The *Apocryphon of John*: A Text Edition, Translation, and Biblical and Religious Commentary

Andrew K. Helmbold

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The Apocryphon of John: A Text Edition, Translation, and Biblical and Religious Commentary

Abstract
The Apocryphon of John is one of forty nine works contained in a Gnostic library recovered in 1945 by peasants digging in a cemetery in upper Egypt. The site is at the foot of Jebel et Tarif, near the villages of Debbra and Hamra-Doum. Sometimes the find is identified by the name of the nearest town, Nag Hammadi, and sometimes by the name of the ancient village, Chenoboskion, famed for the nearby monastery of Pachomius. The locale is north of the great bend in the Nile, about 100 kilometers downstream from Luxor.

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APPROVAL

This dissertation, entitled

THE APOCRYPHON OF JOHN:
A TEXT EDITION, TRANSLATION, AND
BIBLICAL AND RELIGIOUS COMMENTARY

by

Andrew Kemmer Helmbold

Candidate for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

[Signatures]

SPECIMEN PAGE OF THE APOCRYPHON OF
JOHN FROM COPTIC Gnostic Papyri 1.

Date April 17, 1961
SPECIMEN PAGE OF THE APOCRYPHON OF
JOHN FROM COPTIC Gnostic Papyri, I.
PREFACE

The discovery of the Coptic Gnostic library at Nag Hammadi in 1945 was one of the most important manuscript finds of the century. As the contents of its thirteen codices become available to the scholarly world, specialists in the various disciplines will be able to fill in many lacunae in their fields. The student especially interested in Gnosticism from either the History of Religion approach, or the standpoint of the History of Christianity, will be able to appraise exactly the nature and significance of Gnosticism, especially in its Barbelo-Gnostic and Valentinian forms.

Unfortunately, because the find was not made by professional archeologists, the codices did not come to the attention of specialists immediately. After one codex was acquired by the Jung Institute and the other twelve by the Coptic Museum, the prevailing international situation prevented ready access to the manuscripts by those best fitted to edit them. Now these editions are slowly appearing. At present two text editions have appeared, and four additional texts are available in photographic copies of the manuscripts. The present work will add a third (unofficial) text edition to the list.

To assess adequately the corpus before us, either as a whole, or in any of its parts, is a task beyond
the range of most scholars. A brief glance at the background and equipment required makes this very evident. If he would handle the original materials, a scholar working upon Gnosticism must be acquainted with Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Aramaic, Coptic, Egyptian, Syriac, Akkadian, Mandaic, Turkish, Persian, and perhaps Sumerian and Chinese. In the field of history he should be well at home in Egyptian, Roman, Greek, Jewish, Assyro-Babylonian, Iranian and Syro-Palestinian studies. He should know Egyptian, Akkadian, Iranian, Assyrian, Phoenician and Graeco-Roman religions and mythologies, along with Judaism (both orthodox and heterodox) and Christianity. In the latter realm he should be acquainted with New Testament studies and Patristics. Of the religious milieu of Gnosticism he should be familiar with the Apocryphal literature, the Mandaean and Manichaean works as well as the Hermetica. In addition, the Greek classics and Greek philosophy are requisite background for Gnostic studies.

Needless to say, the author does not claim competence in all of these fields, or even in most of them. Possessing an acquaintance with the Semitic fields, plus a knowledge of the religious and historical background both immediate and remote, and above all, a thorough grounding in the New Testament, the writer has felt justified in venturing forth upon a field where treacherous quicksands await the unwary.
His greatest regret has been his lack of control of the Syriac material. However, other scholars have and will continue to point out the relevant factors from Syriac sources.

My interest in Gnosticism was first stimulated by Dr. James T. Veneklasen, then professor of Church History at Dubuque Presbyterian Seminary. Loving Greek, I found Coptic fascinating when introduced to it by Dr. Cyrus H. Gordon. Later, when the Nag Hammadi corpus came to my attention, it was an almost inevitable challenge.

Every dissertation must perforce record the old adage that no scholarly work is carried out in vacuo. The footnotes and bibliography of this work indicate some of the sources from which the writer has drawn his inspiration and ideas. I regret that Kendrick Grobel's *The Gospel of Truth* (translation and commentary) was inaccessible to me, and *The Secret Sayings of Jesus*, by Grant, Freedman and Schoedel (on the Gospel of Thomas) appeared too late to be used.

It remains, however, to record my gratitude to several individuals who have directly contributed to this work. In addition to the persons already mentioned, I should like to thank Dr. William A. Ward, who introduced me to Egyptian (along with Dr. Gordon); Dr. Theodor H. Gaster, my mentor in the study of Comparative Religions; Dr. Rudolph Anthes of the Univer-
sity of Penna. who guided my study of the Coptic dialects and read large portions of the Manichaean Psalms with me; Dr. Hans Jacob Polotsky of Hebrew University, who (while visiting professor at Brown University) graciously spent an entire day going over the problems of the Coptic text with me, and has followed the work by correspondence since then; and Dr. Moshe Held who has guided my studies of Semitics, and has been vitally interested in this thesis. Their teaching and encouragement has made this dissertation possible. Of course, they are not responsible for the errors which the work may contain.

My appreciation is also due to some behind-the-scenes helpers. To the librarians and their assistants at Dropsie College and Eastern Baptist Seminary I am indebted for many acts of kindness in making needed volumes accessible to me. No scholar enjoying the state of "wedded bliss" can fail to acknowledge the part his "yokefellow" has played in his work. In addition to the usual contributions of a wife, Mrs. Helmbold learned the Coptic alphabet, de novo, and proff-read the Coptic text. Her suggestions have enhanced the readability of the English commentary. Finally, to a patient congregation, Palatinate Reformed Church, the writer also owes his gratitude.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF MODERN PUBLICATIONS

A.J. -- The Apocryphon of John
A.K.G. -- Walter Till, Achminisch-koptisch Grammatik
A.Z. -- Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache.
B.A. -- Biblical Archeologist
B.E.T.S. -- Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society
B.J.R.L. -- Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
C.B.Q. -- Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CGI -- Text of the Apocryphon of John cited thus by Till in B.G. This is Codex I (Puech, Doresse)
CGPI. -- Coptic Gnostic Papyri in the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo, Vol. I, ed. by Pahor Labib
Crum -- Walter Ewing Crum, A Coptic Dictionary
C.S.W.E.C. -- Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum, ed. by Michel Malinine
E.V. -- Evangelium Veritatis (The Gospel of Truth)
G. Th. -- The Gospel of Thomas
H.J.P. -- Hans Jacob Polotsky, personal communication
H.T.R. -- Harvard Theological Review
J.E.A. -- Journal of Egyptian Archeology
J.B.L. -- Journal of Biblical Literature
J.E.H. -- Journal of Ecclesiastical History
J.Q.R. -- Jewish Quarterly Review
J.T.S. -- Journal of Theological Studies
Kahle -- Paul E. Kahle, Bala`izah, Vol. I.
L. & S. -- Liddell and Scott, Intermediate Greek
Lexicon
M. Ps. Bk. -- Manichaean Psalm-Book, Part II
N.T.S. -- New Testament Studies
P.S. -- Pistis Sophia
R. d'H. P. R. -- Revue de l'Historie et de l'Philosophie Religieuse
R. d'H. R. -- Revue de l'Historie des Religions
R. d'Th. P. -- Revue de la Theologie et de Philosophie
S.B.A.W. -- Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften
S.J.T. -- Scottish Journal of Theology
Sp. -- Wilhelm Spiegelberg, Koptisches Handwörterbuch
Th. L.Z. -- Die theologische Literaturzeitung
Th. S. -- Theological Studies
Till -- Walter Till’s edition of the Apocryphon in B.G.
Till, K.D. -- Walter Till, Koptische Dialektgrammatik
T. u. U. -- Texte und Untersuchungen
V.C. -- Vigilae Christianae
Z.A.W. -- Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
Z.D.M.G. -- Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
Z.K.G. -- Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Apocryphon of John is one of forty-nine works contained in a Gnostic library recovered in 1945 by peasants digging in a cemetery in upper Egypt. The site is at the foot of Jebel et Tarif, near the villages of Debbâ and Hamra-Doum. Sometimes the find is identified by the name of the nearest town, Nag Hammadi, and sometimes by the name of the ancient village, Chenoboskion, famed for the nearby monastery of Pachomius. The locale is north of the great bend in the Nile, about 100 kilometers downstream from Luxor.

The find consisted of thirteen codices, of which four are virtually intact, six more are almost complete, two are very fragmentary, while the final one is lost. Ten of the codices retain their original soft leather bindings; the codices vary in size, measuring 2.5 to 28 cm. in height and 14 to 18 cm. in width, and in volume, the find contains 175 to 800 pages. The total find is about 200 pages in all, nearly 80% of which are in good condition. The codices were eventually acquired by the Institut égyptien de l'Institut national du patrimoine, and the find was published by the Coptic Museum in Cairo. The Jung Codex was purchased by the Institut in Paris. It has published one of the codices, which was originally part of the Jung Codex.


plete, two are very fragmentary, while the final one (The Jung Codex) has considerable lacunae.\(^3\) Eleven of the codices retain their original soft leather bindings resembling modern brief cases. The codices vary from 14 to 15 cm. X 25 to 29 cm. except for Codex X (III), which includes the text of the Apocryphon of John presented in this work. This Codex is the most beautiful and voluminous of the find. It contains 175 pages, measuring 21 X 27 cm., of up to thirty seven lines each. The total find is about 1000 pages of which nearly 800 are in good condition.

All of the codices, except one commonly called "The Jung Codex," were eventually acquired by the Coptic Museum in Cairo. The Jung Codex was purchased by the Jung Institute in Zurich. It has published one of the five (four) works in its Codex.\(^4\) The Cairo Museum has published a volume of photographic plates of five of the seven works in Codex X (III), plus forty-six detached leaves, including eight originally a part of the Jung Codex.\(^5\) The five works are the Apocryphon of

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\(^3\) Cf. Doresse, Les Livres Secrets..., ch. iv. and Puech, C.S.W.E.C., pp. 101-110 for listing. It is regrettable that several systems of numbering the codices and works have developed. This work follows Doresse's with Puech's in parenthesis.

\(^4\) Michel Malinine, H.C. Puech, Gilles Quiapel, Evangelium Veritatis, Studien aus dem C.G. Jung Institut, VI, (Zurich, 1956).

\(^5\) Coptic Gnostic Papyri in the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo, I, ed. Pahor Labib (Cairo, 1956).
John, the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Philip, the Hypostasis of the Archons, and an untitled work devoted to Pistis Sophia. Additional photographic reproductions and text editions are in process.

The forty-nine (forty-eight) works recovered at Nag Hammadi cover a wide range of literary genre. Included among them are apocryphal and pseudepigraphical gospels (not identical with those commonly listed in these categories), acts and epistles, apocryphons, apocalypses, doctrinal treatises, cosmogonies, and Hermetic works. All are more or less directly gnostic. However, the bulk of the find comes from the vulgar Barbelo-Gnostics, sometimes labelled Sethian or Syro-Egyptian Gnosticism. The Jung Codex differs from the others in both language and content. It derives from the sophisticated, philosophical Valentinian Gnostics, probably from the early stages of Valentine's break with Christian theology.

There are five duplications among the forty-nine works, so that forty-four distinct treatises come to light in the find. Of these, only two had been edited previously. Several others were known to exist from


references elsewhere, chiefly the church fathers. The
discovery, however, made the texts themselves available.

I IMPORTANCE

Four major manuscript finds marked the fourth and
fifth decades of our century. The first was that of
the Coptic Manichaean papyri in the Fayyum of Egypt in
1931. The second was the discovery at Toura near
Cairo, in 1941, of a great number of unedited works by
Origen and his pupil, Didymus the Blind. The third
was the Coptic Gnostic discovery in 1945. The final
find was the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947. In importance
the Gnostic discovery ranks alongside the others, and
perhaps exceeds them all in its scope and helpfulness
in recovering a lost religion and illuminating an ob­
scure page in the history of religions.

First of all, the Nag Hammadi library will enable
scholars to define the nature of Gnosticism more ex­

8 Cf. Carl Schmidt-Hans Jacob Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund
in Aegypten," S.B.A.W., (Berlin, 1933) and Alexander
Böhlig, "Die Berliner koptischen Manichaika," Actes
du Ve Congres International de Papyrologie, (Brus­
sels, 1938), pp. 85-93.

9 Cf. O. Gueraud, "Note preliminaire sur les Papyrus
d'Origene découverts a Toura," R. d'H.R., CXXXI
(1946), 85-105, and H.C. Puech, "Les nouveaux Ecrits
d'Origene et de Didyme découverts a Toura," R. d'H.
F. R., XXXI (1951), 293-329.

Writings," J.T.S. n.s. IX (1958), 314-324, and H.C.
154 for other evaluations of the find.
actly. Its sources will become more apparent as the documents are edited and translated. A partial attempt to identify these sources, based on the information derived from the *Apocryphon of John*, will be made at the conclusion of this work. Once for all, the vexing problem of whether or not Gnosticism stems from Greek philosophy, Iranian religion, Judaism or Christianity, or is a syncretism of many elements, should be determined. Allied to this, and perhaps even more important, is the fact that a careful study of the Nag Hammadi texts will help reconstruct the religious history of an otherwise obscure period. Speaking of the importance of earlier discoveries of Gnostic, Mandaean and Manichaean literature, 11 Kraeling's words are just as applicable to the Gnostic library found in 1945.

The analysis of the Gnostic sources and of Gnosticism as a whole will, therefore, eventually place scholars in a position to bridge the gap in our knowledge of the religious development in the East, and by the use of those ancient elements whose survival of the ravages of time is documented in Gnosticism, to reconstruct in part that Proto-Gnostic or Neo-Oriental sphere of thought within which may lie the key to the enigma of Hellenistic religious movements. 12

Kraeling's approach has been used by a number of more

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11 Codex Brucianus, Pistis Sophia, and the then unpublished *Codex Berolinensis* 8502; Lidzbarski's Mandaean texts; the Turfan Manichaean fragments.

recent scholars resulting in a clearer view of the antecedents of the "gnostic" groups. Thus a reconstruction of the history, not only of Gnosticism, but also of Near Eastern pre-Christian religion becomes more plausible. To this reconstruction the analysis of the Nag Hammadi texts will add considerably. Some contributions from the Apocryphon will be noted in chapters four and five.

Another related question that should find at least a partial answer in the study of these manuscripts is that of the relationship between the various "gnostic" systems: Gnosticism (in several forms), Mandaeism, Manichaeism, Hermeticism, etc. Perhaps a clear genealogical relationship can be traced, at least of recurring motifs, if not of complete systems. The light which the Apocryphon sheds on this question will be discussed also in chapters four and five.

A whole flood of light will be thrown upon Biblical studies by these documents. Especially in the field of New Testament criticism and hermeneutics, the find will have revolutionary effects. Since the Apocryphon reworks the early chapters of Genesis

---

13 I.a. Widengren, Segelberg, Säve-Söderbergh.
in the interest of Gnostic cosmogony, chapter three of this work is devoted to this episode in the history of hermeneutics.

II THE TEXT

The copy of the Apocryphon of John found in Codex X (III) is excellently preserved, except for the first four leaves (plates 47-54). Plates 47 and 48 preserve about one-half of the original text. Plates 49 and 50 have only a few words of the original. However, I discovered that they are actually parts of plates 52 and 51 respectively (Dr. Polotsky confirms this matching).

Plates 51 and 52 reproduce the beginning and ending thirds, respectively, of the original lines. Plates 53 and 54 are intact, but have many lacunae. In addition to these, the latter half of plate 56 is very faint and almost unreadable, although the text is intact. With these exceptions the text is wonderfully preserved in beautiful calligraphy.

Since 1895, when a copy of the Apocryphon was discovered, its general contents have been known. However, the text of that manuscript was not published until 1955. Now, with the assistance of the text

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in CGPI, the broken ends and lacunae in B.G. can be reconstructed in most places. Also some fragmentary variants from CGI, which Till gives in his footnotes can be restored. According to Till, CGI has the first four pages missing, and also pages 19 and 20. Thus CGPI of the Apocryphon will be extremely helpful in reconstructing the Ur-text when the texts contained in Codices I and II are finally published.

There are two glosses in the text: at 60:18 and 73:6f. At each place the gloss is virtually illegible. The text before us has many short sections which are completely omitted in B.G. In addition, there is one long passage, from 63:30 to 67:3 in CGPI, which is not found in B.G. or CGI. Word order and constructions vary considerably from B.G., and to a lesser degree from CGI., throughout the text.

These variations pose the question as to which text is earliest, and which is nearest the original. To these problems we can turn when we consider the date of the papyrus. First, however, attention must be given to the language peculiarities of CGPI.

III DIALECTICAL PECULIARITIES OF CGPI.

The text of the Apocryphon found in CGPI, can be classified linguistically as Sahidic under strong Ach-
mimic influence, plus some sub-Achmimic features.
Doresse lists all the works except the Jung Codex as
being written in Sahidic. However, attention must
be called to the deviations from Sahidic which are
found throughout the text.

The following Achmimic forms occur in the text.

**ETα₂/ENΤd₂ Preterite relative.**

**ΝdC, etc. Impf. prefix instead of (SA₂) ΝςC.**

**ΝΤα peptide Temporal prefix instead of (S) ΝΤεπε-**

**Τατο - Caus. Inf. 3rd. Pl (79:34) (S) Τρεγ**

**XΝΝοΥ = Χε ΝΝοΥ Neg. fut. (Cf. Kahle, p. 179).**

**Τε - Causative (76:27) for (S) Τ.**

**Δρε - Νd - II Fut. (63:4), for (S) Ερε - Νd**

**XΝΝοΥ - Neg. II Fut. Probably a conflate of (A), (St. J.) A₂ (M.Ps. Νκ) form with (S) Neg. (76:23).**

**Π - For def. article before double consonants, e.g.**

**ΠΠΝd for (S) ΠΕΠΝd.**

**ΜΜο - "there" for (S) ΜΜδΥ.**

Some forms common to Achmimic and Sub-Achmimic
are found in the text.

**Δ - Prep. instead of (S) Е, but the text uses Ερο -**

consistently!

**ΜΜδ = Preposition, along with (S) ΜΜο =**

**Ρ - "to make" before Greek verbs. ΡΠΙΕ(Παίθετην) .**


ΠΟΥ, etc. Pl. poss. prefix, (S) ΠΕΥ.
ΜΑΡΕ - Neg. I Habit. (S) ΜΕΡΕ (74:18).

Four Sub-Achmimic forms occur in the text.
ΤΡΟΥ - Caus. Inf., 3rd. pl. (S) ΤΡΕΥ (55:34, etc.)
ΧΕΝΔΑ - etc. II Fut. (73:5, 76:10, cf. note there).
G. Th. consistently uses II Fut. after ΧΕΚΔΔΕ.
ΕΙΤΗ - Conditional particle (65:3).
ΕΙΛΗ - Frequently following another vowel ΧΕΧΔΑΙ, 
ΟΥΔΑΙ, ΔΕΙΒΩΚ, etc. G. Th. uses it consistently.
Kahle (p. 78f.) attests this in 4th century manuscripts.

The form ΝΑΚ for ΝΟΙ at 47:13 may be Fayyumic or a scribal error or variant spelling.

Throughout the text many Achmimic and Sub-Achmimic spellings are found along with the normal Sahidic forms. A partial listing is given of the more common instances.

ΟΜΝΕΤΕ/ΕΜΝΕΤΕ
ΑΜΑΖΕΤΕ/ΕΜΑΖΕΤΕ
ΑΖΕΡΑΤΣ/ΑΖΕ ΡΑΤΣ
ΗΜ/ΑΧΜ
ΜΕ/ΜΗΕ
ΜΑΤΕ/ΜΕΤΕ
ΜΕΖ-/ΜΑΖ- 
ΝΑ/ΝΔΕ
ΜΝΝΗΔΑ/ΜΝΝΗΕ
ΝΤΟΥ/ΝΤΟΥ

ΝΑΣΡΑ=/ΝΑΣΡΕ=
ΝΟΣ/ΝΔΟ
ΠΜΩΙ/ΠΜΩΙΕ
ΣΜΟΤ/ΣΜΑΤ
ΣΝΑΥ/ΣΝΟ
ΣΕΖΩ=/ΣΕΖΩΩ=
ΤΕΚΟ/ΤΑΚΟ
ΤΣΑΒΟ/ΤΣΕΒΟ
ΤΑΥΟ/ΤΕΟΥΟ
ΟΥΔ/ΟΥΕΙΔ

ΔΝΕΔΑ/ΔΝΕΔΕ
ΠΕΤΑ/ΠΕΤΕ
Words which occur in Achmimic or Sub-Achmimic form only are too numerous to list. A number of rare, unusual or unattested forms occur in the text. In this category may be placed the following words.

MoYēi - (58:9) "a lion" Not attested previously.21

Cāe - (69:20) "beauty."

MooYe - (66:5) "parching." Not attested as noun.

2ωη - (67:13) "snake." Emend to 2ω8?

2osBec - (66:4) "chill." Crum says it is S2.

Cibē - (64:12f.) "breast." Cf. EKibē (A).

Cochē - (64:23) Crum lists as dual (A2).

Cōme - (76:18) "to pervert." Read 6oomē?

Another feature of the Apocryphon as found in CGPI. is its use of archaic forms, some of them belonging to the stage called "old Coptic." This stage of the development of the language covered, approximately, the second through the fourth centuries, A.D.22

The following are examples of archaic forms.

B - Verbal Prefix = �� (68:23).23

(Α2) Acts Pauli, cf. M. Ps. Bk. ΚΕΚΑΔЄ


22 Kahle, op. cit., p. 252ff.

23 Kahle, p. 137, citing Paris Magical Papyrus.
**BENITE** - (77:31f.) Older form of ἘΝΙΤΕ.


.chomp- (60:34, 70:35). Some early S Mss. have 1 = ει.24

ΜΕΞ- (78:3) Old Sah. Cf. Kahle, p. 64.


ΜΕΞΥ- (73:20) Attested in 4th. century.25

<TEntity (77:33) Assimilation of sendnd Ν to Ρ.

πτ, ἔ for the definite article Π, Τ.

ῬΙΝ- (59:26) Sp. attests as old form. (Ῥ)ΡΑΙΝ.26

ОРΗΤΕ (65:3ff.) Sp. attests as old Sah. form.

ΨΥΧΟΥ- (74:23) Attested in 4th. century.25

ὙΟΜΤ- (56:1) Attested as early Sahidic.27

ΣΗ - Pl. ind. art. Early form found also in M. P1. B.

IV THE DATE OF THE APOCRYPHON

The date of the composition of the Apocryphon cannot be fixed exactly, but several factors can be noted that give an approximate date. First of all, Irenaeus quotes it in Adv. Haer. I, 29, so a terminus ad quem of ca. 180 A.D. is fixed. Then, if the dating of the Gospel of Truth, ca. 140-145 is correct28 (no


26 Kahle, I, p. 60.

27 Kahle, I, p. 105f.

arguments against it have been advanced), and the theory that the Barbelo-Gnosticism of the Apocryphon is a mythologization of the philosophical Valentinianism of the Gospel of Truth is substantiated, a date of about 150-160 A.D. for the original writing of the Apocryphon would seem to be called for. Some features of style indicate that it is a conscious attempt to imitate the canonical Apocalypse of John. This would argue for an early dating of the work, before the second century cast doubt upon the authenticity of the Biblical book.

V THE DATE OF CGPI.

While the date of the original composition of the Apocryphon must be put before 180 A.D., perhaps around 150 A.D., the copy of the text in CGPI comes from several centuries later. Coptic texts are difficult to date with accuracy because so few early dated texts have come down to us. The best that can be done with the present text is to indicate the lines of evidence for the date assigned to it below.

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29 Puech, Jung Codex, p. 26, suggests that the opposite was the case, i.e. that Valentinus elaborated in a more speculative way the Barbelo-Gnosticism of the Apocryphon. This would argue for an earlier date, perhaps in the first quarter of the second century. This early date has been accepted by some scholars. Cf. Robert McL. Wilson, "Gnostic Origins," V.C. IX (1955), 207.
The use of archaic forms, some found in Old Coptic, indicates a time before Sahidic was standardized. This occurred ca. 400 A.D. 30

The text shows some confusion in writing the plural ind. article: 2N and 2EN. Kahle says, "It is rare to find manuscripts earlier than the end of the fourth century which are always correct in the writing of 2." 31 The M. Ps. Bk. also writes 2N.

The Greek nouns and verbs found in CGPI are remarkably well preserved. In frequently copied Coptic texts, or texts of a late period, Greek words undergo strange transitions in being "Copticized." This fact would indicate an early date for the Apocryphon, but the evidence must be used carefully for it may indicate no more than that CGPI is a copy from an early text.

The extended form of CGPI as compared with B.G. or with CGI as attested in Till's footnotes is ambiguous in helping determine a date for CGPI. Do we have to reckon with "gloses personnelles" as Dorosse thinks, 32 or are B.G. and CGI abbreviated forms of the original? The extended passage from 63:30 to 67:3 which is not in B.G. or CGI may possibly be the extended form of CGPI as compared with B.G. or with CGI, as attested in Till's footnotes is ambiguous in helping determine a date for CGPI. Do we have to reckon with "gloses personnelles" as Dorosse thinks, 32 or are B.G. and CGI abbreviated forms of the original? The extended passage from 63:30 to 67:3 which is not in B.G. or CGI may possibly be the extended form of CGPI as compared with B.G. or with CGI, as attested in Till's footnotes is ambiguous in helping determine a date for CGPI.

30 Kahle, p. 260ff.
31 ibid., p. 53.
32 Les Livres Secrets..., p. 219. Puech, C.S.W.E.C., p. 102, says it is a "version plus complete, plus developpee, et plus ancienne" than Codex I.
addition of a later scribe. However, its inconsequential nature for the Gnostic myth would make it natural for later copyists to eliminate what was not vital to the systems. No Demotic characters appear in the names.

(5). Another factor in dating the copy of the Apocryphon found in CGPI is the evidence provided by other works in the same codex. Obviously, these works must have been written at the same time. To date, only the Gospel of Thomas has been edited. However, it has been the subject of many articles. Dating of this work can be partially controlled because its sayings are also found in Oxyrhynchus papyri where certainty is reached by the evidence of Greek paleography. But even here, there is considerable variation in dating. Puech thinks it comes "du milieu ou de la première moitié du IIIe siècle." Another scholar dates the Gospel of Thomas as late as 500 A.D. The consensus of opinion, however, is that it


34 "Une logion de Jesus sur bandelette funérale," R. d'H. R., CXLVII (1955), 127, cited by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Oxyrhynchus Logoi of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel according to Thomas," Theo. Studies, XX (1959), 508. However, in the edition of G. Th. by Puech, et. al. (p. vi.) a date in second half of fourth century or beginning of fifth is given.

cannot be later than 400 A.D.\textsuperscript{36}

(6). Another factor to be considered is the dating of B.G. Kahle, on the basis of a few pages of this Codex published by C. Schmidt in \textit{Die Alten Petrusakten}, dates B.G. in the fourth century.\textsuperscript{37}

(7). Attempts to date the Nag Hammadi corpus have given various results. Puech has given third and fourth century dates for the manuscripts, with the Jung Codex latest of all, near the end of the fourth century.\textsuperscript{38} Kahle, on the basis of one page published in the \textit{Manchester Guardian}, June 24, 1949, ascribed that Codex to the middle of the fourth century.\textsuperscript{39}

(8). Three pieces of internal evidence must be considered. First, the constant use of the paratactic construction (\textit{\&\&} - "and") reminds one of Semitic style. It seems to be a conscious attempt to mimic the style of the canonical Apocalypse (\textit{\&\&} ... \textit{\&\&}). This constant use of \textit{\&\&} is not as prominent in B.G. or CGI. Secondly, the colophon of CGPI follows ex-
actly the formula used in the canonical gospels:

\[ \text{Kata } \omega \zeta \alpha \nu \pi \alpha \nu \eta \eta \nu \chi, \text{ while the colophon to B.G. does not: } \pi \pi \alpha \nu \kappa \rho \gamma \rho \phi \omega \nu \eta \nu \chi. \]

Thirdly, the New Testament allusions are plainer in CGPI. than in B.G. These all would seem to indicate that CGPI. is earlier.

(9). One piece of external evidence remains. It is more likely that a Gnostic library would be amassed in the fourth century than in the fifth when the movement was well on the decline.

To sum up the evidence concerning the date of the copy, it would seem that a date about 350 A.D. is required. However, further study could revise this date in either direction by twenty-five years.

VI THE IMPORTANCE OF THE APOCRYPHON

Aside from the fact that the Apocryphon may be the earliest of the Nag Hammadi texts, it may be the earliest Gnostic document yet known. Quispel thinks that Valentine was acquainted with it: "Valentin und Basilides haben die schon bestehende vulgäre ägyptische Gnosis helleisiert und christianisiert."41

Till summarizes its importance with these words:


There is no other Gnostic text of which we have more than two copies. That shows clearly that the Apocryphon of John was very highly esteemed among the Egyptian Gnostics; and indeed if we compare its contents with those of other Gnostic works, we see that it is of high importance, giving as it does a full account of the whole system in an early stage of development. 42

Till says the Apocryphon tries to answer two questions. (1) How did evil enter the world, and (2) how can man free himself from it? 43 Here a quotation from the Excerpta ex Theodota, defining "Gnosis" is apropos.

But it is not only baptism which frees but also knowledge: knowledge of what we were, why we have come into being, where we were, or at what period we have been inserted into the scheme of things, whither we are hastening, from what we are redeemed, what is being born and what reborn. 44

These questions, which plagued not only the Gnostics, find their Gnostic answers in the Apocryphon.

VII AIMS OF THIS STUDY

The present study of the Apocryphon according to CGPI. is designed to fulfill four objectives.

(1). It will provide a text edition which can be used by others in attempts to reconstruct an Ur-text when all texts have been published.

(2). It will give the first translation into English of any of the texts.

43 "The Gnostischen Schriften...", p. 35.
(3). It will provide a commentary on (a) the Biblical exegesis of the Gnostics, and (b) their doctrines and motifs and their parallels in other gnostic and non-gnostic groups.

(4). It will attempt to reach some conclusions, via the inductive method, concerning the sources of Gnosticism and its relationship to other religious movements of the same historical period.

VIII TEXTUAL MAKEUP

Before turning to the text and the accompanying translation a few remarks should be made concerning the technical format and the methodology followed in the production of the text edition and the translation.

(1). Each plate of the original has been divided into two approximately equal parts to keep numbering in this work uniform with the original, and to give a convenient section for presenting on each page.

(2). Reconstructions reasonably certain from the context or comparison with B.G. and/or CGI. are not footnoted.

(3). Questionable reconstructions appear in the footnotes only.45

(4). Footnotes to the text also embody reasons for textual reconstructions, grammatical notes, and

45 This self-imposed "Bengelian" restriction had, of necessity, to be violated at Plates 47-52 and 56B in order to give the general sense of A.J.
variant readings. **CHAPTER TWO**

(5). The footnotes do not attempt to give all variants from B.G. and CGI., since that would needlessly broaden the scope of this work. Only those variants which shed light upon the text of CGPI., or which have intrinsic interest are included. For this reason most variant spellings and interchanges of Coptic and Greek words are not noted.

(6). Footnotes to the translation give the variants from B.G. and CGI. where pertinent. They also give explanations of doubtful translations.

(7). The textual sigla employed are the standard ones of Greek papyrology.

**SIGLA TO TRANSLATION**

---

Translation uncertain due to lacuna, illegible text, or lexical problem.

Translation of reconstruction at beginning of a line.

Translation of a reconstruction in the middle of a line.

Translation of a reconstruction at the end of a line.

Words added to make sense, or to explain preceding word(s).
CHAPTER TWO

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

SIGLA TO TEXT

[ . . ] Lacuna at beginning of a line.
[ . . ] Lacuna at the middle of a line.
[ . . ] Lacuna at the end of a line.
[Μπωτ] Reconstruction of the text.
[ Μ[πευ] Letters partly visible.
{ η} Editorial deletion of superfluous letter.
<η> Addition by present editor.
± 5 Lacuna of five letters, more or less.
.... Page intact, but letters illegible.
(?) Possibly a missing letter here.

SIGLA TO TRANSLATION

... . . Translation uncertain due to lacuna, illegible text, or lexical problem.
of] Translation of reconstruction at beginning of a line.
[stood] Translation of a reconstruction in the middle of a line.
[one from Translation of a reconstruction at the end of a line.
(are) Words added to make sense, or to explain preceding word(s).
Plates 47

14-16 letters missing

12-14 letters missing

7-9 letters missing

47

Plate 47

\[ \psi \varepsilon \sigma \ldots \] Traces look like \( \epsilon\alpha\gamma \). Perhaps there is a line missing from top of plate.

5 B.G. begins with this line. Restorations of long lacunae of Plates 47 through 52 are based on it, so can be regarded as only approximately correct.

13 \( \alpha\varepsilon\gamma \): cf. Kahle, I, p. 147 for \( \varepsilon = \sigma \).

14f. Space after \( \eta\alpha\zeta\varphi\alpha\iota\omicron\omicron\) and all of 10. 15 is a lacuna in B.G.
Plate 47

forth(?) in a silence he taught them to John:

5 It happened on one of these days when he went up, namely John, the brother of James, these who are the sons of Zebedee. He went up to the temple. A Pharisee whose name was Arimanios came up to him, and

10 he said to him, "Where is your teacher whom you were following?" And he said to him, "He has gone again to the place from whence he came."

The Pharisee said to him, "Through error he has made you err, namely this Nazarene."

15 And he closed your hearts and he turned you from the traditions of your fathers." When


14 "Nazarene"—A common designation of Christ and his followers in the 1st. century.

Plate 47

pi]cw[τ] ένδι άν[όκ οίκοτ 15 from [εβ[ο] 2η περ[τε επτοού εύμα Νξαειε

20 άυ]ω νείρ ιο]π[ει άπφια γραί Νζήτ είξω
μμ]οε ετβε [ου ρω αυξιροτονι άπκωρρ
ά]ω χε ετβε ου αυτίνκνουη άτκόσμος
eβολ είτιμ [πεχιωτ ενταυτίνκνουη αυω

ν]μ πετα[ 10 αυω ουωž Νζε

25 πε παιων εςτίμαι ετίνναβωκ εροη ετβε
ου ρατ έμω[ 10 αυξοος Ναν
χε παιων ε[ 12 αυξι τυ
πος νπαιων [εςτίμαι ναττεκο άπεψτε
βον ετβε πεταιναι χε ουωž άκεινε π

30 ε ντουν[ου ητε άμ[..... ήνονοει[ν... ηκ[.....
ητιτ[ Ν[πε αυω आकिम [άκι πκόςμος

18 Probably completed by some such construction as αυω οίκωκ, not in text of B.G.

19 Confusion of άεγίε and άεγίτ? Cf. fn. to trans.

24 B.G. Νιμ πε πεχειωτ. Perhaps λ. πετα[ξυκο άμου

25f. ετβε to αυξ. not in B.G.

30-32 Probably read something like the following (cf. B.G)

ε ντουν[ου εειμεεγε ένδι ειε 2Η
ητε άμ[θυε ουων αυω απιπωντ ίνογειν
ηνονοει[ν εςτιμ]κ[-2 on πε 9
I heard these things, I turned from the Temple to the Mount, to a solitary place. And I was sorrowing greatly in heart, saying, "Why then was the Saviour appointed? And why was he sent to the earth by his father who sent him? And who is it who? And of what sort is that Aeôn to which we shall go? For why is it?" He said to us, "This Aeôn. He took the type of that indestructible Aeôn. He did not teach us concerning that, what form it is."

When of Light beneath the Heaven. And the entire Cosmos stirred.

Probably "and I went" at end of line.

Till says the Mt. is Olivet, citing Acts 1:12, P.S. 4.13.

B.G. "who is his father" P hes. 1. "who begat him?"

"why" to "he said" is not in B.G.

Perhaps "When I thought on these things, lo the heavens opened, and the firmament lighted with a light not of the earth..." cf. Mt. 3:16.

Plate 48

1 ΑΥΩ ΑΝΩΚ ΑΙΠΕ ΤΟΤΕ ΑΙ]ΝΑΥ ΤΡΩΙ ΧΚ
   ΣΟ[ΘΕ[Ν ΑΥΑΛΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΆΣΘΕ]ΡΑΤΗ ΝΑΙ
   ΝΤΑΠΙΝ[ΑΥ ΝΑΥ ΕΙΣ ΞΗΤΕ] ΕΥΟ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥ
   ΝΟΣ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΥ [......] [......] ΚΜΑΤ ΕΥΟ ΝΘΕ
   ΝΟΥ... ΝΝΑΥ [.....].... ΦΩ ΕΒΟΛ
   ΑΥΩ ΝΕ ΟΥΝ Ο[± 10] Λ 8Μ ΜΟΡΦΗ
   ΤΡΩΙ ΧΚ ΤΟΥ[ΟΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ [ΝΚΜΑΤ] ΝΑΥΟΥΟΝ]
   ΝΤΙΝ ΝΕΥΕΡ[ΝΥ ± 10] ΝΑΥΟ ΝΥΟ
   ΝΤ] ΝΜΟΡΦΗ ΠΕ[ΧΑΥ ΝΑΙ ΧΕ Ι]ΝΩΑΝΝΗ ΙΩ
   ΤΝΑΝ]ΝΗ ΕΤΒΕ Ο[Υ ..... ]ΚΑΚΕ Ν ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ
   .... ΝΥΟ ΠΕ ΜΗ Ν[.....] ΑΥΘΗΜΟ ΑΤ ΕΙΑΕ [.
   ....] ΤΑΙ ΤΕ ΝΠ[ΡΦ ΝΑΚ] ΝΤΘΗΜ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕΤ[Ψ
   ΟΟΠ ΝΜΜΗΤΝ ± Χ] ΝΟΥΟΙΙΨ ΝΙΜ ΑΝΟΚ [ΓΕ
   ΠΕΙΨΤ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ Τ]ΜΑΘΥ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΡΨΗ[ΡΕ
   ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΙΑΤΤ]ΘΛΜ ΑΥΩ ΠΙΑΤΘΩ[ΧΚ
   ΑΙΕΙ ΕΤΣΕΒΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ] ΟΥ ΠΕΤΥΟΟΤ
   ΑΥΩ ΟΥ ΠΕΝΤΑΗΜΨΕ ΑΥΩ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΥΕ Υ

1 Or ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΙΠΑΣΤ ΑΙ], both in B.G.

4 Perhaps read Ο[ΝΝΑΨΕ ΠΕΤ]ΚΜΑΤ.

5 Read ΝΟΥΟΙΟΜ (= B.G. ΥΨΗΨ ΥΡΕ) at beginning of line?
   There are traces of it, but perhaps insufficient
   room for rest of word. Traces at end may be ΚΑΒΟ Ε.

10 Or 1. ΚΑΚΕ. B.G. ΕΤΒΕ ΟΥ ΕΚΙΟ ΝΘΗΤ ΚΝΑΥ

11 Phps. 1. ΕΚΙΟ ΤΡΟΤΕ ΜΗ Ν[ΨΗΨ ΨΕ] ΑΥΘΗΜΟ ΑΤ
   Is Gr. ΑΙ ΕΣ ΜΥ ΤΕ a possibility? B.G. ΟΥΨΗΜΟ
   ΓΑΡ [ΝΑΚ ΑΝ ΠΕ ΑΙ] ΛΑ ΝΙψΨ

15 ΠΙΑΤΤΘΛΜ ΧΨΜ, suggested by H.J.P.
And I was fearful. I saw in the light [a Child. And he] stood before me. When I [saw him, lo,] he was like an elder and he was [....] form, being like

And there was [.....] in form in the light. And [the forms] appeared through each other [.....]. He was tri-form. [He said to me.] "John, John,

why [.....] darkness (?), or why [....] face (?)[....] a stranger to this(?)?... it is, do not [make yourself] little. I am with you ......] always. I am the Father, I am the] Mother, I am the Son.

I am the unspot[ted, and the unsui]lied.

I came to teach you concerning] what now is, and what has been, and what] shall be

1 Or "And I fell down, I]...." cf. Rev. 1:17.

2,4 "child, elder" cf. Rev. 1:13-14?

4 Perhaps read "was [of manifold] form."

5 Phps. "a wonder" at beg. of 1. cf. Gk. ἑωρακός "a miracle." Till says one would expect a third fem. form to be enumerated. Cf. 1. 8f., 13f.

