elaboration of the word of St. Paul on faith which works through love (*Gal.* v. 6).

<sup>1</sup> The translations in the present paper are provisional.



The writer touches on a number of other subjects in much the same way.

When the revelations have come to an end Christ rises to Heaven in a chariot of Pneuma. Peter and James kneel down and give thanks. They raise their hearts to Heaven and hear a sound of war, the sound of a trumpet and confusion.

When they rise higher still and lift up their Noûs, they hear hymns and songs by angels and heavenly spirits. But when they intend to raise their Pneuma higher still and to penetrate to God Himself, they are not permitted to hear or see anything. Thereupon James sends out the Twelve and returns alone to Jerusalem.

We must leave for closer examination the question whether this letter of James is a product of the school of Valentinus, like the other three writings in the MS. Provisionally we have no indication that it is not; the writing may well be Valentinian.

## 2. THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH

The Gospel of Truth, the joy of those who have received from the Father of Truth the grace to know Him through the Power of the Logos who has come from the Pleroma, which is in the Thought and the Thinking of the Father, [and] who is named Redeemer because He is the Messenger who was destined to come for the redemption of those who knew not the Father.

So begins the second writing in the Codex, a work of the highest importance for the study both of Gnosticism and the history of the New Testament

Canon and one which is sure to attract attention from a wide circle.

The existence of a Valentinian writing named the 'Gospel of Truth' had long been known. Writing c. A.D. 180 in his *Adversus Haereses* III, xi. 9, Irenaeus states:

But those who are from Valentinus, being, on the other hand, altogether reckless, while they put forth their own compositions, boast that they possess more Gospels than there really are. Indeed, they have arrived at such a pitch of audacity, as to entitle their comparatively recent writing 'the Gospel of Truth', although it agrees in nothing with the Gospels of the Apostles, so that they have really no Gospel which is not full of blasphemy. For if what they have published is the Gospel of truth, and yet is totally unlike those which have been handed down to us by the Apostles, any who please may learn, as is shown by the Scriptures themselves, that that which has been handed down from the Apostles can no longer be reckoned the Gospel of truth.<sup>1</sup>

It is possible that the *Gospel of Truth* is also referred to when, in Tertullian, *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, ch. 25, Valentinians speak of 'a secret Gospel': indeed, the Gospel which has been recovered in our Codex is an esoteric writing. Its name, contents and the way in which Irenaeus speaks about it all indicate that the writing sought a position next to the four canonical Gospels. The 'True Gospel' thus aimed at being a *Fifth Gospel*.

From time to time various theories have been put forward about the 'Gospel of Truth'.

Johannes Kreyenbühl, one of the authorities of

<sup>1</sup> For the Latin text, see below, p. 89, note 1.

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Robert Eisler, published two bulky volumes, each of them of some 800 pages, under the title *Das Evangelium der Wahrheit*.<sup>1</sup> Here he endeavoured to show that the Valentinian 'Gospel of Truth', of which only the title was then known, was identical with the canonical Gospel of St. John, which he held had been written by a Gnostic. 'On ne pouvait se tromper si lourdement, ni si longuement' (H. C. Puech). For though the 'Gospel of Truth' has borrowed more than a little from the Gospel of St. John, as from a writing which was already old and held in high repute, it is in fact totally different in content and spirit.

The thesis of G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga,<sup>2</sup> that the four canonical Gospels are the outcome of a historicization of an unhistorical Gnostic Alexandrian Gospel, is also challenged. This theory was put forward at a time when no Gnostic Gospel was known. It is now possible to check the assertions of van den Bergh van Eysinga. For we now have in our possession an actual Alexandrian Gnostic Gospel. And what do we find? That its writer, round about A.D. 150, was acquainted not only with the Synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of St. John, but also with the Epistles of St. Paul and even with the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse of St. John, already existing as a collection. This is exactly the opposite of what van der Bergh van Eysinga had maintained: we find not that the Canonical Gospels rest on a Gnostic Gospel

<sup>1</sup> J. Kreyenbühl, *Das Evangelium der Wahrheit*. Neue Lösung der johan-neischen Frage (2 vols., 1900-5).

<sup>2</sup> *Voorchristelyk Christendom* (Zeist, 1918); *Begin en Beginsel van het Christendom* (1924).

but that the Gnostic Gospels rest on the Canonical Gospels.

That the *Gospel of Truth* comes from the school of Valentinus, the most important Gnostic of c. A.D. 90–160, there is not the least doubt. But certain data in the work enable us to go a step further. It appears that the opinions which it embodies reflect a stage in the development of doctrine prior to the division of Valentinianism into different schools. That means that our *Gospel of Truth* is very old and must have been written about A.D. 150, presumably by Valentinus himself. We should well consider what it means to have in our possession a heretical Gospel from A.D. 150, the only one as yet known to us and one which appears to come from the hand of the most gifted and influential of the Gnostics, Valentinus.

That the work was translated later from Greek into Coptic is not remarkable. Epiphanius, an anti-heretical writer of the fourth century, tells us that there were still Valentinians in Egypt in his time, especially in the Thebaid (Upper Egypt). It was towards the end of the same fourth century that the Codex which contains the *Gospel of Truth* was written. By its format, language and Valentinian content, our collection stands in contrast with the bulk of the MSS. which were found at Nag Hammadi. These last seem to have formed the library of a Sethian vulgar-Gnostic community which dwelt in the neighbourhood of the ancient Chenoboskion and used mainly the Sahidic dialect. It would thus appear that our Codex was written elsewhere and later received into the library

which this community assembled in the course of the third and fourth centuries. Nothing prevents us from supposing that the Codex originated in a community of Valentinians which dwelt at the same time in the Thebaid, or, if the use of the Subakhmîmic dialect justifies this conjecture, somewhat to the north of it.

The writing is a summons to Introspection and Life, to that turning to oneself and to God, which is Gnosis, to the discovery and winning of ourselves at the same time as the knowledge of God and the return to Him in Whom our proper being has its beginning and end. The whole character of the work can best be indicated by two citations.

The state of ignorance, which is emptiness and nothingness, incoherent illusion and nightmare, which delivers man over to phantasmagoria, to foolishness, to the fears and the terrors of his unconscious, is described in a passage as fine as it is moving. The being 'which has no root', still immersed in his nothingness, thinks thus of himself: 'I am as the shadows and spectral appearances of the night.'

But when the light appears, he comes to recognize that the fear which took hold of him was nothing. Thus men were in ignorance concerning the Father, Him Whom they saw not. When [this ignorance] inspired them, fear and confusion left them uncertain and hesitant, divided and torn into shreds, there were many vain illusions and empty and absurd fictions which tormented them, like sleepers who are a prey to nightmares. One flees one knows not where or one remains at the same spot when endeavouring to go forward, in the pursuit of one knows not whom. One

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is in a battle, one gives blows, one receives blows. Or one falls from a great height or one flies through the air without having wings. At other times it is as if one met death at the hands of an invisible murderer, without being pursued by anyone. Or it seems as if one were murdering one's neighbours; one's hands are full of blood. Down to the moment when those who have passed through all this wake up. Then they see nothing, those who have passed through all this, for all those dreams were . . . nought. Thus they have cast their ignorance far away from them, like the dream which they account as nought.<sup>1</sup>

It is a curious fact that this moving passage in our heretical Gospel is inspired by the *Iliad* of Homer, XXII, 199-201:

ὡς δ' ἐν ὄνειρῳ οὐ δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν  
οὔτ' ἄρ' ὁ τὸν δύναται ὑποφεύγειν οὔθ' ὁ διώκειν  
ὡς ὁ τὸν οὐ δύνατο μάρψαι ποσὶν οὔδ' ὅς ἀλύξαι.

Thus the elect, i.e. 'the Living who stand written in the Book of Life' (lit. 'of the Living'), receive through the Gospel which Christ brings the voice of revelation which wakes them from this Oblivion of Being and of Self. They are called by their names. This very impressive figurative language, which ultimately goes back to Isaiah xliii. 1 ('I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine') but by this time had been greatly developed, is worked out as follows:

The Pneumatici turn to God, Who is the fulfilment of the All, because they are those 'whose names the Father has known from the beginning' and 'who are

<sup>1</sup> The above passage is also cited by Prof. Puech, above, p. 31. The occasional differences in rendering have purposely been allowed to stand.

called to that end, as someone who knows that he it is whose name the Father has uttered'.

Therefore he who knows is a being from above. When he is called, he hears; he answers; he directs himself to Him Who calls him and returns to Him; he apprehends how he is called. By possessing Gnosis, he carries out the will of Him Who called him and seeks to do what pleases Him. He receives the repose. . . . He who thus possesses knowledge knows whence he comes and whither he goes. He understands as some one who makes himself free and awakes from the drunkenness wherein he lived and returns to himself.

Thus Christianity for this Gnostic is the revelation of God and of the human self, through Christ, the transition from nothingness to the All.

It is worth noting that in our writing the peculiarly heretical traits of Gnosticism, such as the distinction between the Unknown God and the lower Demiurge or the enumeration of aeons, find no place. The writer is interested solely in Christ, Who is the discovery and revelation of Truth, and in the salvation which has been thus achieved. The sensitive language, the elevation of the thought, the powerful style would all seem to indicate that the author was none other than Valentinus himself, whose genius and eloquence were praised even by his bitter enemies. 'Et ingenio poterat et eloquio', said Tertullian. Does this heretical Gospel, which stands so very close to the orthodox conceptions of those days, purposely exclude all the more esoteric things that Valentinus had to utter? But this cannot be so, since it is clear that the book was intended only



for initiates. Or is it that the writing is so near to orthodoxy because it was written at the time when Valentinus was still a member of the great Church of Rome and himself a serious candidate for the bishop's throne? That suggestion is more likely. In that case our Gospel must be dated even earlier than 150, say about 140. One thing is certain. If the author of the *Gospel of Truth* was not Valentinus himself, then he was one of Valentinus' contemporaries, a hearer or pupil of the first days, who had clearly grasped his thought.

### 3. THE LETTER TO RHEGINOS

The third writing of the Jung Codex, the short letter to Rheginos which was not previously known even by name, gives us valuable information about the Valentinian doctrine concerning man's resurrection-life. For the first time for many centuries it is now possible to read the heretical doctrines on this subject in the sources themselves. Hence the importance of this letter, despite its brevity. Moreover, it contains a surprise. To indicate this, we must look at the heretical teaching under discussion in a wider perspective.

From the very beginnings of Christianity there have been those who have held a spiritual conception about the resurrection of the faithful. They considered that 'the resurrection had already taken place', as did those mentioned in the Second Epistle to Timothy (ii. 18). Now over against the Hellenic idea of a more or less impersonal and automatic immortality the primitive



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Church held fast precisely to the conception of the resurrection, i.e. the belief that the whole man in the identity and historicity of his being is destined through the gate of death to share in the eschatological salvation. This conception of man, in his eternal perspective, obtained such pronounced accents in the conflict with Hellenism that certain more reserved utterances of the Apostle Paul did not wholly receive their due.

From our letter it now appears that the Valentinians consciously rejected the Greek conception and sought to believe in the resurrection, though they understood it in a spiritual sense. In this connexion they made their starting-point the Resurrection of Christ, the central verity of early Christianity. Our writing states:

The Redeemer has brought death to nought, but in no secret fashion so that we could not know it. For He did not remain in the perishable world: He passed over to the imperishable Aeon. And He was raised up after He had 'devoured' the visible through the invisible and He has opened for us the way for our immortality. Then, as the Apostle [Paul] said, we have suffered with Him and we have risen with Him and we have gone into Heaven with Him. But as we have come to manifestation in the world while we have put on the Christ we are rays of the Christ and we are borne by Him until we sink down. That is our death in this life. We are drawn up to heaven as rays by the sun, with nothing to hinder us. That is the spiritual resurrection which 'devours' the psychical and fleshly resurrection.

The reason why this passage is so remarkable is that the theme of the Pauline 'mysticism' here recurs: Death in life and the Resurrection-life with Christ. This is surprising because these influences of St. Paul

are not to be found so definitely in the orthodox writers of the second century. It seems that it was just these heretics who allowed themselves to be influenced by the 'mysticism' of St. Paul. It naturally still remains an open question whether they properly understood St. Paul.

In a surprising way our author has conjoined with the themes of primitive Christian mysticism the speculations of a syncretistic sun-cult. According to him the faithful become sunbeams of Christ. Just like rays from the setting sun, the faithful at the moment of death are directly and of themselves brought back to this fountain of light which is their source. Such was also the way in which certain thinkers in Hellenism and the pagan Gnosis conceived the life after death.

The *Letter to Rheginos* is a systematic and comprehensive explanation of the conception we have just outlined, written in a flowing and excellent Greek which clearly penetrates the Coptic 'coat of varnish'. It is therefore a matter for great regret that the argument breaks off before the conclusion has been reached. This is to be regretted even more because certain inner pointers indicate that the letter must be very primitive. There are some peculiarities of language that our letter shares with the fragments of Valentinus. And we may suppose, with even more confidence than in the case of the *Gospel of Truth*, that it is by Valentinus himself. For this writing in many of its traits recalls the spirit and personal manner of the heresiarch. It is well put together, written in a supple and elegant Greek, as well as with the unction

and warm enthusiasm which characterize the extant fragments of Valentinus.

Thanks to the new Codex we thus have a collection of three works put into our possession which, though different in style and content, are all of great importance for the history of early Christianity and the Gnostic heresy.

#### 4. THE TREATISE ON THE THREE NATURES

The long and substantial writing which we have entitled *The Treatise on the Three Natures* and which shows close affinities with the conceptions of Heraclion, the leader of the Italian school of Valentinianism and the first commentator on the Fourth Gospel, begins with some elaborate speculations on the mysteries of the Godhead. In itself this is not surprising, for the Gnostic *Apocryphon Johannis* and the system of Basilides also open with a description of this kind. It is clear that this *theologia negativa* is an anticipation of certain speculations of the Church Fathers, especially of the mystics among them.

Our writing has the following passage:

No name that one can think or say or see or feel, none of these is given Him. . . . These names can be uttered to His glory and honour in accordance with the capacity of those who show Him honour. But Himself, in His essence and subsistence and being, no mind can understand Him, no word can express Him, no eye can see Him, no body can touch Him by reason of His unfathomable greatness and incomprehensible depth and immeasurable height and inaccessible will. . . . He is unknowable, i.e. unthinkable by any thought, invisible in any kind of way, unnameable by

any word, untouchable by any hand: He is known to Himself alone.

These explanations, as I have already said, remind us in many respects of the *theologia negativa* of the mystics of every age. But notwithstanding this mystical *élan* the writer clearly shows us that he is not speaking of the undetermined Being after the manner of Plotinus. His Godhead is transcendent indeed but not unconscious, lifted up above all perception and all thought, yet a Being which is conscious and wills, which thinks Himself.

He is the only one who is known to Himself in His mode of existence, His form, His greatness and glory. He is capable of thinking, seeing, perceiving, comprehending Himself. He is for Himself consciousness, eye, mouth, structure, He who thinks Himself, sees, names, comprehends, this unthinkable, unnameable, incomprehensible, unchangeable.

In this passage the influence of Christianity, which lends personal traits to the mystic conception of the Unknown God, can perhaps be recognized. These Christian influences are to be seen even more clearly in the writer's speculations on the relation of the Father to the Son which foreshadow certain themes of the Origenist theology. It is striking, however, that he conceives of the Ecclesia as an eternal hypostasis, 'the Ecclesia of many men which existed before the aeons, which is rightly named the Aeon of aeons, the nature of the holy imperishable spirits'. This theology of the eternal Ecclesia is most remarkable.