10 "darkness," B.G. "why are you double-hearted?"

11 Phps. "are you fearful? Have you become a stranger to this? But if it is otherwise..." B.G. "For it is not a strange thing to you, but do not..."

Plate 48

\[\text{\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbullet\textbull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be so that you should know that they were ...

... to your fellow spirits whom you (?) to the unwavering generation are of the perfect man ... so that ... He said to me, "The ...

25 is a monarch who has no one above her, and Father of the All, the Spirit, the Invisible who is over the All, he who is in the indestructibility which is in the pure light, this which there is not any eyesight able to look into it.

... It is not fitting to think of him as the God, or that he is of this sort. Rather he is more than God, who has no one over him, for there is no one

18f. Possibly read "they were revealed to you..."
21 "you" - B.G. "some from"
23f. B.G. reads "men and those who are able to know."
26 Perhaps read "for she is the true God..."
27 Before "spirit" B.G. adds "holy."
31 B.G. reads "But the Spirit, it is not fitting..."
Plate 51

{o Νξοεις [ἐροῦ} ± 9]N 2N [αι υ]

Νσωξ[θ] ± 13 ᾗο[πι]Ν 2ΗΤΥ

οὐατ[ ] ± 14 π]Ε εβολ θε

ηρ θρε[ιά Νονοη θην]ο[ς] θηνοκ θην

πε θπε[γιμα ρω _DRAW θε]θας ευνα

αθκ Νοη[τι]αλα Νοουει[ι]ς Νιμ ευκ θην

θην ζι [ουοείν ουατ θην ερ]οη πε εβολ

θε μι]θε[γιμα ριῶμυ ε]Υ[ι]θ θην εροη

ουατζετ[2θυ[π]θε εβολ θε μι]θε[γιμα θπ]

5

35

5\hline

2α θηεγι ουατωιπ θηε εβολ

θε θπελαθαυ ευγιμα πατεγι θελιτικ
εροι ουατηνευ εροι πε εβολ θε μι

λαδαυ ινε ε[ροι πιψα ενεξ θπεγιμα]

ιυα ενεξ ου[ατσακε εροι πε εβολ θε μι

10

πελαδυ ιυτε[2ο ςθακε εροι ουατικ θη]

παν εροι πε εβολ θε μι]ομ θιλαδυ

α[ρε[η]παν [ιεροι .................

πε ευτθυκυ [..........................] θα

16

1 Or perhaps W]N2 θλαδυ

1-3 B.G. δριθε ιερα[ι εκυιη πε μι]ο θαδυ ραρ ςθοτπ

2α θηεγι ουατ ηρ θηια Νοουου αθι

2 [Νθητι εβολ θε ευ] is a possibility.

3 [Νονοη] - Or Νοουου may be possible.

9,16 Restorations suggested by H.J.P.

17 Perhaps in lacuna read ουοειν θαλωιτικ

17f. B.G. δρι πα[ι]οι πε ποι[ο]ι θηαθικ

πιτθυ θτούυα[ε] [θ] Νκαθαρον θιατ...
Plate 51

ruling ... nothing of defect ... existing in him alone ... he is, because he needs ... Rather a completely perfect one is he. Indeed, he lacks nothing, so that he should be perfected in it. But in all time he is completely perfect in Light. An un-appointed One is he, because there is none existing over him to appoint him. An un-divided (?) One is he, because there is none before him to divide him. An un-measured One is he, because there is none existing before him to measure him. An Invisible One is he, because there is no one seeing him. The Eternal One, who exists eternally. An unspeakable One is he, because no one can stand to speak of him. An un-named One is he, because no one is able to name him. is he, purifying ...

1 Or perhaps "...life." Nothing...

15 B.C. "rule over him. For there is no one existing before him, nor does he need anybody."

2 "in him because he" is a possibility.

4 Instead of "life", "them" may be a possibility.


17 Phps. in lacuna read "A light not divided."

17f. B.C. "to name him. This is the undivided Light, the holy, clean Purifying One, the un..."
Plate 51

20 τέ Μ[...]κ ὅνογ[μνητελείος] ἄν πέ ουτέ ἄ
οὐμνητμα[καρίος] ἄν πέ ουτε ὅνομήν
νούτε ᾧν. [.........................οὐσω
ματίκος ᾧν[πε] ὅνογατωμα ᾧν πέ ἄ
οὐνός ᾧν[πε] ουτε ὅνογοιεί ᾧν πέ ἄ

25 οὔς ἄξοος χρεύεται. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
μὴ οὖσαμ γαρ ἄπλασμα ἀμμε ἄμοι ἄνοι
λαδό ᾧν πέ ἄντε λεγόοττι ἀλλὰ οὐσω
νῦνος γαρ πε οὐχ ἄξον πε ἄντε ἄπνοο ᾧν
πε πιην εὔμενε[τε]ξε ᾧν εὐδίων ετησοῦττ

30 ἄν χρόνος χρεύεται. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
παῖ ταῦτα[μετε]ξε γαρ ἐρον ἐγκίην
ἄν οὐχρο[νοε] έτε ληπορι τ_wheel ἐρον ἄν
μάχαι ᾧν[γίτων κεόμα] εὔτε τ_wheel ± 0
της πε ἄο[νῦρως ἄν μὴ λαδ] ετησοῦττ

35 ἐρον χρεύεται[διὰ] εὐμάχαι ε[βολά] ἄγιο
παὶ γαρ ἐγκιηορμὲν ἄνωθυ [± 11

22 Phip. scribal omission of ΠΕ. Then read something like ἄλα ὁγυγω βαχοτιν οὐσω
25 Not in B.G. which reads οὐχρα ἄν ἄν ΠΕ ᾧν
τὰμιο ἄν ῬΕ οὐχ ἄε ἄνυλας[

31 Ταῦτα—II Perfect. cf. Kahle, I, 105, 158, cf. 63:0

34 Word division uncertain. Text has | inserted after
ΠΕ. B.G. ἄρ ἄξια ἄν, CGI. οὐσωμε μοτι ΠΕ.
Plate 51

An unspeakable One is he, \[\text{imperishably perfect}\].

20 Nor ... a \[\text{perfection is he, nor a Blessedness is he, nor a Divinity is he ( aussi ) ... A Corporeal One \[\text{he is not, an Incorporeal One he is not, a great One \[\text{he is not, nor a little one is he.}}

25 As it is said "[..."

For it is not possible \[\text{for anyone to know him. A being \[\text{of those which exist \[\text{he is not, a Thing superior to \[\text{them is he. Not as though superior it is which \(\text{is} \) his (?)}. He is \[\text{not allotted to an Aeōn in time.}"

30 For this one was \[\text{allotted to an Aeōn in a time \[\text{which is not divided so that he is not taking \[\text{from others, dividing ... he is (?)}. He \[\text{does not lack. There is no one preceding him so \[\text{that he should receive \[\text{from him.}}

35 For this one wondered (?) after him [...]

22 Phps. \[\text{"But a chosen thing. A cor-"}

25 B.G. Till trans. "he has no measurement, no creation, nor can anyone..."

28f. Translation is provisional.

34 B.G. "He has no need." CGI. "An un-needy one is he."

35 "wondered"- B.G. "asked" (αἰτεῖν), so \text{passim.}
Plate 49

\[ \pi \cdot ]\text{oyoein} [ \pm 13 ]\text{ujemy} \\
\theta o\zeta \text{ pe oyn[} \pm 13 ]\text{atwity} \\
\text{pe oядиw}[\text{n pe eу[t пwнн? уа енеэ} o]ywn]? \\
\text{pe eу[t нo[oyoein oyoein π]e eу[t} \\
5 \text{noymntma[kapioс oymakapioс} \text{pe eу[t нo[oycooy[о} \text{oycooyn pe eу[t нoymnt} \\
\text{agathoc oу[} \pm 11 ]\text{α mи oyczte} \\
\text{oхapic pe e[у[t нxapic oyx]20ти xe oyn} \\
\text{................. } \text{oyoein} ]нätwity н} \\
10 \text{.................. ]етвнти pey} \\
\text{аин oяттeko pe 2н oyc} ]гpαиt дyм eу[t} \\
\text{............... } \text{м} ]\text{hoу eho м.} \\
\text{.................. ]тапе ндяijn} \\
\text{............... ]φyтαxро гpαи 2н} \\
15 \text{................. ]н гap дn дnon д} \\
\text{.................. ]н фmе дn dт} \\
\text{eумaше eинhti епeнт} ]гpоywnн evoх} \\
\text{нэhti ............... ]еиwт пдi. гap пе} \\

1 Phvs. read [εττεάλнy. 
2 Probably oyn[тαy. 
7 Possibly [agathoc pe etнa]д 
9 One would expect oynтαy дддд, B.G. uses a 
similar construction, but traces look like π[. ]Уλαφ 
16 Or phvs. нлддy] нфmе dн. 
17 Мaье- B.G. нätwity. нентзес. 55:3а.
light \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\] a great One is he. He has \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\] undivided One is he. An Aeōn \[he is, giving eternal life\] A Life is he, giving \[light. A light is he\] giving

5 blessed\[ness. A Blessed One\] is he, giving a knowledge. \[A knowledge is he\] giving a Goodness. A \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\] with salvation. A grace is he, \[giving grace. Not as\] though he (?) light \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\] undivided in

10 \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\] concerning him. His Aeōn is imperishable in \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\] rest and he \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\] him, he being \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\] the head of Aeōn \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\] a strength up in

15 \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\] For we, again (?) \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\] know(s) not his measure except he to whom \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\] it was revealed \[\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\] Father. For this is he

1 Phps. "pure light."

2 Possibly something like "all power" filled the lacuna.

7 Possibly \["great one is, blessing"\].

16 Or perhaps "no one knows".
Plate 52

Νταυκη ναι ερον Ντο][γερ ετ[σ]ουτ ε
20 βολ 2Ν πευςδιον Νου]οειν [ετκ]θυ ε
ρου ετε Ντουγ πε τπηγην Ν][μοου Ν[σ][ν πολ
νευςασκε Νποςκος Νοις Ν]σμι οιν ετ[ε]
με Ντευγικων ευ[γ]ναυ ερος 2πα[ι 2Ν
πμοου Νουοειν εχ έπ]ωωυε 2Ν πευ
25 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Ν]τπηγη Ντε Νμο
ου Νουοειν Νων2 ετκ]θυ ερου Αυω
ατευγγνοιδα Ρ πο[ι]2ωβ Αυω ακσωλτπ
εβολ Απεγμτο ακουντ2] εβολ Απεγμη
το 2Ν τλαμπηδων Ν]πευουοειν ταϊ τε
30 τσομ ±ε ετ[ωο]π] εταουε2Η τι
ρου Νταυουν2 εβολ ... γ]μεευε ετε
ναι πε πταωκ εβολ Απτηρδ [ακουοειν ε
πεινε Απιαροταο Νπ]ουοειν τσομ
35 Μπ]αρθενικον Α[να] εγηακ εβολ
]Απεοου Νβαρβηλω Πεοου

24 Phrs. ΔΥω αγ' ορ αυω πεουουμη.
25 Possibly ααδιον Νουοειν εφ Ν]τπηγην.
26 Νων2- or phys. εττοβηνυ.
27r. ακσωλπ... Μτο. ββ. ακουν2 εβολ αο
αζερατΩ Απεγμτο εβολ.
31 Perhaps read 2Ν πευ][μεευε.

36 Phys. read ετοωοπ]. Final lines of plates 51
and 52 seem to indicate there were 21-23 letters per
plate, but this may be due to photographic make-up.
Plate 52

who spoke these things to us. For he looks (?) in his own light revolving around
him, which is the fount of the water of life. And he furnished the world with every kind, he
knowing his image, seeing it in the water of light. . . . wished (?) in his

of life which revolved around him, and his Thought created a work. And she appeared
before him, she appeared before him in the glow of his light. This is

the power . . . . existing before them all. She appeared . . . thought which
is the Perfection of the All. She lightened the likeness of the Invisible in the light, the perfect
Power which is in the image of the Invisible, Virgin [Spirit] he being perfect

. . . . in the glory of the Barbelo, the glory

24 Phaps. "and he" or "and his wish..."
25 Possibly "own light to make the fount..."
26 "life," or perhaps "pure water."
27f. "she appeared...before him." B.G. "she appeared, she stood before him."
31 Perhaps "in his thought..."
36 Perhaps "existing". One would presume that all plates should have lines of nearly equal length.
Plate 53

Etanx evo[α]

5

Tephisik[α] acwvpte mntrape apthry xe ntopo evooy xetpoy tmy

Fropatw[r] pwoorp nrmwe nna etoy

Dav pwo[n]te 200yt tymbol te nsum

Pymbol npan n[200]yt c31me ayw pai

10

Wn nmr enev aN Natnay evooy [... pwoorp nei ebol aux[a]tei ebol 2M n

Paporaton mopar[θ]nikon nptna ete barbhaw te et[nn]ac n0y[proynw
cic ayw auviwrm n[... nna nT[±5

Xe acswlip evo[α] n]si tproynwci[c ay

W acagrapTc nM [ttpp]onoid tai oy e[bo]l

t e 2M nmrnny evooy mopar

2 Phps. as CGI. eboyl 2i[f0oty]h, but traces would favor 3rd. pl. suf. oy.

4 Should be emended to acowy.[B. G. ec no ei n0y-

10 Phps. [ayw or ete. B.G. ntya ei eboyl aN teypo-

11 B.G. acatei with barbhaw as subject.

13 Lacuna seems too short for proynwci[c, but it is required. B.G. oymorp ncooy

14 Probably n[st]. Possibly nTel[eleioc.

16f. nM thru m[p4] - B.G. nM Tennoid ete tepo-

Plate 53

complete in the Aeon of glory. The Virgin Spirit was not revealed

And [she] blessed him for because of him she appeared. This is the first Thought in his image. She was the womb of the All, because she is the first of them all, the Mother's father, the First Man, the Holy Spirit, the Triune Man, the Triune Power, the Thrice named [male-female]. And the eternal Aeon in the invisible ones

The first coming forth (emanation). He [asked from the Invisible, Virgin Spirit, who is the Barbelo [to give] her a Fore-knowledge. And the Spirit of the wondered (?) because (?) the Fore-knowledge appeared, and she stood with the [Fore]-thought, who is [one from the thought of [the] Invisible Virgin

2 Perhaps, as B.G. "by him."

4 B.G. "while she knows him."

11 B.G. "The Barbelo asked from him."

13 B.G. "to give him" which Till emends to "her." who refers to "he" l. 11, cf. comm., p. 166.

18f. B.G. ΜΗΝ ΤΣΕΛΕΙΟC ἩΔΥΝΑΜΙC
19f. Probably ὌΤΑΥΨΩΝΕ. B.G. ὌΤΑΥΨΩΝΕ. COI. ὌΤΑΥΨΩΝΕ.
23,30 ΔΞΕ - Possibly read as one word, cf. 1. 35.
25f. Ε[Ν]ΤΑΥΨΩΝΕ B.G. ἈΓΩΝ ΑΧΑΙΤΕ COI. ὌΤΑΥΨΩΝΕ.
30 Δ[Ν]ΩΣΕ - B.G. ΝΕΥ - COI. ΝΕΥ -
Plate 53

Spirit while she [gave glory] to him [and the other perfect power, [the Barbelo, because

20 they (?) existed [because of] her. [And again she asked to send her [an indestructibility, and] he considered. While [he considered, she appeared,]

i.e. the indestructibility. She stood] with the Thought and [the Fore-knowledge, while she] gave

25 glory to the Invisible and the Barbelo, this One whom [because of her] they existed. And the Barbelo asked to send her an Eternal Life. And the Invisible Spirit considered, and while he considered, the Eternal Life [appeared].

30 And they (?) [stood], giving glory to the Invisible [Spirit and the Barbelo, This One [because of] whom they existed. And again she asked to send her the [Truth. And] the Invisible Spirit considered. The Truth appeared.

35 And they stood. They gave glory to the Invisible

18f. B.G. "and the perfect power."

19f. B.G. "they existed" (I Perf.); CGI. "he existed" (II Perf.)

25f. "they existed" so CGI. B.G. "she existed."

30 "they (?) stood" B.G. "they were standing"

CGI. "he was standing."
Plate 54


1 Traces seem to preclude ετυ[ποά].

2 ἐνταγ - Original ἐντακ - with superl. correction.

12 Possibly μ[ν] ηηπρρ[ε]. This phrase and the following sentence, αεξη to Ἰλ, not in B.G.

14f. B.G. ἄγωνυν γε ουβηκ ον, CGI. omits ΔΕ ουβηκ

17 Possibly, as Η.Ι.Ρ. suggests, ται τε [με]τ[ο] γ.
Spirit which is [ . . . ] and the Barbelo, this One because of whom they existed. This is the Pentad of Aeons of the Father who is the First Man, the Image of the Invisible Spirit.

This is the Fore-Thought, which is Barbelo, And the Thought with the Fore-Knowledge and the Indestructibility, and the Eternal Life and the Truth. This is the Aeonic Pentad of Male-Female which is the Aeonic Decad, which is the Father]. And he looked into the Barbelo in the pure light surrounding the Invisible Spirit . . . . . brightness. And she said . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . he (?) begat a spark of light in Light of the like Blessednesses. But he is [not] resembling his Greatness. This [was] an only begotten of the Mother’s Father, he having appeared . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . he alone. The only begotten of the Father [in the] pure light. [He] rejoiced

Traces seem to preclude "which existed with." One would expect something like "Virgin Spirit."

Original "she" corrected to "they."

Possibly "and his rays/brightness."

f. B.G. "he was not of even birth with her."

CGI. omits "but" and "with her."

Phaps. "who is his only begotten." Cf. John 1:18
Plate 54

20 εὖριν Νισι πᾶ[2ορά]τόν [Ἀπαρθενίκο]ν Νὶς

25 αὐτὸν Νισι πᾶ[2ορά]τον Νητὰς

25 ἐπὶ Νισι πᾶ[2ορά]τον ἕκτον Νητὰς

30 ἐπὶ Νισι πᾶ[2ορά]τον [Ἀπαρθενίκο]ν Νὶς

35 ἐπὶ Νισι πᾶ[2ορά]τον [Ἀπαρθενίκο]ν Νὶς

22 Perhaps CTE ΤΕΡΟΝΟΙΔΑ ΤΕ . B.G. Νὶς ομ ΕΤΕ ΤΕΥΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΤΕ ΤΒΑΡΒΗΛΛΩ. ;

25 ἘΜΝΑΤ([ΧΡΟ], B.G. ΝΧΠ . A of ΑΝ superlinear.

27 Τιτο μεριστόν: B.G. Νητὰς ουξώντος which Till would amend to οὐξώντως on the basis of CGI. CGPi shows emendation is unnecessary.

29 One is tempted to regard 1. 31 and 1. 32 through ἔβολα as a ditography and reconstruct lacuna here ἐπὶ Νητὰς Νῃτὶ τόξον ητοι. In other texts Νητὰς is obj. of Χειρ, but lacuna is too short for it.

35 Traces at beginning of lacuna could be ἩΜΕΕΥΕ.
namely, the Invisible, Virgin Spirit,

over the light which was existing, which
first appeared through the first Power
of anointing (?) ....... This is the Barbelo.
And he anointed him with the Goodness
of anointing (?) until he became perfect, he having
no defect of Goodnesses because he anointed him
with the [goodness] of the Invisible Spirit.
And he stood before him, pouring
upon his head an [ointment]. And when he received
from the Spirit ......... to the Holy Spirit
and the perfect Fore-thought through the Spirit.
And he gave glory to the Holy [Spirit] and the
perfect Fore-Thought, this one who appeared
because of her. And he asked to send him a fellow-
creation which is the Mind. And he considered in
...... ......... namely, the Invisible Spirit.

Perhaps "which is the Fore-thought."

"anointed" cf. G. of Truth 36:16-19 (CGP. 5:16-16)

"goodness" B.G. "Christ." The abstract form shows
Till's alternative "good" is correct.

"ointment"- perhaps "water" could be read. It is
a symbol of the Holy Spirit.

Perhaps "the ointment, he gave glory."

Traces could read "the thought..."
Plate 55


15. ᾿Αγά - (A), Β.Θ. has (B) πναν ἀυγερατη and ΚΘΙ. has ηζε -, imperfect.

2 χρε - Β.Θ. χε , cf. 1. 20 with Β.Θ. 32;9 for same usage.


17 Β.Θ. τύπρε ντιδρβήλω. There seems to be a trace of the stem of the γ of τυχύρε.
The Mind appeared, and he stood
with the Christ, giving glory to him and
the Barbelo. But these all were
in silence. And the Thought wished
5 through the Word of the Invisible Spirit
to create a work. And his desire was
for a work. And he appeared with
the Mind, and the Light giving glory to him.
And the Word followed after the Will,
10 for because of the Word, the Christ, the divine
self-begotten one created the All (the universe?).
But the Eternal Life in his Will, and the Mind
and the Fore-knowledge stood, they
glorified the Invisible Spirit and the
15 Barbelo, for because of her they existed. And the
Holy Spirit perfected the self-begotten God,
his (?) Son with the Barbelo,

1 Till (B.G. 31:8) thinks that text has erroneously
inserted the Achmimic imperfect before the regular
perfect. CGI. "he was standing."

2 A new sentence begins after "silence" (contra B.G.
"and a Thought. The Invisible Spirit appeared...")
because the conjunction usually joins clauses and
otherwise "mind" of 1. 1 would be subject of verb
"wished" contra 1. 7f.

17 Possibly "his son." B.G. "the son of the Barbelo."
Plate 55

18 ἀπεφαγμένη εἰπόνοις ἦν παζοράς τον ἁπάρακτον Κόν [Ἀπὸ]Νᾶ Ἱπαύτῳ

toΓενής Ὀνομα[τε] Ἱμ[ε]ς Ἱπαύτῳ


22 One would expect II Perf. (B.G. Ὄνα[κα] δὲ Ὀνο) instead of [ἀρ]κο, but lacuna is too short.

31 Ἐ[κ]- Original has an Δ corrected to Ε at second


Plate 55

so that he stood before the great One, [even] (?) the Invisible, Virgin Spirit.

20 But the self-begotten God, the Christ, it is who honored him with a great voice. [He] appeared through the Fore-Thought. And the Invisible, Virgin Spirit placed the self-begotten, true God over the Universe.

25 And he made subordinate to him all Power and the Truth which is in it so that he should know the All (Universe), this One whom they called from the [beginning] "Exalted above every name." For the name [is that which they] shall speak it to those who are worthy of it. For from the Light which is the Christ, and the Indestructibility, through . . . . . of the Spirit of four Lights, through the self-begotten God.

He expected to cause them to stand

18 B.G. "for he stood before him, the eternal, Virgin, Invisible Spirit." CGI. "to a standing to the great (?) Invisible Spirit."

26 B.G. "He caused the truth which is in it to be subordinate to him."


32 B.G. "through the Light-God the four..." CGI. "through the God of the Invisible Spirit his four..."
ερατού ἐρου ἡ τοῦ ὁμητ de τοῦ ὑψω ἐν
τεννοῖα δώρων τε[η]τοε de ἃ
ςομ τομτρμνὴη τεχνικ τεςθηης
τφρονήσ[ε]ης τεχνικ de [ε]ὗοοτ 2α
5 ετιν ποιητίν ἠφωστήρ αρμοζήλα ετε
ποί τε τοῦρπη ἐνγελος ποιητίν de
σεννεμάη ἃςι κεσοτ ἡ ποιητίν ποιητίν τεχ
ρίς τομή τεχρόφη πομεζεναυ de ἃ
ὅφωστήρ ὕπην [π]ενταυςεζη γα ερατη
10 εκῆ πομεζεναυ [π]οιητίν σεννεμάη de
ἀςι κεσοτ τοσην ἁποξηης τεςθηης
[ε]ςομ ποτηηςευε πομεζωομτ de ἃ
ἵφω
ςτήρ pe ἀδιελθε pe ποιητενταυςεζη γα
erατη εκῆ πομεζεναυ de σεννεμάη
15 ἢςι κεσοτ de ἃςι κεσοτ de τομτρμ
νήης ταγανθ τε[ή]τοε [π]ομεζητοε de
σενητίν δω[ε]πομεζη [γα ερατη εκῆ πομεζ]
[η]τοου ἅ[φωσ]ςτήρ ἤληηθο σεννεμάη

1 B.G. ἃςι σεννεμάη - Till suggests reading ἄςι σε
σομντε. He quotes Irenaeus in support. The ἃςι may
have replaced an original καί = Till's ἃςι. Otherwise it seems
superfluous.

13-35 The remainder of the plate is very faded and
difficult to read, but reconstructions are
reasonably certain by comparison of clear
letters with closely parallel text of B.G.

16 T[ε]τα - Perhaps lacuna is not large enough
for this, so could be read [ετ].
before him. But (?) (and) the three (are?) the Will, the Mind, and the Life. But the four powers (are) the Wisdom, the Grace, the Perception, the Understanding. But the Grace exists with the Light-Aeon, Harmozēl, who is the first Angel. But the other three Aeons are with the Aeon: The Grace, The Truth, The Form. But the Second Light, Ėroīēl, it is who was set over the second Aeon. But the other three Aeons with him are the Thought, the Understanding, the Memory. But the third Light is Daveithe who was set over the third Aeon. But the other three Aeons with him are the Wisdom, the Love, the Aspect. The fourth Aeon was set over the fourth Light, Ėlēlēth. But the other three

1 B.G. "(and) to the three." Irenaeus: "de thelemate rursus et aeonia zoe quatuor emissiones factas ad subministrationem quatuor luminibus."
Plate 58

ΔΕ ΝΑΙ ΚΕ[ΨΟ]ΜΤ [ΝΑΙ]ΨΝ ΠΞΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ
20 ΤΡΗΝΗ ΤΣΟ[ΦΙΑ] ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΠΕΥΤΟΟΥ ΜΦΩ
ΣΤΗΡ ΕΤΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΑΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΝΝΟΥΤΗ
ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΠΜΝΤΕ]ΝΟΟΥΣ ΝΝΑΙΨΝ ΕΤΑΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ
ΑΠΟΨΗΡΕ ΜΠΝΟΣ ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΝΧΡΕ
21 ΤΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ ΜΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΑΓΟΡΑΤΟΣ Ν
25 ΝΝΑ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΠΜΝΤΕ]ΝΟΟΥΣ ΝΝΑΙΨΝ ΝΝΑ
ΑΠΟΨΗΡΕ ΝΕ ΜΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΔΥΨ ΝΤΑ ΠΤΗΡΗ
ΣΑΚΡΟ ΓΡΑΙ 2Μ ΠΟΨΨΨ ΜΠΕΤΝΑ ΕΤΟΥ
ΔΑΒ ΕΒΟΛ 2Μ] ΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΕ
2Ν Π[ΨΟΡΡΙΤ ΝΚΟΟΥΝ] ΜΗ ΝΝΟΥΣ ΕΤΑΗΚ
30 ΕΒΟΛ ΤΣ[ΟΜ ...]Ο 2Μ ΠΟΨΨΨ ΜΠΑΓΟ
ΡΑΤΟΣ ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ ΜΗ ΠΟΨΨΨΕ ΜΠΑΥΤΟΓΕ
ΝΗΣ ΝΡΨΜΕ ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ ΨΟΡΡΙΤ (Ν)ΟΨΨΨ
ΕΒΟΛ ΔΥΨ ΤΜΕΕ ΨΕΧΑΨ ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΨ
ΝΔΙ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΕΙΚΟΝ ΝΝΑΝ ΔΕ Π ... .
35 .] ΔΑΔΑΜΑΝ ΔΥΨ ΔΥΣΕΨΨΕ ΕΡΑΤΗ ΔΑΝ

21 ΑΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΝΝΟΥΤΗ, 80 ΕΓΙ. Β.Γ. ΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΜΠ.
23 Β.Γ. ΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΜΠ. ΨΗΨ. A LETTER BEFORE ΝΧΡΕ.
25 Β.Γ. OMIT ΝΑΙ ΝΕ . RECONSTR. BASED ON CGI.
26 Β.Γ. ΜΠΑΥΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΤΟΣ. TILL DELETES Ρ.
33 ΨΕΧΑΨ ... Β.Γ. ΔΥΨ ΡΙΨΨ ΧΕ , CGI. ΔΥΨΟΥΤΕ
34. OVERSCORING INDICATES A PROPER NAME. TRACES
ΕΠΕΥΡΑΝ ΔΑΔΑΜΑΣ.
34f. OVERSCORING INDICATES A PROPER NAME. TRACES
LOOK LIKE ΥΕΝΔΑ . Β.Γ. ΔΑΔΑΜΑ , CGI. ΔΑΔΑΜΑΣ.

52
Aeons with him (are) the Perfection,
the Peace, the Wisdom. These are the four
Lights which stood before the self-begotten God.
These are the twelve Aeons which stood
with the Son of the Great One, the Self-begotten Christ,
through the good will of God, the Invisible Spirit.
These are the twelve Aeons belonging to the
Son, the self-begotten One. And the All
strengthened upon the Will of the Holy Spirit
through the Self-begotten. But through
the (First Knowledge) and the Perfect Mind,
the Power . . . in (?) the Will of the Invisible,
Perfect One and the Will of the Self-begotten
Perfect Man, the First Revelation,
and the Truth (?). The Virgin Spirit said,
"Call him! . . . . . . .
Adam!". And he set him over

21 "self-begotten" B.G. "self-begetter"
23 "self-begotten" B.G. "self-begetter"
25 B.G. omits "These are."
33 B.G. "He gave his name..." CGI. "They called his
name 'Adamas.'" H.J.P. "it is which he called..."
34f. I have no suggestion. B.G. "Adam" CGI. "Adamas."
Plate 57

πυροπ Ναιών MΝ πνοσ παυτογενής
πεκε γαζτὴν πυροπ μφωστήρ ἄρμο
ζηλ αὐῳ εὐσμοῦτ ἔμμαχ ἄγι νευσὸμ
αὐῳ ἄγι ναῇ ἄγι παγορατὸν ἄνουςομ
5 ἀνεφόν ἄναταρη ερὸς αὐῳ ἄγδοος
ἄγι εοού αὐῳ ἄγςμοι ἀπαγορατὸν η
πνά εὐῳ ἔμμος δὲ ἐτβήτκ ἀπτήρῳ
ποτέ αὐῳ ἐρῄ πτήρῳ νανάγη ερὸς
ἀνοκ δὲ ἐναςμὸ[γ] ἄτατ εοού ναὸ αὐῳ
10 παυτογενής MΝ Ναιών πυγομτ πιῶτ
tμαυ πυγὴρε τοὺς ἄτελείος δῷ αὐ
tεὸ ερατῇ μπευζῆρε σνβ αὐΝ πμαζ
σνο Ναιών Νάρπη πμαζςνο μφωστήρ
ὡρωήλ δραὶ δὲ γμ πμαζγομτ Ν[αιών
15 αὐτεζό δε ερατῇ μπεςπερμα ἄςχο 
αὐΝ πμαζγομτ μφωστήρ ἀδυείς[ε]
αὐτεζό δε ερατοὺ [η]μψυχη [η]νετού[α][θ]
νάραὶ δὲ γμ πμεγγτοού [η]αιών αὐτες[ε]

1 πνοσ - B.G. adds Ννοῦτη . Παυτογενής - B.G.
Pαυτογενήτωρ , CGI. Παυτογενής Ννοῦτη.
4 παγορατον - B.G. adds ΜΓΝΑ. Ννοῦ - Old
Doubling of Ν , so E.V. B.G. Ννοῦσομ.
10 Ναιών - Emend to Ναιών , so CGI. and TIIl in B.G.
12f. ΔΑΝ through Νάρπη omitted from B.G. due to
Homoioi teleuton.
17 Seems to be some Confusion of text here. B.G. has
ΜΠΕΣΠΕΡΜΑ ἄςχο ΝΝΕΨΥΧΗ ΝΝ[ΕΤΟΥ] ἄς
Ναι ευγομτ ύδ εν[θ] γμ πμεγγομντ Ννοῦ.
the First Aeon with the Great One, the Self-begotten, the Christ, with the first Light, Harmozēl, and his powers existing with him.

And the Invisible One gave to him a spiritual, unconquerable power. And he spoke, he praised and blessed the Invisible Spirit, saying, "Because of you the All became and the All shall return to you. And I shall bless and give glory to you and the Self-begotten and the Aeon--The Three: the Father, the Mother, the Son--the perfect Power."

And he set his son Sēth over the second Aeon, before the second Light, Ērōiēl. But in the third Aeon the seed of Sēth was set over the third Light, Daveithe.

But (?) the souls of the Holy Ones were set up. But in the fourth Aeon were set up

1 "great" B.G. adds "God." "the self-begotten"- B.G. "the self-begotten." CGI. "the self-begotten God."

4 "the invisible"- B.G. adds "Spirit."

10 "the Three" are (1) The Father=you (1. 9)=the Invisible Spirit, (2) The Son=the Self-begotten=Christ, (3) The Mother=the Aeon=Barbelo.

12 B.G. omits "over. . . . before."

17 B.G. "the seed of Sēth, the holy Souls, these which exist eternally in the third Light."
Eratoy NINEUXN ΝΑΝ[ΕΤ]ΝΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ 6Π
20 πανρώμα αὐῳ μὴνου ΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙ 2Ν οὗ σεπν ἀλλὰ αὐῳ 2Ν οὐσεγια αὐῳ ΜΗΝ ἜΩΣ ΔΗΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙ ΔΥΣΗΠΤΕ ΠΑΣΤΝ ΠΜΕΓ ητοοοι ΜΗΩΘΗΠΗΡ ΝΑΙ ΝΕ ΖΕΝ ΑΠΟ ΝΕ ΕΥΣΕΙΟΥ ΜΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠΙΝΑ
25 ΤΣΟΦΙΑ ΔΕ ΝΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΕΣΩΟΟΤ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΣΜΕΥΕΥΣ 2Ν ΟΥΜΕΕΥΣ [Ε]ΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΕ ΜΗ ΤΕΝΘΥΜΗΣΙΣ ΜΠΑΖΟΡΑΤΟΝ ΜΠΙΝΑ ΔΥΩ ΤΠΡΟΓΝΗΣΙΣ ΑΣΟΥ[ΨΥΕ Ε]ΨΩΝΣ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΝΖΗΤΕ ΔΧ[Ν, ... ... ΙΑΠΕΤΝΑ
30 ΜΠΕΧΡΕΥΔΟΚΕΙ ΑΥ[... ΤΕΣ]ΨΥΒΡ ΝΖΗΤΡ ΔΥΩ ΔΑΜ ΠΕΥΜΟΚΜΕΚ [Ε]ΜΠΕΓΑΥΡΗΣΥΝΟΥ ΗΡΟΚΕΙ ΔΕ ΝΌΙ ΠΠΡΟΣΒΙΠΟΝ ΝΤΕΣΜΝΤ ΖΟΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΕΧΙΝΕ ΦΕ ΜΠΕΧΨΥΝΗ ΑΣΜΟΚΜΕΚ ΔΕ ΧΨΡΙΣ ΠΟΥΨΥ ΝΠΕΤΝΑ
35 ΔΥΩ ΤΣΟΟΥΝ ΜΠΕΧΨΥΝΗ ΑΣΕΙΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ

19. ΝΑΝ[ΕΤ]ΝΑΤΣΟΟΥΝ Β.Γ.ΝΤΑΠΥCOΨΥΝ ΚΩΙ. ΝΑΝΡ ΚΩΨΥΝ
21. ΜΗΝΜΩΣ C Β.Ο. ΝΣΔΕ ΝΕ
23. ΝΑΙ ΝΕ 2Ν ΑΠO ΝΕ, Β.Ο. ΠΕΝΤΑΠΟΝΤΟΒΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ, ΚΩΙ. ΕΥΣΕΙΟΥΣ ΕΤΜΑ ΕΤΘΑΜΟΥ
27. ΑΣΟΥ[ΨΥΕ Ε]Β.Ο. ΑΣΡΝΑΚ 29 ΡΗΒ.ΨΨΨΥ
30. ΠΕΡΗΒΟΣ ΑΥ[ΨΨ ΕΝ ΨΕ] Β.Ο. ΟΥΤΕ ΕΝ.
33,35 ΨΨΨΥ = ΨΨΨΥ. Cf. Kahle, I, p. 145 for ΨΨΨΥ. B.O. ΕΣΜΦΨΝΟΣ.
the souls of those [who were] ignorant of the Pleroma. And they did not repent speedily, but they remained for a while, and afterward they repented. They were with the fourth Light, Ἐλασθ. These were some creatures giving glory to the Invisible Spirit.

But the Wisdom of the Thought, being an Aeon, she meditated within herself, with the thinking of the Invisible Spirit, and the Fore-Knowledge. She wanted to show forth an image out of her without (?) . . . of the Spirit.

He did no agree . . . . . . her (?) yokefellow and without his thought. But the face of her husband did not consent. Therefore she did not find her union (?).

But she intended (thought) without the Will of the Spirit and (without) the knowledge of her union. She brought forth.

19 "of those...ignorant."- B.G. "who knew"
21 "afterward"- B.G. "but at last."
23f. "these...creatures"- B.G. "whom he bound to him."
CGI. "They were bound to that place."
29 Perhaps read "union" in the lacuna.
32 "husband"- literally "her manhood."
Plate 58

ἐτέ βε τσόμ δε ἡνάτηρο εροσ ετήνης τε ἔπε τεςμεευέ Ϛυπτε ἵναργον ἀυω
ἀγογόν ἐκ το ἡνάτης ἕσι οὐ γῳβατ
ἀταύκ ἀυω εὐππίβιειτ απεκσμοτ

5 ἐκ το ἀπατμιού ἀκμ πεςμυβρ ἡνάτης τρἀ ἀυω ΝΕ αὐτσκμοτ πε ατείνε ἤντεμα

ἀυ εὐο ἡνάτε μορφή ἡνταρές ναυ ατε ατεκ

οὐσι εὐππίβιετ ἤνογτυπος εὐππίβι αειτ ἡνάρκων ἕντο ἡνογεὶ ἦνβαλ ἄδε

10 ἄνεὐο ἦνε ἠνικ[κυ]τ ἦνάτε βραγνε εὐτ

οὐσιν ἄδνοξι γῖκανβολ ἡμοκ ἄντβολ

ἡντοπος ετήμμαυ ξεκαδ εἴνε λαῦ

2ν ἡντμογ ναυ ερογ ατ ἡνταταμιογ γὰρ

2ν οὐμπτόατούουν ἀυω ακτκ ερογ ἅ

15 ὧτο κλοολε ἡνογεὶν ἀυω ακω ἡνογεὶρο

νος 2ν τματε ἄντε κλοολε ξεκαδ εἴνε

ἀδαυ ναυ ερογ εἰ[ῆμ]τι ατεπηνα ετουαβ

ετουμούτε ερογ ἄτε τμαδυ ἡνετονζ

ἀδμούτε ἄδε ετεύραν ἄτε ἰαλταθω[θ] ἐτοι

4. εὐ- to end. B.G. ἡνσαείε 2ν πεχείνες θοί.

ἑμντυπ ροφή 2ν τεςμορφή.

6. ἄνεὐο ατείνε, B.G. ἄνχεινε αν ἄμπινε

κι. ἑμντυπ τυποκ 2ν τζιάδα ἄντμαδυ

18. τμαδυ ἡνετονζ κι. adds τρπογ,

B.G. ζωή τμαδυ νογον νίμ
But because of the irresistible power within her, her thought was not idle. And an imperfect work appeared from her, and differing from her form, because she created it without her yokefellow. And it was a non-form to the likeness of its mother, it being in another form. But when she saw her desire, it was in an altered, dragon form (with) the aspect of a lion. But his eyes were like the lightning flashes when they give light. She cast it away from her to the outside of those places, so that no one of the immortals should see it, because she made it in an ignorance. And she surrounded it with a Light-Cloud. And she placed a throne in the midst of the cloud so that no one should see it except the Holy Spirit who is called "The Mother of the Living Ones." But she called his name, 'Yaldabaōth.' This One

4 "differing"- "form"- B.G. "hateful (?) in his likeness." CGI. "his form is not in her form."

6 "was...likeness"- B.G. "he was not like the likeness." CGI. "he was not in the type of the likeness of the Mother."