After a long lacuna in which perhaps the coming

into being of the Pleroma and the fall of the Sophia were recorded, the writing begins again with a cosmogony. This world is an image of a higher world and is so organized that the seeds of spirit, through their life in the world, are brought up, instructed and formed 'so that the small becomes gradually greater as by the image in a mirror'.

The author gives an allegorical explanation of the creation of Adam and his Fall and ensuing death, after which follows a description of the process of history. Three phases are distinguished: the hylic or Greek, the psychic or Jewish, and the pneumatic or Christian which forms the crowning of the world process. It is noteworthy how little sympathy the writer has for Greek culture. This is the more striking because various investigators, following in the footsteps of Overbeck and von Harnack, have regarded the Gnostics as thinkers standing in the succession of Greek philosophy and Gnosis as an acute Hellenization of Christianity. It would now seem that at any rate the writer of this treatise stood consciously apart from Greek philosophy.

He writes of the Greek philosophers:

They did not possess the possibility of knowing the cause of existing things because this was not communicated to them. Therefore they introduced other explanations.

Some say that the things which happen take place according to a Providence; these are those who perceive the regularity and order of motion.

Others say that no Providence exists; these are those who take notice both of the irregularity and abnormality of the powers and of evil. Some say that what must happen

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happens. . . . Others say that what happens comes about according to nature. Others again say that the world is an automatism. But the great majority have turned to the visible elements, without knowing more than these.

Hence the writer sees in Greek philosophy only contradiction and demonic inspiration. He esteems at far higher worth the Hebrew prophets who did not contradict one another and announced the coming of Christ.

The Redeemer brings liberation from slavery and reveals the destiny of the three classes into which mankind is divided:

The pneumatic group, which is light from light and spirit from spirit, when its Head appears, has to hasten after Him and has a body formed for its Head, which has received Gnosis with eagerness at the revelation. But the psychic group, which is light from fire, has hesitated about receiving Gnosis, but hastened to Him in *faith*. . . . But the hylic group, which is wholly foreign [to Him], will be cut off as darkness by the brightness from the light.

The writer then gives us a long description of the eschatological destiny of these three classes.

Thus our writing includes an explanation of the origin of mankind and the world, of the course of history and the passage of the Spirit through the inferno of paganism, the purgatorio of religion and morality to the paradiso of pure spirituality when the Spirit shall have ascended above the steps from the Pleroma and live eternally in God.

And irresistibly we ask the question: Where do these ideas, myths and series of thoughts come from? Where

are we to seek the origin of the Gnosis which is set out in this writing in a very Christianized form? And this leads us back again to the problem of the connexion which we raised in the beginning of this lecture.

### C. THE CONNEXIONS

From the short summary given above it will no doubt have become clear that Heracleon, the Italian Gnostic who in our own judgement was the author of the *Treatise on the Three Natures*, is in many respects a precursor of Origen. The two writers have in common the *theologia negativa*, certain Trinitarian speculations, the transcendental Fall, the notion of the world as a *catharsis* and history as an education. Even more striking are the differences. Heracleon teaches a complete determinism of mankind and the world, a sort of *predestinatio physica*. For Origen, on the other hand, from a phenomenological point of view man's freedom in his decision is essential. For freedom is the theme of Origen's every symphony. Indeed, in the perspective of the *Treatise on the Three Natures* it becomes clear that the main purpose of Origen's theology of freedom was to attack the determinism of the Gnostics. This concern for freedom was undoubtedly due to the influence of the Old Testament whose every page bears testimony to man's accountability and responsibility. Hence the 'true Gnosis' of Clement and Origen is to be regarded as in a certain sense a progressive Christianization of the 'Gnosis falsely so called' of the Valentinians.



Having thus established that this heretical Gnosis was already to a great extent Christianized in the Alexandrians, we now have to ask: What was Gnosis before it came into contact with Christianity? In other words, where are we to look for its origins?

It would seem as if the newly-found Codex can help us to answer this question.<sup>1</sup> The suggestions which follow are very provisional and can only be developed in full after the publication of the texts. Indeed, it may be that in the light of more extensive material the hypothesis which will be here propounded will prove unjustified.

On page 112 of the Codex, in the *Treatise on the Three Natures*, there occurs a passage dealing with heresies among the Jews, which will be read with close attention, now that documents on a Jewish heresy have been found by the Dead Sea:

They [sc. the Jews] have founded numerous heresies which exist down to the present day among the Jews. Some say that it is One God Who spoke by the Prophets; others say that there were many. Some say that God is one and singular in His being; others say that His acting is two-fold and the origin of both good and evil. Some say that He is the creator of what exists; others say that He created through His angels.

There is every reason to believe that these references accurately reflect an existing situation. The Talmud also frequently mentions a body of heretics, the Minim, who lived in Palestine in the first centuries of

<sup>1</sup> Discussed more fully in 'Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition' in *Eranos Jahrbuch* XXII, 1953 (Zürich, 1954), pp. 195-234.



our era and were attacked by the orthodox Rabbis. It is, indeed, not always clear who are meant by these Minim and it is probable that the name covers many different groups. It would certainly be going much too far to regard all these Minim as Jewish Gnostics. Nor is it possible to connect all these passages with Christians, Jewish Christians or Christian Gnostics. In some passages it is beyond dispute that these heretics were neither Christians nor Jewish Christians, but heterodox Jews. At that date there existed in Palestine, side by side with with official Judaism and Christianity, all kinds of sects which in varying degrees tended to unorthodoxy or could increasingly be regarded as unorthodox, as the orthodoxy of the Pharisees became consolidated and supplanted the original variety of religious teachings in Palestine. Among these 'heretical' groups were the Essenes, whose writings have now been found by the Dead Sea and prove beyond question the existence of a pre-Christian Jewish heterodoxy. It is therefore clear that all these streams in Palestine cannot be described simply as 'Gnostic' without more ado. More properly we should speak in some cases of a pre-Gnosis which incorporated certain opinions that were also congenial to Gnosticism.

It may well be that the passage cited above from the Codex has reference to these or similar unorthodoxies. And although a definitive judgment can hardly be possible before all the passages in the Talmud which relate to the Minim have been severally investigated and the material made available by the discoveries at

the Dead Sea been compared with them, it may be permitted at this stage to draw attention to some parallels.

In the *Manual of Discipline*, found at Qumran, we read that God endowed man with a good and an evil spirit.<sup>1</sup> This statement should be brought into connexion with the passage cited from the Codex referring to a Jewish heresy which taught that God is the cause of good and evil. This was apparently also the common conception of the Pharisees, though the Essenes known to the Jewish philosopher Philo conceived of the Godhead as the cause of all good things but not of the evil things. Similar conceptions were also found among the Minim of Palestine. The expression current among some of them 'On account of the good is Thy Name named' (not also 'On account of the evil') was considered by the Rabbis to be heretical.<sup>2</sup> Certain Minim also criticized the teaching of the Old Testament that God kills and makes alive: '[When anyone says] that He cannot make alive and kill, that He cannot dispose of evil and cannot do good then the Scripture teaches: "I kill and make alive".'<sup>3</sup> Hence it would appear that a difference of opinion actually existed among the Minim on this matter, as our Codex indicates.

Another statement in the Codex is, perhaps, further

<sup>1</sup> *Manual of Discipline*, iii, 18. A. H. Edelkoort, *De Handschriften van de Dode Zee* (Baarn, n.d.), p. 88. A. Dupont Sommer, 'La "Règle" de la Communauté de la Nouvelle Alliance' in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 138 (1950), pp. 5-21.

<sup>2</sup> Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber* 458. Mishna, Megilla 4, 9 acc. to the interpretation of H. L. Strack, *Jesus, die Häretiker und die Christen* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 48\*.

<sup>3</sup> *Siphre Deut.* 32, 39.

confirmed when Justin Martyr, the Apologist, who himself came from Shechem in Samaria and was clearly well informed about the Jewish sects which he mentions in his works, asserts that a Jewish heresy taught that the body of man was made by angels.<sup>1</sup> Here again the information in the Talmud needs to be closely studied before we can say with certainty how far certain Minim may have thought that angels played a part in the creation of man and of the world. But we can at least say that there were heretics who taught that angels were concerned in creation. 'When Moses wrote the Torah, he described the work of each several day. But when he reached the verse (*Gen. i. 26*) "Then spake God, Let us make men", he said "Lord of the World! What an opportunity Thou givest the heretics to open their mouths!" He answered, "Write! Who wishes to go astray can go astray".'<sup>2</sup> It is possible that by the heretics here referred to Christians are meant. But it is no less possible that there were non-Christian unorthodox Jews who gave a heretical interpretation to the view of certain Rabbis that the Biblical words: 'Let us make men' had reference to angels. The words were held to apply not only to the creation of men but also to creation in general. Indeed, R. Johanan went so far as to say that God does nothing without seeking counsel of the angels.<sup>3</sup> From this it becomes intelligible that, as our Codex says, the world, according to Jewish heretics, was created by angels. Provisionally

<sup>1</sup> Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Gen. rabba* I, 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Sanbedrin* 38b.

we may thus accept the accuracy of the statement of Justin Martyr and of the Codex.

This fact is important when we seek to determine the influence of Judaism and Jewish heterodoxy on Gnosis.<sup>1</sup> For among the Gnostics we find similar conceptions about the work of the angels in creation. We meet with them, e.g. in the Samaritans, Simon Magus and Menander, in the Syrian Gnostic, Saturninus of Antioch, in the author of the *Apocryphon Johannis*, in Valentinus himself and in Heracleon, the probable author of the *Treatise on the Three Natures* of which we have already spoken. We can almost see this conception unfolding historically from Jewish heterodoxy *via* the Jewish Gnosis of Samaria down to our treatise. We can then understand how it is that some early Christian writers, notably the Jewish Christian Hegesippus c. A.D. 150, came to seek the origins of Gnosticism in heterodox Judaism.<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible that Justin Martyr intends by the Jewish heresy which taught that the body was created by angels the sects of Simon and Menander; but in this case, too, the origin of these Gnostic conceptions would have to be sought in the Jewish Gnosis of the first century. But our present information makes it more probable that Simon and Menander were themselves developing further an already existing Jewish heresy.

Our Codex makes the remarkable statement that according to some heretics there were many gods. It is hard to believe that in Palestine there were Jewish

<sup>1</sup> G. Quispel in *Eranos Jahrbuch* XXII (1954), p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iv, 22, 5.

polytheists. It is possible indeed that this assertion is only a stylistic figure, a literary expression devoid of historical significance. But it must also be asked whether the intention of the passage is not to assert a multiplicity, i.e. a duality, in God. This would give us a good historical sense. For the Rabbis repeatedly reproached the Palestinian Minim with teaching two Divine 'Powers' or 'Principles' (*r'schujoth*). And even when only these two Principles were referred to, they were spoken of as 'many' Powers: 'For this reason a single man was created in order that the heretics could not say: "There are *many Powers* in Heaven."<sup>1</sup> By this is meant that in certain cases these heretics, who were not Christians but unorthodox Jews, distinguished between God Himself, in His transcendence and hiddenness, and His 'Vicegerent', the Mediator of Revelation and the Lord of the Angels who was named the 'Little Jahweh' or 'Jaoel' or also, employing a *vox mystica*, 'Metatron'. In the Talmud two notable passages about this are to be found. '[The Rabbi] Aher saw that to Metatron was given the right *to be seated* (in Heaven) and to write down the merits of Israel. Then he said: "We are taught that above there is neither standing nor sitting, neither envy nor strife, neither separation nor union. Can there then be— which God forbid—two powers?"<sup>2</sup> The second passage is as follows: 'A heretic said to Rabbi Idi: "It is written: And to Moses He said, Go up to Jahweh (*Ex. xxiv. 1*). One expects, Go up to Me." Idi replied to him: "That is Metatron, whose Name is as the

<sup>1</sup> *Sanbedrin* 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Bab. Hagiga* 15a.

Name of his Lord, as it is written: For my Name is in him" (*Ex.* xxiii. 21). "As that is so, ought one not to serve him?"' (asked the Minim who thus appeared to demand for Jaobel Divine worship).<sup>1</sup>

Thus the difference between the Rabbis and the Minim on the subject lies in the fact that while the Minim held fast to the divinity of this second 'hypostasis', the Rabbis, in a sense after the manner of the Arians, emphasized the creatureliness of the 'angel' Jaobel-Metatron. It may be asked whether these Minim, in their opposition to a growing orthodoxy, did not preserve in their own way the ancient doctrine that the Name of God was a representation and manifestation of the Godhead itself, the revelation of His Being.<sup>2</sup> It is possible to follow the traces of this conception from the Apocalyptic period at the beginning of our era down to the writings of esoteric Judaism in later centuries. And it would appear to us that the attitude of Gnosis to Judaism would become clearer if more heed than hitherto was paid to this esoteric tradition which from the first century existed in Palestine as a lesser stream side by side with orthodoxy.

<sup>1</sup> Bab. *Sanhedrin* 38b. The Karite author Qirqisani quotes the passage thus: 'This is Metatron Jahweh qaton.' With Scholem, I think it possible that the Name Jahweh qaton was deliberately eliminated from the Talmudic MSS. because of its heretical ring. Cf. G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, New York, 1946, p. 366, note 107.

<sup>2</sup> H. Odeberg, 3 *Enoch* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 144: 'The most important element or complex of elements which gave life and endurance to the conception in question [of Metatron in later Jewish mysticism] was the notion of the 'Angel of J H V H, who bears the Divine Name' and the 'Angel of the Face, the Divine Presence', called Yaeol, Yehoel, Yoel, the highest of the angels, *the Divine Name representing the Godhead*. Extensive speculations must have centred round this possessor of the Divine Name'.



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In the *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, a work referred to among the writings of the sect by the Dead Sea but not on that account to be regarded as specially representative of this sect, mention is made, if I correctly understand the text, of the 'hidden', Divine 'Name', by which the world was created:

This [angel] requested Michael to show him the hidden Name, that he might pronounce it in the Oath, so that they [sc. the fallen angels] might quake before that Name and Oath [by which] . . . the heaven was made fast and suspended . . . the earth was founded upon the water . . . the sea was created . . . and by which the stars complete their course.<sup>1</sup>

This teaching is also not unknown to the Talmud. According to Rabbi Rabh, a prominent representative of the esoteric traditions at the beginning of the third century, the builder of the tabernacle knew the combination of letters whereby Heaven and earth were created.<sup>2</sup> These letters are the Name of God, the Tetragrammaton.

This conception was especially popular in the circles of esoteric Judaism. In the so-called *Hekkaloth Rabbati*, ch. ix, we read expressly: 'Great is the Name through which Heaven and earth have been created'. The *Third Book of Enoch*, a treatise put by Odeberg in the third century but by others dated later, also appears to be acquainted with this conception.

'He wrote with His finger with a flaming style upon the crown of my head the letters by which were created heaven

<sup>1</sup> 1 Enoch, 69, 14 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Berakoth IX, 55.

and earth.<sup>1</sup> 'Come and behold the letters, by which the heaven and the earth were created.'<sup>2</sup>

Finally, in the 'Book of Creation', *Yezira*, written between the third and the sixth centuries, we have described at length and in a somewhat fantastic manner how the whole creation proceeds from one Name, the Name of God.<sup>3</sup>

It thus seems clear that even in pre-Christian times the Name of God was considered as a cosmological principle, and thus in a certain sense as a distinct hypostasis. In the beginning was the Name and thereby everything was made.<sup>4</sup>

But a related interpretation of the Name is also to be found in other conceptions of apocalyptic Judaism round about the beginning of the Christian era.