18 CGI adds "all" after "the Mother of." B.G. "ΖΩΗ, the Mother of everyone."
Plate 58

20 τε πυμοτ Ν[α]ρξων παί εταξι ουνοσ 

25 ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΚ Ε[θ]ολ 2[Ι][Ν τεχμοδυ αυ βα 

30 κεσωμη εβολ ΜΜΟΣ αυ χυπωμεν Ε 

35 βολ 2Ν Ντοτος εταυχιον ΝΖητου αι 

40 εμαζε αύταμιο ναυ ΝΟΠΕΚΕΙΩΝ 2Ν 

45 ουμαζ ΝΚΨΤ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ παί ετυμοε 

50 τενον αυ βατωμεν 2Ν τεχμονοιδ 

55 παί ετυμοτ 2ραϊ ΝΖητι αυ χυπο Ν 

60 ογέζουχια ναυ πυμοτ μεν τεχμαν 

65 πε αθωθ (παί) ετούμοτε ερον Νηι Νηρ 

30 ΝΕΑ ΞΕ [. . . . ]Ε ΠΜΕΣΓΝΑΥ ΠΕ ΖΑΡΜΑΣ 

35 ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ [ΠΕ ΠΒΑΛ] ΝΠΚΨΤ(Τ) ΠΜΕΣΓΟΜ 

40 ΠΕ ΚΑΑΙΝ (.]ΜΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΣΓΟΥΟΥ ΠΕ ΙΑΒΗ 

45 ΠΜΕΣΓΟΥ ΠΕ ΔΑΨΩΝΙΟΥ ΠΕΤΟΥΜΟΤΕ 

50 ΕΡΟΝ ΞΕ ΣΑΒΑΨΕ ΠΜΕΣΓΟΟΥ ΠΕ ΚΑΙΝ 

55 ΠΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΤΕ ΕΡΟΝ ΝΗΙ ΝΓΕΝΕΔ ΝΗΡΨ 

60 ΜΕ ΞΕ ΠΡΗ ΠΜΕΣΓΑΤΗ ΠΕ ΑΒΕΛ ΠΜΕΣ 

65 ΥΜΟΥΝ ΠΕ ΑΒΡΙΚΕΝΕ ΠΜΕΣΓΥΙΣ ΠΕ ΙΜΩΙΛ 

26 ΤΨΜΤ, Β.Γ. ΝΟΥΖΘ. Error for ΤΨΜΕ?
Plate 58

20 is the first Archon, this one who received great power from his mother. And he withdrew from her. And he removed from the places where he had been born. He took possession (?). He made for himself other Aeons in a flame of fiery light, which exists now. And he was stupefied in his madness which is upon him. And he begat powers for himself. The first, indeed, his name is 'Athōth.' This one whom the generations (of men) call him '... ' The second is 'Harmas,' who has the eye of fire. The third is 'Kalīla' ... . The fourth is 'Yābēl.' The fifth is 'Adōnaïou,' who is called 'Sabaōth.' The sixth is 'Cain,' this one whom the generations of men call 'Rā.' The seventh is 'Abel.' The eighth is 'Abrisene.' The ninth is 'Yōbēl.'

26 "stupefied"- B.G. "joined."

30 The Egyptian God Thoth is equated with Greek Hermes.

31 "fire"- so B.G. but Till, following CGII., would emend to "jealousy."
Plate 59

πμεζμντ τε ἀρμούπτιενλ πμεζμν
τούς τε μελχερδαώνειν πμεζμν
tsnooyc τε βελιας παὶ τε ετςικ ἤμικ

5 οὐκ κατὰ στερεώμα ὅπε ε ἔγγιτ ἔξιν τμεζ
cασυκὴ ἀπε ἄγι τοῦ ἀδή πυθὶὴ ἠπνούν

10 αὐ ὅτο ἤγο ύκάκε νατκοούνε τε που
tοεῖν δε νταρεττω ω μὴ πκακε αὐτρεπτκα

15 ωκε τοείν πκακε δε νταρεττω ω μὴ

20 μεζμντα ὅλο αὐθμαυθ ὅτε εὖ

σώτεν πιαρχων δε ετιγκον ὅντας ἰμελ'

25 ἤμοιτ ἄραν πυορττ ἄραν πε ἱλατσιῶν

πμεζμντ υπε σκᾶλκε πμεζμντ τῳ

σαμαλ παὶ δε οὐραντι βεν τεχαπ[ον]δ

1 B.G. ζάρμουπιαλ, ΚΓΙ. ζάρμουπιαλ.
2 ΜΕΛΧΕΡ- Not in B.G. or CGI.
5f. ΠΜΕΖΜΑΣΟΥΗ ΑΡΕ, B.G. simply ΜΠΧΥΕ.
7 ΠΥΩΥ- B.G. Tww must be error, cf. CGI. ΜΕΡΙΖΕ.

10-15 Not in B.G. or CGI. 10 COOYNE cf. CAYNE (Ag).
Form above found in IV cent. Apoc. of ΕΙΛΙΑΣ, Kahlē,
I, p. 64, 240n.
Plate 59

The tenth is 'Armoupieēl.' The eleventh is 'Melcher Adōnein.' The twelfth is 'Beliae.' This it is who is over the pit of Hades. And he appointed seven kings, one for each firmament of the heaven, over the seventh (!) heaven, and five over the pit of the Abyss, so that they should reign. And he distributed on them of his fire. But he did not send forth the Light-Power which he received from his Mother. For he is a darkness of ignorance. But the Light, when it mixed with the Darkness, enlightened the Darkness. But when the Darkness mixed with the Light, it darkened the Light, and it became neither Light or Darkness, but it became weak (?). The Archon, therefore, which is weak (?) has three names. The first is Yaldabaōth. The second is Saklas. The third is Samaēl. But this one is impious in his madness.


5 B.G. simply "over the heavens."

7 "distributed," so CGI. B.G. "he appointed."
ταί ετσοσοπ τύραφι νήμητα δυχόος γερ ζε
20 δνοκ τε πνούτε αυσ [μ]ν κενούτε υσοτ
νσαβλάνει ενο νατσουμ ρπέχαταιρο
πμα ενταγει εβολ αμαυ αυσ αυταμιο
νσι ναρκων νασσυγε νσομ ναυ αυσ
νσομ αυταμιο ναυ νασου ναγγελος α
25 πούδ ωμητούρ ωμήτυσετθ ναγγελος
.άε νε νσωμα νήριν πωσος (πς) αδώθ
ογο νασεουν πε πμεσνού πε ελω
ώιου ογο ντυφων πε πμεσωμοτ
πε ατσαφιοκ ογο [ν]οιοει[θ]ε πε πμεσ
30 ατοου πε ιαθ ογο [ν]αρκου[φ] πε ευν
τεχςασχε ηάτε π[μεςτ]ου πε σαβαωθ
ογο ναρκουμ πμεσςου πε αδωθ
ογο νηε πε πμεςασχε πε σαββαθ
ογο νκωτ πε ευτογειν ταϊ τετςε
35 βαομας ητε πσαββατον ιαταβαθ[θ]
άβ νε νουτου αμαυ νούμην[θ]ε
26. αδωθ, B.G. ιόω θ, σγι. αωθ
28. τυφων, B.G. νειω 29. ατσαφιοκ σγι. ακτο-
30. ιαω, B.G. ιαω σγι. ιαζω
30ρ. πε υντίλ αθε, B.G.I. πγα ναρκουμ νγα ιμογει
32. ιε σ.σ.α.σγι.απι: σαββαθ σ.σ.α.σαββαθ
34. B.G. ιαθ νυγα δομε ιφωτ πφωτ νκωτ. B.G.I. Νεκρωμ
which is in him. For he said,

"I am God, and there is not another God except me," he being in ignorance. He did not strengthen the place from whence he came. And the Archons made seven powers for them, and the powers made for themselves six angels

for each one until they made 365 angels.

But these are the names of the bodies. The first is Athōth. He has an aspect of a sheep. The second is Elōaiou. He has an aspect of a Typhon. The third is Astaphaicos. He has the aspect of a hyena. The fourth is Yaō. He has the aspect of a dragon with seven heads. The fifth is Sabaōth. He has the aspect of a dragon. The sixth is Adōnin. He has the aspect of an ape. The seventh is Sabbade. He has the aspect of a fire which lightens. These are the Hebdomas of the week. But Yaldabaōth had manifold faces,

24 "powers" i.e. seven angels, cosmocrators.
28 "Typhon"- B.G. "donkey."
30f. "has...heads"- CGI. "with a lionlike dragon aspect."
33 "ape"- B.G. "partridge" unless = CGI. "ape."
34 B.G. "flame of fire."
Plate 60

ΜΠΡΟΣΩΤΟΝ ἘΧΟΥΣῗ ἩΙΧΩΥΟΥ ΤΗ
ΡΟΥ ΣΩΣΤΕ ΑΤΡΕΨΕΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΓΟ ΝΑΣ
ΡΕΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΗΟΥΨῗΕ ΕΤΗΤΟ
ΩΤ ΓΝ ΤΜΙΤΕ ΝΖΕΝΣΑΡΑΦΙΝ ΔΥΠΝ.

5 ΥΣΕ ΔΗΧΩΥΕ ΕΒΟΛ 2Μ ΠΕΓΧΚΨΤ ΕΤΒΕ
ΠΑΪ ΔΗΡ ΧΩΕΙΣ ΕΡΟΥΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΣΟΜ Α
ΠΕΟΥΥ ΕΤΨΟΟΤ ΝΑΥ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΤΕ
ΤΕΨΜΑΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΥ Α
ΜΙΝ ΆΜΟΥ ΣΕ ΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΥΡΠΙΣΕ ΔΕ

10 ΑΝ ΑΤΜΑ ΕΝΤΑΧΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΗ ἈΔΥ
ΑΥΜΟΥΨΚ ΜΗ ΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ ΕΤΨΟΟΤ
ΖΑΡΟΥ ΝΥΣΨΗΝ ΝΣΟΜ ΖΡΑΙ 2Μ ΠΕΗΜΕ
ΕΥΕ ΔΥΨ ΖΜ ΠΤΡΕΨΧΟΟΣ ΑΥΨΨΗΝ ΔΥ
Ψ ΑΥΨΡΑΝ ΕΤΣΟΜ ΤΣΟΜ ΑΥΨΡΧΕΣ

15 ΘΕΙ ΑΝ ΠΙΚΟΝΤΠΕ ΠΨΟΡΨ ΜΕΝ ΤΕ
ΤΜΝΤΧΡΣ ΖΑΣΤΝ ΨΨΟΡΨ ΔΕΨΘΕ
ΠΜΕΖΝΝΑΥ ΤΕ ΤΠΡΟΝΩΙΑ ΖΑΣΤΝ
ΠΜΕΖΝΝΑΥ ΕΛΨΩΙΨ ΠΜΕΖΨΟΜΤ

3. ΤΕΗΟΥΨΗΕ Β.Θ.ΠΕΤΖΝΝΑΥ ΣΩΙ.ΤΕΗΨΨΑΨΑΣ
35 ΕΤΨΟΟΤ ΤΟ ΚΑΡΑΦΙΝ ΝΟΤ ΗΝ ΟΤΕΡ ΤΕΧΤΑ.
10. ΝΑΥΡΨΙΘΕ (Α) ΙΜΡ. ΝΟΓ. ΟΡ. Β.Θ. ΕΨΑ ΝΩΝΙΤ.
11. ΑΥΜΟΥΨΚ Β.Θ.ΝΟΥΣΙΘ ΟΡ. ΚΑΗΛΕ, Π. Ρ. 145.
18. ΤΗΡΕΙ ΑΝ ΠΑΡΤΙΑΛΙΑ ΛΕΓΙΒΛΗ ΓΛΟΥΣ ΑΒΟΥ ΤΗΝ
ΤΙΝΟΡΝΩ ΖΑΣΤΝ
ΠΜΕΖΝΝΑΥ ΕΛΨΩΙΨ ΠΜΕΖΨΟΜΤ

18. There is a partially legible gloss above the final word.
he being placed over them all
so that he should wear a face before
them all according to his desire, he being
in the midst of Seraphim. He divided
upon them some of his fire. Therefore
he ruled over them, because of the glorious
power in him of the light of the Mother.
Therefore he called himself
"God." But he did not have confidence
in the place whence he proceeded. And
he mixed with the powers which were
beneath him seven powers in his
thought. And while he spoke, it happened.
And he named the power "The Power." He began
from above. The first, indeed, is
the Goodness, with the first 'Athôth.'
The second is the Fore-thought with
the second 'Elôaiô.' The third

3 B.G. "his pleasure" - CGI. "his design." Other
texts omit "he being in the midst of Seraphim."
9f. Jonas translates B.G. (from German?) "renoun-
cing the substance (ὑποστάσις) from which he
had issued."
11 "mixed" - B.G. "he united."
18 Gloss reads "the second is the godhead with..."
Plate 60

20 μὴ ταξινομεῖτε τὸ μέγατον τε 
τὸ μέγατε τε τὸ μνητερό  
καὶ τὸ μεγαλὸ πε τὸ κωπότα

25 καθαράτων οὖν ἀπὸ οὐνταῖν ἐμαὶν ἐν 
ουσετερεωμά κατὰ τε ἡαιών οὖν οἱ 
μέν ἄντρον ἐπο[ς]τὸ κατὰ πεῦον ἡννάττε 
ἐπωο[ς]τὸ . . . . ἕκαμ ἄπρος  
βασιλέα ἐρᾶος . . . ἐπορφιεγενεντωρ

30 εὐρῆκον γραῖ τὴν τοῦ ἄπρος ἂν ἁτο 
ἐρᾶος κατὰ πεῦον ἡννάττε εὐσωον 
καὶ εὐσωρῷ ἀγὼ ἄμπετατοιον ναῦ 
δωτε εὐνταῖν ἐμαὶν ἁπρος  
καὶ ἄν αὐτεσενοῦ κατὰ ποιε ἡννωορ 

35 ἡαιών ἐνταγωμέτε δωτε ἀτρεφ

19. ἀκταφαίω, ὁ.θ.ἀκταφαίοις
20. μὴ ταξινομεῖτε, ὁ.θ.πκώστ
22. καὶ τὰς ὀφθαλμοὶ τὰς σκευηθέος ὅσον ΚΠΙ. ΠΙ. 25,74;  
идентифицировано в θ.α. 60,3 как δωσομεῖοι, ΚΠΙ.  
dωσομεῖοι πε τὸ κωπὸς ὁ.θ.τελευτηκμέοις οἱ. ο.θ. 50,2
26. ἡαιών, ὁ.θ. ἀγὼ ὀφθαίων. κατὰ πείνε ἡαιών.
is 'Astraphaiō.' The fourth is the
20 Lordship, with the fourth, 'Yaö.'

The fifth is the Kingdom, with the
fifth, 'Sanbaöth.' The sixth is the Envy, with
the sixth, 'Adönein.' The seventh is
the Wisdom, with the seventh,
25 'Sabbateōn.' But these have

a firmament (In) every Aeonic heaven. These, indeed,
were given names according to the glory of the non-
heavenly, to the first (?) . . . power. But the
names which were given them by (?) their Chief-begetter
30 strengthened them. But the names given unto them
according to the glory of the non-heavenly
were to them for a destruction and a powerlessness to
them so that they bore two names. But in every
way he adorned him according to the likeness
35 of the first Aeons which came into existence so that he

21 "kingdom" - B.G. "the fire."
22 "fire" - B.G. "understanding."
26 "Aeonic" - B.G. "and an Aeon according to the Aeonic
   likeness."
Plate 61

ΤΑΜΙΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΜΑΤ ΝΟΤΤΕΚΟ ΟΥΧ 2ΟΤΙ
ΝΤΑΥ ΧΕ ΟΥΝΟΥ ΑΝΩΤΤΕΚΟ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΣΟΜ
ΕΤΝΗΣΤΗΤ ΤΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΧΙΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΝ
ΤΕΜΑΔΩ ΕΑΚΣΠΟ ΝΗΣΤΗΤ ΜΠΙΝΕ Μ
ΠΤΣΕΝΟ ΕΥΝΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΤΚΤΙΚΙΣ ΕΤΚΧΤΕ
ΕΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΠΑΙΔΙ ΝΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΕΤΚΤΗΡ
ΕΡΟΥ ΝΑΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΧΨΠΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΥ ΠΕ
ΔΑΥ ΝΑY ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΑΝΚ. ΟΥΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΡΕΥ
ΚΨΓ ΑΥΩ ΜΝ ΚΕΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΟΒΑΒΛΑΙ ΠΑΙ ΔΕ

ΕΝΤΑΥΟ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΥΡΧΜΑΝΕ ΝΝΝΑΓΓΕ
ΛΟΣ ΕΤΨΟΟΤ ΨΑΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΟΥΝ ΚΕΝΟΥΤΕ
ΨΟΟΤ ΕΝΕ ΜΝ ΚΕΟΥΑ ΓΑΡ ΨΟΟΤ ΝΕ ΝΙΜ
ΠΕΤΥΝΑΚΨΓ ΕΡΟΥ ΑΣΡΑΡΧΕΣΘΕ ΣΕ ΝΨΕ
ΕΙ ΝΟΙ ΤΜΑΔΥ ΑΣΜΗΝ ΑΠΨΤΑ. ΖΜ ΠΤΡΕΥ

ΣΨΧΒ ΝΟΙ ΚΠΙΡΡΙΕ ΜΠΕΣΟΥΕΙΝ ΑΥΩ ΑΣ
ΣΤΟΜΣΤΜ ΕΒΟΛ ΣΕ ΜΠΕΥΡΣΥΜΦΩΝΕΣ
ΝΜΜΑΣ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΣΨΒΡ ΖΩΤΡ ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΠΕ
ΧΑΕΙ ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΟΥ ΠΕ ΑΣΨΕΕΙ ΝΤΟΥ ΔΕ

1f. ΟΥΧ 2ΟΤΙ, for this Gk. const. with fol. ΑΛΛΑ
cf. John 7:22, II Cor. 1:24, Phil. 4:17

13. ΝΨΕΕΙ, Β.Θ. ΕΠΙΘΕΡΕ
14-16. ΠΤΡΕΥ- ΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ not in B.Θ.
16. ΣΤΟΜΣΤΜ not attested by Crum. Read ΣΤΟΜΣΤΜ.
18. ΟΥ ΠΕ, for this construction see semantic parallel
at Luke 8:9, Gk.
should create them in the imperishable form. But not
that he saw the imperishable, but the Power
which is in him, which he received from
his Mother, when she begat in him the likeness of
the Proper One. But seeing the creation surrounding
him, and the multitude of angels wheeling around
him, those who existed through him, he said
to them, "I am a jealous God, and there is no
other God except me." But this he
proclaims, signifying to the angels
existing under him that there is another God.
For if no other existed, of whom
shall he be jealous? The Mother, therefore, began
to go to and fro. She knew the defect, when the
brightness of her light waned. And she was
darkened because her yoke-fellow did not
agree with her." But I said,
"O Lord, what does it mean, she stirred?" But he

8f. Ex. 20:5, Isa. 45:5.
13 "go to and fro." Till translates Gr. of B.G.
"to move." CGPI. uses same verb in l. 13 & 16.
15 "waned"—cf. M. Ps. Ek. "waning or diminution."
The Coptic words are the same as "defect" (l. 14)
and "waned."
18 Lit. "what is it—she went to and fro?" Cf.
Lk. 8:9 "What might this parable be?"
Plate 61

Δήσω βε τελαγ δε μπριμεγγε δε κα

20 τα θε ενταγχοος νης μωυςχες γιξη

Μμογειοογέ μμαν αλα πταρεσναγ

ατκακιο ενταγχοπε αυγ πξι ενταγ

χιτη νης πεσγκρε αςμετανωει

αυγ αυβεμε ωμπε νας γη πκακε ν

25 τμωντατοουν αυγ αςαρκει νωμπε

γη ουκιμ πκιμ δε τε πμεμε αξι

δε νης παγσΑνες ηογκομ εβολ γι

τη τεγμαδυ ναγο γαρ ηντατοουν εγ

μεεγγε γαρ ας μν[. . . . .]π ειμυτι

30 ατεγμαδυ ουδατ[ε αχναν] δε απαγαη

πναγγελος ναγ εν[ταγχεν]ντου αξι

δε δε μμογ εγραη εκωου τμαδυ δε

πταρεςμημε ατςβωμ ωπκακε δε μ

πεσγπηπε γη ουβικ αςμημε δε

35 τε μπεγπριυμφωσει νημμας ν

ει πεσγηφρ ηγωτρ αςμετανωει

19. Μπρ-, B.G. interrogative, εκμεγγε

24. αυβεμε το νας, B.G. εκνα εκνημυ

25. αςαρκει, B.G. αςαρκεκοδηι

26. ουκιμ B.G. εκτος

29. Η.Ι.Ρ. suggests μη [ογδ ζοο][η]

31f. αςζικε B.G. νεχκρο, till reads άρο

33. ζςκω, B.G. εφοιγκε
laughed. He said, "Do not think that

(it is) as Moses said: 'over the
waters.' It is not! But when she had seen
the evil existing, and the form which her
son received, she repented.

And a forgetfulness befell her in the darkness of
the ignorance. And she began to be ashamed
in an agitation. But the agitation is the going to and
fro. But the Self-willed One took a power from
his Mother, for he was acting in ignorance, for
he was thinking that there is no [one existing] except
his Mother alone. But [he saw] the multitude
of angels, these [whom he created]. He exalted
himself, therefore, over them. But when the Mother
knew the garment of the darkness that
he was not perfect, she knew, therefore,
that her yoke-fellow did not
consent with her. She repented

19 "Do not think"—B.G. "Are you thinking...?"

24 "forgetfulness...her."—B.G. "while she went to
and fro."

25 "she began"—so B.G. CGI. "she was first."

26 "an agitation"—B.G. "to return."

29 "one existing"—so H.J.P.

31 "exalted"—B.G. "he was victorious."

33 "garment"—B.G. "abortion."
Plate 62

5 B.G. adds ΝΟΥΜΠΑ after ΕΥΥ.ΜΑ.

7 ΑΝ - Probably= (S) ΑΝ. Omitted in B.G.


9 ΠΕΡΣΑΤΑ- CGI. NEY ΥΨΑΝΤΑ. ΑΥΕΙΝΕ - Ε. So CGI. But ΑΝ and ΑΛΛΑ seem to be against this. Probably should read with B.G. ΝΤΑΣΤΑΕΙΝΕ.

13f. ΗΒΟΛ through ΕΤΤΟΔΕ omitted in other texts.

16f. B.G. ΤΕ ΚΗΜΑ ΝΟΥΚΙ ΑΝ ΤΕ, CGI. ΝΤΑΣΤΑΕΙΝΕ ΕΙ Ε.[

17 Original has dittography of ΥΨΑΝΤΕ.
Plate 62

with a great weeping. And they heard
the plea of her repentance. And the entire Pleroma
brought a blessing upon her
from the Invisible, Virgin Spirit.

5 The Holy Spirit poured upon her (a Spirit)
from their full Pleroma.
For her consort came to her again.
But he came down to her from the Pleroma
that he might correct her defect. And she was (not)
10 brought up to her own Aeon
but to the Heaven of her son so that she should
be in the Nonad until she corrected her defect.
And a voice came from the exalted Aeonic
Heaven: "The Man exists and the
15 Son of Man." But the first Archon, Yaldabaöth,
heard, thinking that the voice
was from his Mother.

5 B.G. adds "a Spirit" after "upon her."
7 "again" instead of negative.
9 "her defect"- CGI. "their defect." "(not)"- so B.G. This emendation seems required by the
neg. particle and the adversative "but" of 1. 11.
13 "from" through "heaven" omitted in other texts.
16 B.G. "The voice is not a coming..." CGI. "the
voice came from the Mother." (reconstruction by
present editor.)
Plate 62

\[\begin{align*}
\textit{ΔΥ ΔΥ \ ΜΠΕΥΗΜΕ \ ΞΕ \ ΝΤΑΣΕΙ \ ΤΩΝ \ ΔΥ \ ΔΥΤΣΕΒΟΟΥ \ ΝΣΙ \ ΠΜΗΤΡΟΠΑΤΩΡ \ ΕΤΟΥΑΔΕ}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
20 \ ΑΥ \ ΠΤΕΛΕΙΟC \ ΤΕΤΡΟΝΟΙΑ \ \text{ΕΤΑΝΗΚ} \ \text{ΕΒΟΛ} \\
\text{ΤΣΙΚΩΝ} \ \text{ΜΠΙΑΣΟΡΑΤΟC} \ \text{ΕΤΕ} \ \text{ΠΑΙ \ ΠΕ} \ \text{ΠΕΙΩT} \\
\text{ΜΠΙΤΗΡH} \ \text{ΠΑI} \ \text{ΕΝΤΑΠΤΗΡH} \ \text{ΨΩΤΕ} \ \text{ΝΡΗΤ} \\
\text{TΣΩΡPΙ} \ \text{ΝΡΩΜΕ} \ ΞΕ \ \text{ΖΝ} \ \text{ΟΥΤΥΠΟC} \ \text{ΝΑΝΑΡΕ} \\
\text{ΑC} \ \text{ΑΗΟΥΨΝ2} \ \text{ΕΒΟΛ} \ \text{ΜΠΕΥΗΕΙΝΕ} \ \text{ΑΥ \ ΑΥ} \\
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
25 \ \text{ΣΤΩΤ} \ \text{ΘΗΡH} \ \text{ΝΣΙ} \ \text{ΠΑΙΨΝ} \ \text{ΜΠΙΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΩΝ} \\
\text{ΑΥ \ ΑΝΣΙΤΕ} \ \text{ΜΠΝΟΥΝ} \ \text{ΑΥΚΙΜ} \ \text{ΑΥ} \ \text{ΕΒΟΛ} \\
\text{ΣΙΤΙΝ} \ \text{ΜΜΟΥΕΙΟΟΥΞΕ} \ \text{ΝΑI} \ \text{ΕΤΥΨΟΟΠ} \ \text{ΣΙΧΝ} \\
\text{TΣΥΛΗ} \ \text{ΑΧ[Π ... ... ...]} \ \text{ΝΣΙ} \ \text{ΠΣΑΜΠΙΤΙΝ} \ \text{ΕΒΟΛ} \\
\text{ΣΙΤΙΝ} \ \text{ΠΕΥ[ ... ... ...]} \ \text{ΝΤΕΨΖΙΚΩΝ} \ \text{ΤΑI} \ \text{ΕΝ} \\
\text{TΑCΟΥΨΝΣ[ ... ...]} \ \text{Ψ ΝΤΑΡΟΥΕΙΨΡΜΕ ΝΣΙ} \\
\text{ΝΕΨΟΥΨΙΑ} \ \text{TΗΡΟΥ} \ \text{ΑΥ} \ \text{ΜΠΙΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΩΝ} \ \text{ΑΥ} \\
\text{ΝΑΥ \ ΑΠΨΜΕΡΟC} \ \text{ΘΗΡH} \ \text{ΜΠΙΣΑΜΠΙΤΝΕ} \ \text{ΕΑΨΨΡ} \\
\text{ΟΥΟΕΙΝ} \ \text{ΑΥ} \ \text{ΕΒΟΛ} \ \text{ΣΙΤΙΝ} \ \text{ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ} \ \text{ΑΥΝΔΨΥ} \\
\text{ΖΨΝΑΙ} \ \text{ΖΝ} \ \text{ΠΜΟΟΥ} \ \text{ΑΠΨΤΥΠΟC} \ \text{ΝΤΣΙΚΩΝ} \\
\end{align*}\]

23f. \[\text{ΖΝ ... ΝΑΝΑΡΕΣC} \ \text{Β.Γ} \ \text{ΜΠΕΨΜΟΤ ΝΟΥΡΨΜΕ}, \ \text{missing from CGI.}\]

24-30 \[\text{ΔΥ \ to ΝΤΑΡΟΥ - Not in B.G. or CGI.}\]

30 \[\text{Pψψs. [C \ ΔΥ\w. ΝΤΑΡΟΥ - B.G. ΑΚΚΑΤΑΝΕΥΓΕ, CGI \ ΑΚΚΑΤΑΝΕΥΓΕ.}\]

31 \[\text{TΗΡΟΥ - B.G. ΤΕΑΨΨΡΕ ΝΕΨΟΥΨΙΑ.}\]

31-33 \[\text{ΑΥΝΔΨΥ to ΑΥΝΔΨΥ - not in B.G. or CGI.}\]

32 \[\text{ΠΣΑΜΝΕ - This form attested in Μ. Ψα. Μ. 210:5.}\]
and whence it came he did not know. And the holy Mother's Father showed them.

20 And the Perfect One, the complete Forethought, the image of the Invisible who is the Father of the All, this One in whom the All existed, the First Man, because in a manly type he revealed his likeness. And

25 the Aeon of the First Archon trembled all over. And the foundations of the abyss stirred, and from the waters, those which are over the matter, the (man of?) the abyss enlightened (?) through their . . . . his image which appeared. . . . . . All the powers when they considered (or, gazed) and Protarchon, they saw the entire portion of the (man of the ?) abyss as it/be enlightened. And through the light they saw in the water a type of the image.

23f. "in...type" - missing from CGI.
24-30 "and" up to "when" - not in other texts.
26 "stirred" cf. note at 47:33.
28 Cf. Rev. 11:7?
30 Phiphs. [it. And]. "all" - B.G. "seven."
31-33 "they saw" to "they saw" - not in other texts.
34 Cf. Jonas, p. 161 for motif of mirror image, and infra, 21ff.
Plate 63

αὐῳ πεδαὶ ἀνάφει Νανεζούχια ἐμφον ἡματίᾳ ἀναταμιὸν Ναυρώμε κατὰ
Θεικχν ἄτηνούτε ἀὐῳ κατὰ πληνεῖν αὐῃ
καὶκε ἀπετεχθὰκχν ναῤψωπε ἄναν ἄνοιγ
εἴν ἀὐῳ ἀναταμιὸν ἑβολ ἱτὶν ἄνοι ἄνοι
ἐρνυ κατὰ ἁμαίν ἐνταγὶ ἄτηνού ἀὐῳ
τούεικ τούεικ ἀνάφει Νανεζούχια ἀὐῃ ἄνοιγαίν
ὁγραὶ 2μ πτυποκ ἱτἰκχν ταὶ ἐνταγὴν
ἐροσ γραὶ ἱτῃεγψύχικη ἀναταμιὸν ἄνοιγ
ποστάς κατὰ πίνε ἀτηνοῦτε ἄνῳ ἄνοιγαίν
τελείος ἀὐῳ πεδαὶ ἄκαὶ ἄμαὶ 
καὶ ἀναταμιὸν ἑβολ ἱτὶν ἄνοι
ἐρνυ κατὰ ἁμαίν ἐνταγὶ ἄτηνού ἀὐῃ
τούεικ τούεικ ἀνάφει Νανεζούχια ἀὐῃ ἄνοιγαίν
ὁγραὶ 2μ πτυποκ ἱτἰκχν ταὶ ἐνταγὴν
ἐροσ γραὶ ἱτῃεγψύχικη ἀναταμιὸν ἄνοι
ποστάς κατὰ πίνε ἀτηνοῦτε ἄνῳ ἄνοιγαίν
τελείος ἀὐῳ πεδαὶ ἄκαὶ ἄμαϊ 
καὶ ἀναταμιὸν ἑβολ ἱτὶν ἄνοι
ἐρνυ κατὰ ἁμαίν ἐνταγὶ ἄτηνού ἀὐῃ
τούεικ τούεικ ἀνάφει Νανεζούχια ἀὐῃ ἄνοιγαίν
ὁγραὶ 2μ πτυποκ ἱτἰκχν ταὶ ἐνταγὴν
ἐροσ γραὶ ἱτῃεγψύχικη ἀναταμιὸν ἄνοι
ποστάς κατὰ πίνε ἀτηνοῦτε ἄνῳ ἄνοιγαίν
τελείος ἀὐῳ πεδαὶ ἄκαὶ ἄμαϊ 
καὶ ἀναταμιὸν ἑβολ ἱτiterated
ἐρνυ κατὰ ἁμαίν ἐνταγὶ ἄτηνού ἀὐῃ
τούεικ τούεικ ἀνάφει Νανεζούχια ἀὐῃ ἄνοιγαί

3. πληνεῖν, Β.Γ. μὴ πίνε, ΚΓΙ. βέτε περίειν.
12f. περίον τὸ ἄνυοεῖν, Β.Γ. πρὸν ἀπὸ μὴν μὴν τῇ
 sodom ἐνεμψωπε ἄναν ἄνυοεῖν
14. τμήτκρετος Β.Γ. τμήτηουτε. After each ordi-
nal Β.Γ. inserts πε/τε. Instead of ἄνιαγίο
Β.Γ. has ἄνυψεύχη ἄ... τε.
15. τπρόνοια ν.Γ. τμήτκα 17. τμήτηουτε Β.Γ. πκβτ, 18. τμήτηκος Β.Γ. τπρόνοια.
And he said to (the) Powers which were under him, "Let us come and create a man according to the image of God and according to our likeness so that his image shall be for us a light."

And they created by their mutual powers according to the features which had been given them. And each one of (the) Powers made a feature in the type of the image, which each one had seen in his soul. He created an essence according to the likeness of the First Perfect Man. And they said: "Let us call him 'Adam' so that his name shall be to us a Light-Power." And the Powers began: the first, the Goodness, created a bone soul. The second, the Forethought, created a sinew soul. The third, the Divinity, created a flesh-soul. The fourth is the Lordship. It created

3 "our likeness."- B.G. "and the likeness"- CGI. "his likeness."

12 "his name...Light"- B.G. "The name of this one and his power shall be for us a Light."

14 "Goodness"- B.G. "Divinity." After the ordinals B.G. reads "he/she is a soul of..."

15 "Forethought"- B.G. "Messiahship."

17 "Divinity"- B.G. "the fire" cf. n. 63:21.

18 "Lordship"- B.G. "Forethought."
Plate 63

ΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΑΤΚΑΣ ΤΜΕΣΤΕ ΤΕ ΤΜΗ
20 ΤΕΡΟ ΔΕΣΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΣΝΟΥ ΤΜΕΣ
ΣΟΣ ΤΕ ΠΚΝΡ ΔΕΣΑΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΙΨΑ
ΔΡΕ ΤΜΕΣΚΑΨΟΥΕ ΤΕ ΤΜΗΤΡΜΡΗΤΔ ΑΣΤΑ
ΜΙΟ ΝΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΗΟΥΕ ΔΥΖΕ ΔΡ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ
ΕΡΟΥ ΝΟΙ ΠΑΨΙΑΙ ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΔΥΖΙ ΕΒΟΛ
25 ΖΗΝ ΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΙΑ ΝΤΚΑΨΟΥΕ ΝΣΝΥΣΤΑΣΑΣΙΓ
ΝΤΕ ΤΨΥΧΙΚΗ ΔΣΚΑΑΣ ΕΥΝΑΤΑΜΙΟ Α
ΠΧΨΥΗ ΝΜΜΕΛΟΣ ΜΙΝ ΠΧΨΥΗ ΝΝΨΑΥ
ΜΙΝ ΤΣΥΝΘΕΣΙΣΙ ΝΠ. [. . . . ] ΝΠΟΥΔ ΠΟΥΔ
ΝΜΜΕΛΟΣ ΠΥΟΡΠ [. . . . ] ΧΕΙ ΝΤΑΜΙΟ
30 ΝΤΑΝΕ ΕΤΕΡΑΦΑΘ [. . . . ] ΔΕΣΑΜΙΟ
ΝΨΑΥ ΜΗΝΙΓΓΕΣΣΤΡΨΗΔ ΔΕΣΑΜΙΟ Α
ΠΕΝΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ ΑΣΤΕΡΕΧΜΗΝ ΠΒΑΛ ΝΟΥ
ΝΔΜ ΕΑΣΠΟΜΟΧΑ ΠΒΑΛ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ ΤΕΡΨ
ΝΥΜΟΣ ΠΜΑΔΑΞΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΒΙΣΚΟΥΜ
35 ΠΜΑΔΑΞΕ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ ΑΚΙΨΡΕΙΜ ΝΠΨΥΔ

21 ΠΚΨΕ- Β.Γ. ΣΥΝ(ΦΙΚΙΣ), οφ. Β.Γ. ΤΡΙΔ ΠΟΥΡ ΚΨΤ
23 ΥΟΥΕ- ΟΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙΙII
Plate 63

a marrow soul. The fifth is the

20 Kingdom. It created a blood soul. The

sixth is the jealousy (?). It created a skin

soul. The seventh is the Wisdom. It created

a hair soul. But the multitude of angels stood

before him. They received from the

25 seven Powers the Essences

of the Psychical, so that they should create

the articulation of the members and the articulation

of the trunk, and the composition of the ... of each

of the members. The first ....... began to create

30 the head, Eterathao ......... He created

its head, Mēniggesstrōth. He created

our heads, Asterechmōn. The right eye,

Easpomacham. The left eye,

Jerome. The right ear, Bissoum.

35 The left ear, Akiōreim. The nose,

21 "jealousy" - B.G. "Intelligence" Phps. B.G.'s

third power- "fire" is to be emended to "jealousy."

24 "the angels" - B.G. "their angels."

28 H.J.P. suggests ["purpose"], ["healing"] of" would

fit the context.

29 H.J. P. suggests "[indeed, he began]."
Plate 64

ΔΑΝΑΗΕΦΡΟΥΜ ἩΝΕΚΠΟΤΟΥ ΟΜΗΝ
Ἦνοβρε ἸΒΙΚΩΝ ἩΝΑΧΣΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑΣΜΑ
ΜΠΑΡΙΣΘΜΙΟΝ ἈΧΧΩΝ ΣΤΑΦΥΛΗ ΑΔΔ
ΒΑΝ ἩΠΜΟΥΤ ΧΑΛΜΑΝ ΜΠΕΦΟΝΤΥΛΟΣ

5 ἈΕ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΜΟΥΜΒΕ ΤῊΒΑΡ ἩΝΑΖΣΒΕ
ἮΣΒΟΥΡ ΜΝΙΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΠΚΕΛΕΝΚΕΣ Ν
ἮΣΒΟΥΡ ΑΒΙΤΡΙΨΝ ἩΘΩΜΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ζΥ
ΔΝΘΝ ΣΘΘΜΕ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ ΚΡΨ ΝΣΙΧ
ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΒΝΑΥΑΙ ΝΣΙΧ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ ΤΡΜ

10 ΝΕΥ ΝΝΘΒΕ ΝΣΙΧ Ν[ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΒΑΛΒΗΛ]
oriously ΝΣΙΧ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ ΚΡΙΜΑ ΝΝΕΙΕ
ΒΕ ΝΝΣΙΧ ΑΣΤΡΨΥ ΝΣΙΒΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ
ΒΑΡΒΙΨ ΝΣΙΒΕ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ ΒΑΟΥΜ ΜΠΧΩ
ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΑΡΑΡΙΜ ΜΠΧΩ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ ΑΡΕΧ

15 ΝΝΚΟΙΛΙΑ ΦΕΑΥΝ ΝΘΟΛΠΕ . . . . .
ἌΠΠΟΝΟΧΟΝΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΡΑΧΕΘΨΡ ΜΠΣΠΙΡ
ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΖΑΒΕΔΩΝ ΜΠΣΠΙΡ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ
ΒΑΡΙΑΟ ΝΝΠΕ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ . . . . . . . .
Banē nephroum. Of the lips, Amēn.

Of the teeth, Ibikan. Of the tooth, Basiliadēmē.

Of the aristhmion (?), Achchan, Staphulē, Adaban.

Of the joints, Chaaman. Of the phontulos, Archōn. The throat, Tēbar. Of the left shoulder, Meniarchōn. Of the left elbow, Abitrion. Of the right palm, Euanthōn. Of the left palm, Krus. Of the right hand, Bōduai. Of the left hand, Tremneu.

Of the fingers of the right hand, Balbēl.

Of the fingers of the left hand, Krima. Of the nails of the hands, Astrōps. Of the right breast, Barbōph. Of the left breast, Baoum. Of the right temple, Ararim. Of the left temple, Arech.

Of the bowels, Pheaue. Of the navel (?).

Of the diaphragm, Arachathōpr. Of the right side (?), Zabedō. Of the left side (?), Bariao. Of the left hip.