In the *Apocalypse of Abraham* we have a long account of the angel Jaobel to whom God gave His ineffable Name.<sup>5</sup> From the text it is quite clear that this figure is God's 'Vicegerent, second only to God Himself, the supreme figure in Jewish angelology.'<sup>6</sup> But it is also clear that this figure is the Mediator and Bringer of Revelation since He is in possession of the ineffable Name. Jaobel himself says in his revelation to Abraham: 'I am called Jaobel by Him Who moveth that

<sup>1</sup> 13, 1.

<sup>2</sup> 44, 1.

<sup>3</sup> For some of these references I am indebted to G. Scholem, 'Die Vorstellung vom Golem' in *Eranos Jahrbuch XXII* (1954), p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> The statement in the *Didache* x, 3: ἐκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου needs closer study. The statement that the world was created *because* of the Name is unparalleled in early Christian literature. Whether or not the meaning here is: 'By the power of Thy Name', I will not venture to say.

<sup>5</sup> In the *Sepher ha-Qoma* ('Inyane Merkaba), Bodl. MS. Oppenheimer 467, fol. 61b, where the *sem hammephoraš* is expressly identified with Metatron-Jaobel: 'The Explicit Name, which is Metatron the Youth' (cf. Odeberg *op. cit.* p. 33).

<sup>6</sup> G. H. Box, *The Apocalypse of Abraham* (S.P.C.K., 1919), p. xxv.



which existeth with me on the seventh expanse upon the firmament, a power in virtue of the ineffable Name that is dwelling in me' (*Apocalypse of Abraham*, ch. x). It seems to me that the learned Dr. G. H. Box, who published the *Apocalypse of Abraham* for such a handful of readers, was right when he remarked that Jaobel is properly the Name itself.<sup>1</sup>

This conjecture is apparently confirmed by the fact that in other places Jaobel is named 'Little Jahweh'. This must have happened at a very early date. For even though it is not quite certain that *III Enoch*, where this designation is found,<sup>2</sup> comes from as early as the third century A.D., the designation 'Little Jao' is also found in the Gnostic *Pistis Sophia*<sup>3</sup> of the third century and must have been borrowed by the author of this writing from the esoteric Jewish traditions. Hence it is established that already in the second century Jaobel was termed the 'Little Jahweh'. This designation, which would be blasphemous for the orthodox, tells in favour of Box's view that Jaobel is a substitute for the Name itself.

But another hypothesis of Box is also now confirmed. Box conjectured that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* had connexions with the Essenes; and now in fact fragments of this writing, we are informed, have been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>4</sup> This proves that the speculations in Judaism about the

<sup>1</sup> 'The name Jaobel itself is evidently a substitute for the tetragrammaton, which was too sacred to be written out in full'. G. H. Box, *op. cit.*, p. xxv.

<sup>2</sup> ch. 12, 5; ch. 48; ch. 7.

<sup>3</sup> ch. 7.

<sup>4</sup> W. Baumgartner, 'Die Bedeutung der Höhlenfunde aus Palestina für die Theologie' in *Schweizerische Theologische Umschau* 24, 3 (1954), p. 53.

Name as a mediator of revelation were very ancient and pre-Christian.

Thus we have proved that at the beginning of our era there existed in more or less heterodox Judaism speculations about the Name as the 'mediator' of creation as well as others about the Name as the mediator of revelation.

Now it was already recognized, as we have said above, that third-century Gnosticism had taken over certain Jewish speculations about the Name. What is more, the Name Jao is to be found in a liturgical formula of the Valentinians<sup>1</sup> which has hitherto given scholars many headaches but now, it would seem, can be satisfactorily interpreted.<sup>2</sup> Finally, in Valentinian documents, notably the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, there occur a variety of allusions to the Name. But only now would it seem possible properly to understand what this Name meant for the Gnostics and to prove that these speculations about the Name go back *ultimately* to more or less heterodox Jewish conceptions which were taken over into Gnosis as early as the beginning of this second century.

For the *Gospel of Truth* contains very extensive comments on the Name of God, the 'Real Name' (κύριον ὄνομα) which is not to be expressed in λέξεις and προσηγορίαί. This kind of language suggests the distinction which the Jews used to make between the *šem hammephoraš*, the secret ineffable Name of God, and the *kinnuj*, the unutterable naming. This distinc-

<sup>1</sup> Iren. I, 21, 3.

<sup>2</sup> G. Quispel, 'Mandaeers en Valentinianen' in *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* viii. 3 (1954), pp. 144-8.

tion made its way in a degenerate form into the Gnostic *Second Book of Jeu* which dates from the third century A.D., but it also appears to have been already known to Valentinus *c.* A.D. 140. It would thus seem that the conjecture of Prof. Scholem that in the Greek the pair of concepts κύριον ὄνομα, properly 'Name', and προσηγορικὸν ὄνομα, 'Naming', is used to indicate the *Tetragrammaton* and its synonyms, is confirmed by the latest discovery.<sup>1</sup>

But in connexion with our argument about the Jewish speculations concerning the *šem* as a divine manifestation and independent hypostasis, it will be worth our while to reproduce the passage in the *Gospel of Truth* in its entirety:

And the end is the Taking-of-Gnosis about Him who is concealed. And this is the Father, He from whom proceeded the Beginning and to whom all who have proceeded from Him and who have been manifested for the Glory and for the Joy of His Name will return. And the Name of the Father is the Son. He it is who at the first gave the Name to him who proceeded from Him and who was Himself. And He has begotten him as Son, He has given him His Name which He possessed, He—the Father—to whom belong all things existing near Him. He has the Name, He has the Son, (and) it is possible for them [i.e. the Aeons] to see Him. But on the other hand the Name is invisible, for this alone is the mystery of the Invisible, who has reached to the very ears (*sic*) which are all filled with it by Him. For, in fact, they do not name the Father's Name. But He reveals Himself by a Son. Great, therefore, is the Name. Who then is there who could pronounce a Name for Him,

<sup>1</sup> G. Scholem, 'Ueber eine Formel in den koptisch-gnostischen Schriften' in *Z.N.T.W.* xxx (1931), p. 176.

the great Name, except He alone, to whom this Name belongs? And the Sons of the Name are those in whom the Name of the Father rests. And they for their part rest in His Name. Since the Father is beyond being, only he whom He has begotten was (for Him) a Name before He had set in order the Aeons, in order that the Name of the Father might be on their head as the Real Name [tr. of κύριον ὄνομα]. Such is the authentic Name, steadfast in its authority and by its perfect power; for this Name does not belong to the words (λέξεις) nor is it from the designations (that) His Name (comes), for it is invisible. He has given a Name to him alone, while he it is who alone understands [lit. sees] it, while he alone is he to whom it is possible to give a Name. In truth, He, who is beyond being, has no Name. For what Name will one give to him who is not? On the other hand, he who has become in his being, he is also with his Name and he alone knows it and to give him a Name there was the Father alone. The Son is his Name; he has therefore not concealed it by this action; but as soon as the Son had come into being, He gave a Name to him alone. That is why [lit. 'therefore'] the Name (of the Son) was that of the Father, in the same way that the Name of the Father was (that of the) Son. This mercy,<sup>1</sup> where shall it find a Name, if it be not that of the Father? But certainly someone will say to his neighbour<sup>2</sup>: 'Who is it that will give a Name to Him before whom there was none, as in the case of the name which children receive from those who give them birth?' First of all, then, it is fitting for us to consider the mystery: What is the Name? For this [i.e. this Name] is the authentic Name. This, then, is the Name (which comes) from the Father, for this has become the Name in the true sense of the word. So he did not receive

<sup>1</sup> In my essay 'Mandaеers en Valentinianen' (loc. cit.) I have tried to show that the Name was *Jao*. We can now ask whether our text does not contain a word-play on the (conjectured) meaning of *Jahweh*. In *Exodus Rabba* III, 6 we read: 'When I am in sympathy with My world, I am named Jahweh, for Jahweh means nothing else than the character of sympathy'.

<sup>2</sup> We may compare Malachi 3:16 (LXX): ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ.

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the Name as a loan, like the others, after the manner of each, by which he returns [prob. trans. of ὄνομα τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως]. But this is the Real Name (κύριον ὄνομα). There is none other to whom He has given it; but He was Unnameable, He was Ineffable until the moment when He, He alone who is perfect, uttered it, and He it is who has the power to say his Name and to understand [lit. 'see'] it. When He then (wished), still existing in Himself, that His beloved [?] Name should become His Son and (when) He had given him the Name, (then) he who proceeded from the Depth spoke of the hidden things of Him, knowing that the Father is a Being without evil. Therefore He also sent this one that he might speak about the Topos<sup>1</sup> and His (place of) Rest, from whence he proceeded, in order that he might glorify in the Pleroma the Greatness of his Name and the Sweetness of the Father.<sup>2</sup>

In this passage the Name is indeed a Divine Manifestation, an independent hypostasis, which functions as a mediator of revelation. I am unable to see how this passage can *not* ultimately go back to Jewish heterodox speculations about the Name. We thus establish by another route that the speculations on the Name, on Jahweh qaton, Jaol and Metatron, which we meet with in the writings of later Judaism somehow or

<sup>1</sup> τόπος as a title of the Demiurge was already known from the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 34, etc. This has long been regarded as the most decisive proof of Jewish influences upon Gnosis. But is it wholly inconceivable that the influences were the other way? We must observe that in our passage τόπος denotes not the Demiurge but God Himself. The separation of the highest God and the Demiurge does not yet occur in the *Gospel of Truth*. The astonishing thing is that the Unknown God of Gnosis is described as *maqōm* and termed *Jao*. Christ's Work and Function are understood as the revelation of the hidden Name. C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953), p. 93, observed that according to Pinchar ben Jair the Jews do not yet know the *šem hammešborāš*, whereas God will reveal him in the Coming Age. This eschatology is realized in the Fourth Gospel and dehistoricized in the *Gospel of Truth*. But it is only to be understood from its Jewish origins.

<sup>2</sup> Jung Codex, p. 37, 37-41, 3.

other arose in the first century and perhaps even earlier. It must be the object of a subsequent study to investigate how far the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel and the Logos theology of Justin Martyr and others must be seen in this perspective. Is 'Logos' really the translation of 'Memra', the Word, and does this last indicate the Name of God as an independent hypothesis?

Finally it may well be the case that this passage throws some light on the problem posed by Reitzenstein and Bultmann concerning the doctrine of a pre-Christian Gnostic Redeemer, which is said to have influenced the Fourth Gospel. This theory rests mainly on three pillars: 1. Reports in Iranian sources of a late date concerning Gayomart. By the magic of a questionable *Quellenforschung* these sources are put back into the fourth century B.C. It should also be noted that the oldest form of the Gnostic myth is concerned not with Gayomart but with Sophia, Chokma, who brings forth the seven planets; and this goes back not to Persia but to the ps.-Platonic *Epinomis*. 2. The doctrine of the Anthropos, which was held captive in matter, mentioned in the *Poimandres*. This is said to have been borrowed from a Persian source. But Erik Peterson has proved that there was a Jewish tradition that Adam after his Fall from the heavenly paradise returned to that paradise: the Anthropos of the *Poimandres* seems to be not the Persian Gayomart but the Jewish Adam.<sup>1</sup> 3. The

<sup>1</sup> E. Peterson, 'La Libération d'Adam de l' 'Ανάγκη' in *Revue Biblique* lv (1948), pp. 199-214.



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Manichaeism doctrine of the Primal Man (*Urmensch*) who left the realm of light and is benumbed in darkness, but by the call from above again comes to consciousness and, leaving his limbs behind, returns to the realm of light. We are told that this, too, was borrowed by Mani, not from Gnostic tradition, but from the Persian religion. So did Reitzenstein reconstruct an Iranian 'mystery of redemption' which was said to have lain at the basis of Christianity.

It would appear that the third pillar can now also be overthrown. In the Codex we have so far found no traces of a so-called 'Iranian mystery of redemption' or of a 'pre-Christian Gnostic redeemer'. Our Codex speaks, indeed, of the 'Perfect Man who is the All' and whose *members* are the *pneumatici*. But this seems to go back ultimately to Jewish conceptions about Adam who, according to Jewish tradition, is a 'summing up' of the All, because he comprises the whole universe. That Adam is the All is clear from a passage in *Yalkuth Shimoni* on *Genesis*, para. 34: 'He cast a soul into him and set him up comprising in him the universe'.<sup>1</sup> And of this Perfect Man we read in the Codex: 'When redemption was preached, the perfect man received Gnosis into himself, so that he returned with haste to his unity, to the place whence he had arisen, to the place whence he had come'. His limbs, however, still remained behind to be transformed.

This is the same conception as appears in Manichaeism. Thus the Manichaeism Primal Man was borrowed

<sup>1</sup> In greater detail in 'Der Kodex Jung' in *Z.R.G.G.*, 1954, 2. Report of the Second International Congress of Classical Studies, Copenhagen, 1954.



not from the Persian religion but from the Gnostic tradition. Since, as we saw, Adam according to Jewish heterodoxy returned to the heavenly paradise whence he had originally come, the passage in our Codex about the perfect man may be a version of pre-Christian Jewish speculation about Adam.

Now this tells us much about the origin of Gnosis. There would appear to be good grounds for supposing that it was from Christianity that the conception of redemption and the figure of the Redeemer were taken over into Gnosticism. A pre-Christian redeemer and an Iranian mystery of redemption perhaps never existed. And in so far as Gnosis is pre-Christian, it goes back to heterodox Jewish conceptions, e.g. about Adam and the Name and to the pre-Asiatic syncretism in general. In its origins Gnosis is Jewish-Near-Eastern occultism, Oriental mysticism.

In the light of these facts we can perhaps also understand better the real significance of the transition from primitive Christianity to early Catholicism. Late antiquity is a land of three streams in which Greek philosophy, Christian faith and Gnosticism flow side by side. In a fruitful confrontation Christian theology purged out rationalism and mysticism, while it integrated the Logos of the Hellenes and the Mythos of the Orient. The history of the Church is the Christianization of Greek thought and Eastern mysticism on the basis of the Gospel.

W. C. VAN UNNIK

THE 'GOSPEL OF TRUTH' AND  
THE NEW TESTAMENT



### III

## THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED 'GOSPEL OF TRUTH' AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

Two independent discoveries in the last decade are already recognized to be of great importance for the historian of primitive Christianity. Their significance, indeed, is likely to increase still more as time passes. In 1945 peasants in the neighbourhood of Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt found a number of Coptic manuscripts which were apparently the library of a Gnostic sect. In 1947 a chance discovery lifted for the first time a corner of the veil which for 2,000 years had hidden the existence of a Jewish group on the shores of the Dead Sea. If the latter find has provided us with a valuable body of new facts about the religious life of Palestine shortly before and after the beginning of the Christian era and thus contributed, in a way that none could foresee, to a clearer grasp of the conditions in which Christianity grew up, the Egyptian library has put into our hands authentic sources of Gnosis which are of inestimable value for a better knowledge of a great current of spiritual life with which Christianity, in its earliest years as it grew towards a World Church, came into contact. The extent, nature and importance of these discoveries is nothing less than sensational, notably because they were not in the first

place the fruit of diligent investigation, but as it were gifts of fortune.

From the moment that the discoveries in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea were made, they attracted much attention by reason of the nature of the documents, which are partly Old Testament MSS., partly wholly unknown works. The systematic investigation of the site, which is bringing many surprises,<sup>1</sup> and the intensive study of such items as have so far been published, have both been a powerful stimulus to this interest. The stream of literature on the subject has already expanded to a boundless flood. But with the find at Nag Hammadi it has been otherwise. After the first publications of the French student, M. Doresse, chiefly in the *Vigiliae Christianae*,<sup>2</sup> there appeared a 'premier inventaire et essai d'identification' by Professor Henri Charles Puech in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*,<sup>3</sup> and then silence. The MSS., with a single exception, apparently made their way to a museum at Cairo and became for the present inaccessible for publication, study and research. The details set out in the admirable survey of Puech were tantalizing and tormenting. The fruit was visible, but unattainable. How tantalizing the situation is becomes clear if we consider that a library of forty-four completely unknown writings on Gnosticism has been restored to us. I will proceed to outline the situation in greater detail.

<sup>1</sup> The latest survey of the field known to me is that of W. Baumgartner, 'Wiederum die palästinischen Handschriftenfunde' in *Theologische Zeitschrift* ix (1953), pp. 469-73.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 'Mina (1)'; 'Doresse (1)'; 'Doresse-Mina (1)'.

<sup>3</sup> 'Puech (1)'.

(1) From the works of various Christian writers between the second and the fourth centuries it was known that primitive Christianity in this period, and especially in the second century, was forced to fight a great battle—in view of the fierceness of the conflict, we might say a life and death struggle—against a succession of adversaries known as 'Gnostics'. A multitude of names is recorded and all kinds of systems are described in which lofty speculations and crass magic appear side by side. The resulting information, however, was extremely small, because the writings of the Gnostics themselves were virtually lost and hence their own account of the facts was wanting. To what extent is the witness of their opponents trustworthy? Are they complete in what they tell us? In view of what is common practice in controversy, it was necessary as a preliminary to consider such questions. The number of authentic sources, certainly as far as concerns the second century, is extremely small and they are capable of the most varied interpretation. Since Lidzbarski translated a large part of the Mandaean writings *c.* 1920 and the discovery of the *Manichaica* at the beginning of the 'thirties, these Eastern branches of the stream have become better known. But it still remains an unanswered question how far we can consider these late, and in part very late, sources as reliable testimony to an earlier stage.

To-day, now that documents have come to light from the second century, one of which, the *Apocryphon*

*Johannis*, was certainly used by Irenaeus<sup>1</sup> and others are mentioned by Porphyry,<sup>2</sup> it becomes possible to see the situation in much clearer focus. We can put to the test the accuracy of the reports of their opponents and reconstruct the development and ramifications of the systems. In short, 'Gnosis as a World-Religion' (*Gnosis als Weltreligion*), as it has been described by Dr. Quispel,<sup>3</sup> now receives a much more concrete form. It also becomes possible to see what it was that really characterized this 'knowledge' (γνῶσις), for a satisfactory answer to this question, which is of many kinds, has hitherto never been given.

(2) It is clear that Gnosticism was not exclusively a variant, or as we might say a heresy, *within* Christianity. There was an extra-Christian, and possibly also a pre-Christian, Gnosis. But did all this Gnosis issue from a single source? Is it possible everywhere to find the same basic structure underlying it? Are the anti-heretical writers correct when they regard Simon Magus (*Acts viii*) as the 'founder' of it all? What was the significance of this Samaritan? Of the Ophites ('Naassenes', i.e. 'worshippers of the serpent')? Can they be put in a single class with such completely different groups as the Valentinians, the *Odes of Solomon*, the *Pistis Sophia* and the extra-Christian *Hermetica*—to mention only a few? De Zwaan long ago

<sup>1</sup> This made clear in the publication of C. Schmidt (who discovered the treatise), 'Irenaeus und seine Quelle in *Adversus Haereses* I 29' in *Philobesia Paul Kleinert zum LXX. Geburtstage dargebracht* (Berlin, 1907), pp. 317-36. Walter Till is preparing an edition of the *Apocryphon Johannis*. Some copies of it are also extant among the MSS. from Nag Hammadi.

<sup>2</sup> Porphyry, *Vita Plotini* 16; cf. 'Puech (1)', p. 106 f.

<sup>3</sup> G. Quispel, *Gnosis als Weltreligion* (Zürich, 1952).



protested against this,<sup>1</sup> but without success. It now appears that his contention is justified and will receive added support from the connexions of Gnosis with heretical Jewish currents.<sup>2</sup> It is surely fundamentally erroneous, in disregard of chronology, to confuse data whose origins are different, to collect facts from here, there and everywhere and to combine them into a single picture as happens much too frequently. We should remember the good Dutch proverb which says *Er meer gelijk dan eigen is*.<sup>3</sup> The mutual relations within the comprehensive phenomenon which is covered by the term 'Gnosticism', as well as its relations to Eastern magic and to Greek philosophy, need definition, and this the new sources promise to make possible for the first time.

(3) The new sources will also throw light on an extensive area of the religious life in the Roman Imperial Age. As a result of all kinds of spiritual crises a religious renaissance of great importance took place in the second and third centuries. It was in this *milieu* that Christianity developed, confronted with which it had to defend its own character, to which it had to set forth an account of its creed, and by which it was also influenced. It was further the sphere in

<sup>1</sup> J. de Zwaan, 'Montanus, I Clemens, Ignatius, Tertullianus' in *Nieuwe Theologische Studiën* xiii (1930), p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> G. Kretschmar, 'Zur religionsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Gnosis' in *Evangelische Theologie* xiii (1953), p. 357. Kretschmar here rightly observes 'The knots of historical questions cannot be cut by systematic investigation alone. Nothing can contribute to progress except an exact analysis of the history and sources of the individual Gnostic groups' (by 'systematic' the author here means: 'setting out from a general conception of Gnosis'). Kretschmar, p. 360, rightly draws attention also to the connexion with syncretistic Judaism which is much too readily overlooked.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. 'The likeness is more superficial than real'.

which, to name another influential current, Neo-Platonism grew up; Gnosticism was a current of thought which Plotinus expressly attacked in his *Enneads* II. As far as Christianity itself is concerned, it can be proved that developments of a very far-reaching kind took place in the second century. What was the road which led from the New Testament communities to the 'primitive Catholic Church' at the end of the second century, with its ministry, its canon, its doctrine and its liturgy? To a large extent this road would seem to proceed through a tunnel. Eusebius's *Church History*, e.g., shows how much has been lost. Everything which can in any way contribute to the clarification of these contours is of value. It now becomes possible to appreciate more clearly the significance of such writings as the *Acta Thomae* and the *Acta Johannis* which when described as 'apocrypha' are hardly assessed at their proper worth, since they show us the character of 'vulgar Christianity' and heresy, and enable us the better to understand the background, origin and development of religious conceptions by such men as Clement of Alexandria and Origen.

(4) Since the investigations of Reitzenstein and Bousset, much has been said and written about the influence of Gnosticism on the New Testament and especially on St. Paul and St. John. It is often possible to point to striking parallels, especially if we neglect chronology in the way mentioned above. There is also an inclination to consider everything that has a dualistic ring as 'Gnostic' and the question whether these parallels are *real* agreements should make us

somewhat shy of accepting the correctness of this thesis without question. It is possible—indeed, very probable—that the better knowledge of Gnosis as a whole which the discoveries at Nag Hammadi will give us—possibly in conjunction with the doctrines of the Jewish sect near the Dead Sea, which also offer some striking parallels<sup>1</sup>—will put these questions in a new light and that the interpretation of certain New Testament writings, as well as of such writers as Ignatius and II Clement, will be carried a stage further.

All this, however, is . . . 'music of the future', for as yet the wall which guards the discovery of the *Gnostica* has not been penetrated. With one exception, however. What has just been said no longer applies to a Codex which made its way out of Egypt and by strange paths finally *via* Utrecht reached Zürich. In the middle of November 1953, some facts about it were disclosed in two articles published by Dr. H. C. Puech and Prof. G. Quispel in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*.<sup>2</sup> This provisional report was followed in February of this year by a detailed scientific discussion in *Vigiliae Christianae*. The original plan was—it is perhaps worth noting the fact—that this discussion should also have appeared in November 1953, before the report in the newspapers, but the strikes in France

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on this e.g. W. Grossouw, 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament, a Preliminary Survey' in *Studia Catholica* xxvi (1951), pp. 289-99 and xxvii (1952), pp. 1-8; C. H. Hunzinger, 'Neues Licht auf Lc. 2:14' in *Z.N.T.W.* xlv (1952-3), pp. 85-90.

<sup>2</sup> H. C. Puech-G. Quispel, 'Funde und Forschungen zur Gnosis' in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 15 Nov., 1953. *Inter alia*, Quispel here describes the history of the Codex and its acquisition by the Jung Institute, while Puech records that some of the MSS. which he investigated contain complete Coptic translations of the *Logia Jesou*, fragments of which are preserved in the Oxyrhynchos papyri. [Cf. the earlier papers in this volume.]

last summer imposed an unfortunate standstill on authors. How soon the edition of the text, with translation and commentary, which has been entrusted to these two authoritative students of Gnosis, will see the light, it is not yet possible to say.

That my colleague Dr. Quispel, in the midst of his other work on Gnosis, should have found the traces of this MS., followed them up, recognized its origin in the Valentinian circle and laboured with great perseverance over several years to make the MS. accessible to the learned world was a great and permanent service to scholarship. That the Jung Institute at Zurich was able to purchase it was the fruit of his indefatigable exertions. To me it is a privilege so soon after the official announcement of the discovery to have the opportunity of presenting a report on it in this Academy.

As has been made known in the reports in the newspapers, the so-called 'Jung Codex' contains four writings, partly in a fragmentary state, together with a few remains of pages which do not appear to belong to a definite work.<sup>1</sup> There have thus come to light: (a) an *Apocryphon Jacobi*, a dialogue between Jesus and a few disciples after Christ's resurrection; (b) a *Gospel of Truth* (pp. 17-43, of which pp. 33-6 are wanting); (c) a *Letter to Rheginos* on the resurrection of the dead; (d) a writing of which the beginning, and hence also the title, are wanting but to which its first student gave

<sup>1</sup> An account of it will be found in 'Puech-Quispel (2)', pp. 1-7, followed by a detailed analysis of the first three treatises; the fourth will be the subject of a later article. In preparing the present communication, I have been able, by the kindness of Dr. Quispel, to make use of the proofs of this article before its publication.

the name: *Treatise on the Three Natures*. In the present communication I invite your attention—so as not to remain in generalities—to the second item, the *Gospel of Truth*, in its relation to the New Testament.

Irenaeus of Lyons, in his great attack on the heresies, written c. 180, tells us that there was a group of Gnostics, viz. the followers of a certain Valentinus, who were bold and evil enough to pretend to possess, in addition to the four (canonical) Gospels, a 'Gospel of Truth'. According to his account they had put it together in the recent past and it was in radical disagreement with the Gospels of the Apostles.<sup>1</sup> This account is to be found—it is important to observe this point—not in Irenaeus's description of the doctrines of these Gnostics in Book I of his 'Refutation', but in passing in Book III. Nothing is quoted from it nor are its contents discussed. In the histories of early Christian literature, it is usually linked with a reference in Pseudo-Tertullian, who in the summary style of his *Adversus Omnes Haereses* says about Valentinus, *inter alia*, 'Evangelium habet etiam suum praeter haec nostra'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III, 11, 9: *Hi vero qui sunt a Valentino iterum existentes extra omnem timorem suas conscriptiones proferentes plura habere gloriantur quam sint ipsa evangelia. Siquidem in tantum processerunt audaciae uti quod ab his non olim scriptum est Veritatis Evangelium titulent, in nibilo conveniens apostolorum evangelii, ut nec evangelium quidem sit apud eos sine blasphemia. Si enim quod ab eis profertur veritatis est evangelium, dissimile est autem hoc illis quae ab apostolis nobis tradita sunt; qui volunt possunt discere, quemadmodum ex ipsis Scripturis ostenditur, iam non esse id quod ab apostolis traditum est veritatis evangelium.*

<sup>2</sup> According to T. Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (Erlangen, 1888), i, p. 749, note 3, Origen refers to this Gospel on a few occasions, but he tells us only that it was a Gospel in circulation among the Valentinians; the *μεταχαράσσω*, which Origen uses in *Contra Celsum* II 27, can be given many interpretations. If the statement in *ad Luc.* 10:25 ff. has been accurately handed down, this cannot refer to the *Evangelium Veritatis* where no reference to or citation from this is to be found.

These passages have hitherto been the only references to the existence of such a 'Gospel of Truth'. In such enumerations of the Apocryphal Gospels as that in the *Decretum Gelasianum* and among the many 'agrapha' (i.e. words of Jesus not to be found in the Gospels) we seek for it in vain. This information by itself is of little use. Conjectures which had been made hitherto about the character and extent of the *Evangelium Veritatis*<sup>1</sup> can be quietly set aside, since as long as no syllable of the work was known, they were not more than fruitless guesses. It is indeed very questionable if Irenaeus himself had the work in his hands, for had this been the case he would certainly not have missed the opportunity of pillorying the *audacia* of the heretic. Did he know it solely through hearsay? But how in that case could he have known that it had no points of agreement with the Canonical Gospels? We should also note the contrast between Irenaeus, who speaks of its authors (in the plural) as followers of Valentinus, and the Pseudo-Tertullian for whom—if he is concerned with the same treatise—it is the leader of the heresy, Valentinus himself, who is indicated as its author.

Who was this Valentinus and what is known of his life and work?<sup>2</sup> By the Church Fathers he is often named in a single breath with Marcion and regarded

<sup>1</sup> A few examples of this in 'Puech-Quispel (2)', pp. 24-6.

<sup>2</sup> The best collection of what is handed down about Valentinus' life is still that of A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, I. Theil: Die Ueberlieferung und der Bestand (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 174-84; cf. also E. Preuschen, 'Valentinus, Gnostiker', in J. J. Herzog-A. Hauck, *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*<sup>3</sup>, vol. xx (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 395 ff.



as one of the most formidable heretics. According to Clement of Alexandria he already began his teaching under Hadrian (117-38) and was active in the reign of Antoninus Pius (d. 161).<sup>1</sup> This agrees with a statement of Irenaeus to the effect that Valentinus came to Rome under Hyginus, was at his zenith under Pius and remained there until Anicetus.<sup>2</sup> These assertions fix his activity in the capital with tolerable exactitude as between the years 135 and 160. When Justin Martyr, who appeared as a teacher at Rome in the same period, wrote his *Dialogue with Trypho* (c. 155-160 A.D.), he was aware that disciples of Valentinus had established themselves there and were active under the name of Christians, but he himself was clearly concerned to stand apart from them. To clear himself of the accusations which his opponents laid at his feet he turns them over to the Valentinians among others.<sup>3</sup> As regards the life of Valentinus, Tertullian, who was apparently well informed on the matter, tells us that Valentinus had hoped for the episcopate *quia et ingenio poterat et eloquio*, but that another had obtained it *ex martyrii praerogativa*. This must have been Pius (probably in 140). This ill-success resulted in a breach with the 'Church of the Authentic Rule of Faith',<sup>4</sup> not the last instance of someone who out of spite came to found a community of his own. In this passage, which attracts attention by its laudable witness to the capacities of Valentinus—its testimony is all the greater

<sup>1</sup> Clement Alex., *Strom.* VII 17, 106.