Plate 64

%NNATKAC XNOYENINOPIN %NKKEC
20 GMEEDC APCTOMAXOC AGROMAYMA %MT
RhT BANW MTNYMOTIN CWLTAD...
MTSNAP ANHCIMADAP MTCPHNN E.
TIERW NNMEST BYBLW NNSLATE
POEYWR NMMOYT TAFREO NNXICE
25 MTCPWMO IPOUSPOKWBA NNPHLEP
BINGBOPIN NARTHPID LATOTMENYTE...
NWOY NE NNIQE ETZH AMELOC THRP Y
H NTHOLLE [...]CPR2 THTC BEDOYK
MPTETE [...]APAKHEI PBA2 NKBOPR
30 OILW ND [...]WPRMA NEDAYON GORMA
KAIIOXADDAR PMHROC NOYNAM NEBRIE
PMHROC NKBOPR YHRHM NSLATE N
TOUPHTE NOYNAM ACAKLOS TSLWT
NKBOPR ORMASHO MPTPET NOYNAM
35 [...]HNYN MPTPET NKBOPR KNYZ TCH
Plate 64

Of the marrow, Chnoumeninorin. Of the bones,

20 Gmeesas (?). Of the stomach, Agromauma (?). Of the foot, Banō. Of the lungs ............. Of the liver, Anēsimadar. Of the spleen, Epithrō. Of the bowels, Bublō. Of the kidneys (?) Roeuōr. Of the sinews, Taphreō. Of the back

25 of the body, Ipouspokōba. Of the veins,

Bineborin. Of the windpipe, Latotmenupe . . . .

Their's are the breaths which are in every member, or in the ................. all flesh, Bedouk.

Of the ................. the left groin (?)

30 Thilō. Of ................. of ........ Gorma, Kalochaabar. Of the right thigh, Nebrith.

Of the left thigh, Psērēm. Of the right kidney of the leg, Asaklas. The left kidney, Ormāθth. Of the right knee,

35 . . ēnun. Of the left knee, Knuz. The right shin,

29 "groin"- lit. "penis," perhaps "testicle."
Plate 65

BE ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΤΥΠΙΚΛΟΝ ΤΣΗΒΕ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ
ΔΚΙΗΛ ΝΤΚΑΛΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΦΝΙΜΗ ΝΤΚΑ
ΑΕ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ ΦΙΟΥΡΟΜ ΝΤΟΥΡΗΤΕ ΝΟΥ
ΝΑΜ ΒΟΔΒΕΛ ΝΝΕΣΤΗΒΕ ΤΡΑΧΟΥΝ Ν
ΤΟΥΡΗΤΕ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ ΦΙΚΝΑ ΝΝΕΣΤΗΒΕ
ΜΙΑΜΑΙ ΝΕΙΕΙΒ ΝΝΟΥΡΗΤΕ ΛΑΒΗΡΝΙΟΥΜ
ΝΕΝΤΑΥΤΟΥΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΓΡΑΙ ΕΧΝ ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ
ΠΕ Ζ ΔΕΘΕ ΑΡΜΑΣ ΚΑΛΙΣΑ ΙΔΒΗΛ ΝΕΤΕ
ΝΕΡΓΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΓΡΑΙ ΕΝ ΝΙΜΕΛΟΣ

10 ΤΑΤΕ ΜΕΝ ΔΙΟΛΙΜΟΔΡΑΖΑ ΠΜΟΥΤ ΙΑΜ
ΜΕΔΖ ΤΝΑΣΒΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΙΑΚΟΥΙΒ ΤΝΑΣ
ΒΕ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ ΟΥΕΡΤΩΝ (ΝΤΣΙΧ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΟΥ
ΔΙΔΙ ΤΣΒΟΥΡ ΑΡΒΑΟ ΝΤΗΒΕ ΝΤΣΙΧ ΝΟΥ
ΝΑΜ ΛΑΜΠΝΩ ΝΤΗΒΕ ΝΤΣΙΧ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ
15 ΛΝΕΚΑΦΑΡ ΤΟΙΒΕ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΒΑΡΒΑΡ ΤΟΙ
ΒΕ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ ΙΜΑΝ ΤΜΕΣΤΓΗΤ ΠΙΚΑΝΙΑΡΑ
ΠΤΗΣ ΠΧΩ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΚΟΛΑΝ ΠΧΩ ΝΣΒΟΥΡ
ΟΔΕΩΡ (ΠΗ)ΣΠΙΡ ΝΟΥΝΑΜ ΔΣΦΙΖΙΖ ΠΗΣΠΙΡ

1 Possibly ΤΥΠΙΚΛΟΝ ΝΤΣ. The proper names ending in Ν have Ω preceding it, while a few names end in Ο. However, the genetival Ν is missing from the preceding ΤΣΗΒΕ. The overscoring of proper names is not carefully done.

8 Ζ- Is this numeral "seven" with four names missing after ΙΔΒΗΛα? Cf. 1. 30 where this seems certain.

9 ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΡΟΣ- Cf. 65:5, Heb. 9:5 Gk.

Plate 65

bone, Tupōlon. The left shin bone,  
Achiēl. The right knee, Phnēmē. Of the left  
knee, Phiwerom. Of the right foot,  
Boabel. Of its toes, Trachoun. Of the  
left foot, Phikna. Of its toes,  
Miamai. Of the nails of the feet, Labērniovum.  
But these are the ones appointed over all these:  
Athōth, Armas, Kalila, Yabēl. But those  
who work part by part in the members:  

10 The head, indeed, Diolimdraza. The neck,  
Iammez. The right shoulder, Yakouib. The  
left shoulder, Werto. The right hand,  
Oudidi. The left, Arbao. The fingers of the  
right hand, Lampnō. The fingers of the left hand,  
15 Lēekaphar. The right breast, Barbar. The  
left breast, Imdē. The bosom, Picandrap-  
tēs. The right temple, Kolae. The left temple,  
Odeōr. The right side, Asphiziz. The left  

8. Cf. 58:29-32 for these "powers." Perhaps three  
more names should be added. Cf. textual note.  
15 "breast"—distinguished from "bosom."
Plate 65

20 Νόσβουρ συνογχούτα τκοιλια δρουφ
πεκούνη σαβαλω πμνρρος Νούναμ
χαρχαρε πμνρρος Νόσβουρ χεδων
Ναίδοιον τηρου βασινωθ ππετ Ν
ούναμ Χούζ ππετ Νόσβουρ χαρχα
τεχε Νούναμ δρουφ τεχε Νόσβουρ
τωτεξα τκαλε Νούναμ άλα τκαλε
Νόσβουρ χαρανηρ τουρρητε Νούναμ
βασταν ηςτηνβε αρχεντεξφδ του
ρητε Νόσβουρ Μαρ... έννο ηςνεση
ηβε αβρανδα Νευ[... ...] ερηντιον
ναι τηρου νσι κασυη τσμιανα ουρινη.
ακμενεδας σαφασατονλ ανμουρια.
πνχραμαμιωρψ αυω νετζικαν ναιζεν
κις αρχενδεκτα αυω πετζικαν ταναλημ
ψις δεισαρβαζες αυω πετζικαν τ..
35 ταξια ουμμαδ αυω πετζικαν πτχ[...]

23 Traces may read μαρησαχ εννο.
29 Either Νευ[τουχ ω ς] or Νευ[ενεργεί] will fit lacuna and context.
31 Ppsh. emend to αρμουπια Ν(λ), cf. 59:1.
32 πιχραμαμιωρψ- Probably two names although overscroing is continuous.
Plate 65

side, Sunogchouta. The bowels, Arouph.

20 Its bosom, Sabalō. The right thigh, Charcharb. The left thigh, Chedōn.

All the genitals, Bathinōth. The right leg, Chouz. The left leg, Charcha.

The right thigh, Aroēr. The left thigh, Tōchea. The right knee, Aōl. The left knee, Charanēr. The right foot Bastan. Its toes, Archentechtha. The left foot, Mar... eunth. Of its toes, Abrana. They were... upon

30 all these, i.e. the seven: Michaēl, Oriēl, Asmenedas, Saphastoēl, Aarmouriaēl, Richram, Amiōrps. And those who are over the senses, Archendekta. And the one over the passions, Deitharbathas. And the one over the Oummaaa. And the one over the...

28 Perhaps "Mareghsheunth."

29 Perhaps "But seven were appointed over all these." Or "The seven worked over all these."

31 Emend to"Armoupiael"?

33f. "senses," "passions"—Cf. Poimandres, 24, speaking of the ascent of the soul: "your former character... you hand over to the demon, and your bodily senses return to their respective sources..."
Δαξιάραμ δυσ πέτσιν Τζορμής Υρά
πιάραμνάξω τπήγα δε Νίνιαδίμων
ναϊ ετσάν πεϊμα Υράς σετην έντο
ού ουγόμε ουδαρόου ουγοςβες ού
5 ουούε θούμασς δε Υράου τε τζγ
λα πητο δε Νίκοεις εξήςπτιμόμ φλο
ζόφα πητο δε Νίκοεις εξήςπαρου
οροορροθός πητο δε Νίκοεις εξήςε
τιουούου εριμαξό Πητο δε Νίκοεις
10 Δαξιάραμ δε θεύρως τμανυ δε Νίναϊ θη
ρου παγε εράτει Νούμεντε ονορροθόξρα
σοεί εκουοοπ Νοτούοις δυς στης
Νμμαν Υράου δυς ταϊ Ναμε τε τζγή
ευκανάιντ γαρ εβολ διοοτει Πχτοου
15 Νόρχηγος Ναδίμων εφεμεμφί Πέ
πατζδένι Πχικω Πέ Πατεπνθέυμειο
νενεντωφνι Πέ Πάτλυπθ βλαδομήν
4 γοσβες cf. 1. 10 ωςβε.
9 ουοούε (8) qual. of ουούε, cf. 1. 5.
Aachiaram. And he who is over all the impulse, Riaramnachō. But the source of the daimons which are in the whole body, four are designated: a fever, a cold, a chill, a parching.

But the Mother of them all is the Matter. But Philozophha is the Lord over the fever. But Oroorrothos is the Lord over the cold. But Erimachō is the Lord over the parching. But Athuro is the Lord over the chill. But the Mother of all these standing in their midst, Onorthochrasaei, she being undesigned, and she mingles with them all. And this one, truly, is the Matter, for by her are nourished the four chief daimons: Ephememphi is the non-delight. Tōkō is the non-desire. Nenentōphni is the non-sorrow. Blaomēn
Plate 66

πεντάωσε τούμματι δε τηρού εκείνης εικόνα επιπτόν εβολ δε Σὴν πιθούον

20 Νάαιμων οὐσώπε ἃσι Σὴναθός ε βολ δε Σὴν ταυτήν οὐφθεονός ουκ ἔστη 
ουκάζ οὐκάλαξις οὐνίκε οὐμντ 
ἀτρήσας οὐροούμη οὐγνήθη δαχ πε 

ουσίν εβολ δε Σὴν τηναόν ῥω 

25 οὐσίς σαζ Νικαία δαχ ποιόυσι 
ετουγείτ δαχ πενείνε Νιναὶ εβολ 

dε Σὴν τεπιθεμήδα οὐραγό οὐκ ῶντ 
μὴ οὐχοῦν μὴ ἀγερίς εὐχαρίῳ 
μὴ οὐμντ[α]ττ]εὶ δαχ πενείνε Νιναὶ 

30 εβολ δε Σὴν τῇνωσε οὐκαλαξίς οὐ 
κωρως οὐραγώνια οὐσιτε Ναί δε τη 
ρού Νῃ ΣὴΝ τετρήσας μὴ Νπεθό 
οὐ τεννοία δε Ντε τούμμη τε Ανδ 

...] έτε ταί τε ταπε Ντζυλική Νψυχή

18f. cf. 67ff. Overscoring would indicate two names, 
but is not reliable criterion. In the mass. 
art. with fem. ἡνωμμε a reflex of Gk. φοβεῖς ?

22 οὐκάλαξις - From οὐκλέω "to disturb, be angry"?

Νίκη - From νίκεος.

32 Plate has ΣὴΝ ΣὴΝ with first 2 crossed out.
Plate 66

is the non-fear. But the Mother of all them (is) Esthēnsisouch-Epiptōē (?). But from these four daimons passions were existing.

From the sorrow: an ill will, a jealousy, a pain, a trouble, a quarrel, a non-regretfulness, a sorrow, a grief, and the rest. But from the delight much evil is wont to be, and the vain glory, and like things.

But from the desire: a wrath, an anger, and a rage, and a passion which is bitter, and an insatiability, and like things.

But from the fear: a consternation, a cajolery (?), an agony, a shame. But all these (are) like some good and (some) evil.

But the Thought of their truth is . . . . . . . which is the head of the material soul,

20 "passions"—Strangely enough πάθος has here the wider sense of Classical Gr. which it does not have in the N.T. Cf. Trench, Synonyms of the New Testament (London, 1901), p. 303.

31 "cajolery"—This suits context better than the literal "flattery."
E:CUO FTP N:E TECYCICZOYXEPIT
PTOH TAI TE TAPI NEAGGELOC EPI
TO AVTO EYEIPE NYMATWESCETH EAY
ΦΩΦΘ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ \ΨΩΝΤΗΔΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ

5 ΞΙΝΟΟΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΛΟC ΝΩΙ ΨΥΧΙΚΟΝ
ΑΥΦ ΠΡΥΛΙΚΟΝ ΝΕΩΜΑ ΕΦΩΟΓ ΘΑΡ
ΝΩΙ ΖΕΝΚΟΟΥΕ ΖΙΧΝ ΠΚΕΛΨΩΑΠ ΝΠΑ
ΘΟC ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕ ΦΠΙΚΟΟΝ ΝΑΚ ΕΥΠΕ ΚΟΥ
ΨΥΕ ΔΕ ΑΜΜΕ ΕΡΟΥ \ΨΗΚΣ 2ΡΑΙ ΓΑ
10 ΘΝΩΜΕ ΝΩΨΡΟΔΣΤΡΟC ΑΥΡ ΓΩΒ
ΔΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΩΙ ΝΙΑΓΓΕΛΟC MN ΝΑΩΙΜΙΝΙ
ΨΑΝΤΟΥΤΣΕΝΟ ΜΨΥΧΙΚΟΝ ΝΕΩΜA
ΑΥΦ ΑΨΨΨΠΕ ΤΗΡΥ ΝΩΙ ΠΟΨΓΨΗ Ν
ΑΡΓΟΝ ΑΨΨ ΝΑΤΚΙΜ ΓΝ ΟΥΝΟΣ ΝΟΥ
15 ΟΕΙΨ ΤΜΔΑΥ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΡΕΣΟΨΨΨΕ ΑΞΗ
ΝΤΗΣΟΝ ΕΝΤΑΣΤΑΔΣ ΆΨΨΨΡΙΨ ΝΑΡ
ΧΩΝ ΑΔΚΩΨ ΝΠΨΜΗΨΡΟΠΑΤΨΡ ΝΑ

1f. ECOHCICZOYXEPITPTOH must be same as 66:18f,
despite variant spelling. Perhaps two names.

2f. ΕΠΙ TO AVTO - cf. Acts 2:44 for this unusual form.
3 The text of B.G. resumes here. B.G. ΨΨ ΨΨΕΕ
13 ΠΟΨΓΨΗ - Perhaps B.G. 51:17, ΦΩΒ should be emended to
ΦΨΗ on the basis of this.
for she exists with the Esthēsisouch-Epiptoe (?). This is the number of the angels altogether, making three hundred sixty five. They all having worked on it until it was completed by them, member by member, namely (the) psychic and the material body. For others are over the rest of the emotions which I did not tell to you. If you want to know them, it is written down in the book of Zoroastros. But all the angels and daimons worked until they had set in order the psychic body. And their snake (?) was wholly slothful and motionless for a long time.

But when the Mother wished to take the power which she had given to the First Archon, she asked the Mother's Father of

3 B.G. reads "three hundred sixty."

6 The "material body" is still im-material.

10 An Apocalypse of Zoroaster was found at Nag Hammadi, but is still unpublished. Cf. infra, p. 203f.

13 "snake"- For the Gnostic motif of Adam created as a motionless, wormlike being, cf. infra, pp. 158f., 199.
Plate 67

πτηρῷ παπνοὶ ἡνδὲ αὐτῶνοοῦ ἄ
τοι. ἢφωςε τὸν πουκνε ετόοαβ
εἰς εἰς· πτοπος ἀναγγελος ἁπρῷ
ταρξυν αὐξὶ πουκνε νον ἐνετε ἀτού
ἐνε εἰς ἡ πουκομ ἀτομ ἀισίαν
ἀιαλταβαθε ἥν νίηε εὔογν ἡν ἄπν
ἐνε ἡ πουκομ ἀποῖν ἀψαν ἆνα
εἰς ἡν ἀνάφως ἡν ἀναγκάζω ἡν ἀναγκάζω ἡν ἀναγκάζω
νοί ἀναγκάζω ἡν ἀναγκάζω

19 ἁτύ - σο CGI. 25:23. B.G. reads ἡν ἀναγκάζω. Tilt says copyist of CGI. mistook πτογυ for πτογυ. (n. p. 142). If so, then CGI. must be in same line of copying, or else both copyists made the same mistake.

20 τογον - B.G. πελεμοτ, CGI. ἢπτυπος. CGI. ἢπτυπος.
22 εἰνε - B.G. adds ἡγητῇ , CGI. adds ἡτοτή.
the All, the exceedingly gracious one. He sent
five (?) lights by the holy decree
20 down upon the place (?) of the angels of the
First Archon. They advised him so that they
should bring forth the Power of the Mother, and they
said to Yaldabaoth, 'Breathe into his face
of your spirit, and his body
25 shall arise.' And he breathed into
him his spirit which is the Power
of his Mother. He did not know that he was
in an ignorance. And the Power of the
Mother went forth from
30 Yaldabaoth into the psychic body
which they had made according to the likeness of the
One existing from the beginning. The body moved and
it found strength. And it shone.
And also they were jealous in that hour,

18-20 These lines seem to be corrupt, and must await
publication of all the texts for correction.
18 "five" cf. 55:32 which indicates that "four" is
the correct number.
20 "place"- Probably an error for "type, form."
22 "bring forth"- B.G. and CGI. add "from him."
24 "spirit"- Phps. simply "breath" which was a life
index and would create life in the lifeless form.
31 "likeness" i.e. the archetype.
ΠΚΕΣΕΕΠΕ ΝΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΧΕ ΝΤΑΥΥΩΠΕ ΓΑΡ ΕΒΟΛ ΓΙΤΟΟΟΤΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΥW ΑΥΤ ΝΤΕΥ ΣΑΜ ΝΠΡΩΜΕ ΔΥW ΔΕΣΤΑΧΡΟ ΝΓΙ ΤΕΥΜΠΡ ΡΜΝΩΗΤ ΝΓΟΥΟ ΑΝΕTAΣΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΔΥW Ν
5 ΓΟΥO ΔΤΥΩΡΠ ΝΑΡΧΧΝ ΝΔΑΡΩΥΜΜΕ ΔΕ ΧΕ ΧΟ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΔΥW ΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΓΟΥΟ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΔΥW ΥΚΗΚ ΑΘΥΝ ΝΤΚΑΚΙΔ ΔΥΗΙ ΑΜΟΥ ΔΥΝΟΥΧ ΔΤΥΜΕΡΟC ΕΤΜΠΣΑΜΠΙΤΝ 
ΝΤΣΥΛΗ ΤΗΡΕ ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC ΔΕ ΠΜΗΤΡΟΠΔ 
10 ΤΨΡ ΠΡΕΥΡ ΠΜΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΗ ΔΥW ΠΥΑΝΣΤΑΗ 
ΑΥΝΤΨΤΗΥΕ ΕΓΡΑΪΔ ΧΧΝ ΤΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΝΤΜΑ 
ΑΥ ΤΑΙ ΕΤΑΥΝΤΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΓΙΤΝ (ΜΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΧΝ 
ΔΥW ΟΝ ΧΕ ΣΕΝΑΣΓΙΒΟΜ ΕΓΡΑΙΕ ΕΧΗ ΠCΩ 
ΜΑ ΝΨΨΧΙΚΟΝ ΔΥW ΠΕΣΘΗΤΟΝ ΔΥW ΑΥ 
15 ΤΝΝΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΓΙΤΝ ΠΕΥΨΝΑ ΝΡΕΥΡ ΠΕ 
ΤΝΑΝΟΥΗ ΔΥW ΠΕΤΝΑΥΕ ΠΕΥΨΝΑ ΝΟΥ 
ΒΟΗΘΟC ΝΔΑΔΑΜ ΟΥΕΨΝΟΙΑ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΝ 
ΤΑΙ ΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΨΤΗΥΕ ΤΕ ΕΔΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC 
ΧΕ ΖΨΗ ΤΑΙ ΔΕ ΕCΡ ΓΥΨΟΥΡΓΕΙ ΝΤΚΤΙCΙC 

6 ΥΜΕΕΥΕ, B.G. ΧΟ ΝCΑΒE , CAL. ΝΕΥΟ ΝCΑΒE.

13 ΣΕΝΑΣΓΙΒΟΜ ( I Fut.), B.G. ΕCΕ ΓΜΓΙΒΟΜ- (III Fut.) is better. In view of ΔΥW ΟΝ ΤΙΛL'S suggestion that ΟΝ which occurs after ΣΨΜΔ in B.G. should be deleted should be viewed with caution.

14 ΠΕΣΘΗΤΟΝ- Cf. 59:3, 63:32f. and 70:35 for variant spellings.
Plate 68

i.e., the remaining powers, because, verily, he existed through them all. And they gave their power to the Man. And his wisdom was stronger than those who had made him, and greater than the First Archon. But when they knew that he shines, and he thinks more (thoughts) than they, and that he is free from evil, they took him, they cast him into a place which is below all matter. But the Blessed One, the Mother's Father, the Beneficent One, and the Compassionate One had compassion upon the power of the Mother which was brought forth from the First Archon. Moreover, that they should have power over the psychic body and the perceivable. And he sent out by his Beneficent Spirit and his abundant Mercy, a helper for Adam, a Thought of Light.

This is one (taken) from him, who was called Zoë (Life). But this one assists the whole 6 "thinks" - B.G. "he is wiser" - CGI, "he was wiser."
Plate 68

20 ΤΗΡΣ ΕΣ ΥΕΤΤΙΣΕ ΑΜΜΑΥ ΔΥΨ ΕΣΚΩΖΕ ΑΜΜΑΥ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΠΕΤΑΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΔΥΨ ΕΣ ΤΣΕΒΟ ΑΜΜΑΥ ΑΠΕΤairobi ΑΠΙΤΝ ΑΠΕΡΜΑ ΕΣΤΣΕΒΟ ΑΜΜΑΥ ΕΠΜΑΙΤ ΕΥΒΩΚΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΠΙΝΑΙΤ ΕΝΤΑΙΤΕ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΑΜΜΑΥ ΔΥΨ ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΑΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΣΖΗΤ ΓΙΝ Α ΓΩΜ ΔΕΚΑΑC ΑΝΟΥΜΜΕ ΝΟΙ ΝΑΡΧΩΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΝΤΕΛΟΤΕ ΝΟΙ ΤΕΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΝΟΥΚΩ ΝΟΤΥΨΤΑ ΝΤΜΑΑΥ ΔΥΨ ΑΝΟΥΨΝΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΙ ΠΡΟΜΜΕ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΡΑΪΒΕΕ ΑΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ  

25 ΤΑΙ ΕΤΥΨΟΙΤ ΕΖΡΑΙ ΝΖΗΤΗ ΔΥΨ ΑΠΕΤΑΙΜΕ ΕΥΕ ΑΙΣΕ ΠΑΡΟ ΝΕΤΑΖΑΝΙΟΥ ΤΗΡΩΥ ΝΤΑΡΟΥΕΙΛΩΡΜΕ ΑΤΤΕ ΔΥΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΥΣΟΕ ΝΟΙ ΠΕΤΗΜΕΕΥΕ ΔΥΨ ΔΥΕΙΡΕ ΝΟΥΨΟΧΝΕ ΜΝ ΤΑΡΧΟΝΤΙΚΗ ΜΝ ΤΑΓ  

30 ΓΕΛΙΚΗ ΤΗΡΣ ΔΥΨ ΝΟΥΚΑΤΕ ΜΝ ΟΥΚΑΣ  

20 ΕΣΚΩΖΕ- Unattested by Crum. B.G. reads ΤΑΖΟ ... ΕΡΑΤΟΥ, so root must be ΕΣΟΖΕ, "be set up, upright." He says root is same as ΕΣΚΩΖΕ, "reprove, correct" for which he attests the form ΕΣΑΖΩ(1).  

21 ΠΛΗΡΨΜΑ- so CGI. B.G. ΕΠΕΥΨΜΑ ΕΤΔΗΚ ΑΜΜΙΝ ΑΜΑ4  

22f. ΕΠΕΥΨΡΜΑ, B.G. ΠΕΤΨΤΑ = CGI. ΤΖΕΤΨΡΜΑ. ΕΠΕΥΨΡΜΑ is probably error for ΤΖΕΤΨΡΜΑ, which fits the context.  


27f. ΝΟΥΚΩΖΕ, B.G. ΕΣΚΩΖΕ[ΤΑΖΟ]...ΕΡΑΤΟΥ, Α.Γ.Ι. ΕΚΝΑΤΑΖΟ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ.  

35 ΝΟΥΚΑΤΕ shows that Till is wrong in restoring C.G.I. ΝΕ[ΤΝΑ] and correcting B.G. ΚΩ2Τ to that.
creation, she suffers with him, and she sets him up in his Pleroma. And she teaches him concerning his coming down with the seed (†). She teaches him the way he ascends, the way on which he came down. And

the Thought of Light is hidden in Adam so that the Archons should not know, but that the Thought should be a correction of the defect of the Mother. And the man appeared because of the Light-Shadow which is in him. And his thought was exalted above all those who created him. When they looked to the heaven, they saw that his thought is exalted. And they made a plan with all the Archontic and the Angelic beings. They took a fire and earth

20 "sets up"—cf. textual note. Both verbs have this meaning, cf. also 70:17.
21 "Pleroma" B.G. "in his own perfect temple."
22f. "seed"—B.G. and CGI. "defect" which should be read here. See textual note.
23 "he ascends"—B.G. "of his ascent."
27 "a correction"—B.G. and CGI. "she shall correct". cf. textual note to 1. 20.
35 "fire" instead of Till's emendation to "spirit."
Plate 69

Mi ουμοούν αυτώ Αιμού Μή Νούερνυ
Μή τεντούν θψ νεσάτε αυσ αυσθενε "
Τούν 2ν Νούερνυ αυσ Αυείρε Νούνος
Νηστορτράων αυσλ Αιμού εγούν ατσαί
5 Βες Μπκκού δεκάς ευνοπλασεις Μίκα
ειπ εβολ 2μ Πκος Μή Πμοου Μή Πκκως
ω ρεννάν πε <ε>βολ 2ν Τσυλή ετε ται τε
Τμωτατεούν Μπκκέκε αυσ τεπίθε
μελ Αυσ περπάνα ετωββιάειτ ετε παι
10 τε Κεσκαλιον Ατανάπλασις Μπκς ως
ται εντανάθη τι πρσμε λοι. Νλάκτας
Τμέρρε Ντάυε αυσ παιν προσπε Νου
ρσμε εωδμούν ται πενταζει εσραί
Νησωρπ αυσ πυσωρπ Μπκρπ εβολ τε
15 Πτοια Αε Μπουοείν ετνάς Αγάτη Ν
τος πετναστούνοις Μπευμελευς αυ
ω αυείνε Αιμού λοί ναρξων αυκώ α
Μου γραί γά ποραδίος αυσ εξενα λα

1 TW - H.J.P. sees a superlinear 2 not visible in my
copy. B.G. Δυμοὺς , CGI. ευμοὺς K - . Cf. Kahl,
I, 96, 147 for K = S. Cf. ΗΜ , ΑίΜ. Sp. gives
no Egyptian antecedent.

2 Δυςυστή , B.G. ευτωστή e Original read Τκωτή.

7 After Ραπνά B.G. reads ΕΤΕ ΤΩΙ ΝΕ

8 Μπκκέκε, so C.G.I. which Till emends to follow B.G.
Μν Πκκέκε.

9 ΕΤΕΒΒΙΑΕΙΤ, B.G. ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ , CGI. ΑΝΤΙΜΙΜΟΝ
and water. They mixed (?) them with each other and the four flaming winds. And they buffeted each other. And they made a great disturbance. And they confined it within the shadow of death so that they should form again from the earth and the water and the fire. And the wind is from the material which is the ignorance of the Darkness, and the desire, and their different spirit, which is the tomb of the reformed body, this which the robbers put over man, the bond of forgetfulness. And this one was a man subject to death. This one it is who came down at the first, and (is) the first division. But the Thought of Light which is in him, she it is who aroused his thought. And the Archons brought him. They put him in Paradise. And they said to him,

2 "buffeted"— B.G. "joined, united."

7 B.G. "the wind which is"— Lines 6-9 present difficulties in syntax so translation is provisional.

8 Or, following Till, "ignorance and the darkness."

9 "different"— B.G. "opposed," CGI. "imitation." Jonas translates it "counterfeit."

14 "division"— cf. P.S. 131:12.
Pl.ate 69

20 ὁτιτρυφή σαῦη δὺῳ ποὺς δε ὑμνὸ

25 μὸν πε ὁτιτρυφή δε τε ταπάτη δὔῳ

30 εἴναι τε χνοῦνε σαῦη δὔῳ νεῦκλαος

35 κενμοῦ νε τεχνοὶβες ὑμοῦς τε
d δὔῳ οὐαπαθή τετῳοῦτ

19 ὁμμὼ... ὄξερήχε. B.G. οὐτρυφὶν νοὺ τε ἔτε

20 ΝΩΥ- σο CGI., B.G. ΝΔΥ (sing.) with pl. particle ΝΕ.

27-29 Β.Γ. ΕΠΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ἠμέγῳς παῖ πε πενατι

ΜΙΜΟΝ ἌΝΝΑ ἐτῳοῦ ἐβολ ἕφιτου ὀερνηκοῦ

ἘΒΟΛ ΣΕ ΝΕΥΡΝΟΙ ἈΠΤΗΣΧΙ ΠΒΑΝ ἘΤΑΜΟΥ ΟΥΤΕΕΙ

ΜΙΝΕ ΠΕ. CGI. agrees with CGP Ι in reading οὐ τε (1.27) and ἔτε (1.29) and ἐβολ ἕφι  (1.28f).
Eat that which is (here) in leisure.' And truly their delight is bitter, and their beauty is illicit.

But their delight is deceitful. And their trees are ungodliness, and their fruit is an irremedial poison. And their promise is death. But the Tree of Life was placed in the midst of Paradise.

But I shall teach you (pl.) what is the mystery of their life, which is the counsel they made with each other, which is the likeness of their Spirit.

This one's root is bitter, and its branches are death. Its shadow is hatred, and deceit is in its foliage,

and its flower is the ointment of wickedness, and its fruit is death, and its seed is desire, and it bears in the Darkness. Those who taste

19 i.e. Of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. E.G. "a delight to him it is, which is this, that he (Yaldabaōth) might deceive him (Adam)."

27-29 E.G. "the mystery of their life. This is their Counterfeit Spirit which exists by them to cause him to turn aside that he might not know his end. That tree is in this manner..." CGI. l. 27 "what is," l. 29 "which," l. 28f. "through each other."
Plate 70

ἐβολὴ ἀγαθῆς πευμάτωπε πε ἄντε ἐπὶ αὐλὴν πτακέ τε ποιμὸν Νῦτον πενταυγοῦτε δὲ ἐροῦ ἐβολὴ γιτουτοῦ δὲ πυγην ἁκούν πετνανοῦν μὴ πετ

5 ἑοῦν ετέ ἡτὶ τε τετίποια ἁπτομ φονεῖς ἀν ἀυσοὶ ἀπευθέντος ἐβολὴ ἡκαδὲς ἁνεὶς

σωμτ ἐγραῖ απόγυνα πληρωμὰ διὰ ἄτρεψεν

κούσσις ἀξίας ἁνεὰς ἀνεναχχημοσύνη

ην ἀνοδὶ δὲ αἰσερωυ ν ατρόουμ αὐσ

10 πεξεῖ ἀπασάρ ἔν πασοῖς μὴ φαν ἀν

πενταυγητσεβε αἀδημ ἁτρεψι αὐσσμ

διὰ ἁπεὶ ἀπασάρ πεξεῖ ἔν φον ἁτσεβου

ἀουσμ ἐβολὴ γῆν οὐκακία ἁνεπορὰ ἁὲ

πεθυμεία ἁνε πτέκο ἡκαδὲ ευνασι

15 σὲ ναὶ ἁνοὐαγ διὰ αὐσμὲ ἔν ἴο ἁντ

σωτὸν σὲ ναὶ ετέ ἁπτομια ἁνεποια

ἐτσωπτ ἀγαθῆς ἐτσωτὶς ἁμοῦ γῆπει

μεεῦσ νιοῦ νοποτὶ ἁνρεσν ἀυσ αὐ


4 ἁκούσ, CGI. ἁκούσ πετ - B.G. ἁκοὺσ πετ-

5 ἁπομεῖνε not attested by C. but cf. οὐγε(ς)ίνε (αα2)

6 B.G. 57:13-16 widely variant. Till's correction (1.16)

2ε to δε is confirmed by CGPI. ἡκαδὲ.

8 ἁεναχχημοσύνη, B.G. ἁωκ = CGI. πληρωμὰ


17ς. ἐτσωτὶς...ἀρχωσν B.G. εῷ ἁκοῦν ἁνοῦν εροῦ

CGI. οὐ [P COBE]
from it, their dwelling place is (the) underworld. And the darkness is their burial place.

But that which is called by them 'The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil,' which is the Thought of Light, they remained in its presence so that he should not look up to his Pleroma, and that he should know the nakedness of his unseemliness.

But I corrected them to cause them to eat." And

I said to the Saviour, "O Lord, was it not the serpent who taught Adam to eat?" The Saviour laughed. He said, "The serpent taught them to eat from an evil of procreative desire of the destruction so that he should become to him profitable. And he knew that he was not hearkening to him on account of the Light of the Thought which is in him, which corrects him in his thought more than the First Archon. And he

4 "knowledge"- CGI. "the knowledge (of the good)"
B.G. "to know the good."

8 "unseemliness" - B.G. and CGI. "Pleroma."

12 Sex as the sin of Eden is a common idea.

15 "profitable"- i.e. by bringing more individuals into the world who would be under his control.

17 "corrects"- B.G. "she is wiser than he."
CGI. "he was [wiser]." Phps "establishes."
Platte 70

OYWSHE AEING NTSOM EBOL ENTAHTAEC

20 NAH EBOL GITOOTHawy AHEINE NOYBYUE
AXN ADAM AYW PEKAEI NPEOWP XE OYTE
TEWSHE NTOUH DE PEKAH XE NGE AN ENTAHWM
YCNC CSRTE EDKCSMTAH AYXOOEC GBP GROI ZN
PEYSHORPT NXMME XE AYXTO MMOC ALLA

25 ZN NEYDIC ECISIC KAI GBP AYXOOEC ZTN PE
PROFHTHSC XE TNAZROU Y2PRAI AXN NOY
ZETE XEKADAC NNAYTSTHY OYTE ZNNOY
NAH EBOL TOTE TEPHNOID MMPOYOEIN AC
2WPT NYPHTH AYW AYOYWSHE NOSI (pE) PRWTRP

30 XWN AEINE MMOC EBOL ZN PEYSTIR
TEPNOID DE MMPOYOEIN OYATTZOC TE
EHPHT NCSW NOSI TKAKE NYPHTZOC AYW
AHEINE EBOL NOYMEROC NTE TEYSSOM EBOL
NYPHTH AYW ANHAMIO NKEPLAZIC

35 ZN OYMOPOPH NCIIMS KATA PINE NTETI
NOID ETAZOUWN2 NAH EBOL AYW AHEI

20,22 EYUE, CGI. EKETACIC.

24 DHEITO, B.G. DUTREYHNKOTK.

25 B.G. NTEYWSOC EBOL EXN before ZN. After
AICHCISIG. reads ZN OXYEB AYTPTYOH
ZN TANIC ECISIC CGI omits ZN to ZN of this.

27 ZNNOY - For omission of E in XE before Ach.

32 TEOC, B.G. MMPOYH TA2OC

35f. through 71:3 - omitted in B.G.
desired to bring out from him the power which he
gave to him. And he brought a forgetfulness
upon Adam." And I said to the Saviour, "What is
the forgetfulness?" But he said, "Not as Moses
wrote, which you have heard. For he said in
his first book, 'He laid him down' but in
his senses. For truly he said by the
prophet, 'I shall harden upon their
hearts so that they shall not give heed, nor
see.' The the Thought of Light
hid in him. And the First Archon wished
to bring her forth from his side.
But the Thought of Light is incomprehensible.
When the darkness pursued it, he did not comprehend
it. And he brought forth a part of his power
from him. And he made another moulding
in the form of woman, according to the likeness of
the Thought which had appeared to him. And he

"forgetfulness" - CGI. "trance."
"he laid down" - B.G. "he caused him to sleep."
Probably some verb must be inserted at beginning
of the line. B.G. "He clothed his senses with a
veil. He caused the imperceivable to be hard." 
CGI. "He clothed his senses with imperceivable."
"he did not comprehend" - B.G. "he was not able to
comprehend." Cf. John 1:5.
"moulding" - phps. "vessel" (of clay), cf. Mandaean
"I am a Mana." Phps. cf. G. Th. Logia # 97.
Plate 71

κε ἰπτεροσ ἐνταχίτη ἐβολ ἡν τσομ ἰπτρωμε 2ραὶ ἡν πλασμα ἰτμντεςτίμε δυω κατα θε ὣν ἐνταχεολ νοὶ μωυσχε χε τευβετσιπ δυω δυνατας tirelessly ἵα

5 την ἡν τούνοι ὡς ἐτήματο ἀγόυηνς ἐ βολ νοὶ τετινοια νοῦς εἰνε ἀγων αὐλ νε τεος ἵτ δυω ἀγῆ ἁνφε ἐβολ ἡν πτς ἰπκακ ἰπω ἀγοῦνν τεος εἰνε αὐ δυω πεδαὶ ἵε

10 πάι τένοι ὑγκάς ἐβολ ἡν νακάς τε δυω ὑγκάρπζ ἐβολ ἡν τακάρπζ τε ἐβε πάι ἰπτρωμε νάκω νοςιή ἰπτεχειωτ κΜ τεῦ θας αὐ δυω νητοπη ἰτεχαςίμε δυω νης εὐ ωπε ἰπεςκάλσα ἐνγάρπζ οὐςτ ἵε σε

15 νατνουοῦ ὁπ ὑαν ἰπτεχωπρ νηςωτρ δυω ὑνάκω νοςιή ἰπτεχειωτ κΜ τεῦθμαδι δυω νητοπη ἰτεχαςίμε δυω νηςευωπε ἰπεςκαλσα ἐνγάρπζ οὐςτ ἵε κενατνυνο

3 ἐντάν - Original Y corrected by superlinear Υ.

4 σιπ - B.G. adds ἄγχαμιο ἰτεςτίμε γαθην χι. ἰταμιο οὔς εἰνε αὐ δυκω κμος γαθην.

8 κακε - so B.G. CGI. μού

9τ. τεκα σε. . . πάι, CGI. omits and reads ἐτην σμουγ.

13,17 δυω - All four occurrences are superfluous.

16-20 Dittoography of lines 12-14.
brought the portion which he had taken from the
to power of the man into the image of the womanhood.
And not as Moses said,
his rib." And he saw the woman with him.

But at once the Thought of Light
appeared. She took away the
veil which is upon his mind,
and he sobered from the drunkenness of darkness.
And he knew his likeness. And he said,

'This is now a bone of my bones,
and a flesh of my flesh.' 'Because of this
shall a man leave his father and his mother,
and he shall cleave to his wife. And they two
shall become one flesh.' For because (of this)
his consort shall be sent to him.

'And he shall leave his father and his mother,
and he shall cleave to his wife, and they two
shall be one flesh.' For because (of this) his

"rib"- B.G. adds "He created the woman for him."
CGI. adds "He created a woman. He put her with him."

"darkness"- CGI. "death."

"he said. . . this"- CGI. omits this and reads
"Which was like him."
Plate 71

20 ὡ γὰρ ἴα ἐπεηθύβρ ηῇστῷ αὐῳ ὑπακω

25 Ἅνω ἐπεηθύβρ ἐν ἐφαμάντ ὑνcowε ἐν τοῖς ταῖς ἐπαθεῖν ἐγραύ ழῇ οὐχὶ ἁκάκος ἀκακάς ἐγνάδω ἐπηθυβά ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐν τῇ ἐπηθύβρ ἐ

This entire passage is widely variant from B.G. and perhaps is corrupt.

22 ἁκάκος. First example present editor has seen of a Gk. privative after Coptic abstract prefix

30 Looks like Εἴνα-, corrected to Εὐνα-, but cf. Ντό (1st. s. conj.) at end of line. Subject must be ἀνόκ (l. 27). Τεμπνοία as subject would require Εὐνα -. It is subject in B.G. and CGI.

35 B.G. adds Ἐπεηθύβρ, CGI. ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ after ΜΕΕΥΕ.
Plate 71

consort shall be sent to him. And he shall leave

his father and his mother. But our sister,

the Wisdom, who had come down in an innocence

so that she should correct her defect.

Because of this she is called "Life" who is

the Mother of the living ones through the Fore-thought

of the Autocrat of Heaven. And through her they
tasted the perfect knowledge. I appeared
in the form of an eagle upon
the Tree of Knowledge which is the Thought
from the Fore-thought of pure light,

so that I should teach them, and I should arouse
them from the grave of the sleep. For the two
were existing in a fall(en state). And they knew
their nakedness. The Thought appeared to them,
enlightening, arousing

their thought. But when Yaldabaōth knew

that they were removed from him,

he cursed in his land. He found the woman pre-

20-22 Evidently a verb or copula is missing from
this passage.

27 "eagle"—Cf. Ezek. 17:1-7 for eagle as symbol of
King and Saviour. Cf. Widengren, Mesopot.
Elements, p. 153 for Syriac and possible Ugaritic parallels.
For Ugar. cf. Gordon, U.M. text 125:7-9. See also
M. Ps. Bk. 100:30, 188:20.

35 "thought"—B.G. and CGI. add "in his perfection."
Plate 72

σοβτε ἡμος ἑπεσζοουτ νεκο ἄθωνς ἐρος πε ενυςουν αν ἑπιμυστηριον ἐντασιωπτ ἐβόλ 5ῃ πηνοξεν ετούμ ἀτνου μη ἀυργωνωμε αξπιου αὐ

5 ἀν όυσων ἐβόλ ἑνεχαργελος ἐνθη ἑπτατςοουν τετουοπ γραϊ 9ήτη ἄγ

ω ἀνοχον ἐβόλ 5ῃ πάραδεισος ἄγ

ἄτγ 21ωτε 7ουκμιμε 7οκακε ἄγω ἄγ

ννου ἐνσι (μ)πρωταρχων ετπαρθενος ετα

10 ἐπε ἐρατέ μὴ δαδαμ ἄγω σε δαουσων ἐβόλ

νῆτε ἐνς τεκνιναι 7ουοειν ἐνουν ἄγ

ὡς ἀμογγς ἐνς (καλλαβασθε 7ουμηντ

ἄτςοουν ἑταρεσχῆς με μὲ τηνοποια

ἐπτηρψ ἑκτηνουσ 7ονγοεινς δαγω ἄγτωρπ

15 ἐνουν ἐβόλ 5ῃ εγίς δαγω ἄμος ἐκςωμη ἡμος

ἐνς (μ)πρωταρχων δαγω ἄχαπο ἐβόλ 9ήτε

νουηρε σναι πυορτι δαγω πνεγεναν

ἐλωμ χη 5ῃ ἰδω ελωμ (κης)ν ουςο ἁρκος

4 αξπιου = cGI. θαμωγ, B.G. ενεατον 7μογ, εν.

cf. 71:37.

5 ἀν όυσων, B.G. ενουσων.

5τ. ἑνεχαργελος = cGI. ἑνεχαργελος δαγω ἄχατη

B.G. ἑνεχαργελος τηνου νουξε.

8 21ωτε - B.G. 21ωτη, CGl. 21ωτης, of. Kahle, I,

p. 64f. for ε added at end of word.

18 (M) έπ - M lost by haplography. For this particle,

cf. von Lemm, Kleine Koptische Studien, # 11.

(St. Peters barg, 1911).
Paring herself for her husband. He (Adam) was Lord over her, he (Yaldabaôth) being ignorant of the mystery which was from the holy Counsel. But they were afraid to blame him. And he appeared with his angels in the ignorance existing in him. And he cast them out of Paradise. And he clothed them with a blackness of darkness. And the First Archon saw the Virgin standing with Adam, and that the Thought of Living Light had appeared in her. And Yaldabaôth was filled with ignorance. But when the Fore-thought of the All knew, she sent certain ones, and they wrested Zôê from Eve. And the First Archon defiled her. And he begat by her two sons, the first and the second, Elôim and Yave. Elôim, indeed, has a face of a bear.

1 Cf. Rev. 21:2
2 "to blame him," so CGI. B.G. "to curse him."
5 "he appeared"—B.G. "to appear."
5f. "with his angels..." CGI. "to his angels and he cast out..." B.G. "All his angels cast out..."
18-24 The faces, characters and offices are transposed in B.G.
Plate 72

πεθύ ἰδύε αὐτῷ Νὲμοῡ πε τοῦδα μεν...

20 οὐαίκοιος πε τοῦδα ὁ δοαίκος πε ἱδ

ἐγὼ μεν αὐράποκαθίστα ἤμον εὐραί ἐξὶ

πκκωτὶ μὴ πτχυ εἶβωὶ ἀν αὐράπο

καθίστα ἤμον εὐραί ἐξὶ πκκῳ μὴ

πκαζ ναῦ ἀν ἀυμοτε εροοὺ Νηραν

25 ἀν καῖν αὐῳ ἀβελ εὐναὐ ἀτεχναούρ

χὶ οὐαούν ἀν ἀποού Νηζοɵη αὐσω ἃ

σι ὀκνούγαι ἐβολ 2ἰτ ἐππρωταρκῶ

ἄν αὐῳ ἀνοὐστορα ἡπτηύμιο 2παί

2ἰ τααδᾶμ αὐτούγων ἀν ἐβολ 2ἰτ ἴ

30 ὀκνούγαιτο κτάκτο ἀμείνε Νησωμα

ἄν αὐῳ ἀνωρηγεῖ ναὐ ἐβολ 2ἰν πευτη

ἐτυββιαεῖτ ηαρκῶν ἀν σναύ αὐράπο

καθίστα ἤμον εὐραί ἐξὶ 2ἴν ἀαρκῶ ἢ

τε ατοῦρκχεῖ αὐῳ ἄεττη ψεκτιάσιον ἁταρευ

35 ἡμε ἀν ιδᾶμ ἀπειν ἡτευγτρο

㎇νώς ποι ἄμιν ἤμον αὐτό Νητείνε

20 πε - B.G. adds εἶνειν πε ραίκοιοι ιδύε πε

παίκος.

21f. αὐράπο-, CGI. αὐραπό-, B.G. αὐκάαυ.

25 εὐναὐ ἀτευ- - not in B.G. and CGI.

27 ὀκνούγαι - B.G. has it and vb. in masc. C G I.

has vb. in masc. but subj. is partially missing.

29-30 αὐτούγωνς ... ἐτυββιαεῖτ, widely variant

from B.G. & CGI.

32 ηαρκῶν (sing.)= B.G. ἀ: should read ἃ = CGI. ἄ (pl.)
but Yave has the face of a cat. The one, indeed, is a righteous one, but the (other) one is unrighteous. Yave, indeed, he set over the fire and the wind, but Eloim he set over the water and the earth. But these he called by these names, 'Cain' and 'Abel,' seeing, therefore, his knavery down to this day. This cohabitation continued through the First Archon. And he sowed a seed of desire in that of (the desire of?) Adam. But he raised up through cohabiting with the creature the likeness of the bodies. And he supplied them with his counterfeit spirit. But he set the two Archons (Cain and Abel) over some dominions (Arch5), so that they should rule over the tomb (the body). But when Adam knew the likeness of his very own Fore-knowledge he begat the likeness

21f. "set"—following B.G. Lit. "re-established" B.G. uses Gk. at l. 32, but without prefix.

25 "seeing his knavery"—missing from B.G. and CGI.

28 For motif of Satan injecting sexual desire into man cf. infra, p. 213.

29-32 Till translates B.G. "so that it is one from this substance who begat a likeness through their false (Spirit)." He says it is corrupt.

34 For motif of body as a tomb, cf. infra, p. 223.
Plate 73

The page contains a text in Greek, which is not fully legible due to the image quality. It appears to be a page from a book or a manuscript, discussing a complex subject in a scholarly context. The text contains references to earlier works, such as B.C. 67:51 and 67:52, and mentions the use of certain grammatical forms and historical notes.

The content seems to be discussing a historical or literary topic, possibly involving the analysis of a text and its implications. The text mentions emendations and historical errors, and there are references to specific passages in other works for comparison.
Plate 73

of the Son of Man. He called him, 'Seth.'

According as the generation in the Aeons, likewise the Mother also sent down her Spirit in the likeness of the One who is like her, and of one in the type of the One in the Pleroma, that she should prepare a dwelling place for the Aeôn to come below. And he made them drink a water of forgetfulness from the First Archon so that they should not know from whence they were. And this is the way which the seed existed for a time, as it served so that when the Spirit comes down from the holy Aeons, he shall establish it and he will join it to the defect so that the entire Pleroma shall exist, being holy and non-defective." And I said to the Saviour: "O Lord, shall all souls, therefore, be safe within the pure light?" He answered,

2ff. "likewise" through "her." B.G. "In this way the mother sent the one which is hers." CGI. "likewise they sent from the Mother her peculiar Spirit."

17 "be safe."- B.G. "they shall live more" which Till emends to "be saved."
Plate 73

ΠΕΛΑΓ ΝΔΕΙ ΧΕ ΖΕΝΝΟΣ ΝΔ {νΔ} ΝΔΒΗΥΕ
20 ΕΝΤΑΥΤΑΛΟ ΕΣΡΑΪ ΕΧΗ ΠΕΚΜΕΕΥ ΟΥΔΥΣ
ΚΟΛΟΝ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΕΣΟΛΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΝΚΟ
ΟΥΕΙ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΝΝΑΙ ΕΤΥΧΟΟΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖ
ΤΡΕΝΕΑ ΝΑΤΚΙΜ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΕ ΠΕΡΝΑ ΜΠΩΝΖ
ΝΔΕΙ ΕΣΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΔΥΣ ΝΥΨΥΤΕ ΜΝ ΤΩΜ
25 ΣΕΝΑΟΥΚΧΕΙ ΔΥΣ ΝΧΕΨΨΤΕ ΝΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ
ΔΥΣ ΣΕΝΑΡ ΠΙΨΥΔ ΝΖΕΝΜΝΤΝΟΣ ΔΥΣ
ΣΕΝΑΤΒΩ 2Μ ΠΜΑ ΕΤΜΜΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΗ
ΚΑΚΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΜΝ ΝΡΟΟΥΥ ΝΤΕ ΤΠΟΝΗΡΙΑ
ΕΝΣΕΥΙ ΡΟΟΥΥ ΜΕ ΕΛΑΔΥ ΑΝ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ Α
30 Τ ΜΝΤΑΤΤΕΚΟ ΟΥΔΑΤΤΕ ΕΥΠ ΜΕΛΕΤΑ ΜΜΟΣ
ΑΝΜΠΜΑ ΧΨΡΙΟ ΟΡΓΗ ΖΙΚΨ(Ξ) ΖΙΦΘΟ
ΝΟΣ ΖΙΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΔΥΣ ΤΜΝΤΑΤΓΙ ΝΤΕ
ΠΤΗΡΨ ΕΝΣΕΕΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΑΝ ΖΙΤΗ
ΛΑΔΥ ΕΙΜΗΤΙ ΔΤΖΥΠΟΣΤΑΣΙ ΟΥΔΑΤΤΕ.
35 ΝΤΣΑΡΖ ΤΑΪ ΕΤΟΥΦΟΡΕΙ ΜΜΟΣ ΕΥ抄袭Τ
ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΑ ΠΟΤΟΕΙΨΥ ΕΤΟΥΝΔ ΣΜΠΝΦΨΨΝΕ

20 ΜΕΕΥ - cf. Kahle, I, p. 66 for this form.
24 ΝΔΕΙ - II Fut. without ePE, cf. B.G. ePE ...
ΝΗΥ, ΣΓΙ. ΕΤΥΨΡΕ 41 (I Bab.). ΝΥ - so ΣΓΙ.
ΝΥΝΟΥ2Θ, B.G. 64Y.ΝΟΥ2Θ
29,33 ΕΝΣΕ - Nom. Circum. to I Pres.
31 ΖΙΚΨ(Ξ) - so B.G. 2 lost by haplography.
32 ΜΝΤΑΤΓΙ, B.G. ΣΙ = ΣΓΙ. ΠΛΗΜΜΟΣΝΗ.
38 Ε ... ΨΝΕ - B.G. ΝΝΑ ΠΑΡΑΛΟΜΒΑΝΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ.
He said to me, "Some great things are they which rose up in your thought. For it is a difficult thing to reveal them to others except to those who are of the unwavering generation, those upon whom the Living Spirit shall come, and it shall be with the Power. They shall be saved, and they shall become perfect. And they shall be worthy of greatness. And they shall be purified in that place from all evil and the cares of lust. Therefore, they shall not be caring for anything except to give indestructibility alone, caring for it from this place, without wrath or envy or jealousy, or lust, and the insatiety of the Universe. They shall not be restrained by anything except the nature of the flesh alone. Those possessing it, they are waiting for the time that they should go to find their good news.

24 "shall come" - B.G. "is wont to come." "And he shall be" - CGI. "and he shall be joined," B.G. "they having joined."

32 "insatiety" - B.G. and CGI. "satiety."

35 Cf. I Thess. 1:10.

36 Cf. English idiom "to go to his reward." B.G. "and they shall be taken to/received."
Plate 74

\begin{verbatim}
ΝΩΡΤΗ ΕΒΩΛ ΖΙΝ ΝΕΤΧΙ ΝΑΙ ΜΕ ΝΤ ΜΕΙΝΕ ΜΕ ΝΑΖΙΟΚ ΜΠΩΝΖ ΝΑΤΤΕ ΚΟ ΝΩΕΝΕΣ ΑΥΨ ΠΤΩΣΙ ΕΥΡΥ ΠΟΜΕΙΝΕ 20ΠΤΗΡΥ ΕΥΗΙ ΕΣΡΑΙ 20 ΠΠΤΗΡΥ ΔΕΚΑΔΣ ΕΥΝΑΔΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΝΣΕΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΕΙ ΝΟΥ ΨΝΖ ΨΩΕΝΕΣ ΠΕΣΔΙ ΝΟΥ ΧΕ ΠΦΟ ΕΙΣ ΝΨΥΧΕΥΕ ΕΤΕ ΑΠΟΥΕΙΡΕ ΝΝΙΣ ΒΨΥΕ <ΝΑΡ ΟΥ> ΝΟΙ ΕΝΤΑΤΜΩΝ ΜΠΕΤΝΔ 10 ΜΠΩΝΖ ΕΙ ΕΣΡΑΙ ΕΧΨΟΥ <ΝΟΙ ΤΕ ΠΝΔ> <ΧΕ ΚΕΝΣΩΛΩΔΙ 2ΨΟΥ ΠΕΣΔΗ ΝΔΕΙ 6 ΧΕ ΝΕΤΡΕΠΙΠΝΔ ΕΤΜ[ΜΛ]Υ ΝΗΥ ΝΑΥ> ΠΑΝΘ ΠΑΝΤΔΣ ΚΕΝΣΩΛΩΔΙ ΑΥΨ ΝΟΙ ΚΕΝΩΠΩΝΗ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΑΥ ΝΑΜΙΚ ΓΑΡ ΝΔΕΙ ΕΣΡΑΙ ΑΧΝ ΠΨΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΑΧΝΤΔ ΓΑΡ ΜΝ ΣΟΜ ΝΤΕΛΔΔΥ ΑΣΕ Ε 15 ΡΑΤΗ ΜΝΙΚΕ ΤΟΥΧΠΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΟΤΕ ΕΥ ΨΩΝΑΨΔΕΙ ΝΟΙ ΜΠΗΝΔ ΜΠΩΝΖ ΑΥΨ
\end{verbatim}

1-36 All texts widely variant, probably corrupt.
1 ΝΕΤΧΙ = B.G. ΝΝΙΠΑΡΔΑΜΝΚΤΨΡ.
4,5 ΠΠΤΗΡΥ = B.G. 2ΨΒ ΝΙΜ, cf. 1.8.2ΨΨΥΕ.
9 <ΝΑΡ ΟΥ>, so B.G. Reconstruction necessary to sense of passage. Phaps. ΝΔΕΙ ΕΤΨΝ, cf. C.GI. 2ΨΟΥ ΝΕ ΝΕΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ ΚΕΥΝΑΔΨΙ ΕΤΨΝ.
11-12 <...> Clearly a scribal omission here, cf. 1. 7 & 23 ΨΩΛΩΔΙ. Reconstruction is from B.G.
by the takers. These people, therefore, like that, they are worthy of the incorruptible, eternal life, and the Call, while they endure in the Universe, bearing up under the Universe, so that they should fulfill the good, and they should inherit eternal life." I said to him, "O Lord, the souls which did not do these deeds, what shall they do,> these upon whom the Power of the Living Spirit came, {namely, the Spirit,}<tht they also should be saved?" He said to me, b"Those upon whom that Spirit shall come,> by all means, they shall be saved; and these shall pass away. For the Power shall come upon all men. For without it it is impossible for anyone to stand. But after they have been begotten, then if the Spirit of Life is increased and

3 "Call" cf. M. Ps. Bk., index, sub. voce.
4,5 "Universe" - B.C. "every work."
9 "what shall they do." Phps. "Whither shall they come?" CGI. "Where are their souls, or where shall they go?"
10 a-b Omission is certain due to "I said" in 1. 7, 23 without any intervening "he said."
11 "saved" - B.G. "live" but cf. Till's note.
Plate 74

ματρὲς τὸν έπὶ Νέκταρον Ντψυχὴν καὶ
Ταμάς διὰ τὴν Μαρέμωνα Γαλατεῖα
τὸν δὲ Εἰρήνηδον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ καταδίωκτος
ηὐχῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ Νέκταρον Ντψυχὴν καὶ
τὸν δὲ Εἰρήνηδον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ καταδίωκτος
ηὐχῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ καταδίωκτος

18 Μαρέμων - Ναγ. I Παστ. (4,42), plus εὐχ.
19 Φυξοῦ - Cf. Ch. I, p. 111. for this form
20 B.G. δὲ οὐμά Ντεψυχήν εἶτ' τὸν τὸ Ντέσαβ
οὰ' ο... Till suggests deleting οὐμά Ν' τοῦτο.
21 Νέκταρ, B.G. Νέκταρ, CGI. Νέκταρ.
22 Ναὶς, so CGI. B.G. Νικίας.
the Power comes and gives strength to that soul, and none is able to make it go astray in the works of the evil.

20 But those upon whom the counterfeit Spirit comes, they are wont to be seduced by it and are wont to err." But I said, "0 Lord, the souls, therefore, of these, whenever they shall come forth from their flesh, whence shall they go?" But he laughed, he said to me, "The soul in whom (is) the Power shall be more than (prevail over?) this despised Spirit. For this one is strong, and it constantly flees from the evil, and from the imperishable death (?), it is wont to be saved. And it shall be received up to eternal rest." But I said, "0 Lord, those who themselves did not know to whom their souls belonged, where shall they be?" And he said to me, "With those in whom the despised Spirit has

26f. B.G. "To a place of the soul, which is the Power, which was greater than..." Till deletes "to a place of" and "which was." Neither text as it stands or as emended answers the question preceding Psps. supply "is" in l. 26 and delete "for" l. 28.

30 "death" - cf. Rev. 20:14

31 "received" - cf. I Tim. 3:16. B.G. "and they shall bring her." CGI. "and they shall bring them."

32 "eternal" - B.G. "the rest of the Aeons."
Plate 75

ὑδί ἐνεργοῦ τῷ πτρουσωρῷ αὐῳ ὅπη
βασὶ ὑντεψυχὴ αὐῳ ὅσησκ ἀμος
ἀνεψανε ὑντὶ τῶν ἀνάραὶ αὐῳ ἕνοι
δὲ ἀμος εγράφῃ ἐγὼ ὅμοιος τριχ
5 εἰ ἐβολ ὁματαλ ετοοτοῦ ἀνεξούσια
ναὶ ἐνταγμῷ ἐβολαὶ  онлην παρχών αὐῳ
ὡ ὁματορκ ἐν ἐνῆμπρῳ ἀνεξούσιος ἀμος
ἀποστεῖκο αὐῳ ὅψακτε ἐκτίμασ
ὡντες ἀνέρες ἐβολαὶ  онлην τῆς ἑβοὶ αὐῳ ὅς

10 ὑρὸς ἀποσοῦν αὐῳ ταὶ τε ἐς ἐς
ὡνταςκ ἐβολαὶ ὅςαζοῦσά διὸ καὶ τε
ναὶ ἐκή αὐῳ ἀνοικτῆ ἀπὸ τὸ ἐς
ἀπὸ ἐς πεζοῖς αὐῳ πῶς ὅς ὅς ὅς ὅς
νοῖ τηψυχὴ αὐῳ ἀνεξούσιος ἐγὼν αὐῳ
καὶ ὅς ἐντεςμᾶδ᾽ ἐγὼν ἐπρώμεν τοῦτο

15 ἀπεφαγόν αὐῳ παλαῖο ἐπαὶ αὐῳ 
ἐπὶ ναὶ καὶ ἐκ ἀλήθειος ντὶκ ὁμακαρίος
ἐπὶ ἀκρόνου ὅντες ὅντες ὅντες ὅντες ὅντες ὅντες
τρεσούσιος ἀνα κεφαλαὶ εἰς πνῆ ἀν

5 εἰ- ὅς. ἄκακ ἀγνυ.
12 ὅμοιμαι- ὅς. τακὲ τακὲ.
17 ὅνοει- ὅς. παράκολουθος.
increased in causing them to err. And it constantly depresses the soul. And it constantly seduces it to the evil deeds. And it constantly casts it down to forgetfulness. And after it came forth, it was delivered to the Powers that existed through the Archon. And it was bound with bonds. And it was cast into the prison. And it was turned hither and yon until it awoke from the forgetfulness. And it received the knowledge. And thus when it is perfected, it is wont to be saved." But I said, "O Lord, how was the soul made little and turned itself into the nature of its Mother or of the man?" Then he rejoiced when I asked him about this. And he said to me, "True art thou, and blessed, seeing that thou hast understood that soul. They go on causing it to follow after the other in whom

5 "came" - B.G. "stripped naked."
8 "prison" - i.e., the body, cf. commentary, infra, p. 223.
12 "made little" - B.G. "became thin/delicate." Is this passage a reflex of John 3:4?
Plate 75

20 εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵ

25 ἐπε ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ὌΣΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΝΑΒΒΚ ἐμαυ σενάχιτου ἐπιμα ἐτίμαι τίμα ἐτε μὴ μετάνοια ὑοοτ Ἇμαυ ἄω ονεάρες εροού ἐπεζοού ἔτουνα βαρανίζε ὌΣΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ οπᾶην Ὂ 30 σερκολάζε ἕμοου ἔν οὐκολάζικ ὃ περηνεσ ἀνοκ ἄε πεξαε ἄε πξο ἐις ὅταν Τόη ὅγι πεπᾶ ἐτ ύςκ ἄοε με πεξαγ νἀ ἄε πμητροτά τῶρ πετνάλυνε πενανε πεπᾶ ἐτοῦ ἔνοι ἕστατ κνίμ πλανίζην ἄω

20 εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵνα εὐδοκοῦσθε ἵ

25 σενάχιτου-, β.γ. ετούναδαναξωρεὶ-, σγι. ετεναξωρει, but Till suggest a homoioteleuton: τίμα ετεναξωρει εροοUCTο τομ ετούναδαναξωρει εροοΤο. However, σκπθ makes sense and eliminates the need for this emendation.

25 Dr. Gaster suggests ΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ, "poverty," may reflect ΚΑΠΑΝ or a Gk. mistranslation of "ος in the sense of "poor" instead of "afflicted."
Plate 75

is the Spirit of Life, this One through whom it is
20 wont to be saved. It was not cast, therefore,
into another flesh." And I said,
"O Lord, these, also, who knew and
they withdrew, whither shall their souls go?" Then he said to me, "The place
25 wherein the poverty angels shall go,
they shall be received there, the place
of non-repentance. And
they shall be guarded to the day when they shall
torture those who had blasphemed against the Spirit.
30 And they shall be punished with an eternal
punishment." But I said, "O Lord,
whence came the despised Spirit?"
Then he said to me, "The Mother's Father,
the Great of Grace, the altogether
35 Holy Spirit, the Compassionate One, and

20 "cast" - B.G. "it goes," CGI. "they come."
25 "received"- B.G. "which they shall withdraw,"
CGI. "which they shall go." Till suggests a line
omitted due to homoioteleuton--"The place to which
the soul shall go is the place from which the an­
gels shall be withdrawn." However, CGPI. voids
this suggestion.
29-31 Cf. Mark 3:29, G. TH., Logia # 44.
Plato 76

ετυσπίσει ἡμείς ἔτε πάϊ πε τε πινόια ἑπτάρομαι νοσείν ἄυσ ἀχτόυνοι[γ]ς ἀπεστέρμα ἑτέρεοι ἐν τελείον μὴ πεύμεευε ἄυσ πογο ἕιν ἑηγα ἐνερ ἑπρώμε ἑταρεύη μὲ ὑσι πηορπ ἑαρξων ἐξ ἱεροσ ἐπορονγ ἔθ ποξίσε ἄυσ σεμεευε πα ἐπορον ἄηοώσωυε βε ϑαμάτε ἵπτου μοικμεκ εὑο ὑντοουγ ἐξ ἱεροσ ἐρον γραϊ ἔθ ποξίσε ἄυσ ἱερναύ ἐμαρτέ ἱμμοον ἀν ἰηείρε ἱοῦσῳκε μὴ νεχεζούκε ὑε ἑησκο Ẃ ἄυσ ἀὑρ ἰοσίκ ατشراء ἵνοὔρῃ ἄυσ ἀὑξπο εβόλ γιτοοτογ ἄυσαι ἱντυι ἑαρμεν ἐτε ταϊ τε ἑαρ Ἴμαρρε ετ ὑσβίας ὑε ἐνο ἱμμιν ἵμμιν ἐξ ἱεροσ ἐπορονγ ἵνοὔρῃ ἄυσ ςμοκζ ἄυ ὑ σομε ταϊ ἑνταύμοοοῦσ ἵμμος ὑσι

3 ἀχτόυνοι[γ]ς, ἰ.σ. ἵπταυτογ νοὐγ, ἰ.σ. ἵπταυτ
6 σειροσθ, ἰ.σ. ἵπταυτογ, ἰ.σ. ἵπταυτογ

10 ἱερνάδ - ἰπ. ιι ποτ. after ἱερ(καδ), + ἵ

14 ἵμι, ἰ.σ. ἵμι. For ἵμι = ἵ cf. Κακλη, ἰ., ἰπ. 155.

18 ἵςομης - ἱ. 30:11, and for ἵμι = ἵ Κακλη, ἰ., ἰπ. 146. ἰ.σ. gives no ἐγρι. antecedent. ἰ.σ. ἵςομης ἵςο ἰ.ο. Cant. 7:3.
Plate 76

who suffers with you, who is

the Thought of the Fore-thought of Light. And

he aroused the seed of the perfect generation

with his thought and the eternal

5 Light of Man. When the First Archon

knew that they were exalted

above him in the height, and they think

thoughts superior to his, then he wanted to

seize their Intention, he being ignorant that they are

10 exalted above him in the thought, and that he shall

not be able to seize them. He made a plan

with his authorities which are his powers. And

they committed adultery with each other's Wisdom,

and they begat through themselves. They struck (?)

15 the Fate, which is the last, changed fetter.

And it is of divers sorts because

they are different from each other. And it is pain-

ful, and it perverts (the right), this one by whom

3 "he set up"- B.G. "he set it up" CGI. "she set."

6 "they are exalted"- B.G. "she excels," CGI. "they

excel."

10 "Intention"- i.e. Thought, cf. M. Ps. Ek., sub

voce and n. 23:18.

18f. "mixed" cf. n. 60:11.
Plate 76

ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΩ ΝΑΡΓΕΛΟΣ ΑΥΩΝΙΔΑΙΜΩΝ

ΑΥΩΝ ΝΓΕΝΕΔ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΥΔΖΟΥΝ ΑΤΤΟΥ Ν

200Υ ΕΒΟΛ ΡΑΡ ΨΝ ΤΖΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗ ΕΤΑΜΟ

ΔΥΩΨΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΣΙ ΜΝΤΨΑΥΤΕ ΝΙΜ ΑΥ

ΨΧΙΝΣΟΝΕ ΑΥΨ ΤΟΥΑ ΜΝΤΜΡΡΕ

ΝΤΒΨΕ ΔΥΨ ΤΜΤΙΤΑΤΚΟΟΥΝ ΔΨΨ ΠΑ

ΝΑΡΓΕΛΙΑ ΝΙΜ ΕΒΟΡΨΤ ΜΝΝΙΝΟΒΕ

ΕΤΣΟΨΤ ΜΝΝΙΝΟΣ ΝΣΡΤΕ ΔΨΨ ΤΑΙ

ΤΕ ΕΝΤΑΥΤΕ ΤΚΤΙΚΙΣ ΤΗΡΗ ΡΒΛΛΗ

ΔΕΚΑΚΕ ΝΔΝΟΥΡΝΤ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΑΠΟΥ

ΤΠΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΥΨ ΕΤΒΕ ΤΜΡΡΕ ΝΤΒΨΕ

ΝΑΨΨΠ ΝΣΙ ΝΟΥΝΟΒΕ ΔΥΜΟΥΡ ΡΑΡ Ν

ΝΨΨΙ ΜΝ ΣΗΝΟΨΕΙΨΤ ΜΝ ΝΨ ΚΑΙΡΟΣ.

ΕΧΟ ΝΙΝΟΓΙΚ ΔΑΨΝ ΠΤΗΡΨ ΔΥΨ ΔΨΡ

ΨΨΗ ΕΓΡΑΪ ΕΧΝ ΓΨΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΑΨΨΨΤΕ

ΕΒΟΛ ΣΗΣΨΟΤΗ ΠΑΛΙΝ ΔΨΨΩΞΝΕ

ΜΑΡΨΕΨΕΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΚΑΤΑΚΛΥΣΜΟΣ ΕΓΡΑΪ

30-30 ΤΗΡΟΥ... ΝΟΥΝΟΒΕ- missing from B.G., CGI.
30 ΓΕΝΕΔ = B.G. ΡΨΜΕ.
32 ΟΨΨΝ - 1. ΟΨΨΝ.2
31 ΟΥΟΕΙΨΤ... ΚΑΙΡΟΣ, B.G. ΣΗΨ... ΟΥΟΕΙΨΤ,

CGI. ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ... ΚΑΙΡΟΣ. cf. Acts 1:7, CE.
In B.G. the equivalent of 19ψ. ΠΝΟΥΤΕ... ΓΕΝΕΔ

follows ΚΑΙΡΟΣ as object of ΝΟΨΡ.
were mixed the gods and the angels and the daimons

20 and all the generations down to this day.

For from out of that Fate appeared all iniquities, and the injustices, and every thralldom of forgetfulness, and the ignorance, and every grave command, and the grave sins, and the great fears. And in this way the whole creation was blinded so that they should not know God who is above them all. And because of the bond of forgetfulness their sins were hidden. For they were bound for periods, and times, and seasons while it (Fate) is Lord over the Universe. And he (God) repented upon all the work which he had created. He resolved to bring a flood upon

20 "generations"—phps. add "of men" B.G. "men."
23 "injustice"—or "violence."
26 "fear" cf. I Jn. 4:18 for it as an unworthy emotion
Plate 77

εξη πταμίοι Μπρώμεν Τμηνος αε
Μπουοείν ὥτε τρόποια αὐτόσβε
νὼς ἀὐῳ ἀὐτάυεωείῳ ὑ[π]ερμα
τήρη ἐτε ναὶ νε ὅψγρωνα ἄηρωμε ἀη

5 ὡς Μπουοσωτή ἄηή ὅσι ηετο ὅψγμο
ἐρον κατὰ θεν αν ενταμουςχς ἄοος
αε ἀὐζωπτ ἄμοου ἀη οὐκιβωτος. ἀλ
ἀλ ἀὐτάζωπτ ἄμοου ἀη οὐτοπος ου
μονον νὼς αλλα ἄηκερωμε ἐνα

10 ὑςων ἐβολ άη τρένεα ἄντκιμ ἀὔβοκ
ἐγοιν ἀὐτοπος ἀὐζωπτ ἄμοου ἀη ου
κλουκέ ὅνοοειν ἀὐῳ ἀὐςοῦν 

15 ὑςειν ἄνουκακε ἐςραϊ ἐξη 

1 Πταμίοι, Β.Γ. Ἀναστεμα.

1f. Τμηνος... Τρόποςια. Β.Γ. Τμηνος Μπροιά
ἐτε τενεινοια Μπουοειν τε
αε β.τμεγγε ἐτε. CGI. inserts

2 αὐτόσβε, Β.Γ. Ἀκτογούειατυ, CGI. ακούων.

3 ταυεωείῳ = CGI. Κηρύσσε.

12 ἀὐςοῦν, CGI. ἀγ-

12f. τεγάδιεντία = Β.Γ. τεγμηντξοείς. CGI. adds Μπενα ἄηρη.

13 ἀὐῳ Τοπνομαν, Β.Γ. Μᾶ Νετνομαν.
upon the work of the man. But the Greatness of the Light of the Fore-thought taught Noah. And he preached to the entire seed which are the sons of men. And they did not hearken to him, those who were strangers to him. Not as Moses said:

'They were hidden in an ark.' But they were hidden in a place. Not only Noah, but many other men from the unwavering generation went into a place. They were hidden in a Light-Cloud. And he (Noah) knew his authority. And she of the Light was with him, enlightening them because he (Yaldabaōth) had brought darkness upon the whole earth. And he made a counsel with his powers.

He sent his angels to the daughters

1f. "work" - B.G. "presumption." "Great...Fore-thought" - B.G. "the Great Fore-thought which is the Thought of Light." CGI. adds "she remembered" before "which." Till says this refers to "counsel" of 76:34.

2 "he taught" - B.G. "she (Fore-thought) revealed" = CGI.


12f. "he" - CGI. "they" and adds "of the Height" after "authority." Till says this: "Light-Kingdom." "and...him." - B.G. "with those who were with him."

Plate 77

\[\text{\textit{τίπωμες ξεκαδε ευναδί ναυ εβολ}}\]
\[\text{\textit{νήστον αὐῳ νεστούνος νοῦστερ}}\]
20 \[\text{μα αὐτήν ναυ αὐῳ ἐτε ἀποὺματε}
\[\text{μαυροτπ ναροτμετε σε αὐῳ
\[\text{εἰς εἰς τὰς τις διότας αὐῃ}
\[\text{ἐν ἐν Ἐπεὶ ἐπίνε ἐπίνε ἐτάζει}
25 \[\text{εἴστε εβολ κεικθᾷ αὐῃς ἡν}
\[\text{μψυχα αὐῳ αὐῳτοῦν πούνε
\[\text{νόι ναῦγελος κατὰ πινε ἀποῦσο}
\[\text{εἰς εἰς ἐμοὺς μμοῦς πνάν ἐκακε}
\[\text{ἐνταύρ ὡρα ἐμοῦ ἐκατον ἀὐῳ μπο}
30 \[\text{μνπια δυείνα ἐμοῦνοιβ μῖν οὐγατ}
\[\text{μῖν οὐδωρον μῖν οὐγομτ μῖν οὐβε}
\[\text{μῖτε μῖν οὐμεταλλον μῖν γενο}
\[\text{μῖν γε γε νειδος αὐῳ αὐῳκκ ἱ}\]
\[\text{με εἴστε δεννος ἱποουῳ ναὶ εν}

20 \[\text{ματς, better B.G. τματις - B.G. omits ete.}
24 \[\text{ἐπείνε = CGI. ἵν αὐ μεμήθης. B.G. ἢγ ήμεθείε}
\[\text{Till says one translator confused μμεθείῳ with μμεθεῖαν. Our text shows B.G. is wrong.}
27f. \[\text{εἰστυ, B.G. ἵδαν, CGI. 200ντ.}
28 \[\text{ἐμοὺς...κακε, B.G. (ἄτ)τεεη ὴμμαν ἰ(ρε)}
\[\text{ται κατα Μναυρακσ ομμαν πινακα. Till omends}
\[\text{to Μηναυρακσ ομμαν - CGI.]μεθη ἐκακε.}
29 \[\text{κερα - from κεράννυφι (?). L.S. attests Epic}
\[\text{Gk. form κερα. This line to αὐῳ missing in B.G.}
\[\text{unless κερα = μναυρακσ < μναυρακσ > cf. Kahle, I,}
\[\text{pp. 147, 145 for K = L, Ζ = ζ.}
of men so that they should take for them (wives) from them, and that they should raise up a seed.

They consented (??) to them. And (to) which they did not succeed at first. When, therefore, they did not succeed they gathered together again with each other. They made a counsel together. They made a Spirit which despises the likeness of the Spirit which came down, so that by it to befoul the souls. And the angels were changed in their likeness, like to the likeness of their consorts, being filled with the spirit of darkness, which was mixed upon them. And in evil they brought their gold, and silver, and a gift, and copper, and iron, and metal, and all kinds of things. And they drew the men down in a great sorrow, these who

20 "succeed" - B.G. "agree."

24 "likeness" - B.G. "they thinking," a confusion of Gk. "to imitate" with Gk. "to remind."

27 "consorts" - lit. "pair" but Crum attest A2 "a double." B.G. "husband" - CGI. "male."

28 "filled...darkness" - B.G. (as emended) "they were satiated with the Spirit. He filled them with darkness." CGI. "...filled with darkness."

29 Gk. "to mix" exactly translated by B.G. Coptic if it is a by-form. However, CGI. supports Till's emendation to "filled." Cf.n. 60:11, 76:18.
Plate 78

TAYOYAGOU ἍCWOU EYCWPRH ἍMOOY
2N ςς2 ἅΠΛΑΝΗ ΔΥΡ ζΛΛΟ ΕΥO ὩΑΤᾲΡ
5 ΟΕ ΔΥΜΟΥ ὩΠΟΥϹΙΝ ΛΑΑΥ ἍΜΕΕ ΔΥW
ṀΠΟΥϹΟΥΨΝ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ὩΤΜΗΕ ΔΥW ΤΩI

5 ΤΕ ΘΕ ΕΝΤΑΨΡ ΤΚΤΙϹΙϹ ΤΗΡΕ ὩϹΑΥΑΝ ἍΨΗΑ
ΕΝΕϹ ΧΗ ὩΤΚΑ.ΤΑΒΟΛΗ ἍΠΚΟϹΜΟϹ
ヮα 그래 ΕΤΕΝΟΥ ΔΥW ΔΥΞΙ ὩژW⌀がありました
_decrypts to BOVE 2M ΠΚΑΚΕ ὩژW��ψΕ ΚΑΤΑ
ΠΕΙΝΕ ὩΠΟΥϹΝΑ ΔΥW ΔΥΤΩΜ ὩΝΟΥϹΕΤΕ

10 ΔΥW ΔΥΤ.chomp ΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ 2M ΠΕΝΨΟΤ
♊ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΨΗϹ มากๆ γrade ΕΤΕΝΟΥ ΑΝΟΚ
ῸΕ ΤΕΤΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΤΑΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ ὩΤΕ ΠΩΡΨΗ
ΔΙΨΨΤ 그래 2M ΠΑϹΠΕΡΜΑ ΝΕΙΨΟΟΤ ΠΑΡ
 salarié ρίεί.Mousee 2N ΜΑΙΤ ΝΙM ὩΜΟΟΨΗ

15 ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΒΕ ΤΜΠΡΨΜΑO ὩΠΟΥϹΕΙΝ ﺃ
ΑΝΟΚ ΒΕ ΠῬΨΜΕΕΎΕ ΝΠΕΠΛΗΡΨΜΑ ΑΕI
ΜΟΟΨΗ ΒΕ 2N ΤΜΨϹΝΟϹ ΑΡΚΑΚΕ ΔΥW
澪ΙΑΝΕΚΕ ΨΑΝΤΒΨΚ ΕϹΟΥΨΝ ΕΤΜΗΤΕ

6 ΚΑ.ΤΑΒΟΛΗ—There is a trace of a missing letter,
but anything additional would be a mis-spelling.