<sup>2</sup> Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III 4, 3 Οὐαλεντίνος μὲν γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ Ὑγινοῦ ἤκμασε δὲ ἐπὶ Πίου, καὶ παρέμεινεν ἕως Ἀνικητοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> Justin, *Dial. c. Tryphone* 35.

<sup>4</sup> Tertullian, *Adv. Valentinianos* 4.



in that it is conveyed through the fierce and grim Tertullian—there are two further points which have hitherto attracted little attention: (1) That after his unsuccessful endeavour to become a bishop Valentinus passed over to the opponents of truth and *cuiusdam veteris opinionis semen nactus colubroso viam delineavit*; (2) That Tertullian points to a difference of considerable extent between Valentinus and his great pupil Ptolemy in the matter of the conception of God: *nominiibus et numeris aeonum distinctis in personales substantias, sed extra deum determinatas* [Ptolemaeus], *quas Valentinus in ipsa summa divinitatis ut sensus et affectus motus incluserat*.<sup>1</sup> This passage clearly indicates a breach with the Church and a turning to another doctrine whereby Tertullian possibly points in a veiled way to the Ophites (serpent-worshippers), a well-known Gnostic group. But it also makes reference to a development in the doctrine of Valentinus' school which as yet was not more than a divergence in lesser matters, a subject about which Irenaeus sometimes speaks.<sup>2</sup> Whether Valentinus made his way from Rome to Cyprus and there came into conflict with the Church a second time, as Epiphanius (4th cent.) narrates, is uncertain. Such indeed is possible, since at that date there was as yet no general excommunica-

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Valent.* 4.

<sup>2</sup> Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I 11, 1 ἴδωμεν νῦν καὶ τὴν τοῦτων ἄστατον γνώμην, δύο πού καὶ τριῶν ὄντων, πῶς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι ἐναντία ἀποφαινόνται; cf. also I 18, 1 καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς κτίσεως τοιαῦτα λέγοντες, καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπιγενεῖ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, καθὼς δύναται, καινότερον. τέλειος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὁ μὴ μεγάλα ψεύσματα παρ' αὐτοῖς καρποφορήσας and I 21, 5 *Quum autem discrepent ab invicem et doctrina et traditione, et qui recentiores eorum agnoscuntur, affectant per singulos dies novum aliquid adinvenire et fructificare, quod nunquam quisquam excogitavit; durum est omnium describere sententias.*

tion, and the Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus may have based his account on local tradition; but it is also possible that this passage was written 'ad maiorem gloriam ecclesiae Salaminae' which, as a Church always true to orthodox doctrine, put out a claim to have resisted such a chief of heretics as Valentinus.

Only a few fragments of Valentinus' teaching have been preserved.<sup>1</sup> Apart from these we are dependent on the observations of his opponents. This is a curious and regrettable situation, for we would gladly know more about this figure who, as is well known, was an important person. That he was of more than ordinary significance is clear from the fact that he was regarded as one of the arch-heretics and above all from the success which resulted from his activity. Tertullian describes his following as a *frequentissimum collegium*.<sup>2</sup> In East and West alike there arose schools of his disciples.<sup>3</sup> One of his followers, a certain Marcus, as a result of his peculiar cultic practices, achieved admitted success in Asia Minor and through his pupils, with whom Irenaeus came into contact, in Gaul. Down to the fourth century, communities existed in Egypt and Asia which were named after Valentinus.<sup>4</sup>

Into the details of this teaching there is no need to enter in the present connexion. It is first and foremost to the *Gospel of Truth*, which has been brought to light by the Jung Codex, that we must turn our attention here. Is it possible that this writing is identical with

<sup>1</sup> The more significant are collected in W. Völker, *Quellen zur Geschichte der christlichen Gnosis* (Tübingen, 1932), pp. 57-60.

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Valent.* I.

<sup>3</sup> Hippolytus, *Refutatio* V, 35.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Harnack, *Geschichte*, I. Theil, p. 174.

the Gospel which was mentioned by Irenaeus and pseudo-Tertullian?

In the *Gospel of Truth* itself, no word is to be found as to its date or provenance, as to the author or his place of residence. From its last page (p. 43 of the Codex) it is clear that we have to do with a single author since we read in the singular: 'It beseems me, who have been in the Rest, to say nothing more than this; but I shall be in Him in order to dedicate myself at all times to the Father of the All'. Moreover, the style is everywhere the same and nowhere points to a number of authors. Hence if the *Gospel of Truth* is in fact identical with the work referred to by Irenaeus, then the plural *ab his conscriptum* is used incorrectly, and the Bishop of Lyons either possessed no accurate data about its author or else he used the expression in question in a general sense (for 'put together in their circle').

We ask then: Is it possible that the recovered *Gospel of Truth* is identical with the *Evangelium Veritatis* of which Irenaeus had heard? In any case the two works have the same name and nowhere else do we hear of groups which possessed such a Gospel. Moreover, it is clear from its terminology that the newly-recovered work arose in Valentinian circles (use of πλήρωμα, ὑστέρημα; a numerical speculation on the Parable of the Lost Sheep, on which I shall have more to say later).<sup>1</sup> Also the one concrete point that Irenaeus tells us, viz. that it agrees at no point with the Gospels of the Apostles, fully accords with the character of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. further 'Puech-Quispel (2)', pp. 27-31.

recently discovered writing. For however many are the points at which the familiar Gospels of the New Testament differ from each other, they all agree in attempting to give historical accounts about Jesus Christ, to describe His life in a definite development which proceeds from His Baptism by John down to His Crucifixion and Resurrection, and in presenting the words and deeds of Jesus in a sometimes very loose sequence but with very concrete data. Of such a plan nothing at all is to be found in the *Gospel of Truth*. Here no narratives are given, the Crucifixion is announced already at the outset (p. 18), while particular facts are not to be found. The work must be described rather as a sermon, a devotional contemplation, or, if one will, a dogmatic or mystical tractate,<sup>1</sup> in which we are told how the not-knowing of the Father of All, whereby error came into being, was abolished by the appearance of Jesus on the scene so that we now know the Father and learn to rest in Him. Here we are given no 'Logia Iesou'<sup>2</sup> nor do we find the life and works of Jesus set in their connexion with the Old Testament revelation, as is the case in the New Testament. The Old Testament background is essentially weak, and makes itself felt in only a few places. Moreover, we may already here call attention to the fact that the treatise contains nothing of what

<sup>1</sup> It may be observed here as a curiosity that R. A. Lipsius made this conjecture three-quarters of a century ago. Cf. his remarks in his art. 'Gospels, Apocryphal' in W. Smith-H. Wace, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ii (1880), p. 717: 'It was probably rather a dogmatic exposition of the speculative tenets of Valentinus than a historical writing'.

<sup>2</sup> As we find this e.g. in the *Gospel of Thomas*, which is preserved in the library of Nag Hammadi [cf. above, p. 21 f.].

has frequently been considered the kernel of Gnostic mythology, viz. the journey of the soul to heaven or of the redeemed Redeemer. Summing up, we can say that the name, origin and plan of the work are in full accord with the account of Irenaeus. After carefully weighing the evidence, I do not find a single reason for doubting the identity of the two.

This gives us an important result, viz. that we have established as its *terminus ad quem* the age of Irenaeus (c. 180). Is it possible to reach any greater precision?

On pp. 31-2 the Jung Codex has the following strange account:

He is the Shepherd who left the ninety and nine sheep which had not gone astray; he sought the one that had gone astray; he rejoiced when he found it. For ninety and nine is a number which is counted on the left hand, which comprehends it, but when the one is found the whole total passes over to the right hand.

For the moment let us put aside the relation of this passage to the parable of Matt. 18:12-14 = Luc. 15:4-6. The assertion is remarkable about 99 on the left hand while when one is added to make 100 the number passes over to the right hand. It is known that this application of the 'Parable of the Lost Sheep' was used in the circles of Valentinus' pupils. With regard to the Marcosians, Irenaeus writes, *inter alia*, *Adv. Haer.* I, 16, 2: διὸ καὶ φεύγειν αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς γνώσεως τὴν τῶν ἐνενηκονταεννέα χώραν, τουτέστι τὸ ὑστέρημα, τύπον ἀριστερᾶς χειρός· μεταδιώκειν δὲ τὸ ἐν προστεθὲν τοῖς ἐνενηκονταεννέα εἰς τὴν δεξιάν αὐτοῦ χεῖρα

μετέστησε.<sup>1</sup> This interpretation presupposes a method of expressing numbers with the right and left hands which was in use among the Romans and is described in detail by the Venerable Bede.<sup>2</sup> According to this, the numbers up to 99 were reproduced by different positions of the fingers of the left hand, while 100 and the following hundreds were expressed with the right hand. According to the account of Dr. E. J. Dijksterhuis it was a method of reckoning known solely in the West. There are no traces of any acquaintance with it in Greece and the East, where other methods of counting were customary. This fact gives us a valuable hint as to the region to which our work belongs. Because this kind of explanation was intelligible only in the West of the Roman Empire, the *Gospel of Truth* must have had its origin here. Hence Rome, as the place where the first attack on the Gnostics, viz. the lost 'Syntagma' of Justin Martyr,<sup>3</sup> originated, comes first into consideration.

If we now proceed to compare this *Gospel of Truth*

<sup>1</sup> As is well known, the Gk. text of *Adv. Haer.* as a separate work has been lost, but it is partly preserved by Epiphanius. In Hippolytus, *Ref.* VI 52 there are some small differences: διὰ δὴ καὶ φυγεῖν αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς γνώσεως τὴν τοῦ ἐνενηκοντα ἑννέα χώραν, τουτέστι τὸ ὑστέρημα, τύπον ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς, μεταδιώκειν δὲ τὸ ἓν, ὃ προστεθὲν τοῖς ἐνενηκονταεννέα εἰς τὴν δεξιάν αὐτοὺς χεῖρα μετέστησε. [In the text, and elsewhere, Dr. van Unnik cites Irenaeus from Massuet. F.L.C.]

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Dijksterhuis was kind enough to draw my attention to the solution of this question in K. Menninger, *Zahlwort und Ziffer* (Breslau, 1934), pp. 140-53, where the complete text of Bede is printed, with some later illustrations. That Bede goes back here to an old tradition is proved by other texts which Menninger cites. The passage from Irenaeus is not printed here, nor are some of the other texts to be found in Stieren's edition of Irenaeus. See further, Friedländer's commentary on Juvenal X 248-9: *Felix nimirum qui tot per saecula mortem distulit atque suos iam dextra computat annos.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 26.



with what is known from other sources about the Valentinians, e.g. from Irenaeus, Tertullian and Hippolytus, we are astonished to find that what the ecclesiastical writers make the principal point of their description and attack is here entirely wanting. There is no account of an elaborate doctrine of aeons, whereby these aeons emanate from the Godhead in a procession of thirty forms; there is not even a single allusion to it; the aeons here play a totally different role. It is also remarkable that the 'primal sin' (*Ursünde*) is described not, as in the previously known forms of the doctrine of the Valentinians, as the fall of the aeon, Sophia, but as proceeding from a not-knowing, a forgetting of the Father. There is also no mention of a Demiurge in contradistinction from the highest God; the Father was not unknowable, but rather no longer known, forgotten. All this points to a stage in Valentinian doctrine which is prior to its later development in such a teacher as Ptolemaeus, or even in Valentinus himself as his doctrine is described in Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I, 11 or Pseudo-Tertullian.<sup>1</sup> Nor is there any hint here of the existence of some kind of exoteric doctrine in contrast to the strict Gnostic teaching, such as we find in Ptolemaeus in his 'Letter to Flora'.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, the opening words (see below, p. 105) refer expressly to the men who have 'found'. What we have here is genuine Gnostic

<sup>1</sup> It may also be observed that the 'calling' here is more general than e.g. in Marcus, for whom οἱ τῆς κλήσεως (*Irenaeus, Adv. Haer.* I 14, 4) are equated with the *psychikoi*.

<sup>2</sup> Preserved in Epiphanius, *Panarion* 33; cf. Völker, *loc. cit.*, pp. 87-93; the text in question is VII 9.



doctrine. But we miss the distinct and typical points of Valentinianism, although the origin of our treatise in this circle is beyond question. At this point we are helped out by the remark of Tertullian already referred to (see p. 92). For on the very matter of the doctrine of God he notes a difference between Valentinus and Ptolemaeus. For the former, *sensus et affectus motus* are within the Godhead; for the latter, *personales substantiae* are *extra deum*. What we find is that the Nous, Ennoia, Sophia, Charis, etc., of which mention is made in the *Gospel of Truth*, are extant *within* the Godhead and not outside it. We notice further that in the surviving fragments of Valentinus on several occasions there is a characteristic way of speaking about καρδιά,<sup>1</sup> while the same characteristic recurs in the *Gospel of Truth* (for instances of this see below, pp. 108 and 114); and that this, too, is a mark of Valentinus in distinction from the other Gnostics. If we see here in the *Gospel of Truth* a certain reserve in its attitude to Docetism, which also finds support in a fragment,<sup>2</sup> then all this points in one direction and would lead us to conclude: *The author of the Gospel of Truth was Valentinus himself.* The style, with its 'Asianisms' and its figurative language, which betrays formal agreement with the fragments, is in complete accord with what a mode of writing, which merited Tertullian's commendation of Valentinus' *eloquentia*, would require.

I am fully conscious that this remains a hypothesis.

<sup>1</sup> See fr. 2 and 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. fr. 3, where there is mention of real eating and drinking by Christ.

Yet it is one which is in harmony with the internal data, is supported by the witness of Tertullian and has the testimony of Pseudo-Tertullian (p. 89) in its favour. And as yet I have been unable to discover any arguments against it.<sup>1</sup>

It thus appears to me allowable to ascribe the *Gospel of Truth* to Valentinus. The assertion of Irenaeus that the treatise was written not long ago (*non olim conscriptum*) does not conflict with this. The purpose of this statement, which would assign the work to a recent date, was to contrast it with the four Canonical Gospels received by the Church which had come down from the age of the Apostles and were then about a century old. The passage may be read in the light of a saying of Tertullian, *De Praescr.* 30: *non adeo olim fuisse*, which is explained by the words: *Antonini fere principatu*. And with it may be compared such a statement in the *Muratorian Canon* (probably from the end of the second century) as lines 74-7, where it is said about the *Shepherd of Hermas*, which was excluded from public reading by the Church, that the writing was composed *nuperrime temporibus nostris . . . sedente cathedra urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio episcopo fratre eius*.<sup>2</sup> All this language points in the same direction. For writers at

<sup>1</sup> In this connexion it must be remembered that the accounts in the Patristic writers go back to a later phase of Valentinianism.