11 ΑΝΟΚ—From here to 79:26 widely variant from
B.G. 75:10-14 which omits most of what is found
in CGPI.

12 Perhaps a haplography: ὩΕ ΒΕ ΤΕΠ. — cf. 1. 15f.

16f. ὩΜΟΟΨΗΕ—From here to end of A.J. this is
and Kahle, I, p. 78f. This form (ει = i after
vowel) is normal in G. Th. which follows A.J.
in CGPI.
followed them, as they are led astray
in a multitude of error. They became old not having
rest. They died. They did not find any truth.
And they did not know the God of Truth. And this
is the way which they made the whole creation a slave
forever, from the foundation of the world
until now. And they took wives.
They begat from the darkness children according to
the likeness of their spirit. And they shut their
hearts. And they were hardened through the hardness
of the despised Spirit until now. I
therefore, the complete Fore-thought of the All.
I changed myself in my seed, for I was
the first, walking in every path of walking.
For I am the Richness of Light.
I am the Remembrance of the Pleroma. But I
went to the Greatness of the Darkness. And
I held back (?) until I went into the midst

5 Cf. Rom. 8:21f.

12 Perhaps haplography accounts for the loss of "am."
Cf. 79:11.
Plate 78

Ἀπευθετεκὸν ἄλλῳ ἔτει τὸν ἐκ ποιοῦντος, καὶ ἔστερω, ὅτι οἱ ἰδίωται τῆς ἐκείνης ἑαυτοῦ ἡμέρας παράγοντος, ἐκ τούτου δὲ τὸ πεπραγμένον, ὡς οὐκ ἐπάνω ἐστὶν ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τούτῃ.

This is a rare case. Cf. Kahle, I, p. 72. He gives no exact parallels. Probably scribal error.

Ἀκάκας (A2) cf. Ἀκάκας - M. P. S. Bk.
of the prison. And the foundations of the Chaos moved. And I concealed myself from them because of their evil. And they did not know me. Again, I returned the second time, and I went. I came forth from those of the Light, I which am the Remembrance of the Fore-thought. I went into the midst of the darkness, and the inward part of the underworld when I sought after my stewardship. And the foundations of the Chaos moved so that they should fall upon those who are in the Chaos, and they should perish. Moreover, I ran up to my root of Light so that they should not be destroyed before the time. Yet the third time I went, I which am the Light existing in the Light. I am the Remembrance of the Fore-thought so that I should go into the midst of the darkness and the inward

Plate 79

ΔΩΝ ΝΕΜΝΗΤΕ ΔΙΜΟΥΣ ΜΠΑΖΟ ΓΡΑΙ 2Μ
ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΝΤΟΥΝΤΕΛΕΙΔ ΜΠΟΝΔΙΩΝ
ΔΥΝ ΑΕΙΒΝΚ ΕΔΟΥΝ ΕΤΜΗΤΕ ΜΠΟΥΣΤΕ
ΚΟ ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΕΝΤΙΣΚΟ ΠΣΩΜΑ ΔΥΝ ΠΕ
ΒΑΙ Ε [XΕ] ΠΕΤΚΩΤΜ ΠΤΟΥΝ ΕΒΟΛ 2Μ ΦΙ
ΝΗΒ ΕΤΖΟΡΠΙ ΔΥΝ ΑΥΡΙΜΕ ΔΥΝ ΔΥΣΟΥΕ
ΡΑΕΙΝ ΕΤΖΟΡΠΙ ΔΥΣΟΤΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
ΜΜΟΥ ΔΥΝ ΠΕΚΑΙ ΧΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΜΟΤΥΤΕ ΜΠΑ
ΠΑΝ ΔΥΝ ΝΤΑΕΙ ΝΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΝΣΙ ΤΕΙΓΕΛΠΙΣ
ΔΕΙΣΟΟΤ ΓΡΑΙ 2Ν ΜΜΡΡΕ ΠΠΕΝΤΙΣΚΟ ΔΥΝ
ΠΕΚΑΕΙ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΠΠΡΟΝΙΑ ΝΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ
ΕΠΤΒΗΝΗ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΟΝ
ΜΠΑ ΠΕΤΤΟΣΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΓΡΑΙ ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ
ΕΤΤΑΕΙΝΗ ΠΤΟΥΝΚ ΔΥΝ ΝΚΡΠΜΕΕΥΕ
ΕΙ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΕΝΤΑΖΟΣΩΤΜ ΔΥΝ ΝΚΟΥΣΑΚ Α
ΤΕΚΝΟΥΝΕ ΕΤΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΤΕ ΠΨΑΝΙΖΗΝ ΑΥ
Ψ ΝΚΡΑΣΦΑΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΓΙΤΟΟΤΟΥ
ΝΝΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΝΤΜΝΤΖΗΚΕ ΜΝ ΝΑΔΙΜΩΝ
ΝΤΕ ΠΧΑΟΣ ΜΝ ΝΕΤΣΟΛΑ ΜΜΟΚ ΤΗΡΟΥ

cf. There is a marginal gloss, probably ΡΑΕΙΝ, at the end of line 6, and three letters, probably ΡΕΝ at the beginning of line 7. The Ρ and Ν are certain.
3 Q. form shows that Κ is needed because root is Caus. ΤΕΔΟ, not ΟΥΔΕ.
4 ΤΑΕΙΝΗ - For ΕΙ = I cf. p. 10 and 78:16n.
Plate 79

of the underworld. I filled up the treasury with the Light of the perfection of their Aeôn.

And I went into the midst of their prison which prison is the body. And I said, 'Because O Hearkener, Arise from the deep slumber.' And he cried, and shed tears abundantly. He wiped them from him and he said, 'Who is it who calls on my name? And whence came this hope to me while I am in the bonds of this prison?' And I said, 'I am the Fore-thought of purifying Light. I am the Thought of the Virgin Spirit, thy setter-up in the honored place. Arouse thyself, and remember that you are the one who hearkened. And join thyself to your root, which I am, the Merciful One. And save yourself from the Poverty-Angels, and the daimons of the Chaos, and all those who catch you.

1 "treasury of Light" Cf. M. Ps. Bk. 94:23.

5 "Hearkener" - "The one who hearkens raises up" is also grammatically possible, but context shows that vocative plus imperative is needed.

5ff. For motif of Call and Hearing, Cf. M. Ps. Bk. index, sub voce.

6, 14 "slumber" - cf. Commentary, infra, p. 228 and Eph. 5:14 (Isa. 60:1,2), Rom. 13:11.
Plate 79


Text of Baf. (75:14) resumes here. Till thinks B.G. 75:14-76:6 is incoherent, but says CGI. has same ideas.

B. 9. 76:1-6 (not in CGI.) fits after ΚΙΜ.

The deleted letter is illegible.

taxpo = CGI. δφδλίδ
20 and be awake from the deep slumber, and from the garment within the underworld. And I raised him up. And I sealed him with the Light Water with five seals so that death should not have power over him from henceforth. And lo, now I shall go up to the perfect Aeson. I completed for you all things up to your measure (?). But I spoke all things to you so that you should write them, and you should give them to your fellow spirits in secret. For this is the mystery of the unwavering generation." And the Saviour gave these things to him so that he should write them and put them away securely. And he said to him, "Cursed be everyone who shall impart these things for a gift or for food or for drink or for clothing or for (any) other things.

23 "sealed" cf. Mandaean rites.

32 B.G. adds "But the Mother came before him once more. Those, moreover, whom she had made in the world, she set (corrected) her seed (Till emends to "the defect" cf. n. 68:22f. of text). I will tell you what shall be."
Plate 30

The form of the colophon of C0PI is identical with that of the canonical gospels.
of this sort." And these things were given to him in a mystery. And at once he (Christ) disappeared from before him. And he (John) came to his fellow disciples. He related to them those things which the Saviour spoke to him. Jesus is the Christ. Amen.

(The) Apocryphon according to John

CHAPTER THREE

THE BIBLICAL MATERIAL

Scarcely a page of the Apocryphon can be read without realizing how greatly indebted, directly and indirectly, its author is to the Bible. While complete quotations are relatively few, yet the work contains allusions and catch phrases which hinge upon the Scriptures. Being a treatise devoted to an explanation of "Whence came evil and why? Whence comes man and how?" the Apocryphon naturally deals at length with the early chapters of Genesis. In this chapter a brief glimpse of their exegetical methods will suffice to show us the Gnostics attitude toward the Bible.

I BIBLE EXEGESIS IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE

Before turning to Gnostic exegesis, it may be well to examine various viewpoints toward the Bible held during this historical period. From the pre-Christian era one may note that the Letter of Aristeas, 168, says "nothing has been set down in Scripture to no purpose or in a mythical sense." However, in the next centuries (100 B.C.--100 A.D.) Jewish exegesis was informed by Hellenistic philosophy, resulting in a tendency to follow the Stoic allegorical method of

1 Francis Crowfoot Burkitt, Church and Gnosis (Cambridge, 1932), p. 56.
exegesis. In this period Philo of Alexandria is famous for his acceptance of the allegorical method. While he recognized the Mosaic Scriptures of the Pentateuch as containing all truth, and the other Scriptures as writings of inspired men, his exegesis sought to accommodate the Scripture to the age in which he lived. Of this allegorizing tendency, Casey writes:

Hellenistic Jews like the Pharisees brought the meaning of the Old Testament up to date and into line with their own thinking but by exegetical devices; the Pharisees by casuistry, the Hellenizers by the allegorical method borrowed from the Stoics. The early Christians employed both means but evinced a marked preference for allegory.

On the fringes of Christianity we find a different attitude toward the Old Testament. "The Clementine Homilies saw in the Pentateuch a corrupt and radically different transcript of the oral teaching of Moses." The Epistle of Barnabas suggests that "the Old Testament was moral from cover to cover, but was absurdly worded." Its author spiritualizes the com-


6 Burkitt, Church and Gnosis, p. 24f.
mandment against eating hare \[\text{[copy?]}\], as a prohibition of a vicious practice: \(\kappa\eta \gamma\varepsilon\upsilon\varsigma, \phi\sigma\iota\iota, \pi\alpha\iota\delta\sigma\varphi\epsilon\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma\)\n
The writers of the New Testament followed the exegetical trends of the times, but interpreted the Old Testament in the light of the "Christ-event." "They place themselves squarely upon the Old Testament revelation and build their theology upon its premises and promises."\(^7\) A cursory reading of the New Testament shows that its writers treated the Old Testament somewhat differently than the historico-grammatical exegete would. One example will suffice. Farrar says that Matthew "finds a new and deeper significance" in Hosea 11:1 when he applies it to the flight to and return from Egypt. In a footnote he says a friend comments, "'finds a new and deeper significance,' or, in other words, totally misunderstands." To this Farrar replies,

And so, no doubt, it might at first appear to our Western and Northern conceptions and methods of criticism; but not so to an Oriental and an Analogist. Trained to regard every word, nay, every letter of Scripture as mystical and divine, accustomed to the application of passages in various senses, all of which were supposed to be latent, in some mysterious fashion, under the

\(^7\) Of this attempt to escape from literal exegesis, Burkitt says: "It is suicidal to accept a Book as sacred and at the same time to declare the natural meaning of its words not to be the meaning."

\(^8\) Quoted from the author's unpublished B.D. dissertation: Matthew's Use of Isaiah; An Exegetical Study (Mission House Seminary, Plymouth, Wisc., 1945), p. 17. Chapter III is devoted to this problem.
original utterance, so Matthew would have regarded his least apparently relevant quotation from, and allusions to, the Old Testament, not in the light of occasional illustrations, but in the light of most solemn prophetic references to the events about which he writes. And in doing so he would be arguing in strict accordance with the views in which those for whom he wrote had been trained from their earliest infancy.

For the use of the Old Testament in the early church, a citation from Irenaeus, a contemporary and an opponent of the early Gnostics, will be ample.

It was a teaching which annexed the Hebrew Bible to the Christian Church, with the corollary that the meaning of that Bible was in every part the doctrine of the Church, and that those parts of the Bible that did not seem to set forth the doctrine of the Church might be practically (but not formally) ignored as being of only temporary significance.

Turning now to the Gnostic groups, we find that their attitude toward the Hebrew Scriptures usually parallels their attitude toward the Hebrew God. Again, Irenaeus (Ad. Haer. I, 23, 2-3) bears witness concerning the Simonians.

The prophets uttered their prophecies inspired by the angels that made the world; wherefore those who placed their hope in himself and his Helena need no longer heed them and might freely do what they liked. For by his grace men were saved, not by righteous deeds. For works are not in their nature good or bad, but by external dispensation: the angels who made the world decreed them as such, by precepts of this kind to bring men into servitude. Wherefore he promised


10 Burkitt, Church and Gnosis, p. 23 cited, Epideixis. He cfs. Daas hl. Irenaeus Schrift... cf. chr.d:vs... herausgegeben von Dr. Karapet Ter-Mekerttschion, (T. u. u. XXXI, Heft 1), (Leipzig, 1907).
that the world should be dissolved and that his own should be liberated from the dominion of those who made the world.11

Following Simon, other Gnostics said that the prophecies and Mosaic law issued from the world-ruling angels, among whom the Jewish God is prominent. "Saturninus went so far as to say that the prophecies were spoken partly by the world makers, partly by Satan."12

Marcion stands in a separate category among the Gnostics. He regarded the Old Testament as a product of the world-god. Therefore he interpreted it literally (and rejected it), instead of allegorically as so many around him were doing. The church rejected Marcion's views and held to the continuity of the Testaments and the God they presented.

Concerning two prominent Gnostics, Valentinus and Basilides, Burkitt says they should be considered as Christians who were striving to set forth the living essence of their religion in a form uncontaminated by the Jewish envelope in which they had received it, and expressed in terms more suited (as they might say) to the cosmology and philosophy of their enlightened age.13

Valentinus did not attempt to supersede the Old Testament, but to interpret it. He was entirely unhistorical (like modern existential exegetes). The early church retained biblical terms. Valentinus substitut-

11 Jonas, Gnostic Religion, p. 108
12 ibid., p. 133n.
13 Burkitt, Church and Gnosis, p. 28.
ed others. The early church, "with a true instinct, was afraid of mythology." \(^{14}\)

Ptolemaeus, the disciple of Valentinus, in his Letter to Flora distinguishes a Divine nucleus in the Old Testament from inferior elements. Some things were typical (sacrifices), some were temporary (e.g. lex talionis). \(^{15}\) According to Irenaeus (ed. Harvey, Vol. I, p. 27), Ptolemaeus is profoundly unhistorical and entirely arbitrary according to our ideas of true interpretation, but he seems to have thought he was really giving the true meaning, as when, for instance, he declares that by Christ and the Woman with an Issue is signified the passion of Sophia and her cure, for the 'virtue' which went forth from Jesus was that Horos-Stauros, which separated her from her pathological issue. \(^{16}\)

A simpler but more radical method of dealing with the Old Testament is that of the Manichees who completely rejected it. \(^{17}\) But among gnostics they stand in a class by themselves.

In brief, the Gnostics did not originate a new method of exegesis but simply carried to greater lengths allegorical and mythical trends already present.

\(^{14}\) Burkitt, Church and Gnosis, p. 52.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., p. 26

\(^{16}\) Ibid., p. 51f.

II QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Apocryphon quotes from the Old Testament a number of times, some places quite literally, others very freely, some places only a snatch, others a full verse or more. Since, very evidently, the Apocryphon was composed in Greek, and since the Sahidic version is later than the Apocryphon, the Bible passages in *A.J.* are most likely quotations from the Septuagint. At two places the Coptic is quite literal translations of the LXX text: Gen. 2:23 (71:9-10) and Gen. 2:24 (71:11-14). At the latter passage the Coptic reads, "the two shall be one flesh." "Two" is missing from the Hebrew, but is found in the LXX, Syriac, Vulgate and Targum Jonathan. The citations of Gen. 1:26 (65:1-3), 2:9 (70:4-5), 3:20 (71:23-24), Exodus 20:5 (61:8), Isa. 6:10 (70:26-27), Isa. 45:5-6 (61:9) are fairly close to the Septuagint.

Of special interest is the Apocryphon's use of single words or phrases from the Old Testament, usually re-interpreted, in order to prove a point of Gnostic theology. Examples of this are Gen. 1:2 (61:20f) "Not as Moses said, 'Upon the waters,' no..." Here the reference is to the Spirit of God moving over the primeval chaos. In the Gnostic myth, Sophia did *επι Φερεσθαι*, which is not what it means in Gen. 1:2, but that Sophia, tortured by shame and remorse,
went to and fro. At Gen. 2:21-22 (71:3-5) the author lifts out the phrase "his rib" in citing the Biblical passage in order to contradict it. Again at Gen. 7:7 the Gnostic writer paraphrases the Biblical text to "they were hidden in an ark," and then proceeds to controvert it, saying "They were hidden in a place."

This exegetical device is quite common among both Jews and Christians of the era. It is employed in Lev. Rabba, XXXIX on Gen. 22:13. In the New Testament many examples can be seen. For example, Matthew 22:32, which is a citation of Exodus 3:6, turns on the tense of the verb "am." Gal. 3:16 hinges upon the singular number of the noun "seed." While these are not exact parallels to the Gnostic device of contradicting a single word, they do show that a solitary word could be considered of paramount importance, a crux interpretum, in a Biblical passage. Matt. 2:23 offers another N.T. example of a single word being the lodestar of the exegetical voyage. In addition, the word in question, "Nazarene" must have a mystical or analogical exegesis to fit the citation. This phenomenon fits well into the Gnostic scheme of interpreta-

The Gnostic mythologoumena required that they drastically re-interpret or re-write crucial passages of the Old Testament in order to support their doctrines. Here we may note Gen. 1:26 (63:1-3) where the A.J. adds "so that his image shall be to us a light."
The context shows that these words are added to the Scripture passage and are not part of the surrounding narrative. At Gen. 2:9 (70:4-5) the tree of knowledge of good and evil is identified with the Epinoia of Light. Gen. 2:21 in A.J. says God "laid him down" (γτο) as contrasted to the LXX "God put a trance upon Adam and he lulled (him) to sleep." Gen. 3:16 in the A.J. seems to reflect a passage in Rev. 21:2. The Coptic reads "while she prepared herself for her husband, he being Lord over her." The LXX seems to contain an inner "toning down" of the Hebrew. It reads, "And to they husband (shall be) thy turning away and he shall Lord over you." Perhaps the Coptic variant is introduced to explain how Yaldabaoth became inflamed with lust for Eve--he found her in the midst of her toilette. At Gen. 3:20 (71:23-24) the Gnostic text paraphrases and adds a clause. "Because of this she was called 'Life' who is the Mother of those who live through the Pronoia of the Autocrat of Heaven." Again at Gen. 3:23 (72:6-8) an addition to the Biblical story of the expulsion from the Garden is "he clothed
them in a gloomy darkness." Perhaps this serves to heighten the Gnostic dichotomy of God-Light vs. matter-darkness.

While Christian and Jewish exegesis of the period often sought to re-interpret the Old Testament, never in the canonical books of the New Testament are Old Testament passages re-written and amplified. Even where the LXX is used and is widely variant from the M.T. the variants are due to exegetical interpretation, not to deliberate re-writing of the original record. It is at this point that the Gnostics part company with the Christians from whom they may have sprung.

One other phenomenon in quoting the O.T. should be noted. The A.J. (61:8-9) combines Exodus 20:5 and Isaiah 45:5. This "telescoping" of quotations is a common phenomenon in the Gospel of Thomas. It strings together quotations and allusions to different N.T. passages. This practice in Gnosticism has been traced back to the Naasenes. It is also a common feature in the New Testament. For example, I Pet. 2:6-8 combines Isa. 28:16 and Psalm 118:22. In this passage, as in most quotations, the N.T. uses the LXX instead of the current Hebrew text.

20 The writer is aware of the anachronism of the term "M.T." for the 1st. century, but uses it as a convenient designation for the current Hebrew text.

of the M.T., so that the source of the Gnostic practice may well be the Hellenized Judeo-Christians. However, the combining of passages from Deuteronomy and Leviticus in the Speeches of Moses of the Dead Sea Sect may indicate the common adoption of this motif.22

III THE CREATION OF MAN

The cosmogony of the Apocryphon is discussed later. Also referred to in the following chapters are most of the other Biblical quotations or allusions not already discussed. However, it may be well here to pay closer attention to the narrative of the Creation of man, although this, too, comes in for further discussion. Here the Gnostic interpretation of Gen. 1:26, 2:7 can be contrasted with that of other groups.

Turning to an early Gnostic system, we find a closely parallel account to that given in the Apocryphon. In Irenaeus I, 24, 1 we find that—

Saturninus, like Menander, taught the one Father, unknown to all, who made Angels, Archangels, Powers (virtutes: θεωρεὶς) and Mighty Ones (potestates: θεωρεὶς). The world, moreover and all things in it were made by a group of seven angels. Man, too, was the workmanship of angels. (The following were the circumstances of his formation.) A resplendent image coming from the highest Power manifested itself below (i.e. outside the Pleroma). When they (the an-

gels) found themselves unable to restrain it (tenere: ἑκατέρων) for the reason that it immediately returned upward; they urged one another, saying; "Let us make man in accordance with the image and likeness." When the form (plasma) had been fashioned and proved unable to stand erect, by reason of the impotence of the angels, but wriggled (on the ground) like a worm, the Power alone (dasuper: ἀνωθεν) took pity on it, since it had been made in its likeness, and sent forth a spark of light which set it upright, gave it limbs (articulavit) and made it live.23

Here we note that Saturninus parallels the Apocryphon in a number of details: the creation of man by seven angels or powers, the mirror-image idea,24 the citation of Gen. 1:26, the worm-like character of the supine creation, the necessity for the addition of a divine spark (A.J. "breath") to cause man to live.

Parallels are to be noted in the Ophite system:

In beginning man lay without breath or motion, inert like a statue bearing the image of a heavenly original, until at length an animating principle (ψυχή) was given to him in order that the image of the great and perfect Man which he held in slavery might suffer.25

Here the inertness, the image motif, the need of an outside animating principle, the name "perfect Man," and the idea that divinity is captive in humanity are parallels to the Apocryphon.

Almost all these details of the story of Adam's creation (in the Apocryphon) can be coupled to the

24 Cf. infra, pp. 211ff.
Biblical account and interpretations given of it. Exegesis of Gen. 1:26 by unorthodox Jewish groups led to their associating the angels with the act of creation. "In certain circles the angels were even thought to have furnished the prototype in the image of which man was made." Quispel calls attention to the fact that Justin Martyr (Dial. c. Tryphone. 62) attests that "a Jewish heresy taught that the body of man was made by angels." He also quotes from Gen. Rabba 6:5-6: (incorrectly cited as I. 26).

When Moses wrote the Torah, he described the work of each several day. But when he reached the verse (Gen. 1. 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." He cites Rabbi Johanan as saying (Sanhedrin 39b) that God does nothing without consulting the angels. Quispel is seeking to demonstrate the Jewish roots of the Gnostic "religion." He quotes from the Treatise on the Three Natures, probably written by Heracleon, which is found in the Jung Codex.

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


27 Jung Codex, p. 65. Instead of "Write!" one should translate "it is written." - בִּינָה
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.28

Enough has been said concerning the creation of man to show that the Gnostic exegesis of Genesis followed a pattern already laid down in that era. If it is more mythological, this may be due to the influence of Oriental mystery religions, but the story is primarily an adaptation of the Biblical account.

IV THE CONCEIT OF YALDABAOTH

When Yaldabaoth had produced the Aeons and powers he said, "I am God, and there is not another God except me." (59:20-21). The same incident may be in mind at 61:8-9 where Yaldabaoth, after seeing the creation and angels about him says, "I am a jealous God, and there is no other God except me." These quotations are from Exodus 20:5 and Isa. 45:5 (cf. 46:9). In the Ophite system he boasted, "I am Father and God, and there is none above me."29

Yaldabaoth's role will be discussed later on. Here we are concerned only with the fact that the God of the Old Testament is equated with the demiurge of the Gnostics. Therefore, for the Gnostics, the Old Testament is not normative because it is not from the supreme God. The revelation of the supreme God is to

be found in the Gnostic literature and esoteric teaching. Here again, Gnosticism parted company with Christianity. In so doing it substituted the mythical for the historical, the allegorical for the literal, and thus laid the axe to its own roots.

May be divided into four groups: (1) the teaching within the Pleroma, including the great God within the Invisible, Virgin Spirit; (2) the mythical Pleroma, including Yaldabaoth; (3) the demonic, or daemons over the human body (these often do not play a substantial role in the Gnostic text, yet they are interesting for a study of the physiology, psychology, and demonology of the early Christian agony); (4) The historical persons, including Adam and Eve, cf. 11.

THE PLEROMA

Starting from a basic dualism between matter and spirit, God and the world, light and darkness, the Gnostics had to account for the presence of evil in the world, and had to find a way rescuing the good God would redeem it. This problem led to the development of the idea of a series of emanations from the high God down to the material universe. These emanations, in some systems including the high God, are called the Pleroma (cf. T.V. 17:8-9). This is the idea expressed by the definition of G.H. BeINeR.

Collectively, it represents the fullness of the divine perfections and attributes, thus standing
The Gnostic myth of creation and redemption presented in the Apocryphon of John revolves around the personages who come upon the stage in the work. These may be divided into four groups: (1) The beings within the Pleroma, including the great God called the Invisible, Virgin Spirit; (2) The Archons outside the Pleroma, including Yaldabaoth; (3) The powers, or daimons over the human body (while these do not play a substantial role in the Gnostic myth, yet they are interesting for a study of the physiology, psychology, and demonology of the early Christian era); (4) The historical persons, including Adam and Eve, et. al.

I THE PLEROMA

Starting from a basic dualism between matter and spirit, God and the world, light and darkness, the Gnostics had to account for the presence of evil in the world, and had to find a way whereby the good God could redeem it. This problem led to the development of the idea of a series of emanations from the high God down to the material universe. These emanations, in some systems including the high God, are called the Pleroma (cf. E.V. 17:4-9). This is the idea expressed by the definition of C.H. Baynes:

Collectively, it represents the fullness of the divine perfections and attributes, thus standing...
in sharp contrast, as a positive conception, to the negative, ineffable aspect of the Deity of which the human mind can form no definite notion.¹

While the Valentinian Gnosis had a Pleroma of thirty emanations arranged in pairs, the Barbelo-Gnostics did not employ the pair-principle, except at the aberration of the Sophia. The Apocryphon does not give a full pleroma of thirty Aeons. Perhaps the emanation of Aeons from Logos and Zoe in the Valentinian system is omitted in this work as not germane to the subject.

1. The Invisible, Virgin Spirit

In the Valentinian system the supreme God is part of the Pleroma. In the Barbelo-Gnostics he is above the Pleroma in that all other Aeons emanate from him. He occupies a place in the Gnostic system somewhat like El in the Ugaritic pantheon, or Ea in the Babylonian pantheon--remote, removed from the scene of action, while his son/daughter, the Barbelo, is the chief actor, like Ba'al or Marduk. Unfortunately the pages describing the character of this God are very fragmentary in our text. However, from Till's edition of the Berlin Codex we know that they are occupied mainly with a description of the negative attributes of this God. This idea is based on a belief in God's

exalted position and removal from contact with the world found in Judaism. Philo used the Platonic conception of God as a being without attributes or qualities (cf. De. post. Cains 1-11). He, along with Albinus, Plotinus and the church Fathers, used affirmative propositions with predicate negatives (e.g. "God is uncreated.") while Basilides makes them unmistakable negatives ("God is not even created."). The Valentinian system does not elaborate this position but is content with a few telling words and symbols. "Above the universe dwells the prime Father who is also called Bythos and Chaos. He is invisible, incomprehensible, above time, and dwells unbegotten in eternal peace..." The Apocryphon (B.G. version) takes nearly five pages to elaborate these negative attributes.

2. The Barbelo

While in the Valentinian system, Bythos unites with Sigê (Silence) to create the second pair of emanations, in the Barbelo-Gnostics the second emanation is produced by the Invisible, Virgin Spirit reflecting...  


in the pure (living) Water of his Light and producing a hypostasis of his Thought. This hypostasis has many names, some male, some female. It is called Ennoia (Thought), Pronoia (Forethought), Mother’s Father, First Man, the Holy Spirit, the Triune Man, the Triune Power, the Male-Female, the Mother. She is the equivalent of the Higher Sophia in Valentinianism. Epiphanius (Haer. xxi. 56 fin.) mentions Prunicus (Sophia’s monstrous offspring) as being called in other heresies, "τὸν Ἐμπροσθότον." In Valentinianism the lower Sophia’s four blind passions (grief, fear, bewilderment and ignorance) became the source of the four traditional elements of matter. This may possibly tie in with the first etymology suggested below.

Many attempts have been made to explain the origin and meaning of the name Barbelō. In the nineteenth century Hilgenfeld (Ketzergeschichte, p. 223) suggested that it might be derived from Hebrew הָרֶבֶל, "in four is God—the deity is four." He was followed by Harvey (ed. of Irenaeus), Lipsius (Gnosticismus, "Ophite Systems" in Hilgenfeld’s Zeit- Schrift, 1863, p. 44). Dr. Hort leans to the Aramaic

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4 Burkitt, Church and Gnosis, p. 59f.
5 Cited by Kraeling, Anthropos, p. 105n.
found in the Targums and cites Buxdorf (Lex. Rabb. 309). He compares it with Biblical Hebrew "mixture, confusion." Bousset's suggestion (Haupt-probleme, (1907), p. 14) that it is a corruption of Gk. ἀπόθεσις violates both context and linguistic rules. Burkitt is not sure of any etymology but conjectures that it came from Coptic "belbile," "a seed or grain." He says, "while Greek speculation traced the first beginnings of things to a thought or notion (i.e. Valentinianism), the more concrete Egyptian mind thought of a seed." It seems evident that the Apocryphon was not composed in Egypt, so that would mitigate against his argument. More weighty, however, is the fact that linguistic evidence is against this etymology. While Achmimic and Sub-Achmimic shifts ē to ā and ĩ to ē, this leaves unexplained the long vowels ē and ō. Late Egyptian "blbil't" giving rise to "belbile" follows a pattern seen in ma'āye, nau, cwt. Such possible exceptions as "bō" from "b'īt" are due to the bi-consonantal character of the root, the aleph being lost in the Coptic stages of the language and the long ō compensating for it.

Gressmann (Z.K.D., XL, (1922), 187) suggested

7 Cited by Kraaling, Anthropos, p. 105f.n. Jonas leans to it.
8 Burkitt, Church and Gnosis, p. 58f.
9 ibid., p. 55.
that it means "in Arbela" and then equated it with Ishtar of Arbela. He is followed by Kraeling who tried to equate Anthropos (Coptic "First Man") with Marduk and Barbelo with Ishtar. This suggestion seems to be the best offered to date. Since other proper names are of Semitic origin, it fits the general pattern. Original Akkadian *'arba 'ilmu (source of place name "Arbela") could become Barbelo in a Semitic community where Greek predominated. So there may be a trace of truth in the first suggestion. However, is there evidence for "in Arbela" as an epithet of Ishtar? The idea of the Gnostics importing Babylonian ideas will be evaluated later.

This concept of the Father producing the Ennoia, or Epinoia (i.e. the Barbelo) through thinking is also found in the "Great Exposition" (Hipp. Ref. VI. 18) credited to Simon. Here, too, the Epinoia is androgynous, as she is in the Apocryphon (53:9, 57:32). In the Simonian doctrine, his consort, Helen, is "The Mother of All" as is Barbelo. (53:5).

The Manichaean system, with its ontological dualism, has a different conception of the origin of the Mother. Kraeling says, "when the King of the Realm of Light (=The Invisible, Virgin Spirit), so we are

11 Cf. concluding chapter, p. 235f.
12 Jonas, Gnostic Religion, pp. 105f.
told, becomes cognizant of the efforts of Satan to invade his kingdom, he emanated from himself the Mother of Life, who in turn produced the Primal Man."¹³

The relationship of the First God with Barbelo is attested likewise in *Pistis Sophia* which is of a late third century date. In *P.S.* 359 is a prayer of Jesus for his disciples that "all the powers of the Unseen God Agrammachamareg and the Barbelo..."¹⁴

Lady Drower demonstrates that in the Mandaean *masigta* (so-called "death mass") the priest mingles water and wine in the *hamra* (wine bowl). This represents the union of the cosmic Father and the Mother. The Divine Womb is fertilized (cf. 53:5).¹⁵ So the Great Mother motif is part of that gnostic movement.

3. Emanations from Barbelo

According to the *Apocryphon*, the Mother asks the Invisible Spirit to give to her four Aeons: First Knowledge, Indestructibility, Eternal Life and Truth. These are personified abstracts which pass from immanence into separate being. At least two, Truth=Alēthia, and Eternal Life=Zōë parallel emanations found in the Valentinian Ogdoad. If, as may be presupposed (cf. 54:9) these four Aeons are androgynous, they would parallel the Valentinian number. These

¹³ Burkitt, *Church and Gnosis*, p. 61.
Aeons praise the Invisible Spirit and the Barbelo through whom they came into existence, but seem to play no further role in the myth.

4. The Christ

Unfortunately the text of CGPI. is fragmentary at the crucial points in the description of the emanation of the Christ. However, it seems clear from it and the text of CGPI. that this Aeon was produced by the Barbelo intently contemplating the Pure Light which surrounded the Father. He is described as a "spark" of Light, but is not an equal of the Father. He is the Only-begotten, a term used in Valentinian speculation for a member of the Ogdoad. Another epithet applied to him is "self-begotten." He is anointed with Goodness, so that he is a perfect being. In this passage (54:22-29) there seems to be a word-play in the original Greek on the words "goodness" and "Messiahship."

The Christ praises the Holy Spirit and the Forethought, i.e. the Barbelo, for his emanation. There is a strange reference in the Hebrew Gospel preserved in Jerome (Comm. on Micah 5-7, in Ezech. xvi. 13) to the effect that Jesus said his mother, the Holy Spirit caught him up by the hair of his head and lifted him up. 16

Of course the Aeonic Christ is not to be equated with the historic person of Christian dogma. Rather he is a hyper-celestial being to whom all power and truth is subordinated. He creates or brings forth four Aeons, each composed of three abstractions. Thus a dodecad like that produced by Man and Church in the Valentinian system comes into being.

5. The Nous

Unlike the other beings in the Pleroma, the Christ has a "yokefellow." The Christ asked the Invisible Spirit to send him a "yokefellow." He appeared, and like the preceding Aeons, joined in praising the Invisible and the Barbelo. He doesn't seem to play any substantial role in the myth.

6. The Four Lights

Through the assent, and probably through the power of Christ Four Lights come into existence. These Light-Aeons bear Semitic names: Harmozel, "Hermes is God"; Oriel, "Light is God"; Daveithe, "David"; and Elałoth, which may possibly be connected with Helel ben Shachar of Isa. 14:12. With each of these Light-Aeons is associated three abstractions to comprise a dodecad as in Valentinianism. These Light-Aeons are personifications of abstractions. In CGP I, these abstractions are listed as Wisdom (Sophia), Grace, Perception and Understanding. In B.G., Intelligence replaces Wisdom in the list, while Irenaeus...
lists Grace, Will, Intelligence and Understanding.

The Aeons associated with the Light-Aeons are:

1) Grace, Truth, Form; (2) Epinoia, Perception, Memory; (3) Wisdom, Love Aspect; (4) Perfection, Peace, Wisdom (Sophia).

Harmozel could be the source of fruitless speculation concerning Egyptian influences in Gnosticism, for the name means "Hermes is God." Hermes is equated with the Egyptian god of the underworld, Thoth, and bears the same general traits. However, as will be shown later, these names are not reliable clues to origins. An apocryphal work, "Les prières de la Vierge," contains this name in its Ethiopic form.

If astrological influences upon gnosticism are verifiable then the relation of Elelēth to Helel ben Shachar of Isa. 14:12 may be established. The day-star is Venus, one of the planets, while the decad may be related to the twelve signs of the zodiac. There is a possible reference to the same personage in the Testament of Solomon (ed. Fleck, p. 29) where Beelzeboul tells Solomon that he (Beelzeboul) can be frustrated by the holy and precious name of the Almighty God called by the Hebrews by a row of numbers, of which the sum is 644, and among the Greeks

This last Aeon will be discussed more fully below.


Cf. concluding chapter, p. 234
it is Emmanuel. And if one of the Romans adjure me by the great name of the power Eleœth, I dis­appear at once.20

7. The Sophia

The final emanation within the Valentinian and Barbelo-gnostic Pleroma is the Sophia. In the former system the First Forefather is invisible to the Aeons, except the Nous. Fulfilling her unauthorized passion to see him, Sophia became fecund with a formless mon­ster. The Father sent Horos who separated her from the monster and restored her to her place in the Aeons. The monster fell outside the Pleroma and became the cause of this sensible and material world. The monster parallels the creature Yaldabaoth in the Barbelo-gnostics.21

Sometimes the lower Sophia is called Achamoth, which is probably a hybrid form of the Greek privative prefix and Hebrew chakam. This recalls the specula­tions within Judaism regarding "wisdom" as the agent of God in the creation of the world. There seems to be a distinction between the wisdom of God and God himself in Job 28:12ff., Prov. 8 & 9. The well-known Philonic Logos doctrine has been regarded as the pre­cursor of Johannine teaching (John 1:1-14). It may


21 Burkitt, Church and Gnosis, p. 44f., cf. p. 55.

Jonas says that the Ophites and Barbelo-gnostics found it necessary, in view of the wide span of conditions...to differentiate this aspect into an upper and a lower Sophia, the latter being the fallen shape of the former and the bearer of all the divine distress and indignities following from the fall. In both systems the differentiation is expressed by separate names: the original female aspect of God is called by the Barbeliotes, "Barbelo" (possibly 'Virgin') and Ennoia, by the Ophites "Holy Spirit" (this to the Barbeliotes is one of the names of the fallen form); the name 'Sophia' is by both reserved for her unfortunate emanation, also called 'Prunikos' and 'the Left'.

Proponents of a Greek philosophical origin of Gnosticism might well point to Plato's Symposium (203b) where Erōs, the offspring of Penia has a yearning and desire after the unseen but eternal Beauty, a longing for the unpossessed, just as Sophia in the Gnostic myth.

Within the Mandaean system Ruha plays about the same role as Sophia. In fact, as in CGP1, she is called "The Holy Spirit." Ruha seduces mankind, just as in CGP1, the "counterfeit Spirit" (72:31, 74:27) keeps man in bondage.

The figure of Sophia is found in the earliest attested Gnostic system—that of Simon. Jonas says:

A divine hypostasis already in post-biblical Jewish speculation, the 'Wisdom' (chokmah) was

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22 Gnostic Religion, p. 177.

there conceived as God's helper or agent in the creation of the world, similarly to the alternative hypostasis of the 'Word.' How this figure, or at least its name, came to be combined in the gnostic through with the moon-, mother-, and love-goddess of the Near Eastern religion, to form that ambiguous figure encompassing the whole scale from the highest to the lowest, from the most spiritual to the utterly sensual (as expressed in the very combination 'Sophia-Prunikos,' 'Wisdom-the Whore'), we do not know and, lacking evidence of any intermediate stages, cannot even hypothetically reconstruct. As early as Simon the figure is fully developed in its gnostic sense. But the psychological elaboration of her destiny is there still rudimentary, the causation of her fall more in the nature of a mishap brought upon her by her offspring than in the nature of an inner motivation. In other systems leading over to the Valentinian form the tale of the Sophia is made the subject of more and more extensive elaboration, with her own psychological share in it becoming increasingly prominent.24

There is evidence that a "mother" figure played a part in the Manichaean system. In the M. Ps. Ek. (221:5f.) the phrase ῬΩΟΙΣ ῬΕΥ ΝΘΕ ΠΙΧΚΟΜΟΣ, "The . . . , the Mother of the world." occurs. Since in the Manichaean sources Darkness is personified: in the Persian he is Ahriman, in the Arabic he is 'Iblis' (from διαβόλος— the Devil), in the Greek (including also Latin, Syriac and Coptic), he is called Ὑλή, which is a feminine noun, there may be some connection here with the Gnostic Sophia. In the Manichaean system, Ὑλή, like Sophia has "powers, movements, and strivings of its own which differ from those of God only by being evil: . . . "25 Jonas rightly points out

25 ibid., p. 211.
how this differs radically from the passive Ἡλε of
the Greek philosophers.

Among the Mandaeans Namrus (נמארט) is also
called 'Ruha' and has the epithet of Ἡλε ἓ ἐν.
This leads Säve-Söderbergh to suggest that perhaps the
untranslatable ΤΜΩΙ of M. Ps. Ec. 221:5f. is a
corruption of Namrus. It doesn't seem plausible,
because one would expect a long vowel, ɔ to compensate
for the elided r.

Returning now to Simon and Helen, Dr. Grant calls
attention to Epiphanius' statement that Isis was a
prostitute in Tyre. The equation of Isis-Aphrodite-
Astarte is well known. Grant suggests that Helen may
have been a sacred prostitute to Ashtoreth. Her des-
cent in the Simonian doctrine would then parallel the
story of Inanna-Ishtar in Babylonian mythology. Grant
calls attention to the longevity of myths as instanced
by Plutarch on Isis, and that Plutarch says Isis is
sometimes called Sophia. So the evidence for an
early, Syrian origin of this gnostic figure is strong.

Concerning another Gnostic sect, the Ophites,
Hippolytus says they attended the rites of Attis and

26 Johannesbuch, 63, n.3, p. 165, tr. p. 166; Mand-
27 Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, Studies in the Coptic Mani-
chaean Psalm-Book (Uppsala, 1949), p. 146.
28 Robert M. Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity,
(New York, 1959), p. 81, 83f. Cf. also Oliver Shaw
Rankin, Israel's Wisdom Literature (Edinburgh,
Cybele. These rites were basically worship of the Great Mother.29

The summary of this discussion of the emanations within the Pleroma points up the following conclusions: (1) The Apocryphon does not clearly fix the position of the Invisible Spirit. He may be thought of as the male principle paired with Barbelo. On the other hand, he may be outside the Pleroma, with "The Thought" being the male principle. (2) The Apocryphon does not consistently use the pair-principle. The four Aeons brought forth by Barbelo are not paired. However, they seem to be androgynous. The twelve Aeons brought forth by Christ are not distinctly paired. This has a bearing upon the question: "Which has priority, the philosophical or the mythological form of Gnosis?"

Zimmern ("Babylonische Vorstufenden vorderasiatischen Mysterienreligion," Z.B.M.T., LXXVI (1922), 52) "pointed out, the syzygy idea which plays such a part in determining the nature of Gnostic theology, may well have its origin in the Babylonian practice of listing deities in pairs."30 However, the Sethians played down the syzygy idea. (3) The Apocryphon makes no attempt to present a Pleroma of exactly thirty Aeons as do the Valentinians.

30 Cited by Kraeling, Anthropos, p. 106.
Outside the Pleroma there existed a group of powers called Archons. At the head is Yaldabaoth who created twelve Aeons or Powers. The first seven were placed over seven visible heavens, while the last five were placed over the underworld and seem to play no further role. While CGPI. seems to indicate that the seven Archons made seven powers for themselves (59:22f.) these latter powers may be merely re-duplications of the previously named Archons. At least two bear the same names. The second group of seven have both beast faces and abstract qualities similar to the names of the Aeons in the Valentinian system. Their names, with two exceptions (one in B.G.), are those of the Old Testament God or corruptions of it. These names, plus the beast faces, "show the depth of contempt or revulsion to which the world-rulers have sunk for the Gnostics." These seven are set over the seven firmaments of the seven heavens. They are the cosmic warders who (as in Manicheism) seek to keep the spirit from rejoining the Pleroma.

1. Yaldabaoth

The illicit offspring of Sophia's passion, having a dragon form, is cast out of the Pleroma. He is placed in a Light-Cloud and possesses great power from

31 Jonas, Gnostic Religion, p. 201.
his Mother. He incites the Archons to create man. He is deceived by the angels into breathing his Mother's power into man. As the serpent, Yaldabaöth teaches man the evil of procreative desire. He begets, with Eve, Cain and Abel. Finally, to circumvent the redemption of mankind, he counsels with his powers so that they produce a new generation through adultery with each other's Wisdom (Sophia).

At least two attempts have been made to explain the name and origin of Yaldabaöth. Hilgenfeld (Ketzergesch., p. 238, 243) probably was the first to suggest the etymology חלון זרן, "child of chaos." In this he has been followed by Albright. Supporting this view could be the Greek ὁ θεός (Rom. 9:29, James 5:4) from the Hebrew הַצָּרִי. The use of the fem. def. art. with it also ties in with the Heb. or Phoen. word for "chaos." However, caution in accepting this etymology is suggested by the occurrence in Coptic texts of the ending "aoth." It may be difficult to accept either the possi-

33 "Goddess of Life and Wisdom," A. J. S. L. XXXVI (July, 1920), 291. He now says (correspondence) that newly discovered data confirms this etymology.
mism or the suggestions of Burkitt concerning the name.

No proper derivation for this name can be found. I doubt if any rational derivation ever existed. It seems to me to be formed after the analogy of Sabaoth. Possibly also the first inventor of the name had heard that Jald or Yeled meant 'child' or 'boy' and that Ab or Abba meant 'father.' But the rules of philology, which are undeviating in genuine natural formations, do not hold for artificial names.... Personally, I find it difficult to separate Yaldabaoth altogether from Yaw casaw, but neither in sound, nor in writing does YΔ resemble YC.35

Is there a possibility that the name may be derived from yeled and the verb ƙiƙa?

Yaldabaoth is specifically identified by two other names in the Apocryphon. He is called Saklas and Samael. The latter name gives us a clue to the Jewish origin of this character. By a typical inversion, the gnostics have replaced the God of the Old Testament with Yaldabaoth, and have invested the latter with the characteristics of Satan. According to the Zohar, Satan is called "the second God" (אָרוֹן הַהָנָךְ) (cf. II Cor. 4:4). There was a persistent Jewish idea that Satan was active in the temptation of the first man (cf. Philo, Book of Wisdom, 2:24; "through envy of the devil came sin into the world.")36 In II Baruch,

Baruch sees Hades and a dragon that consumes the bodies of the wicked. He learns that the for-

35 Church and Gnosis, p. 38 and note.
bidden fruit of Paradise was the vine, which Samael had planted and which God cursed along with Samael; (4:4-9). The moon saw Samael taking the serpent as a garment;..."37

Targum Jonathan and Yer. say the seed of the woman will vanquish Samael.38 So also

in the Targum, and by Maimonides in his More Nevochim, Lib. ii, ch. xxx., Sammael is called the angel of death, נְפֹרֵא אַלְדָּא. Says Maimonides: 'He took the ancient serpent for his vehicle, and seduced Eve.' Elsewhere he says, that he is no other than Satan, who caused death to the world.38

In later Judaism (according to Bamberger) there is a faint echo of the Demi-urge idea "in the notion of an archangel who bears God's name within him, and who is vouchsafed all but divine honors."39 He is called sar ha'olam (Hullin 60a), sar haPanim (Tanhum, Mishpatim 18), Metatron, (Hagigah 15a, Sanhed. 38b.) and Joael. The equation of Samael and Satan is found in Sotah 10b. and in Pirke D'Rabbi Eliezer.40 The idea expressed in the Apocryphon that Yaldabaoth had sexual relations with Eve is found in later Rabbinic legend.41 All this evidence clearly indicates that

40 Bamberger, op. cit., p. 275n.
within Judaism itself the demi-urge idea could have
developed. But others have sought its origin else­
where.

Grant feels that Yaldabaoth originated in Iranian
dualism. According to Iranian teaching, Ahriman cre­
ated six gods hostile to Ahura Mazda (Plutarch, De
Iside, 47) or according to another text (Zaehner,
Zurvan), "the seven planets are said to be the seven
commanders on the side of Ahriman."42 In De Iside, 46
Ahriman is called 'darkness.' Likewise in B.C., Yalda­
booth is "first archon of darkness" and in CGPI. (61:
33) he is called "the garment of darkness." Under the
name Saklas he is chief and head of the evil archons
in the Manichaean system. In some of the sources he
is the creator of man as in the Apocryphon.43

This figure is paralleled in the Mandaeansystem
by Ptahil ("Ptah is God"?) according to Burkitt.44
Another possible parallel is found in the Johannes­

From the day when the Evil one began to think
the evil was moulded in him.
He was angry in a great anger
And made war with the light
The Messenger was sent out
To tread down the power of the rebels.45

42 Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity, p. 49.
43 Kraeling, Anthropos, p. 21ff.
44 Church and Gnosis, p. 115.
45 Cited by George Widengren, Mesopotamian Elements
in Manichaeism (Uppsala, 1946), p. 45.
The "anger" may be reflected in CGPI 59:18 "madness."
The conceit of Yaldabaoth (CGPI 59:18-21, 61:8-9) is a motif in Mandaeanism.

B'haq Ziva regarded himself as a mighty one, and forsook the name which his Father had created for him. He said, "I am the father of the Uthras, who have created the sh'kinas for them." He pondered over the turbid water and said, "I will create a world." (Ginza, 97f.)

In the early Christian apocryphon, The Ascension of Isaiah, Isaiah informed Hezekiah that his son Manasseh would be led astray by Samael Malchira, and would serve Belial. Malchira of course means "king of evil." 47

Turning to the Hellenistic mystery religions, Grant calls attention to the statues outside Mithraic shrines showing a lion-headed figure within the coils of a snake. Cumont identified this with Endless Time, i.e. Zurvan. Bousset called attention to its resemblance to Yaldabaoth (cf. CGPI 58:8f.). Grant holds that by gnostic times he was identified with Ahriman. 48

Within Gnosticism itself, the development of the doctrine of the demi-urge is interesting. 49 In the Baruch of Justin the one demi-urgical Elohim is contrasted with the supreme Good one. Cerinthus taught

47 Bamberger, Fallen Angels, cf. infra, p. 193
48 Gnosticism and Early Christianity, p. 49f.
that "the world was made, not by the first God, but by a power which was far removed and separated from the source of being, and did not even know of God who is exalted above all things." (Iren. I, 26.1). Cerdon, the teacher of Marcion, said: "the God whom Moses and the Prophets preached is not the Father of Jesus Christ: the One is knowable, the other is not, the one merely just, the other good." (Iren. I, 27.1). Irenaeus says these gnostics take the doctrine of the Unknown Father from Matt. 11:25-27 (Ad. Haer. I, 20.3).

Marcion thought that the world and all of nature and man came from the world-god. There was for him no connection by genealogy or history of the demiurge with the good god as in the other Gnostic systems. Here he has something of the radical Manichaean dualism.

Within Gnosticism itself we find the following ideas concerning the demiurge. In the Ophite system he is the firstborn of the lower Sophia or Prunikos and begets out of the waters a son called Iao, who in turn in the same way generates a son, Sabacth, and so on to seven. Thus Ialdabaoth is mediately the father of them all and thereby of the creation. (Iren. I, 30. 4-6)51

Here, too, the lower Sophia rebukes Yaldabaoth after his conceit in saying "I am Father and God, and there is none above me."

50 Jonas, Gnostic Religion, p. 138
51 ibid., p. 134.
Basilides is less harsh in correcting the demi-urge by enlightening him as to his true nature from the Gospel of the Sonship.

And the Archon learned that he was not the universal God but was begotten and had above him the treasure of the ineffable and nameless 'Non-Existent' and of the Sonship i.e. "The Man and the Son of Man" as in the Apocryphon, and he turned and was afraid, perceiving in what ignorance he had been...and he confessed the sin which he had committed in magnifying himself." (Hipp. vii. 26:1-3).\(^{52}\)

In Ephiphanius (Haer. xxvi. 2.3f.), Yaldabaoth-Sabaoth is treated to exactly the same rebuke by the Barbelo as in the Ophite system.

The place of the demi-urge in the Valentinian system is well known. Jonas says that the Lower Sophia brought forth another son, the demi-urge, who is also called All-Ruler of what is below (Iren. I, 11.1). For the Anatolian branch this is confirmed by Ex. Theod. 23:2,32, 2:39.\(^{53}\)

Other features of the demi-urge found in the Valentinian system are (1) He is the creation of Lower Sophia out of psychic substance, (2) He, along with his six (1) angels creates the world. Thus a lower ogdoad comes into existence, (3) He creates man according to his own likeness out of matter and psyche, soul and body.\(^{54}\)

\(^{52}\) Jonas, Gnostic Religion, p. 143f.

\(^{53}\) ibid., p. 186

\(^{54}\) Lietzmann, Beginnings, p. 389.
The theme of seven powers which imprison the soul or restrain it from re-entering the pleroma is a typical gnostic motif. Jonas says they rule over the spheres of the seven planets and are borrowed from the Babylonian pantheon. In Judaism we find the mention of seven good spirits arrayed against seven evil spirits. In the Testament of Solomon seven female spirits say: "we are of the thirty six (thirty three according to the original text) elements of the cosmic rulers of darkness." They denominate themselves with abstract qualities, just as the Archons of the Apocryphon are given these "powers." At least three of these are exact parallels: jealousy-envy; Power-Lordship; battle-Sanbaoth (Sabaoth). Conybeare points out the astral associations of these decani.

Origen (Contra Celsum) says that Celsus speaks of seven ruling demons whom the Ophites accept, but whom Celsus identifies as being part of the Christian scheme. In Celsus they have beast-faces: lion, ox, dragon, eagle, bear and dog. The first four are found in the Ophite diagram. B.G.'s list is lion, lion, ox, eagle.

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55 Gnostic Religion, p. 43.
56 Albright, F.S.A.C., p. 279.
58 Ibid., p. 8. One face missing from Celsus' list.
donkey, hyena, seven-headed snake, dragon, ape (?) and shining flame. CGPI. varies from it in giving the first Archon a sheep face and the second a face of a Typhon. In the Ophite system they are given the names of the traditional angels of Judaism, plus two names of undetermined origin: Michael, Suriel, Raphael, Gabriel, Onoel, Thauthabaath (Thoth-Ba'oth?).

In the Test. of Solomon the thirty six decani over the parts of the body had animal heads. This motif is also found in the M. Ps. Ek. (54:13) "I am in the midst of my enemies, the beasts surrounding me; the burden which I bear is of the powers and principalities." Theodore E. Konai (ed. Pognon, 128) likewise attests this Manichaean motif. "Peace unto thee, Good one among the evil ones, Light one in the darkness. God who dwelleth among the beasts of wrath who do not know their glory." Again the Ps. Ek. says (66:20-21) "Do not, Light, do not forsake me in the midst of the wild beasts."

Two other passages from the M. Ps. Ek. dealing with the Archons may be cited. Psalm 244 (51:24) "For the powers of heaven and the earth are desiring to

61 ibid., p. 55, cf. also pp. 37ff.
submerge me." Psalm 245 (53:18) "that he may escape from the Hebdomas of these Barbarians." As Burkitt points out, in Manichaeism Primal Man is defeated by the King of the Dark who is some times called the Sons of the Dark, or the Archons. 62

In the Mandaean system the seven Archons are attested in the following sources: Johannesbuch 59f., Left Ginza, 99; R. Ginza, 63; Mand. Lit. (L.G.) 63; Left Ginza, 56:22:24. 63 In the unpublished Masigta of Zihrun Raza Kasia (l. 84f.) we learn "that when Haial Kbar is recited 'the mystery of the seven (which) had power over the soul is vanquished thereby.'" 64

Somewhat afield from the main Gnostic bodies we find a similar reference in the Hermetic literature. Poimandres 9 says the Demi-urge fashioned seven governors (Archons), who "encompass with their circles the sensible world, and their government is called Heimarmene [Destiny]." 65

Perhaps the best and simplest way to present the Names of the Archons is by means of a chart.


64 Segelberg, Masbuta, p. 33, citing Lady Drower's unpublished translation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>First Name</th>
<th>Second Name</th>
<th>Face</th>
<th>Quality</th>
<th>Soul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CGPI.</td>
<td>Athōth</td>
<td>Athōth</td>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>Goodness</td>
<td>Bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.G.</td>
<td>Yaōth</td>
<td>Yaōth</td>
<td>Lion</td>
<td>Fore-thought</td>
<td>Bone (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGI.</td>
<td>Haōth</td>
<td>Aōth</td>
<td>Bone</td>
<td>(pages missing)</td>
<td>Bone (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGPI.</td>
<td>Harmas</td>
<td>Elōcalou</td>
<td>Typhon</td>
<td>Fore-thought</td>
<td>Sinew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.G.</td>
<td>Hermas</td>
<td>Elōaios</td>
<td>Donkey</td>
<td>Divinity</td>
<td>Sinew (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGI.</td>
<td>Harmas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGPI.</td>
<td>Kalila</td>
<td>Astāphaios</td>
<td>Hyena</td>
<td>Divinity</td>
<td>Flesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.G.</td>
<td>Galila</td>
<td>Astāphaios</td>
<td>Hyena</td>
<td>Goodness</td>
<td>Flesh (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGI.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Astāphaios</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Flesh (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGPI.</td>
<td>Yabāl</td>
<td>Yaō</td>
<td>Dragon w. seven heads</td>
<td>Lordship</td>
<td>Marrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.G.</td>
<td>Yobēl</td>
<td>Yaō</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Marrow (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGI.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yazō</td>
<td></td>
<td>Heat (acc. to Till's recon.)</td>
<td>Marrow (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGPI.</td>
<td>Adōnaicou</td>
<td>Sa(n)baōth</td>
<td>Dragon</td>
<td>Kingdom</td>
<td>Blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.G.</td>
<td>Adōnaios</td>
<td>Adōnaios (em.)</td>
<td>Dragon</td>
<td>Kingdom</td>
<td>Blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGI.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Sabaōth)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGPI.</td>
<td>Cain (Rā)</td>
<td>Adōnein</td>
<td>Ape</td>
<td>Envy</td>
<td>Skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.G.</td>
<td>Sabaoth</td>
<td>Adōnī</td>
<td>Ape (?)</td>
<td>Understanding</td>
<td>Skin (F) ? or &quot;Molar.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGI.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Adōnin</td>
<td>Ape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGPI.</td>
<td>Abel</td>
<td>Sabbateōn</td>
<td>Enlightening fire</td>
<td>Wisdom</td>
<td>Hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.G.</td>
<td>Kainan &amp; Kaē (Kain) (Rā)</td>
<td>Sabbataios</td>
<td>Flame of en. light. fire</td>
<td>Wisdom</td>
<td>Hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGI.</td>
<td>Kainankasīn(Rā)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES TO CHART OF THE ARCHONS

Where information is lacking for CGI. in the chart, this indicates that Till does not give it in his footnotes. One would presume, therefore, that CGI. agrees with B.G. at these points. However, as noted in the chart, missing pages of CGI. at the vital section dealing with the "good" qualities of the Archons, leaves us with no information from this text concerning this topic.

There are some inner inconsistencies in B.G. in its enumeration of the items of the soul. For example, the Bone-Soul is listed as # 1, but is connected with Divinity, the second quality. The numbers in parenthesis refer to the quality of the Archon bearing that number. All texts agree on the order of the items of the soul.

1 The "Bone-Soul" is attributed to Divinity in Till's text (B.G.), which is the quality of the second Archon earlier in that text.

2 The "Sinew-Soul" is attributed to Goodness which is the quality of the fourth Archon in B.G. and of the first Archon in CGI. Till's emendation of "Goodness" to "Lordship" must be rejected.

The second power is called Hermes (Choreia) in the first list, and Eloáidou in the second. Bell cites a magical text from Egypt where the second term equals Hebrew "elohim." Fitting in with the astrological

66 Harold Idris Bell, Cults and Gods in Greco-Roman Egypt (New York, 1935), p. 76.
According to 65:7f. four of these planetary Archons are given authority over the daimons that create the various parts of the body. Again at 65:29f. seven (powers?) are placed in charge of the daimons which work (ἐνεπρέπειον) upon the various parts of the body. Two of the seven bear the traditional Jewish names for angels, names also used for most of the Archons in the Ophite system. A third name "āarmouria.el" seems to be synonymous with the name of one of the five over the abyss, i.e. "Armoupiel."

All this confusion and interchanging of names seems to indicate that they served only as "counters" and their names were not important. However, a few of the names can be considered in more detail.

A. Athōth

This name is given to the first Archon in both the first and the "non-heavenly" lists. Athōth evidently is a corruption of the Egyptian Thoth, who was well known throughout the Near East. Therefore CGPI. may be in error here.

B. Harmas

The second power is called Harmas (Hermes) in the first list, and Elōaiou in the second. Bell cites a magical text from Egypt where the second form equals Hebrew "'elohim."66 Fitting in with the astrological

66 Harold Idris Bell, Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt (New York, 1953), p. 73.
interpretation is the identification of Hermes with Mercury. He is cited as "Mercury as hostile star on the day of his ..." In the Aramaic Incantation texts (Montg. 25:4) he is the equivalent of Metatron, i.e. Jah.

His identification by "aspect" as a Typhon is fitting. In Greek mythology Typhon was a grisly monster with one hundred heads. Typhon is the Greek form of the Egyptian God Set, who is the representative of the power of evil. In the Leiden papyrus, where he is given a number of magical names (some used frequently in Gnostic documents), Typhon-Set is invoked to strike down so and so with frost and fire.

C. Yabāl

The power thus named in the first list is called Iaā in the second. The latter name is well known from very early times. Probably the name means "Yah is...


69 Burkitt, Church and Gnosis, p. 82f. cf. editio princeps of the papyrus by Griffith and Thompson, p. 147 and see also H.C. Youtie, Studies in Honor of A.C. Johnson for discussion of Typhon.

70 Cf. for Babylonia, Peet, Egypt and the Old Testament (Liverpool, 1923), p. 58. The name is used in the Elephantine Papyri, Greek Magical Papyri,
The fifth power is called Adōnaiou in the first list and Sabaoth in the second. The former name is attested in the Ethiopic Prayers of the Virgin, in Demotic and Coptic magical texts, and in the Mandaean Ginza. The identification of Sabaoth with the Old Testament "Lord of Hosts" is sure. However, Burkitt issues a word of warning at this point. In Isaiah the LXX translates "kurios sabaoth," a divine personage whose name was Sabaoth (cf. Epiph. Haer. XXVI, 92). Burkitt takes this as evidence of its use by persons ignorant of Hebrew. He says when the name Sabaoth is used--

we may infer, firstly, a knowledge of the Greek Bible (generally, no doubt, at second or third hand); and secondly, ignorance of Hebrew...we must beware of ascribing any Jewish origin to the beliefs or traditions (for Jews would know better), and at the same time we are in touch with circles that ascribed value and potency to names found in the Old Testament in Greek. In other words these circles were neither Jewish or Pagan, but some sort of Christian.78

(Preisendanz in Bell, Cults and Creeds, p. 73), Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur and a late Coptic amulet published in C.S.W.E.C., p. 267. Burkitt, Church and Gnosis, p. 36, says that 'Ieou' of the Books of Jeu is 'Jeho.' Jeu was the God of Truth as also the O.T. calls Jehovah, Ps. 30:6.71

71 Aescoly, Les Noms Magiques, p. 94.
72 Burkitt, Church and Gnosis, p. 37.

Ba'āl."

D. Sabaoth
The name is also mentioned in an Old Coptic magical text, and a fairly late magical amulet. 73

3. The Pentad over the Pit

The text does not give much information concerning the five powers over the underworld, nor is much known concerning their origin. They are Abrisene (variantly spelled in B.G. and CGI.), Yōbēl, Armourieēl(also variantly spelled), Melcher-Adōnin (simply Adōnin in B.G.), and Bellas.

Three possible explanations for the name "Melcher" come to mind: (1) It is a combination of Hebrew "melek" and Egyptian "wer"—"The great king." which must be rejected because the Coptic form would be our not er.

(2) It may reflect Semitic "melek" plus "ra"—"king of evil." Again, phonetics seem to rule this out.

(3) There may be some connection with the Phoenician Melcarth. Albright says he was Hauron, "adopted by the Tyrians as their chief deity, under the name Melcarth (Phoen. milk-gart) "king of the city," i.e. of the underworld, which was called "the city," in Ugaritic, just as in Accadian." 75 He was adopted by the


Greeks and Romans as Hercules. Since Adonis (Adōnin?) is an underworld god this equation does merit thought.

The final ruler in the list, Belias, is well known in Jewish and Christian circles. He is the Beliar or Belial of the Old and New Testaments and apocryphal literature. He is equated with Satan (cf. Charles, Asc. Isa., pp. lv. ff.). The name occurs in the Sybilline Oracles, iii. 63,73. In the Test. of Levi Messiah's activities are described as follows:

And he shall open the gates of paradise, And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life And the spirit of holiness shall be on them. And Beliar shall be bound by him And he shall give power to his children to tread upon the evil spirits.76

III THE DAIMONS OF THE BODY

The long list of daimons or angels who create the various parts of the body, and who work in them (i.e. energize, or perhaps, protect and heal them) seems to be composed mostly of names made up ad hoc. The entire list is given in the index at the conclusion of the work. Those having definite historical or literary precedents will be noted. The identifiable morphological elements in the names will be pointed out.

Regarding names of this type Bell says, "It is increasingly unsafe to rely on nomenclature as a guide

to race, or to take the name of Greek gods, when they occur, as referring to Hellenic deities."77 He is referring to the religious situation in Graeco-Roman Egypt after the 2nd cent. B.C. but his remarks are equally applicable to the whole Graeco-Roman world. Commenting on nonsense names in *Pistis Sophia*, Burkitt says, "it is beside the mark to seek for derivations, unless they recur in different works with some stability of form."78 The choice of these names is deliberate. He says:

What the outlandish names in magical formulae and on gems attest is the belief, from which the Bible is almost free, that the use of particular names or syllables will cause the Deity or the Demon to attend to an invocation. And it seems the general rule among all nations...that foreign, outlandish names were considered the most potent.79

Budge believed that the Gnostics got their magical names from the Papyrus Harris and similar sources.80

Among the identifiable names of the daimons are the following: Archōn, Achōhan (Biblical?), Asaklas (from Semitic Saklas or Egyptian Zaklas, cf. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 13), Basilia-dēmē (kingdom of the people?), Jerome (Latin), Miamaī (Gk. mythology) and Staphulē (Greek). In addition, two names may be partially identified. The daimon who creates the head

77 Church and Gnosis, p. 39.
79 ibid., p. 36
80 E.A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Magic* (Evanston, n.d.), p. 175 gives a list of such names, as does Burkitt, op. cit., p. 82f.
is Mēniggesstrō̃th. The first element of this name is the Greek menix, "brain," as Dr. Polotsky suggests. Chnoumeninorin may contain the Egyptian name, Chnoum. Budge says he is one of the great gods of reproduction whose name later occupied an important place in the magical names of the Gnostics.81 Perhaps Diolimadraza reflects an Iranian name.

Turning now to morphological elements, the following forms recur: (1) Endings in ᾱ-- Athurō, Banō, Bublō, E.pithrō, Epimachō, Eteraphaō, Thilō, Lampnō, Riammachō, Sabalō, Taphreō, Tōkō and Zabedō; (2) Endings in a (Greek 1st. dec.)-- Abrana, Archentechtha, Archendechta, Gorma, Ipouskōba, Krima, Sunogchouta, Tōschea, Phikna, Philozopa and Oummaa; (3) Endings in ὀ (Gk. 1st. dec.)-- Basiliadēmē, Epiptoē, Kolaē, Pican-
draptēs, Staphulē, Pheauē and Phnēmō; (4) Endings in ἀν (Gk. 3rd. dec.)-- Abitriōn, Archōn, Mniarchōn, and Chedōn; (5) Endings in ān (Gk. 3rd. dec.)-- Amēn, Asterechmēn, Blaomen and Euanthēn; (6) Endings in an-- Adaban, Acheon, Bastan, Ibikan and Chaaman; (7) Endings in an-- Easpmacham and Aachiaram; (8) Endings in āl (Semitic?)--Achiēl and Balbēl; (9) Endings in ðth (Semitic?)-- Barbōth, Bathinōth and Ormaōth; (10) Endings in bar-- Barbar, Kaiochaabar and Tēbar; (11) Endings in oum (Latin?)-- Bissoum, Banēnephroum, Baoum

81 Budge, Egyptian Magic, p. 119.
and Labernimoum; (12) Endings in orin—Bineborin and Chnoumeninorin. In addition to these forms, some of the names are undoubtedly 3rd. dec. Greek forms ending in mutes, e.g. Knuz, Iameaz, while two are forms like 3rd. dec. patar—Aroer and Charaner.

IV THE HISTORICAL PERSONAGES

The teaching of the Apocryphon concerning historical and/or literary figures is, for the most part, a revamping of Biblical characters via typical Gnostic exegesis. Since the Apocryphon is concerned chiefly with creation, it devotes more attention to Adam and Eve than to any other characters. Cain, Abel, Seth, Noah and Moses also appear on the scene. The revelation itself is given to John, the brother of James, by the Saviour in rebuttal of the accusations of Arianimos, a Pharisee. In addition to these, there is a reference to the book of Zoroaster.

1. Adam and Eve

In 56:30-35 there seems to be a reference to the creation of a Pleromatic Adam (or Adamas) who has authority over the first Aeon, Armozel. One is tempted to suggest "pneumatic" for lacuna at 56:34, but traces seem to indicate otherwise. At any rate, this is not the Adam of Genesis, who (in CGPI.) is created by Yaldabaoth and his powers, upon seeing a mirror image in the abyss. Each of the Archons endows him
with a particular psychic substance. They are joined by the angels who each contribute to the creation of the various parts of the body. But Adam is still motionless. He does not become a living being until Yaldabaoth, through the trickery of Barbelo, is induced to breathe into him some of the power he had received from the Mother. Thereupon Adam becomes a living being, stronger and greater than his creators. Adam receives as a helper the Epinoia of Light. While the text isn't clear, it seems that the Archons and angels combine to create a disturbance in which a material body is formed for Adam. This is formed from the four basic elements of Greek thought. He is subject to death. He is placed by the Archons in Paradise.

At this juncture evidently Yaldabaoth brings forth some of the power from the man and fashions it into a woman. She is "bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh." The tree of knowledge is interpreted sexually so that Adam and Eve fall. The Epinoia (identified with the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil) enlightens them. Yaldabaoth, realizing that they have escaped his clutches through this knowledge, curses. He casts them out of Paradise. He becomes enflamed with lust and defiles Eve, begetting Eloim and Yave, i.e. Cain and Abel. Adam and Eve beget Seth. With a holy seed thus begun, Adam and Eve disappear from the pages of the Apocryphon.
Turning to corresponding motifs in the religious milieu, we find Jonas calling attention to the place of Adam in Judaism.

Rabbinical speculations about Adam based on the duplication of the report of his creation in Gen. 1 and 2, which were referred to a celestial and a terrestrial Adam respectively, supply a link between biblical and gnostic doctrines concerning the First Man. 82

The idea of man's being motionless after creation seems to be found among the Naasenes, Ophites, Marcionites and Mandaeans according to Grant. In 69:14 there may possibly be a reference to Adam as an androgynous creature, and the first "being" to be split into male and female. If this be true, the motif can be traced back to Sumer. 83 Winter argues forcibly for the androgynous idea, citing Gen. 5:1, Gen. 1:27 and rabbinic sources. 84 The idea is attested for the Naasenes in Hipp. Elen. V. vii. 14.

The motif of Adam's being robed in light (cf. 67:33) is a familiar one. Again, there are rabbinical parallels. 85

In Manichaeism the King of Darkness procreated

Adam to hide in him the light absorbed by the Archons in their defeat of the Five Bright Elements. Thus Adam becomes a true microcosm of the universe, God and matter, Light and Dark.

Ephrem Syrus (Hymn. 53) says, "These are hostile powers, stars and signs, a body from the Evil One without resurrection, a soul from the Seven." Here again we have Adam endowed by the Archons. In the Hermetic sphere, according to Poimandres 12, man is brought forth by God by the androgynous creative principle, so he is an emanation of his own substance. Instead of being made of clay [as O.T.], he is pure Light and Life. "The 'likeness' is one not of symbolic similitude but of a full sameness of form, so that in him God contemplates and loves His own adequate representation..." According to Arnobius (ca. 303 A.D.) there was a Hermetic teaching that—

when he had entered the demiurgical sphere, where he was to have full authority, he beheld his brother's works, and they (the seven
Governors became enamored of him, and each gave him a share of his own realm. Jonas suggests that "the conception belongs to the astrological range of ideas; each of the planetary powers makes its contribution to the equipment of the soul prior to its embodiment."  

2. Cain and Abel  

In post-biblical (rabbinic) Judaism, Adam produced children by means of evil spirits, while in the Apocryphon Cain and Abel are said to be begotten by Yaldabaoth (cf. discussion supra). To the Manichees, procreation was the means whereby more Light became enmeshed with darkness. Therefore Adam kept away from Eve because he knew procreation aided the intermingling of light and darkness. Cain and Abel were sons of the Archon brood.  

In the Apocryphon these two are each set over two elements of "matter." Abel has the "upper" elements, fire and wind; Cain has the "nether," water and earth.  

90 Jonas, Gnostic Religion, p. 150. In a fn. he suggests for the last phrase "of his own endowment" which fits the statement of CGPI. better.  


92 Bamberger, Fallen Angels, p. 106, citing Tanbuma, B., I. 20, Erubin, 18b. His ref. to B. Rab. 20:11 is incorrect.  

93 Burkitt, Religion of the Manichees, p. 33.
3. Seth

The Apocryphon stresses only the begetting of Seth and his final destiny as part of the restored Pleroma. However, according to other sources, Seth played a large part among the Barbelo-gnostics. They, indeed, may be identical with the Sethians, or at least very closely allied to them. The Nag Hammadi find includes several documents attributed to Seth or dealing with him.

In other gnostic groups Seth plays an important part. According to the Manichees, who called him "Shithil," Seth was the son begotten when Adam forgot that he was to eschew procreation due to its aiding the intermingling of light and darkness.94 The place of Seth in the Mandaean system is well known.

4. John and James

While these two disciples of Jesus are mentioned in the opening of the Apocryphon, they play no part in the action. Indeed, John is only an interlocutor whom the Gnostic author uses to bring forth from the lips of the Saviour the Gnostic doctrine. However, this attributing the Apocryphon to John the disciple has an important bearing upon New Testament criticism as the author has pointed out elsewhere.94a

94 Burkitt, The Religion of the Manichees, p. 33.
5. Zoroaster

The founder of the religion bearing his name obviously had an honored place in certain Gnostic circles. At Nag Hammadi, an Apocalypse of Zoroaster was found. In Pistis Sophia 369 he is mentioned as Zorokothora-Maljisedek. However, his functions there are neither those of Biblical Melchizedek nor of the Persian Zoroaster. Is it just a coincidence that the biblical book of Revelation, which our Apocryphon seems to mimic in so many details, was strongly influenced by Zoroastrianism (as contended by some scholars, although there is also strong dissent)?

The second century Gnostic, Prodicus had as a source of his doctrine the secret books of Zoroaster. It was the boast of his disciples that they possessed these works. Porphyry (Life of Plotinus) mentions an Apocalypse of Zoroaster. The complete appraisal of the place of Zoroastrianism in the development of gnosticism must await the publication of the full Nag Hammadi corpus.

95 Burkitt, Church and Gnosis, p. 69.
CONCLUSION

This chapter on the actors in the Gnostic myth can be concluded by stating that the action is supra-mundane, and therefore, by and large, its characters are supra-mundane. The concluding chapter contains a summary and discussion of whether or not the beings in the Pleroma are mythologized in CGPI. In contrast, e.g. to the Valentinian philosophy.

![Image of the page with text]

The idea of a dragon being the enemy of man, or of being a protagonist in a primeval struggle, is very ancient, going back as far as Sumerian times. The Babylonian inscriptions show giant serpents. Diodorus Siculus (II,9) says there was a serpent in the right hand of Hera in the temple of Eski. An Assyrian in-
CHAPTER V

GNOSTIC DOCTRINES AND MOTIFS

An exhaustive commentary upon Gnostic doctrine in general and upon all the motifs which appear in the Apocryphon is beyond the scope of this work. A number of these doctrines and motifs have been commented upon in the preceding chapters or in the footnotes to the translation. However, some of these doctrines and motifs deserve separate treatment because of their especial prominence in the Gnostic system and/or their widespread presence in the ancient Near Eastern religious world from which gnosticism drew its mythology. The treatment of these themes will follow the sequence of the Apocryphon. An excellent discussion of many gnostic themes appears in the work of Jonas, much of which is not repeated here.

I THE DRAGON MOTIF

The idea of a dragon being the enemy of man, or of being a protagonist in a primeval struggle is very ancient, going back as far as Sumerian times. The Babylonian inscriptions show giant serpents. Diodorus Siculus (II.9) says there was a serpent in the right hand of Hera in the temple of Bêl. An Assyrian inscription speaks of a serpent with seven heads. The dragons are well known. The following specific relationships with the dragon of our text may be pointed out: (1) Tiamat is described (B.E. 17, 71-72); (2) Tiamat exalts her spouse to deus ex machina (B.E. 17, 53); while Yaldaboth calls himself "son" (A.B. 9); (3) Yaldaboth calls himself "son" (A.B. 9); (4) Yaldaboth has the tablet of destinies (B.E. 17, 51); and Yaldaboth is mentioned in the Sea Songs texts. Leviathan is mentioned in the Bible, Leviathan is found at Job 40:25 (Job 37:20); 104:26: 74:14; Isa 27:1 and Job 3:8 (mentioned). The dragon (Tannin) is found at Isa. 22:20.

1 Cf. Kramer, Sumerian Mythology, p. 76ff. He thinks the dragons of both Greek mythology and early Christian literature came from Sumer.
scription speaks of a "great serpent with seven heads." The dragon-like features of Tiamat are well known. The following specific relationships with the dragon of our text may be pointed out: (1) Tiamat is deceitful (E.E. iv. 71-72), (CGPI. 69:16-19; 70:11-15); (2) Tiamat exalts her spouse to Anuship (E.E. iv. 82) while Yaldabaoth calls himself "God." (60:8-9); (3) Demons accompany Tiamat (E.E. iv. 115-116) as they do Yaldabaoth; (4) Kingu, the spouse of Tiamat has the tablets of destinies (E.E. iv. 121) even as Yaldabaoth and his angels bind man with Fate (76:14-15). However, the differences are just as striking.

In the Ras Shamra texts, Leviathan is mentioned in I * AB I.1, and thanin ("dragon") in V * AB D 37.

In the Bible, Leviathan is found at Job 40:25 (Heb.); Ps. 104:26; 74:14; Isa. 27:1 and Job 3:8 (emended). The dragon (tannim) is found at Isa. 51:9; Ezek. 29:3; 32:2, 6. These latter passages may be the basis for the New Testament conceptions of the dragon of Rev. 12:9; 20:2. Note should be taken of the seven heads, as so often found in Gnostic sources. It may be that the apocalyptic dragon is a coalescence of the animating spirit of the world rulers of Dan. 7 and the physical details of the serpent of Gen. 3. Again, the

Ur-Zeit-Ende-Zeit concept may have conditioned the figure in Revelation.

The fight between a dragon and a saviour is seen in the Odes of Solomon. "He that hath overthrown by my hands the dragon with seven heads, and set me at his roots that I might destroy his seed." 3

In the Ophite diagram (Origin, Contra Celsum, vi. 26, 35) the seven circles of the Archons are surrounded by a larger circle called Leviathan. 4

Among the Mandaeans, Leviathan is called Ur and is the father of the seven, just as in the Apocryphon. 5

In the M. Ps. Bk. a seven-headed snake is mentioned (149:23), while Psalms of Thomas XI (217:4) tells of a female serpent (cf. Tiamat) as the consort of the dragon.

The motif of the dragon seducing our first parents is common. Jonas cites the Jewish Apocryphal Acts of Kyriakos and Julietta (Reitzenstein, Das Iran..., p. 77) where the hero meets a dragon "king of the worms of the earth, whose tail lies in his mouth. This is the serpent that led astray the first Adam and expelled him from Paradise." 5

The "Hymn of the Pearl" speaks of a dragon guard-

5 ibid., p. 117.
ing the pearl. In the Acts of Thomas from which the hymn is quoted, one of dragon's sons says:

I am the offspring of the serpent-nature and a corrupter's son. I am a son of him who...sets on the throne and has dominion over the creation beneath the heavens,...who circles the sphere, ...who is outside (around) the ocean, whose tail lies in his mouth (para. 32).