<sup>2</sup> From the mysterious ruling of the same Canon 81-2: *Arsinoi autem seu Valentini vel Miltiadis nihil in totum recipimus* (see M. J. Lagrange, *Histoire ancienne du Canon du Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1933, p. 70), little can be deduced. Zahn, *loc. cit.*, ii, 1, p. 122 thought that allusion here was to the Psalms of Valentinus, but it may be asked—but without being in a position to give an answer—whether the reference here is not perhaps to this ‘Gospel’, because *nihil* appears to include more than one Book and the ‘Gospel’ which first came to notice before it was taken up into the Canon.

the end of the second century the time of Antoninus Pius was indeed 'not long ago'.<sup>1</sup>

Now there remains one remarkable fact, namely that Irenaeus has so little to say against this 'Evangelium Veritatis'. He observes that it was of recent date compared with the Canonical Gospels: that it was placed by the Valentinians side by side with the orthodox writings; and that it agrees in no points with those of the Apostles. But he does not subject it to any incisive criticism. The question arises: Why not? Did he not have it in his own hands? If not, how did he know that it was *in nihilo conveniens apostolorum evangeliiis*? Could it also be that he had indeed seen it, but that in fact he had little to say about it? I ask this question since though the content of the *Gospel of Truth* is Gnostic, its Gnosticism is not emphasized. We have already pointed to the absence from the treatise of the typical elements of Valentinian Gnosis in its classical elaboration (p. 98). If Christ is mentioned as the Logos, the Saviour, the Messenger, these are not terms which could be described as specifically Gnostic, although they are sometimes found among the Gnostics.<sup>2</sup> But they also occur in Valentinus' contemporary and fellow-citizen, his rival as a teacher, Justin Martyr, who was certainly no

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* V 30, 3 on Rev.: οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐωράσθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς, from which it appears that such terms were taken in a very broad sense and Celsus, *ap.* Origen, *Contra Celsum* I 26 on Jesus: πρὸ πάντων ὀλίγων ἐτῶν τῆς διδασκαλίας ταύτης καθηγήσασθαι.

<sup>2</sup> Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I 2,6 on Soter.

Gnostic.<sup>1</sup> The description of God as 'Father of the All' is also a favourite expression of Justin, who himself uses it in the baptismal formula,<sup>2</sup> though he probably did not draw the same consequences from the term. It is also possible to point to parallels with the conception of God in Aristides.<sup>3</sup> Even the emphasis here on the ἄγνοια of God as the characteristic mark of sin is not as remarkable as it might appear. Justin, too, uses this word to indicate the pre-Christian pagan stage,<sup>4</sup> as does also the New Testament, e.g. Acts 17:30: χρόνους τῆς ἀγνοίας.<sup>5</sup> That the context and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. J. Goodspeed, *Index Apologeticus* (Leipzig, 1912), s.vv.; see e.g. *Apol.* 12:9 ὁ ἡμέτερος διδάσκαλος καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πάντων καὶ δεσπότητος θεοῦ υἱὸς καὶ ἀπόστολος ὢν I.X.—63:4 f. ὁ λόγος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ... καὶ ἄγγελος δὲ καλεῖται καὶ ἀπόστολος—33:7 τὸ δὲ Ἰησοῦς, ὄνομα τῆ Ἑβραϊκῆ φωνῆ, σωτήρ τῆ Ἑλληνικῆ διαλέκτῳ δηλοῖ.—On Jesus as teacher see also many passages in W. Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der nt. Apokryphen* (Tübingen, 1909), pp. 371 ff.—On Jesus as ἀπόστολος or ἄγγελος see D. Plooy, *Studies in the Testimony Book*, Verhandlungen Kon. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. XXXII 2, Amsterdam, 1932, pp. 45–8 and M. Werner, *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas* (Berne-Leipzig, 1941), pp. 326 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 61; cf. further Goodspeed, *loc. cit.*, s.v. ὄλων, very frequent.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. p. 18 the perfect Father who made the All. The All was in Him and the All had need of him—p. 19 idem.—Aristides, *Apol.* I: δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα συνέστηκεν. οὐ χρῆζει θυσίας καὶ σπουδῆς οὐδέ τινας πάντων τῶν φαινόμενων πάντα (so Syr. t.) αὐτοῦ χρῆζει.—In Aristides I draw attention also to the following expressions: c. 2 some men μετέχουσι τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τίνες τῆς πλάνης; c. 8 σοφοὶ λέγοντες εἶναι ἐμωράνθησαν (see below, p. 24); c. 14 πάντα τὰ πολυθεὰ σεβάσματα πλάνης ἔργα καὶ ἀπωλείας; c. 15 one of Jesus' disciples came to us τὸ δόγμα κηρύττων τῆς ἀληθείας; the Christians ἔχουσι τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις κεχαραγμένους; c. 16 *ex eis vero sunt qui circumueintes et petentes veritatem invenerunt... veritatis scientiam*; ὅντως οὖν αὕτη ἐστὶν ὁ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας; ὀδευόντας γὰρ ἐν σκότει, *quod veritatem scire nolunt*, προσῆσσονται ἑαυτοῖς ὡς μεθύοντες *et concidunt* (these texts of Aristides acc. to the editions of J. Rendel Harris - J. A. Robinson and E. J. Goodspeed). I call attention to this agreement in terminology to show how dangerous it is to describe these terms as in themselves 'Gnostic'.

<sup>4</sup> Aristides, *Apol.* 17: *per ignorantiam haec feci*. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 61.10 ὅπως μὴ ἀνάγκης τέκνα μηδὲ ἀγνοίας μένωμεν.

<sup>5</sup> See R. Bultmann, in G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, I (Stuttgart, 1933), pp. 117–20 and L. Cerfaux, in Th. Klauser, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, I (Lfg. 2, Leipzig, 1942), pp. 186–8.

emphasis are different is a consequence of the divergent aims of the different writings. In this connexion it is important to observe that various words which to our ears sound typically Gnostic had not yet become such by themselves. I can well imagine an orthodox Christian of this period listening to the *Gospel of Truth* and hearing the 'sermon' with approval and gratitude; he might have found it somewhat peculiar in conception, but not to be wholly rejected. This suggestion finds support in the assertion of Tertullian that Valentinus went astray only after his unsuccessful attempt to obtain the episcopate, a fact which would lead me to date the writing at the time of Valentinus' breach with the Church, either shortly before or shortly after this event, say round about 140-45. Valentinus appears to have attempted to continue for a time in as close proximity to the Church as possible. Such can be inferred from Tertullian, *De Praescr.* 30, 2, where we read of him and Marcion '*in catholicam primo doctrinam credidisse apud ecclesiam Romanensem, sub episcopatu Eleutheri<sup>1</sup> benedicti; donec ob inquietam semper curiositatem, qua fratres quoque vitiabant, semel et iterum eiecti*', i.e. that he had once come back again, which would have been possible only if he had not departed too far in his doctrines. However this may be, it appears to me that in the interpretation of this writing we certainly

<sup>1</sup> Eleutherius was Bishop of Rome in the years 174-84. Tertullian's chronological datum here is in complete disagreement with the other evidence about the life of Marcion and Valentinus, both in Tertullian himself and in other writers (cf. on this above p. 91). Here, as is generally agreed, Tertullian's memory must have been at fault. He made similar errors about other historical matters (cf. A. v. Harnack, *Tertullians Bibliothek Christlicher Schriften*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie zu Berlin* 1914, pp. 303 ff., J. P. Waltzing, *Le Codex Fuldensis de Tertullian*, Liège-Paris, 1914-7, p. 368 f.).

ought not to overlook such contemporary 'orthodox' writers as Hermas and above all Justin. For the purposes of comparison the material supplied by these works can be of the greatest usefulness.<sup>1</sup>

As the outcome of the preceding considerations I would maintain the following thesis: The *Gospel of Truth*, which has been recovered in the Jung Codex, was written by Valentinus at Rome round about 140-45, before the development of the typically Gnostic dogmas.

What was the author's purpose in writing this *Gospel of Truth*, a work whose plan and line of thought are at times so obscure? We have already noticed that the structure of the treatise is totally different from that of the Gospels familiar to us. The same may be said if we compare the *Gospel of Truth*, whether in form or content, with the Apocryphal Gospels, so far as these have been wholly or partially preserved. We may assert, or conjecture, that these Apocryphal Gospels aim at correcting or supplementing the Canonical Gospels, and that they put heretical ideas into the mouth of Jesus. But in our case it is otherwise. If we go back to its title, we might suppose that the genitive 'Veritatis' (ἀληθείας) is here a *genitivus qualitatis*, i.e. a substitute for the adjective, in which according to Blass-Debrunner<sup>2</sup> a Hebrew linguistic usage

<sup>1</sup> I do not think that enough attention has been paid to this point, nor to the fact that the Old Testament also makes mention of 'knowledge'. For the whole problem of Gnosis, esp. in its relation to the Church, this would appear to me significant.

<sup>2</sup> F. Blass-A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen, 1943), para. 165.



is reflected. In that case the name would therefore mean: 'The True Gospel', i.e. in distinction from and opposition to the orthodox writings. But there is nothing to indicate, so far as this can be determined through the medium of a Coptic translation of a Greek text, that the author had any knowledge of Semitic language. Moreover—and this is important—there is no trace of polemic or rivalry. Had such been the intention of the author, then to achieve success he must have set about his task in quite another way.<sup>1</sup>

The emphasis lies not on the word 'Gospel', but on the words 'of Truth'. Indeed, at the beginning the author says on p. 17: 'This name of the Gospel is the revelation of the hope, which they also find who seek it'. Truth here stands opposed to the error which has proceeded from the not-knowing of the Father. He could have taken over with approval Justin's words: ἀληθείας παρατεθείσης ἄγνοιαν φυγεῖν (*Apol.* 12, 11). Truth, as ἀ-λήθεια, stands opposed to λήθη, 'forgetting' (*bet vergeten*) (p. 18). But truth is no abstraction; no eulogies are sung on its behalf; we seek in vain for any such play on the sense as in Jn. 8:32: 'The truth shall make you free'. The word itself occurs comparatively seldom. The writer is concerned not about words and thoughts but about the method in which God has brought the annihilation of this ἄγνοια to

<sup>1</sup> Even where a definite polemic appears to make itself noticed, as on p. 42: 'And they did not think that He was small or despicable or wrathful', this is not so strange, if we put it side by side with Aristides, *Apol.* i: God is ἀναρχον καὶ ἀίδιον, ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀπροσλεῖ, ἀνώτερον πάντων τῶν παθῶν καὶ ἐλαττωμάτων, ὀργῆς τε καὶ λήθης καὶ ἀγνοίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.



pass.<sup>1</sup> This ignorance is not that which conceals an ἄγνωστος θεός, who was not known, but a loss of knowledge by those who are from Him and in Him. We might describe the theme of this book as an elaboration of the thoughts contained in Acts 17:25-30: We live in God and know Him not. How did this ignorance reach its term?

The word 'Gospel' must also be here understood in the light of early Christian linguistic usage, when it was not yet limited to a species of book. In the New Testament εὐαγγέλιον occurs very frequently with the meaning of 'good tidings', for the whole substance of what Jesus and His disciples proclaimed as salvation. This same wide meaning of the word is still found in the first half of the second century. The misunderstanding of Irenaeus arose from the fact that he already possessed another sense of the word 'Gospel' when it was used in connexion with a writing.<sup>2</sup> The opening words: 'Gospel of Truth, joy for those who have received grace through the Father of Truth, that they know Him' have no reference to the title of a book, but express a cry of jubilation by one who has heard a joyous message. Hence our treatise is a sermon or meditation rather than a writing which belongs to the same category as our familiar Gospels.

<sup>1</sup> In this matter I find myself in disagreement with the view expressed in 'Puech-Quispel (2)', p. 23 f., where it is argued that the *Gospel of Truth* should be considered as a fifth Gospel side by side with the four canonical Gospels, i.e., as the *true* Gospel. In the text I fail to discover any indications of this, though I find support for the ideas which I have developed above.

<sup>2</sup> G. Friedrich, in Kittel, *loc. cit.*, ii, pp. 724-34, for the significance of the word εὐαγγέλιον in the New Testament and esp. pp. 733-4 about the transition in the second century. For that matter Irenaeus also speaks of the one Gospel in fourfold form: *Adv. Haer.* III 11, 8 τετράμορφον καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

This being its character, it follows that any comparison of it with the New Testament must proceed differently from what one would expect on first hearing its title. It is impossible to set to work in the same way as in comparing the Apocryphal with the Canonical Gospels. Yet it is evident that we must inquire into the relation of this writing, which, as its beginning clearly indicates, professes to be Christian, to the New Testament. Indeed, to consider the relation of Gnosis as embodied in one of its outstanding representatives to the classical documents of Christianity is a matter of fundamental importance.

This task is made the more difficult by the fact that the *Gospel of Truth* never makes literal citations in the same way as do e.g. the so-called Apostolic Fathers. Phrases such as: 'the Lord says . . .' or 'as the Apostle teaches . . .' are completely wanting. Also the treatise is wholly without historical references. None the less, as we shall see later, the author made use of the Books of the New Testament, but in a way suited to his own 'eloquence', i.e. by working over them and introducing 'echoes' of their content. In the cultured world of those days a good style required the employment of reminiscences of well-known authors in their arguments, without express quotation. The practised ear of the educated hearer would recognize these as a matter of course.<sup>1</sup>

Before we pass to a discussion of the passages which we are here to consider we must note a point of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on this e.g. W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1924), pp. 139 ff.

method. Obviously we must exclude from consideration expressions showing agreement with New Testament texts in passages where certain scholars have held that they could establish an influence of Gnosis on the New Testament itself. When on p. 18 we find a mention of 'perfections' or on p. 27 of a 'complete man' we are reminded by these words of I Cor. 2:6 and Eph. 4:13; but they cannot contribute to a final answer to our question since, according to such scholars as Reitzenstein, St. Paul himself is here dependent on Gnosis. Similarly we must rule out from consideration such words as 'pleroma', 'rest', the contrast of darkness and light, and the comparison of ignorance with drunkenness and sleep (see below, p. 125). The real question is: Are the reminiscences all of this general kind or is there any clear indication that the author used books which are now comprised within the New Testament?

An excellent starting point for the study of this question is a long passage on pp. 19 f. It runs as follows:

In the heart [viz. of those who have received the knowledge of God] is revealed the living Book of the Living, which was written in the thought and mind of the Father before the foundation of the world and which was found in the Incomprehensible in Him, the Book, which no man can take, because it was destined for Him Who will take it and Who is slain. None of those who have entrusted themselves to redemption can be revealed as long as this Book has not come into their midst. For this reason the merciful, the faithful Jesus was patient, bearing the suffering until He had taken this Book. Because He knows that His

death is the life of many—just as the property of a deceased householder is hidden as long as his testament has not been opened, in the same way the All was hidden as long as the Father of the All, Who is One and from Whom all things proceed, remained invisible—for this reason Jesus appeared and revealed this Book. He was nailed to the tree; He affixed this decree of the Father to the cross.

The author is clearly building on the Passion Narrative of the Gospels and the Crucifixion of Jesus. Further it is evident that use is made here of the well-known vision of the throne in Rev. 5. There is the Book (ver. 1), 'which no one can take' (ver. 3); the Lamb that was slain (ver. 6), that takes the Book (ver. 8). But it is also clear that the conceptions are transposed after a peculiar way. (The converse view, that the *Gospel of Truth* independently knew a separate document containing the description in Rev. 5 is ruled out by the whole treatment of the material; for what stands in Rev. 5 in an orderly sequence is here conflated with other New Testament material into a truly obscure whole.) How this transformation came about becomes clear when we observe that while Rev. here and in other places<sup>1</sup> speaks of a Lamb which *was* slain (perf. part.), the *Gospel of Truth* has the phrase in the conjunctive with future meaning. Here the vision of the throne is depicted in an eschatological setting and the context is metaphysical and a-historical. This is so because the author identified the Book of Rev. 5 with 'the Book of Life written from the foundation of the world', cf. Rev. 13:8 (17:8): οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ κατα-

<sup>1</sup> Rev. 5:12, 13:8.

βολῆς κοσμοῦ.<sup>1</sup> The Book which is closed is at the same time compared with a testament. Now in this passage Jesus is named 'merciful and faithful'. This last epithet πιστός is also found several times in the last Book of the New Testament,<sup>2</sup> but the combination never. As far as I can ascertain this combination is unique in early Patristic literature. It occurs in only one place, viz. Heb. 2:17 ἵνα ἐλεήμων γένηται καὶ πιστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, that is, of the High Priest Who acc. to Heb. gives Himself up to sacrifice and of Whom in 5:2 it is said that He was able to have compassion on the ignorant and erring (μετριοπαθεῖν δυνάμενος τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν καὶ πλανωμένοις), which is precisely a sequence of thought which accords with our treatise. The thought that only by means of death does a διαθήκη come into effect could also have been borrowed from Heb. 9:16 f.<sup>3</sup> Further there is a clear reference to the Crucifixion of Jesus in the words: 'He was nailed to a tree' (on p. 18 the same expression; this thus appears to have been part of the regular terminology and not to have been suggested by Col. 2:14 about which we speak later). That verb does not occur in the New Testament in connexion with the Crucifixion (but cf. Acts 2:23 προσπήξαντες and Acts 5:30 (10:39) κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου). But in Jn. 20:25 there is reference to τὸν τύπον τῶν ἥλων and τὸν τόπον τῶν ἥλων in the resurrected Christ, which presupposes

<sup>1</sup> On the ideas associated with 'the Book' see L. Koep, *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum* (Bonn, 1952); cf. also Ps. 68 (69):29.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. 1:5, 3:14, 19:11.

<sup>3</sup> In that connexion I point also to such terms as διαθήκη καινή—ἀπολυτρώσις—οἱ κεκλημένοι in ver. 15, which are also at home in the territory of the *Gospel of Truth* and the Valentinians.

that Jesus was firmly nailed to the cross. In the *Gospel of Peter* VI, 21 it is said that after the death of Jesus the nails were drawn out from His hands.<sup>1</sup> Justin Martyr asserts that at the Crucifixion Ps. 22:17 received its fulfilment: ὅτε γὰρ ἑσταύρωσαν αὐτόν, ἐμπήσσαντες τοὺς ἦλους τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ὤρυξαν.<sup>2</sup> In Valentinus' disciple Marcus we find the matter expressed precisely. In a discussion of the great importance of the number 'six' there is mention *inter alia* of 'the sixth hour' ἐν ἣ προσηλώθη τῷ ξύλῳ.<sup>3</sup> Hence this usage was familiar to the Valentinians, though the possibility that Marcus knew the *Gospel of Truth* cannot be ruled out. But it was not confined to Valentinus, since Melito of Sardis in his *Discourse on the Passion* also twice uses the word for the Crucifixion.<sup>4</sup> Hence this designation for the Crucifixion is in itself not remarkable. But it is indeed curious that the writer should have united a typical favourite figure of style<sup>5</sup> with an expression of St. Paul, where the same verb occurs in the active, viz. the mention in Col. 2:14 of a χειρόγραφον, which Jesus had προσηλώσας . . . τῷ σταυρῷ.

We must now draw attention to three points: (1) Jesus knows that His death is the life of many. This saying is also not found literally either in the New

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Klostermann, p. 5: καὶ τότε ἀπέσπασαν τοὺς ἦλους ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ κυρίου; other passages in W. Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 216 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Dial. c. Tryphone* 97, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Iren. I, 14, 6. This 'sixth hour' is derived from Jn. 19:14, which conflicts with Mk. 15:25 (some MSS., as is clear from the critical apparatus in Nestle, have therefore corrected the Markan chronology here by John or sought to link Mark to the Johannine chronology). In Mk. 15:33 the 'sixth hour' would seem to appear as the beginning of the great darkness. Cf. further W. Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 213 f.

<sup>4</sup> Melito, *Homily on the Passion* (ed. C. Bonner, 1940), p. 12:28, 13:16.

<sup>5</sup> This also reminds us of the style of Melito and belongs to the 'Asianisms'.



Testament or in early Christian literature, however well it may epitomize one of the leading thoughts of the New Testament. In this connexion we naturally think of such a saying as Mk. 14:24 τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς Διαθήκης τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν, where the notion of the Διαθήκη is present as a connecting link.<sup>1</sup> (2) God is here named: 'The Father of the All, One from Whom all proceeds'; this reminds us of such passages as Eph. 4:6 εἰς θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν and I Cor. 8:6 εἰς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα.<sup>2</sup> (3) This Book, which as appears from the whole context is the new Διαθήκη of Christ, is revealed 'in their hearts'. This tendency to introspection which, as we have observed, is so characteristic of Valentinus, with the word καρδιά points to II Cor. 3:1-3; for this is a characteristic trait of the 'new covenant', cf. Jer. 31:33 'I will write my law in their hearts' = Heb. 8:10.<sup>3</sup>

A second example which throws light on the methods of our Gnostic author is the passage already cited (p. 96) about the search for the Lost Sheep. This is clearly an elaboration of Matt. 18:12-14-Lk. 15:4-6. I am inclined to prefer the Matthean text on account both of the setting of the parable and on grounds of vocabulary<sup>4</sup>: 'gone astray' = twice in Matt. 18:12;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Mk. 10:45 καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν.

<sup>2</sup> See also Rom. 3:30 εἰς ὁ θεός which goes back to the Jewish doctrine of the 'unity of God', Deut. 6:4. In Ptolemaeus, *Epistula ad Floram* VII 6 εἰς γὰρ ἔστιν ἀγέννητος ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα.

<sup>3</sup> Here we have a line in which the New Testament is clearly steeped; cf. Rom. 5:5, II Cor. 4:6, I Pet. 3:15.

<sup>4</sup> It is to be observed that in Matt. the subject is the losing of the 'little ones' (verr. 10 and 14); cf. also 'the will of the Father' (ver. 14). These correspond with passages from the *Gospel of Truth*—see below, pp. 117 and 120.



ver. 12 'he sought that which had gone astray' = ζητεῖ τὸ πλανώμενον; 'who left' = ἀφήσει cf. the variant ἀφείς in N<sup>s</sup>sp<sup>m</sup>. As regards the application of the parable we must consider that not only does the *Gospel of Truth* make use of the Roman method of reckoning already discussed, but that it is also a matter of importance for the author that the left hand is the unfavourable quarter while the right is propitious.<sup>1</sup> For our author the significance of the parable lies pre-eminently in the numbers: in 99 one unit is wanting (ὑστέρημα), whereby it is unfavourable, but if that 'one' = 'knowledge of God', the One (emphasis is laid on this point at every turn<sup>2</sup>), is added, then it passes over to the good side. The interpretation is thus completely different from that in the Canonical Gospels. But this is no indication that the *Gospel of Truth* used a version different from that of Matthew.

A third clear reference to the New Testament follows at once. 'This Man himself laboured on the Sabbath for the sheep when it was discovered that it had fallen into a pit. He gave life to the sheep which He brought aloft from the pit, so that you may know in your hearts what the Sabbath is, whereon it is not permitted that redemption should rest'. Here we find

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. 25:33 ff., again a parable with 'sheep'; it is clear that the author had a great liking for this image. The following passages are also of interest: C. Schmidt, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 360: 'He named the region to the right the region of life and that to the left the region of death'; *Odes of Solomon* 8:21 'On my right I have placed my chosen ones'. Indeed this is not typically Gnostic but a very common figure in the history of religion.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. p. 23: 'While every letter is complete as a complete book, because the letters are written through the Unity.' (See the refs. in F. M. M. Sagnard, O.P., *La Gnose valentinienne*, Paris, 1947, pp. 641 and 647, s.v. ἐνότης and μονότης.)

a clear combination of Matt. 12:11 f., from a discourse of Jesus about a healing on the Sabbath: τίς ἔσται ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀνθρώπος ὃς ἔξει πρόβατον ἓν, καὶ ἐὰν ἐμπέσῃ τοῦτο τοῖς σάββασιν εἰς βόθυνον, οὐχὶ κρατήσῃ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐγερεῖ, with the healing on the Sabbath at the προβατική in Jn. 5:1 ff., where Jesus in ver. 17 says: ὁ πατήρ μου ἔως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται· κἀγὼ ἐργάζομαι. In this we may also notice that a reminiscence of Jn. 10:28 δίδωμι αὐτοῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον is to be found here; cf. also 10:10 ἐγὼ ἦλθον ἵνα ζωὴν ἔχωσιν. Moreover, we again have here language about 'laws in the heart'; see above page 99. We may conjecture that behind the question about the Sabbath healing lay the present significance of the Fourth Commandment, for this was an acute matter in the second century when the break had been made with the Jewish conception of the Law.<sup>1</sup>

We may point to yet another remarkable passage. On p. 42 we read: '(The men) in whom God will find His root and will suffer no damage to His purpose'. This last statement recalls Matt. 16:26 par.: 'What shall it avail a man if he shall win the whole world, but lose his soul' (τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῆ). In the Coptic version of the New Testament we find the same expression word for word as in the *Gospel of Truth*. But while in Matt. it is said of a man and is clear ('to be lost for ever'), in the Gnostic work it is said of God! In the Biblical conception of God this is impossible, but for the God of the Gnostic Who comprises the All, it is not so strange: where a part of the All-God

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Windisch, *Der Barnabasbrief* (Tübingen, 1920), pp. 348 ff.

perishes, God Who is identical with the All suffers damage.

Those who have read Carola Barth's book on *Die Interpretation des Neuen Testaments in der valentinianischen Gnosis*<sup>1</sup> will not be surprised at this method of treating the New Testament, with its combination of texts, governed by the use of a series of catchwords—so strange for our ideas—and these peculiar allegories.

It is true that this style was not unknown at that time to Jews, Greeks and Christians. Applied otherwise it is to be met with, indeed, among the 'orthodox' contemporaries of Valentinus. From the examples given here it is clear that the writer made use of the Gospels of Matt. and John, of I Cor., Col., Heb. and Rev.

Anyone who has ever looked out on this wide vista and learnt the method of work from these examples, is able to go further. These examples sharpen the ear to perceive ever more 'echoes' ('*Anklänge*'); we know what we can expect. The appended list, which follows the text of the *Gospel of Truth*, is not complete; cf. p. 107 f. In the forthcoming edition with commentary an attempt will be made to present the complete material. We note here the following passages:

p. 17, 7: 'the finding of those who seek'      cf. Matt. 7:7    ζητεῖτε καὶ εὐρήσετε.

p. 18, 8: 'because they knew not the Father'      Jn. 16:3    ὅτι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὸν πατέρα.

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig, 1911 (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. 37, 3).

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- p. 18, 15: 'the hidden mystery' Eph. 3:9 τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ ἀποκεκρυμμένου.  
Col. 1:26 τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένου.
- p. 18, 14: 'through the mercy of the Father' Lk. 1:78 διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους θεοῦ. I Pet. 1:3 κατὰ τὸ πολὺ αὐτοῦ ἔλεος.
- p. 18, 16: 'Jesus Christ has illuminated' I Cor. 4:5 ὁ κύριος, ὃς καὶ φωτίσει τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκοτόους. Jn. 1:9 φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον.
- p. 18, 19: 'This way is the truth which He has taught them' Mk. 12:14 ἐπ' ἀληθείας τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις. ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας. Jas. 5:19 var. lect. and II Pet. 2:2; cf. Kittel, *loc. cit.*, vol. V, s.v.
- 'they nailed Him to a tree: He has become a fruit of the knowledge of the Father' cf. on this above, p. 110 f.; here the Cross is named ξύλον—Acts 5:30, 10:39 (part of the primitive Kerugma!); behind this lies the conception of the Cross as the tree of life, see the application of Ps. 1:3 in Barnabas 11:6 (cf. Windisch *ad loc.*) to the Cross of Christ and cf. L. von Sybel ξύλον ζωῆς, in *Z.N.T.W.* xix (1919-20), pp. 85-91.
- p. 18, 13: 'The All was in Him' Col. 1:17 καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν (where this is said of Christ and not of the Father as in *Gospel of Truth*).
- p. 19, 13: 'Wishes that they knew Him . . . what need was there then of knowledge with regard to the Father' Heb. 8:11 quoting Jer. 31:34 ὅτι πάντες εἰδήσουσίν με. I Tim. 2:4 ὃς πάντας ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἔλθεῖν.

p. 19, 20: 'He spoke the word as a teacher'

Jesus as διδάσκαλος is very frequent in the Gospels—see concordance.

p. 19, 21: 'To Him came those wise in their own heart, who tempted Him; but He perceived them, that they were vain; they hated Him because they were not truly wise. After all these the little ones came to Him, those in whom the knowledge of the Father is. . . .'

'tempting', often in the Gospels introducing controversies between Jesus and the Rabbis—see concordance; on the wise who are put to shame, cf. Rom. 1:21 f. ἐματαιώθησαν . . . φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν. I Cor. 1:27 ἵνα καταισχύνη τοὺς σοφοὺς (the whole passage from I Cor. 1 should be compared); 'hated' Jn. 7:7 ἐμὲ δὲ μισεῖ, cf. 15:18. —On the contrast see Matt. 11:25—Lk. 10:21 ὅτι ἔκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπιῖς (the foll. verses are also very suitable for Gnostic use: 'knowing the Father'; 'rest'). The 'little ones' are a special subject of Jesus' care, Matt. 18:6, 10 and 14, and parr.—see also in this connexion p. 112, note 4.

p. 20, 30: 'He has taken off these mortal old clothes: He has put on immortality'

I Cor. 15:53 Δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν. II Cor. 5:4 οὐ θέλομεν ἐκδύσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπενδύσασθαι, ἵνα καταποθῇ τὸ θνητὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς—see also Col. 2:15 ἀπεκδυσάμενος (directly following the quotation from Col. 2:14; see p. 111).

THE JUNG CODEX

- p. 21, 4: 'which are written in the Book of the Living' cf. p. 109 f., Phil. 4:3 ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζῶντες— but Ps. 68 (69):29 ἐκ βιβλίου ζώντων.
- p. 21, 25: 'Those whose names He has known from the beginning have been called towards the end' Is. 43:1 ἐκάλεσά σε τὸ ὄνομά σου—45:3 ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ καλῶν τὸ ὄνομά σου—Jn. 10:3 τὰ ἴδια πρόβατα καλεῖ κατ' ὄνομα (ſſΘ pm.—Nestle reads φωνεῖ).—Rom. 8:30 οὓς δὲ προέγνω (so Cod. A; Nestle reads with the majority of MSS., προώρισεν, as in ver. 29), τούτους καὶ ἐκάλεσεν.—II Thess. 2:14 ὅτι εἶλατο ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (so with  $\aleph\psi\delta$  pm. it sy<sup>p</sup>.) εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐν ἁγιασμῷ πνεύματος καὶ πίστει ἀληθείας, εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐκάλεσεν.
- p. 22, 9: 'He performs the will of Him Who called them' Jn. 7:17 ἐάν τις θέλῃ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν—Rom. 9:11 ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος—I Thess. 5:24 πιστὸς ὁ καλῶν; on God's καλεῖν see Kittel, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 489 f.
- p. 22, 11: 'He will do what is pleasing to Him' II Cor. 5:9 φιλοτιμούμεθα . . . εὐάρεστοι αὐτῷ εἶναι.
- p. 22, 12: 'The name of someone becomes his name' Rev. 2:17, 3:12 ὄνομα καινόν.
- p. 22, 18: 'He returns to himself' Lk. 15:17 εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐλθών.
- p. 22, 20: 'He has turned many away from error' Acts 3:26 εὐλογοῦντα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέφειν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν ὑμῶν.
- p. 22, 21: 'He goes out before them' Jn. 10:4 ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν πορεύεται.

THE 'GOSPEL OF TRUTH' AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

- p. 24, 6: 'He purifies them' (see also p. 25: 'He will purify them')
- p. 24, 21: 'He has . . . brought the form (σχῆμα) to nought (His form is the cosmos, wherein He served)'
- p. 25, 17: 'As death is swallowed up by life'
- p. 26, 2: 'The judgement, 'which is as a drawn two-edged sword' which cuts in all directions
- p. 26, 7: 'The Word, 'which had received not only a sound, but also a body'
- p. 27, 8: 'He hath revealed Him'
- p. 27, 12: 'They that had come forth from Him'
- p. 27, 23: 'The Father is perfect and knows all things'
- p. 30, 14: 'Blessed is He Who opened the eyes of the blind'
- I Jn. 1:9 καθαρίσῃ ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀδικίας.
- Phil. 2:7 σχῆματι εὐρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ—
- I Cor. 7:31 παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου—
- Mk. 10:45, the Son of Man came διακονῆσαι, cf. p. 112, n. 1.
- II Cor. 5:4 ἵνα καταποθῇ τὸ θνητὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς.
- Heb. 4:12 the λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ . . . τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον καὶ διικνούμενος . . . καὶ κριτικὸς ἐνθυμήσεων καὶ ἐννοιῶν καρδίας—cf. also Rev. 2:12, 2:16.
- Jn. 1:14 ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο.
- Jn. 1:18 ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.
- Rom. 11:36 ἐξ αὐτοῦ . . . τὰ πάντα.
- Matt. 5:48 ὁ πατήρ . . . τέλειός ἐστιν—I Jn. 3:20 καὶ γινώσκει πάντα.
- Jn. 11:37 οὗτος ὁ ἀνοίξας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ τυφλοῦ (cf. Jn. 9, 10:21 and other healings of the Blind in the Gospels, e.g. Matt. 9:27 f., 11:5, etc.).



- p. 30, 26: (After the Resurrection of Christ, He) 'gave them the possibility of knowing' Phil. 3:10 τοῦ γινῶναι αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ.
- p. 30, 27: 'For when they saw and heard Him, He granted them to taste and to smell and to touch Him, the Beloved Son' Cf. the post-Resurrection narratives in the Gospels, e.g. Lk. 24:36 ff. (ψηλαφήσατέ με), Jn. 20:19-20; I Pet. 2:3 εἰ ἐγεύσασθε ὅτι χρῆστος ὁ κύριος—I Jn. 1:1 ὁ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὁ ἐωράκαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἔθεασάμεθα καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν.—'The Beloved Son': Matt. 3:17 ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός—17:5 and par.—II Pet. 1:17.
- p. 30, 34: 'He breathed into them' Jn. 20:22 ἐνεφύσησεν [+ αὐτοῖς D sy].
- p. 30, 35: 'While He did His Will' Jn. 4:34 ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστιν ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με.
- p. 31, 4: 'He came in the flesh, without anything hindering His path' Lk. 24:39 καὶ ἴδτε, ὅτι πνεῦμα σὰρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα—Jn. 20:26 ἔρχεται ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων (cf. ver. 19)—I Jn. 4:3 I.X. ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα.
- p. 32, 26: 'Say then in your hearts that you see this perfect day and that the light dwelleth in you' I Thess. 5:5 πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς υἱοὶ φωτός ἐστε καὶ υἱοὶ ἡμέρας.
- p. 37, 21: 'Nothing happens apart from Him nor does anything happen apart from the Will of the Father' Matt. 10:29, where the ordinary text reads ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς, but from Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* II, 26, 2 (*Sine Patris vestri voluntate*) and quotations in

Tertullian and Cyprian and various Old Lat. MSS., it appears that in the 2nd cent. the reading: 'without *the will* of the Father' was known (see C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*<sup>8</sup>, Leipzig, 1869, vol. I, p. 52)—Jn. 1:3 χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδέ ἐν ᾧ γέγονεν.

p. 38, 10: 'He raised Him as Son; He gave Him the Name which He had'

Lk. 3:22 υἱὸς μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε—this is the reading of the text found in D it and in Justin Martyr, cf. also Tischendorf, *l.c.* I, p. 448 and note 12; the quotation from Ps. 2:7 also in Heb. 1:5, 5:5, Acts 13:33—Jn. 17:12 ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου, ᾧ δέλωκάς μοι—Phil. 2:9 ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα.

p. 38, 36: 'The Name of the Father is on their heads'

Rev. 14:1 ἔχουσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν, see also 22:4.

p. 42, 3: 'And they missed not the glory of the Father'

Rom. 3:23 καὶ ὑστεροῦται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ.

p. 42, 8: 'Knowing everything before it came to pass'

I Jn. 3:20 (see above, p. 119) and Jn. 14:29 πρὶν γενέσθαι.

p. 42, 17: 'And they went not down into hell'

Lk. 10:15 ἕως τοῦ ἄβου καταβήσῃ = Matt. 11:23.

p. 43: 'Over whom the love of the Father is poured out'

Rom. 5:5 ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκέχυται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν.

Herewith we conclude our survey. It is clear that the writer of the *Gospel of Truth* was acquainted with the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, Hebrews and Revelation, while there are traces of Acts, I John and I Peter. That there are not more parallels and that they are not of a different kind is bound up with his chosen purpose and method of work. Taken as a whole the harvest is not small. The author, who in our opinion must be Valentinus, knew these Books and interpreted them in his own way. His language is permeated by them, even in the new Gnostic setting; for him they are the language of the Church. It appears that he used practically the same Books as constitute our present New Testament Canon, though in this connexion we must naturally bear in mind the limitations which his method of work imposes on our present task. The manner in which he treats these documents proves that they had authority for him. They conveyed the Good Tidings which he seeks to reproduce in a short summary way in his *Gospel of Truth*.

This conclusion is important for many reasons. In the first place it is in exact agreement with the evidence of Tertullian. Tertullian<sup>1</sup> points to a contrast between Marcion and Valentinus in their treatment of Scripture. Marcion struck out a great variety of items, but *Valentinus integro instrumento<sup>2</sup> uti videtur . . . Valentinus autem pepercit, quoniam non ad materiam scripturas, sed materiam ad scripturas excogitavit: et tamen plus abstulit*

<sup>1</sup> *De Praescr.* 38, 7 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On the use of *instrumentum* for the collection of the books of the Old Testament and New Testament see T. Zahn, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 106-11.

*et plus adiecit,<sup>1</sup> auferens proprietates singulorum quoque verborum et adiciens dispositiones non comparentum rerum.<sup>2</sup>*

It is, of course, true that this verdict would apply to others who wear the badge of strict orthodoxy, but this must not shut our eyes to the fact that Tertullian here perceived the truth in the matter. The New Testament of Valentinus and Tertullian were absolutely identical. Our study of the *Gospel of Truth* completely confirms his words. Especially since the great work of De Faye on the Gnostics,<sup>3</sup> it has been customary to be extremely sceptical of what the Church Fathers tell us of their opponents. We will not attempt to generalize on this subject, but only observe that the reports of Tertullian about Valentinus are in striking agreement with the facts which we find in the *Gospel of Truth*. In future investigations it will be well to give heed to this.

In the second place it is of importance to notice that both Heb. and Rev. are here cited. Valentinus' use of these Books was not recognized in the earlier investigations of Heinrici and Carola Barth.<sup>4</sup> In itself this was not surprising in view of the fragmentary state of the tradition, but a fresh piece of information on the point is important. They are two Books whose place in the Canon for long was controverted and uncertain. In the history of the development of the

<sup>1</sup> On these verbs which belong to a vast formula, cf. my art. *De la règle μήτε ἀφελείν μήτε προσθεῖναι dans l'histoire du Canon*, in *V.C.* iii (1949), pp. 1-36.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III, 12, 12: scripturas quidem confitentur, interpretationes vero convertunt.

<sup>3</sup> É. de Faye, *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme* (Paris, 1913).

<sup>4</sup> G. Heinrici, *Die Valentinianische Gnosis und die Heilige Schrift* (Berlin, 1871); C. Barth, *op. cit.*

Canon it is well known that both were rejected in different parts of the Church.<sup>1</sup> But at Rome Heb. was used by I Clement and probably also by Justin Martyr, while the latter was in any case familiar with Rev.<sup>2</sup> Justin's testimony thus finds important support in the *Gospel of Truth*. Round about 140-50 a collection of writings was known at Rome and accepted as authoritative which was virtually identical with our New Testament.

In the third place it may be observed that this datum is of importance for the history of the formation of the Canon. It is misleading, as is done, e.g. in the recent second edition of McNeile's *Introduction*,<sup>3</sup> to bring the 'heretics' together in an appendix. Whether the *Gospel of Truth* was written within or outside the limits of the 'Great Church' is irrelevant here, since Valentinus *cum suis* wanted to count as Christians. It must be observed that since the investigations of Zahn and von Harnack the history of the formation of the Canon has practically been at a standstill. It may be hoped that the renaissance of the study of primitive Church history which we are now experiencing will also contribute to this group of problems. For though we may picture the matter as proceeding 'in a straight line', it did not in fact develop in this way. Whatever be our verdict on the conflict in the second and third centuries with regard to the authenticity of various Books, we cannot get away from the certain fact that

<sup>1</sup> In the section devoted to the History of the Canon in all 'Introductions' to the New Testament the evidence for this will be found.

<sup>2</sup> See Lagrange, *loc. cit.*, pp. 34-7 and 40-2.

<sup>3</sup> A. H. McNeile, *Introduction to the New Testament*<sup>3</sup> (Oxford, 1953), pp. 339-43.

c. 150 this 'Canon'—even if the later use of this word was not yet known—was in use, as far as its main items are concerned, at Rome. The way that led to the formation of the Canon was, however, a zig-zag road; and the controversy already mentioned about particular Books appears in a different light. If these observations look forward to what was still future in Church history, another observation can be made about the past, namely that before the Books could be used in the way in which they are used in the *Gospel of Truth*, they must have already enjoyed authority for a considerable time. To treat them as a collection was not a discovery of a few months before. Moreover, we should notice that this all took place before the condemnation of Marcion.

In the fourth place, in consequence of the extensive influences exercised here by the terminology of the New Testament, we may put the question whether various expressions which we purposely eliminated at an earlier point (p. 108), are not really themes of New Testament origin, which have been incorporated into a Gnostic system where they have obtained another and stronger accent than in the New Testament and, perhaps under influence from outside, enjoyed a life of their own. As far as the *Gospel of Truth* is concerned it is in my opinion not certain that we should here accept pre-New Testament influences. Be that as it may, in any case it is of great methodological importance to be able here to see a Gnostic at work and to observe the formation of his 'jargon'. As the investigation of the subject proceeds we shall need to take

account of this and, as has been said,<sup>1</sup> we must not overlook matters of chronology.

In a discussion of the relation between the *Gospel of Truth* and the New Testament, the reader might perhaps expect an answer to the question whether the recovered work throws any direct light on the New Testament. From the instances of exegesis listed above, the answer would seem to be in the negative. The *Gospel of Truth* is of the greatest importance for the historical development of Gnosticism, for what it tells us about the doctrines at which the attacks of the ecclesiastical writers were aimed, and for the history of the *Canon* and *Interpretation* of the New Testament, but not for the thought-world of the New Testament writers itself.

It is clear that the *Gospel of Truth* seeks to build on the foundation of the New Testament, but with a plan of its own which was not that outlined in the New Testament. It would need a separate treatise on the theology of the *Gospel of Truth* to expound this plan. I must be allowed to content myself with indicating in a very few words wherein the difference consists. It lies not so much in the particular character of this 'knowledge' (Gnosis) or in the Christology, where it is easy to see points of contact. In my opinion the difference comes out most clearly in the teaching about evil. I purposely do not say in its 'Hamartiology', since the word 'sin' is not here mentioned. This is symptomatic. Evil and undoing are ἀγνοια and πλάνη.

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 84 f.



Now it is possible to discover this conception in other early Christian writers, but the difference is that there they do not, as here, constitute the essential realities whereby the relation to God is upset. In the New Testament they are rather forms in which sin appears than wickedness itself. In the Bible the fundamental cleavage rests not on a loss of knowledge about the origin and destiny of man in relation to God, but on disobedience to God's command. This again is bound up with a conception of God which is fundamentally and essentially different. In the *Gospel of Truth* God is the All-Inclusive, from and in Whom everything is, of Whom man is a part<sup>1</sup>; God and all are here thought of as a single entity. It would be possible, indeed, to quote *apart from their context* texts from the New Testament which assert this. But in point of fact it is the closed Stoic conception of God which lies at the bottom of this teaching, whereof use was made somewhat too readily in the Christian theology of those days (e.g. by Aristides and Justin Martyr) in order to provide a generally accepted starting point, even though in the case of the Church Apologists this conception of God was not so 'closed' as in the *Gospel of Truth*. It would also be possible to point to other such elements, but the Stoic position is the most outstanding. It brings with it the consequence that history here is really eliminated; it is a timeless occurrence whereby all parts of God come to consciousness and God 'suffers no damage in His soul' whereby ὑστέρημα is abolished and everything becomes the

<sup>1</sup> Codex, p. 18.

πλήρωμα. Within this framework a place was found, even a decisive place, for the history of Jesus. But in contrast with the New Testament and the Apologists, it is noteworthy that there is nothing about a Second Coming. Another striking contrast to the New Testament is the absence of the ethical element, the relation to one's neighbour, the commandment about life in the world. It can also be observed that the 'Israelite' basis which underlies the New Testament is wanting and that hence the lines run quite differently. The 'fear of the Lord', as a component part of the 'knowledge of God', is not to be found in the *Gospel of Truth*. Behind the mask of New Testament expressions, another ὑπόνοια shelters.

Our writing, then, gives us an indication of how an influential teacher preached at Rome in the middle of the second century side by side with such men as Hermas and Justin Martyr. It illustrates the way in which, in the ferment of that age—so important because of its far-reaching consequences, so obscure to us through lack of sources—the Christian faith was sometimes understood. The working out of these rough outlines must be reserved for a later study in the field of the history of dogma, as must also, e.g., a discussion of the conceptions which were here developed about the 'Name' revealed through Christ.

The closer interpretation and elucidation of this writing, which has been brought to light by Dr. Quispel's successful labours, will demand much further work from students of the history of dogma and of liturgy in the Imperial Age. And this is in even

another respect an ἀπαρχή. The possibility of a *Corpus Gnosticorum*, side by side with the great editions of the Church Fathers issued at Berlin and Vienna, if the necessary collaboration especially from the Egyptian side is granted, now lies in the near range of possibilities. I hope that this first, and in many respects necessarily provisional, treatment of a limited field will have conveyed an impression of the importance of the discovery at Nag Hammadi.

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