There is an exact Gnostic parallel: "The outer darkness is a huge dragon whose tail is in its mouth."7

The Manichees also called darkness a dragon.

The worship of the crocodile in Egypt is well known. The crocodile figure certainly underlies some of the Biblical references. So any theory of total direct dependence of the Gnostic myth upon Babylonia must be regarded with suspicion.

II ASTROLOGICAL AND ZODIACAL THEMES

The recurrence of the numbers seven and twelve in the Apocryphon has led some commentators to see astrological influences at work. Referring to the Archons, Grant says:

What we have now seen in dealing with the seven is that while their names are Jewish, their functions are much more closely associated with Iranian thought (ruling over days of week), and both Egyptian and Iranian influence is further suggested by their possession of the heads of animals.8

7 Pistis Sophia, ch. 126, p. 207, ed. Schmidt.
8 Gnosticism and Early Christianity, p. 51. His attempts at finding Aramaic etymological explanations
The editor of B.G. remarks that the names of the twelve powers of the Apocryphon are the common names of Zodiacal signs. The wide-spread idea of seven world rulers has been indicated in the preceding chapter. It will suffice here to add two more gnostic references. Satorinus said that the world and everything in it was made by seven particular angels (Iren. I. 24, 1-2). Among the Mandaeans, the godfather at a baptism must have the same astrological aspects as the child. They have a whole book devoted to the zodiac.

Any attempt to explain the astrological concepts must deal with the wide-spread nature of seven as a round number. For example, Egypt had its heptads, worship of planets, etc. From Gnostic times comes this quotation: "Hail, God of Abraham, hail, God of Isaac, hail, God of Jacob, Jesus Christ, Holy Ghost, Son of the Father, who is among the Seven, and in the Seven." At the same time in Hermetic circles the animal faces are not convincing. However, they may represent typical Semitic paronomasia.

10 Cf. full quotation in Jonas, Gnostic Religion, p. 132.
11 Segelberg, Masbuta, p. 121n. Cf. Drower, Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran, p. 44.
13 Bell, Cults and Creeds, p. 73 citing Preisendanz, P.G.M. IV, 1230-1235.
astrological influence was strong:

As the souls descend, they draw with them the torpor of Saturn, the wrathfulness of Mars, the concupiscence of Venus, the greed for gain of Mercury, the lust for power of Jupiter; which things effect a confusion in the souls, so that they can no longer make use of their own power and proper faculties. 14

By Gnostic times astrological ideas were quite prevalent in Judaism. For example, "Deut. 4:19 is usually taken to mean that the sun, moon, and stars had been distributed by Yahweh to the nations as objects of their worship, and it was in fact so interpreted by most rabbinical commentators." 15 These ideas can be seen in Job. 38:31, Test. of Rueben, ch. 2, and the seven evil spirits of the N.T. In short, that the Jews and their Rabbis had borrowed many astrological notions from the Chaldeans, ... is certain. See the quotations from the tract Sanhedrin, R. Abraham, Abarbanel, the Zohar in Munster, Sepp, etc. Comp. Jos. Antt. II. 9, par. 2 and i. 7, par. 2, where Josephus quotes Berosus as having said that Abraham was skillful in the celestial science. 16

Gnostic astrological ideas, then, may not necessarily be directly borrowed from Babylonian or Iranian sources. They could be part of the general religious atmosphere of the times, more particularly of the milieu in which Christianity arose.

15 Albright, F.S.A.C., p. 245.
16 Farrar, Life of Christ, p. 42n.
III ANTHROPOLOGICAL MOTIFS

Aside from the ideas concerning man's creation discussed in the preceding chapters, several motifs merit discussion. The creation of man by means of the mirror image has been mentioned. This theme, a development of the ancient idea that one's shadow (among other things) was a life-index identical with the essence of the person himself. It is found in the early Gnostic Saturninus according to Iren. I, 24,1.

He, like Menander, taught that the one unknown Father made angels, and that man is the workmanship of the angels patterned after the mirror image.17

Among the Mandaean, the motif is found in R.G.
Book 5: "When Hibil returns from his primordial conflict with the king of darkness, he is addressed by his superior with the words:

Hail, Hibil, pure Mana, Joshamin has called into being three sons. One guards the nest of his father, one dwells with his father, and one, Abatur, goes to that world in which thou hast been and perceives his image in the black waters, and his image and son is formed for him from the black water.

Hibil then relates:

When the Life, my Father, had thus spoken, Abatur arose and opened the gate and gazed into the black water and at the same hour his likeness was formed in the black water and Ptahil was formed and ascended to the borderland. Abatur considered Ptahil and said to his son Ptahil: Come, come Ptahil, thou art he whom I perceived in the

17 Kraeling, Anthropos, p. 118. The full quotation is given supra, p. 158f.
black water. (R.G. p. 173-4)

This episode is referred to also in a part of the last book of the right Ginza where we read: "then Abatur... reflected and perceived himself and perceived his likeness and he created Adam the man and created for him Eve." 18

The idea of the creation of man through the perception of one's image characterizes the Poimandres (12-15) form of the Anthropos tale. The mirror-image motif is also found among the Sethians (Hipp. V. 19) and the Peratae (ibid. 12ff.). 19

Among the Manichæans, this motif is missing, although a related idea of using a divine likeness to entrap divine substance, or to extract light from the Archons is found. But the mirror-image motif, per se, seems to be completely "Western" in the gnostic world.

Man, according to Gnostic doctrine, consisted of body and soul which were made by the cosmic powers.

However, enclosed in the soul is the spirit--

a portion of the divine substance from beyond which has fallen into the world; and the Archons created man for the express purpose of keeping it captive there. Thus, as in the macrocosm man is enclosed by the seven spheres, so in the human microcosm again the pneuma is enclosed by seven soul-vestments originating from them. 20

18 Kraeling, Anthropos, p. 70f.
20 ibid., p. 44.
Thus, actually, a tri-chotomous man is described (cf. M. Ps. Bk., 180:5-7). However, contrary to Biblical thinking, only "spirit" is of divine origin.

In the Apocryphon the fall of Adam is blamed on the Archons who deceived him concerning the nature of the forbidden tree. However, the explicit statement that Adam partook is not made. This motif has partial parallels in I Enoch 6 where the angels are blamed, and Jubilees 5 where demons are the cause. The philosophical Valentinians put the Fall as pre-creation, and the world as a result of the Fall. It was due to the collapse of Philosophy—Sophia. In the Apocryphon the fall is post-creation.

IV THE ANGELS OVER THE BODY AND THE PASSIONS

The passage from 63:30 to 67:3 (which is not in B.G. or CGI.) gives the long list of angels or daimons who help create and energize the parts of the body and who control the passions. The naming of angels, or spirits, is common. In Mark 5:9 the demons had names. When Jesus asked for them, they replied, "Legion."

One name could be superior to another, so that the superior name could exorcise the evil spirit, or spirit causing illness. 21

Kramer traces the motif of powers over the parts...
of the body back to Sumer. In the Epic of Dilmun, revolving around Enki and Ninhursag, we find Ninhursag giving birth to eight gods, one for each of Enki's pains when Enki is seriously ill. Among the parts of the body mentioned are hip, tooth, mouth, side, rib."

22 In the N.T., demons cause certain ills, i.e. have power over certain parts of the body: blindness, Mt. 12:22; dullness, Mk. 9:17; Lk. 9:39; fever (as in CGPI.) Lk. 4:38f. and infirmity, Lk. 13:11 (cf. 64:24).

Of course this idea is very ancient. Examples can be cited from Ps. 78:49b-50; 90:5-6 and other O.T. passages. In the Greek world, Hippocrates spoke of the way which some symptoms of epilepsy were popularly attributed to Apollo, Neptune, etc. In the Jewish non-canonical literature we find epilepsy attributed to a demon (Enoch XV. 8), headache ascribed to the demon Kardaikos, and Asiman is supposed to cause the birth of epileptic children. 23 The thirty six decani of the Test. of Solomon play a similar role. Irenaeus (Contra Celsum, VIII. 53) tells us that Celsus said:

That among these demons even down to the least ones, there exists some one or another to whom authority (ezousia) has been given, may be learned by any one from what the Egyptians say, namely, that thirty-she six demons, or ethereal gods of a kind, have distributed among themselves man's body, which is apportioned into a corresponding number of parts. Some say the number of

22 Kramer, Sumerian Mythology, p. 58.

these demons is much greater. One demon then is
appointed to take care of one part and another of
another. Of these demons they know the names in
the local speech (i.e. Coptic) as, for example, Khnoumen, Khnakoumen, and Knat, and Sikat, and
Bion, and Eron, and Erebion, and Ramanor, and
Relianoor, and the rest of the names used in their
tongue. And, of course, by invoking these demons,
ey cure the sufferings of the several parts.24

This motif is found in the early Syrian Church.

The poet Balai writes:

The good merciful one
Brought Himself down to earth
In order to save His creation
From impure demons,
And healed diseases
And obliterated debts.25

Turning now to the motif of angels controlling
the passions, we find in the Shepherd of Hermas the
demon of sorrow (λυπή), and the demon of lust (ἐπι-
θύμια), the daughter of the devil.26 These same
angels appear in the Apocryphon as creations of Yalda-
baoth. The Targum Jerus. on Deut. 9:19 says "to punish
Israelites for worshipping the golden calf, God sent
five angels—Indignation, Anger, Fury, Ruin, Wrath."27

The widespread belief in the existence and power
of spirits, good and bad, who exercised power in the

25 Zettersteet, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der religiosen
Dichtung Balais' text. p. 33, LVII, trans. p. 33,
LVIII. Cited by Widengren, Mesop. Elements, p. 159f.
26 Conybeare, "Demonology of the N.T." J. Q. R., o. s.
VIII (1896), 595.
27 Farrar, Life of Christ, p. 695.
human body and mind was a common Near Eastern phenomenon in the early Christian centuries, but seems to have been especially prominent in Judeo-Christian circles.

V COSMOGONY

The great interest of the Gnostics in the problems of cosmogony is indicated by the number of texts dealing with it found at Nag Hammadi. Besides the Apocryphon, cosmogonic works in Codex X include The Wisdom of Jesus, The Dialogue of the Saviour, The Sacred Book of the Great Invisible Spirit (also called the Gospel of the Egyptians), and The Epistle of Eugnostos (the source of the first-named work). Codex XII (Puech XII) contains a fragment of a mystic treatise on cosmology.

In the Apocryphon, Yaldabaoth "made for himself other Aeons in a flame of fiery light." (53:24f.). These Aeons probably number twelve, of which seven are in the heavens and five are in the underworld. It is not clear if this scheme has any relationship to Prov. 9:1 where the seven pillars of wisdom have been interpreted by Reitzenstein as a picture of the world resting on seven planets. The motif of seven pillars

29 Oliver Shaw Rankin, Israel's Wisdom Literature (Edinburgh, 1936), p. 251ff.
connected with the Babylonian New Year's festival house (bit akītu) has been disproved. \(29a\) In the Apocryphon the world is not supported by the seven Archons (planets). Rather, by inference, one gathers that they are above and beyond this world. They are the cosmic warders to keep men from going up to the Pleroma.

The Valentinian cosmology seems to re-echo ancient Phoenician ideas where creation myths attributed to Sanchunaithon are recorded by Philo Byblius. It tells of the union of primeval "spirit" and "Chaos"—a union called "Desire"—producing "Mot" which is the cosmic egg from which all things sprang. \(30\) Here the idea of Chaos as the source of creation parallels the suggested etymology of Yaldabaoth as "child of Chaos."

The union called "desire" reminds one of the passions of lower Sophia, Achamoth, in the Valentinian system. However, in it the demiurge creates the world from the matter formed by Achamoth's passions. \(31\)

In the Manichaean system the world is created due to the struggle between Darkness and Light. It is a myth somewhat like that of St. George and the Dragon, or (from earlier times) that of Marduk and Tiamat. \(32\)


\(30\) Pfeiffer, Old Testament Introduction, p. 193, notes.

\(31\) Lietzmann, Beginnings, p. 387f.

\(32\) Burkitt, Religion of the Manichees, p. 26ff.
However, the Manichees agree with the Gnostics in distinguishing between a good God and an evil world.

"God and Matter, Light and Darkness, Good and Evil, in all things entirely contrary forces."

Strangely enough the Barbelo-Gnostics do not emphasize the role of angels in creation, at least not in the Apocryphon. This is contrary to the earlier Gnostic doctrine. Saturninus taught that--

'the one unknown Father made the angels, archangels, powers and dominions. The world, however, and everything in it, was made by seven particular angels, and man too is a work of the angels,' of whom the Jewish god is one. These angels he describes in turn as feeble artisans and as rebellious. Christ came to destroy the god of the Jews. As a particular trait, Saturninus acknowledges besides these angels also the devil, who 'is an angel who is an enemy of those angels and the god of the Jews'—a kind of private feud within the camp of the lower powers.

Irenaeus reports a similar cosmology for Carpocrates and Menander. For the former he says (Ad. Haer. I, 25.1-2) that the world was made by angels 'that are lower by far than the unbegotten Father:' Jesus and all souls which like his remained pure and strong in their memory of the unbegotten Father can despise the creators and pass through them (i.e. in the ascent of the soul).

Menander taught that the world was made by angels whom he "'like Simon says were emanated from the Ennoia.'"


34 Jonas, Gnostic Religion, p. 132f.

35 Ibid.
Basilides taught creation by the angels. He stretched his line of descent through 365 successive heavens. The last one is that which we see, inhabited by the angels who made the world (Iren. I. 24.3-4). Again, although the Barbelo-Gnostics do not have direct creation by the angels, the Apocryphon of CGP has their number set at 365 (360 in E-G). The Ophites, the Gnostic sect closest to the Barbelo-Gnostics, said that the world was created by angels (Iren. II, 2, 27 cf. I. 28, 3). Finally, Simon, according to Eiphanaeus (Haer. xxi. 2,4), taught that angels created the world and man.

These parallels from the various gnostic groups re-emphasize how drastic was the dichotomy between God and matter in gnostic thought. Most of the groups made creation to be the work of angels, the beings most remote from the head of the Pleroma.

VI THE SLEEP-FORGETFULNESS-DRUNKENNESS MOTIF

The Gnostic scheme of salvation by "knowledge" hinges upon the "sleep" motif. Adam is brought into a state whereby he would remain in the realm of darkness perpetually. Till aptly describes this "sleep."

38 Jonas, op. cit., p. 108.
In order to hinder Adam from perceiving the truth Yaldabaoth brought a sort of dullness over him. It is called in Coptic ibšē, derived from the verb ōbs, 'to sleep, to forget.' It is explained by the Greek ὀνειρέω 'lack of sense-perception.' It makes Adam unable to see that there is a divine world of light above this material world and that his best part belongs to that world of light whither it is to return.\textsuperscript{39}

This motif occurs in the Apocryphon at 69:12, 70:22, 71:31, 75:9, 79:20f. This forgetfulness is a veil placed over Adam's senses (73:7; 75:4).

In the Gospel of Truth, the Valentinian use of this motif is very evident (cf. E.V. ref. sub voce, ōbs). Again, salvation is pictured as arousing from sleep (cf. E.V. 29:28,29,35; 30:7,10-14). In the opening pages of the document the idea of sleep-forgetfulness is hypostatized, in the typical Valentinian philosophical fashion, into "Oblivion." But the basic idea remains the same.

Among the Mandaeans this doctrine played a prominent part.

The Mandaean hymns and liturgies therefore have but one burden. They speak of the human soul captive in the clutches of matter, of messengers that are sent to awaken it from lethal sleep, of the cry for release and the promise of aid, and, finally, of the homeward journey of the soul in company of its mentors.\textsuperscript{40}

In the Johannes buch (p. 52) the following line occurs:


\textsuperscript{40} Kraeling, Anthropos, p. 22. He cites also Reitzenstein, Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium, p. 2-42.
At the voice of the Messenger, Adam, who was lying down, awakened." 41

The admonition in Ps. 57:19,21 bears witness to this doctrine among the Manichees:

NETṈKATE ZNÉMÊ[TÉ]... [NOY]XE AβAL ȘṮBOYE.

"O you that sleep in Hell,...cast away Oblivion." At 222:6 we read: ÊEPRAK EKAŅḴTE ZṈṮG̱INB.

"Why will you slumber in this sleep?" This is paralleled in the "Zarathushtra Fragment" (M7) of the Turfan documents. The Saviour Zarathushtra addresses his alter ego:

that is drunken with sleep, commingled with matter, and held in the embrace of death, encourages it to look upon him, to be mindful of its divine origin, and, placing a crown upon its head, to follow him who brings salvation and life from above. 42

He says, "Heavy is the drunkenness in which thou art slumbering, awake and behold me." (Cf. Andreas and Henning, Mitteliranische Manichaica...III, p. 27).

The soul answers, "I, I am the tender son without pains of Srōshāv, I am mixed and behold, suffering. Take me out of the embrace of death." (V II 97-103) 43

The source of this doctrine may well be Iran. Kraeling quotes the following passage from the Bundā-

41 Cited by Widengren, Mesopotamian Elements, p. 76.
hishn (3, 19-20) Cf. West, Sacred Books of the East, XI.

before (Ahriman's) coming to Gayomart, Ahura Mazda brought forth a sweat upon Gayomart, so long as one requires to recite a prayer of one stanza. Moreover, Ahura Mazda formed that sweat into the youthful body of a man of fifteen years, radiant and tall. When Gayomart issued from the sweat, he saw the world dark as night and the earth as though not a needles' point remained free from noxious creatures.44

Kraeling says Schaeder (Studien, p. 217 n.1) replaces "sweat" with "sleep" which is not an emendation since the Pahlevi characters can be so read. "By this interpretation, we add to our knowledge of Gayomart this detail, namely that at the coming of the demons the prototype of humanity became temporarily insensate and was overwhelmed by sleep."45 It calls attention to the parallels in M. Ps. Bk. 117:3-24 to the passage in the Turfan text.

In several of the passages quoted above, the sleep was connected with drunkenness. Under that term the motif is expressed in CGPI. 71:6-8. It is a familiar term used to express the concept of ignorance. Jonas cites parallels in the Hermetic literature, the Odes of Solomon (XI. 6-8), and the Mandaean Ginza.46 The motif is also found in the Gospel of Truth (E.V. 22:16-17)47 and the M. Ps. Bk. 56:32.

44 Kraeling, Anthropos, p. 89.
45 ibid., p. 90.
47 Cf. also Puech, Jung Codex, pp. 30ff.
The various terms (except drunkenness) used to describe this state: sleep, oblivion, numbness, forgetfulness—are characteristics of the state of the dead in the Ancient Near Eastern concept of the underworld. Perhaps in this category can be put the senility of M. Ps. Bk. 52:21: "to put behind thee senility." This unredeemed state is remedied by the Call which will be discussed later.

VII THE BODY A PRISON

In CGPI. the body is described as a tomb in 69:10 and 72:34, while 75:8, 79:4, 10 call it a prison. The former terminology seems to be a carryover of the Greek soma-sema idea. Philo called the body a coffin and a grave as well as a prison. The idea is widespread in the gnostic world. Kraeling, without citing sources, says the "body as a prison" idea was held by the Essenes and Mandaeans.49 For the latter, Mandäische Liturgien, p. 159 could be cited.

In the M. Ps. Bk. 135:21-24 the following passage appears:

Thou hast left decay,
And the stinking body in which thou wast.50

49 Kraeling, Anthropos, p. 72.
While we are in the body we are far from God. Rest has not overtaken us, For we have been housed in it. None shall be able to glory while he has yet an hour in this prison.

With the second line it might be well to compare A.J. 78:2-3.

Somewhat later in Eastern Christianity the motif appears. The Syrian poet Ephrem writes:

For if Lazarus, when he died, had gone up to the Bridal Chamber of Light, an injury our Lord did him in that He turned him back to his body, the prison house.51

While many motifs are common to both the gnostic sects and the New Testament, at this point the latter differs radically. Nowhere in Scripture is the body, "apart from the awful accident of sin, the prison, or clog, of the spirit, so that the summum bonum should be to quit it."52

VIII THE BODY AS A GARMENT

The motif of the body as a garment occurs only

51 Mitchell: Ephraim's Prose Refutations, II, p. 165, stanza lxxxv, cited by Widengren, Mesop. Elements, p. 110. The motif also occurs in Poimandres (C. Hermeticum, xiii. 7) and Philo (Leg. All. III. 42).

once in the Apocryphon (79:21), but is well known from other gnostic sources. Speaking of the tri-partite nature of man, Marcus presents the gnostic idea that the lowest is destroyed, the intermediate shed like a garment at the threshold of the Pleroma while the naked spirit alone proceeds into the marriage-chamber. This is the reversal of the process of being clothed in successive layers of substance in the course of the descent from the Pleroma of the corresponding Christology. (cf. A.H. I 6, 1; 7:2, III 16, 1)...

The Valentinian parallel is attested in E.V. 20:30f.

εἰρῆσθαι ἅμαν Ἄνθρωπος ΕΤΤΕΚΟΙΤ

Having divested himself of these perishable rags, he clothed himself with incorruptibility.

One is tempted to explain Logia # 37 of the Gospel of Thomas (37:27-38:4) by this gnostic motif. 54

Indeed, M. Ps. Bk. 99:27-29 assures this explanation.

In the Mandaean Right Ginza (V. 4, p. 195) the motif is attested in the baptism of Hibil Ziwa.

"Johana divested him in Jordan, took from off him his clothes of body and blood, dressed him in radiant garments, and covered him with a good, clean turban of light." 55


54 contra Fitzmyer, "The Oxyrhynchus Logoi of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel according to Thomas," Th. Studies, XX (1959), 547 and note.

55 Segelberg, Magbuta, p. 126.
Säve-Söderbergh points out the close parallels in thought, structure and language of Psalm of Thomas VI (M. Ps. Bk. 211:25-28) and a passage from the Mandaean Liturgy (Mand. Lit. 96:6-7).

I was clothed, as I stood
In a robe without spot
A robe without spot
Wherein there was no waning or diminution ever.

Other Psalm Book passages dealing with this theme are 81:8-9, "I have left the garments upon the earth, the senility of diseases that was with me; the immortal robe I have put upon me," and 99:27-29, "The vain garment of this flesh I put off, safe and pure; I caused the clean feet of my soul to trample confidently upon it;"

IX SOTERIOLOGICAL DOCTRINE

56 Säve-Söderbergh, Studies, p. 132f.
The Gnostic way of salvation—knowledge—has been well known from the Church Fathers. Recent discoveries have served only to add detail to the scheme. A good definition of their soteriology is found in Excerpta ex Theodoto, 78:2.

But it is not only baptism which frees but also knowledge: knowledge of what we were, why we have come into being, where we were or at what point we have been inserted into the scheme of things, whither we are hastening, from what we are redeemed, what is being born, and what reborn.57

Irenaeus I. 21.4 describes the gnostic system as follows:

Perfect salvation is the cognition itself of the ineffable greatness; for since through 'Ignorance' came about 'Defect' and 'Passion,' the whole system springing from the ignorance is dissolved by knowledge. Therefore knowledge is salvation of the inner man; and it is not corporeal, for the body is corruptible; nor is it psychical for even the soul is a product of the defect and is as a lodging for the spirit: spiritual therefore must also be the form of salvation. Through knowledge, then, is saved the inner, spiritual man; so that to us suffices the knowledge of universal being: this is true salvation.58

The Naasenes had the same conceptions:

This scheme of salvation that consists essentially in the awakening of the human reason to a realization of its kinship and fundamental identity with the rational principle of the universe, the divine Logos, is expounded again and again with different metaphors.59

The following citation from C. Hermeticum, X, 9 shows the same idea prevailed in that movement. "Gnosis

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58 Jonas, ibid., p. 176.
differs widely from sensation; for sensation is of the object which controls it, but gnosis is the consummation of epistēmē (knowledge), and epistēmē is the gift of God." 60

Schweizer would tie this doctrine in with Greek philosophy. He says, for the Greek--

There was a godly over-world of light where the true reality of all things was to be found, and the earthly, material world of darkness below the world of light where all the powers of evil reigned. He awaited salvation that would issue from the over-world of light. Redemption meant knowledge of that world; liberation from the evil world at hand. 61

In the Apocryphon (71:25-35) the motif of salvation by knowledge is presented. This knowledge is a gift of the Pronoia/Epinoia. It is connected with the coming of the Living Spirit (73:23-74:20) who may be identical with the Ennoia. Certainly the Saviour identifies himself with the Pronoia/Ennoia (78:12; 79:11).

Closely connected with salvation by gnosis is the motif of the Call and the Answer. In the Apocryphon it is mentioned at 74:3 and 79:5. Jonas has a fine discussion of it, citing Valentinian, Hermetic, Manichaean and Manichaean examples. 62 In the Gospel of Truth the motif is found at 21:33-22:9.

60 Bell, Cults and Creeds, p. 91

61 Eduard Schweizer, "Orthodox Proclamation," Interpretation, VIII (1954), 393.

Another motif of the salvation scheme is that of the ascent of the soul. It is closely connected with the theme of the cosmic warders (Archons) (75:5f.). In the Apocryphon it is not prominent, but 74:31 seems to indicate it was a part of the Barbelo-gnostic scheme.

Concerning the general theme, Widengren says:

In the Hellenistic and Roman ages there was in Greek speaking circles, too, a widespread religious idea that souls after death had to ascend to the highest heaven in passing through the seven spheres of planets, every gate being watched by an Archon, ἐρυχων, or the boundaries of which were guarded by Custom-houses, τελωνία. The interesting fact that the technical term Custom is preserved also in the Greek texts is to be emphasized, and agrees completely with the use of the Greek loan-word τελωνία in the Coptic Manichaean psalms.

With this can be compared the Mithraic mystery.

Thus the mysteries of Mithras had for their initiates the ceremonial of passing through seven gates arranged on ascending stairs representing the seven planets. (the so-called klimax heptapylos, Origen, Contra Celsum, VI. 22); in those of Isis we find a successive putting on and off of seven (or twelve) garments or animal disguises.

The Archons and their animal aspects have already been discussed. Here we would note only that this motif dates back to ancient Babylonian times where in Ishtar's descent and ascent we have the idea of divesting and revesting as one passes in and out of seven gates.

63 Widengren, Mesop. Elements, p. 93f. He calls attention to the fact that the termini technici are found in later Syriac literature and in the Qu'ran. тағир, тигарах are loans from Syriac from Akk. makāru.

64 Jonas, Gnostic Religion, p. 166.
Säve-Söderbergh compares M. Ps. Bk. 181.19ff. with Mand. Lit. 160 for poetical metre and identical thought. These passages deal with the ascent. Perhaps, too, M. Ps. Bk. 81.1-3 should be noted: "May the Bema be . . . . a ladder to the height." The Manichee eschatology is concerned with extracting all elements of Light from Darkness, and in a similar manner the Gnostics are concerned that all beings having part of the "Power" of the Mother shall be restored to the Pleroma. (73:13-16, 74:10b-13).

This summary of the leading motifs of the Apocryphon brings into focus its place within the total gnostic world and traces its antecedents in the Ancient world.

65 Säve-Söderbergh, Studies, p. 50f.

66 Cf. Kraeling, Anthropos, p. 17 for quotation from Shikand Gumanik Vijar, XVI. 4-6, and Burkhitt, Religion of the Manichees, p. 64 for quotations from the Pahlav and Mani's Shabuhragan.

This search for hidden knowledge led to the pro...
CHAPTER SIX

GNOSTIC ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

The Gnostics, according to the etymology of the term, were "the knowers." (So also the Mandaeanse). The name was first claimed by the Ophites and Naasenes. They sought "The knowledge of the true nature of Divine things which seems to the initiate to light everything up and make everything clear." Gnostic literature, therefore, reflects this search for "gnosis." For example, the Gospel of Truth is an attempt to describe the indescribable, or to explain the inexplicable, or "to tell the truth about the origin of the universe in mythological form." In the same vein is the Gnostic quotation preserved in Epiphanius (Haer. 31, 5, 1f.).

Indestructible Spirit greets the indestructible ones! To you I make mention of secrets nameless, ineffable, super-celestial, which cannot be comprehended either by the dominion, or by the powers or the lower beings, nor by the entire mixture, but have been revealed to the Ennoia of the Immutable alone.

This search for hidden knowledge led to the pro-

2 Burkitt, Church and Gnosis, p. 6.
4 Cited by Jonas, Gnostic Religion, p. 179.
duction of secret works purporting to reveal the mysteries of the universe. This tendency was already at work in late Judaism. IV Esdras 14, in addition to referring to the twenty-four canonical books, speaks of seventy esoteric revealed books. The Dead Sea sect had its secret doctrines. However, as non-gnostic literature also attests, it was in Egypt that this genre attained its zenith. This partially accounts for the widespread diffusion of Gnosticism in the land of the Nile. Even before the Nag Hammadi find one scholar could write:

The earliest apocrypha were either written in Egypt or introduced at an early period; they were in Greek, but the Copts, almost, if not quite, from their literary beginnings translated them, or composed like works in their own tongue. If translations, the native imagination enlarged and embellished the originals; the Greeks had no taste for the superabundant wonders and miracles that one finds everywhere among the Copts in this type of writing, the same is true of the other Oriental versions as the Coptic.6

This brief glance at the fundamental, "gnosis is salvation" doctrine of the Gnostics leads to a consideration of the various theories of the origins of Gnosticism and an evaluation of them in the light of the Apocryphon.

5 Cf. Gaster, Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect, Index, p. 307, # 7 & 9 and passages cited there.

Many and varied have been the attempted answers to the question, "Whence arose Gnosticism?"7 No answer has met universal acceptance. However, the Nag Hammadi material should provide new insights into the problem, and perhaps a final solution.

1. The Hellenistic Hypothesis

Adolf von Harnack made famous the hypothesis that Gnosticism is "the acute Hellenization of Christianity." He might have found support in Hippolytus (VI. 16), who said Valentinianism was derived from Phytagoras and Plato. However, as E.V. now reveals, Valentinus basically drew his teaching from the New Testament, not from Greek philosophy.8 It has been pointed out that Valentinianism is essentially philosophical, not mythological, and has been called an attempt at Christian philosophy.9 Nevertheless, it must be remembered that it was written in an age when Greek culture and learning had permeated all of the Near East.

To be sure, certain features of Greek philosophy are found in the Apocryphon. Are they sufficient to say Gnosticism is essentially Greek philosophy? The


9 Burkitt, Church and Gnosis, p. 48, cf. p. 56.
Greek elements are incidental, not basic, to the Gnostic drama of creation and redemption. In CGPI, man's body is fashioned out of the four basic elements of Greek philosophy, instead of out of dust as in the Biblical account. The soma-sema motif seems to be part of the Gnostic doctrine, and it is vital, but only because of the basic dualism of Gnosticism. This dualism certainly is a far cry from Platonic Idealism. Again, the idea of emanations seems to have some ties with Greek thought, but in reality is necessary due to the dualism of Gnosticism.

Concerning Valentinus and Basilides it has been said—

It seems to me that the first condition of rightly regarding them is to consider them as Christians who were striving to set forth the living essence of their Religion in a form uncontaminated by the Jewish envelope in which they had received it, and expressed in terms more suited (as they might say) to the cosmogony and philosophy of their enlightened age.10

In our own generation, Albright says: "Stoicism was able to color practically all subsequent pagan thought and to form the philosophical basis for Gnosticism."11

Most famous of modern advocates of the Harnackian theory is Rudoph Bultmann, although he combines it with the Iranian theory. He "suggested that themes


11 From the Stone Age to Christianity, p. 263f.
are already germinant in later Hellenistic philosophy and in Philo which reach their full expression in Gnosis."^{12}

Along similar lines is the remark of Schweizer, "...the structure of second century Gnostic thought was basically Greek..."^{13} In direct contrast to this is the statement of Marcus:

The great Christian Gnostics now appear in a much clearer light as men who attempted to Christianize radically Greek and Oriental religion, rather than, as used to be fashionable to hold, doing the reverse.\(^{14}\)

While recognizing the Greek elements in Gnosticism, one sees them as minor factors, qualitatively and quantitatively, in the Gnostic system.

2. The Babylonian Background

Certain features of Gnosticism remind one of ancient Babylonian religion. Here may be mentioned the divesting of the soul of its psychical "vestments" as it travels upward through the realms of the Archons. The Apocryphon enumerates the creation by the Archons of these psychical properties. Poimandres 25 offers a parallel to this divesting in the Hermetic sphere.\(^{15}\)


\(^{13}\) Schweizer, "Orthodox Proclamation," Interpretation, VIII (1954), 392.


The Semitic student is immediately reminded of the story of Ishtar's descent into the underworld with its motif of divesting of seven garments.

The seven Archons, ruling over the seven heavens, have been attributed to Babylonian astrology with its seven planets. However, as we have seen, they bear distinctly Jewish names, and are at best but remote borrowings from the Babylonian pantheon.

Of greater import are the attempts to equate Bar­belo with Ishtar of Arbela and Primal Man with Marduk. Without doubt the Ishtar-Astarte-Isis-Selene, Moon-and-Mother goddess figure was prominent throughout the Near East, so again the dependence may be remote rather than direct. At least one volume has been devoted to the question of the Anthropos, and attempts have been made to trace the Son of Man concept of Daniel and the New Testament to either Babylon or Persia. However, to this writer the evidence seems inconclusive.

3. The Iranian Impress

Bousset (Hauptprobleme) was the first to point out the correspondence between Iranian religion and Gnosticism. His thesis was developed by Reitzenstein. The basic dualism of Gnosticism, and its emphasis on

16 Kraeling, Anthropos and Son of Man. Cf. Widengren, Mesopotamian Elements, for the current trends in the Neo-Pan-Babylonian school.
Light versus Darkness fits the Iranian scene better than any more Western locale. The Anthropos figure has been traced by some to the Persian Gayomart. "Certain Zoroastrian teachings, either through the medium of ... Jewish speculations or directly, may also have contributed to the conception of this supremely important figure of gnostic theology."¹⁷ The mention of a book of Zoroaster in CGPI. 67:10, and the finding of an Apocalypse of Zoroaster at Nag Hammadi would seem to strengthen the theory that Gnosticism springs from Iranian soil.

One cannot deny Iranian influence upon the total religious picture of the Hellenistic Near East. After all, Persia ruled the world for a time before Alexander's conquest. Later, for a brief period, she controlled Palestine and left her religious impress there. Again, the borrowings into Gnosticism of Iranian ideas seem to be remote rather than direct. On the other hand, the predominance of Jewish names, the wealth of New Testament references and allusions, the parallels to non-orthodox Jewish literature and beliefs, all point away from Persia as the homeland of Gnosticism. The Manichaean Primal Man was supposed to have come from Persian religion, but the Nag Hammadi corpus shows how heavily Mani borrowed from the Gnostics.

¹⁷ Jonas, Gnostic Religion, p. 155. The Anthropos is the Gnostic, "First Man."
One can agree with Quispel that "A pre-Christian redeemer and an Iranian mystery of redemption perhaps never existed."18

4. The Egyptian Emphasis

A few scholars have sought to trace Gnostic origins, or at least some Gnostic motifs, back to Egypt. Typical would be the following statement:

One of the earliest and most persistent of the heresies influenced by Egyptian ideas was Gnosticism, which was widespread in the ancient world, but was particularly associated with Egypt. It was not a purely Christian heresy, for there was a pagan as well as a Christian Gnosticism; the Hermetic philosophy was full of Gnostic elements.19

Concerning the syncretism in Egypt in the Ptolemaic period, the same writer says:

The Greeks had always shown themselves tolerant and receptive toward alien deities. Egyptian gods and goddesses were freely identified with those of Greece: and when we read the names of Greek divinities in the papyri we must always ask ourselves whether the reference is not to some Egyptian god or goddess. Indeed, it is probable that the active worship of at least the Olympian gods to a large extent died out among the settlers, to be replaced by a devotion to domestic cults or to Egyptian deities.20

An earlier writer speaks of this syncretism and its effect upon Gnosticism:

...when the Egyptians embraced Christianity, they, in common with the Gnostics and semi-Christian sects, imported into their new faith many

18 Quispel, Jung Codex, p. 78.
of the views and beliefs which their so-called heathen ancestors had held, and with them the use of the names of ancient Egyptian gods, and goddesses, and demons, and formulae, which they employed in much the same way as they were employed in the days of old. 21

Some possible Egyptian traits in Gnosticism may be (1) the use of magical names, 22 (2) the practice of giving the divinity different names in different circles, as, e.g., Valentinian terminology vs. Sethian, (3) the stress on knowing secret doctrine in order to be saved. The so-called Coffin texts and the Book of the Dead come to mind here:

The issue of the soul's adventure after death, according to one school of divinity, depended upon esoteric wisdom. One must know the proper rites and passwords, capricious and unreal knowledge which only the priests could supply. Since it was beyond any man to carry in his head, it was carved upon his coffin of basalt or diorite or else written down in guide books for the world to come... 23

However, all these traits have parallels in other Near Eastern religions.

Since the Nag Hammadi corpus was found in Egypt and was written in Coptic, one would presuppose it to be Egyptian in origin. However, Till has convincingly demonstrated that the Apocryphon was translated from

21 Budge, Egyptian Magic, p. 64.
22 ibid., p. 57f. He cites Kenyon, Catalog of Greek Papyri, p. 64 and Goodwin, Fragments of a Graeco-Egyptian Work upon Magic, p. 7.
Greek into Coptic. The Semitic elements point to a Syro-Palestinian locale for its composition.24

5. Mandaean Matters

The whole question of Mandaean origins—Eastern or Western—is too complex to be discussed here. However, since the Mandaean are closely allied to the Gnostics in ideology, their origins and history may contribute to the solution of the Gnostic problem.

It had been fashionable to say that the Mandaean were late (6th-7th. century) and were offshoots of Iranian religion. Now, Säve-Söderbergh has convincingly demonstrated that the Manichaean Psalms of the third century are dependent upon Mandaean poetry.25 Before the Coptic Manichaean and Gnostic discoveries, Krae- ling sought to trace the Mandaean development thus.

The Mandaean began as a Jewish sect and added the Anthropos tradition while yet in Palestine. Later, through acquaintance with the Poimandres form of the myth they injected Gnostic and Iranian deities into their system. Still later the "Life theology" introduced a new cosmogony, dislocating and obscuring Adam Rabba. Finally they conceived of the relation of body and soul in terms of Mani's Anthropos theol-

24 George E. Ladd (correspondence) says the stress on the Kingdom in the Gospel of Thomas points to a Palestinian locale.

This latter point, at least, now seems to be controverted. 26

Making a careful study of the Mandaean baptismal rite, Segelberg concludes that it is closely allied to the rite of the Western Church.

Probably there was a two-fold Christian tradition at very early Christian time, possibly because of various traditions among the Baptists in the valley of Jordan. In that case the Mandaean and the Western Christian tradition may be derived from a common source, whereas the Eastern Christian tradition follows another line, possibly all having their roots in pre-Christian times. 27

After a survey of the *termini technici* of the objects of the *masbuta* (baptismal ceremony), Segelberg says—

The impression of this survey is that almost all technical terms for the essentials of the rite are of Semitic origin, whereas a great number of terms for the incidentals are usually of Iranian, esp. Parthian origin. Sometimes we find that a Semitic term has been replaced by an Iranian one. 28

Even the Iranian terms used were not necessarily direct borrowings. Many Iranian terms were already known in Biblical Aramaic and were in general use among Syrians.

According to Lady Drower, at the conclusion of the *masbuta* the Mandaeans "deny the power of sun, moon and fire." 29 The communicants repeated the oath

26 For this outline, cf. Kraeling, *Anthropos*, p. 73.
28 ibid., p. 178.
in Mandaic after the officiant. Segelberg has doubts as to the existence of this rite at this point in the ritual in early times. The oath is given in Mand. Lit. # 21, and he thinks it may have belonged there in the ritual originally. Again at Mand. Lit. 90 we read, "...in my heart I took my sign. My sign was not the fire, nor that by which Christ anointed:

אַשְׁמֶנָּא חַיִּים. My sign is the Jordan of living waters..." This, along with the oath mentioned above, can be taken as an attack on Persian fire worshippers. The attack is understandable only if the Mandaeans precede the Manichaeans, but not logical if they are dependent upon them for their ideas.

Today the weight of evidence points to a Western origin for the Mandaeans. Their close affinities with the Gnostics would seem to indicate the latter group had a Western origin.

6. Hebrew Heterodoxy?

Enough has been said to show that the theory of Jewish origins of Gnosticism has some substance to it. One could point to the Semitic names, to the exalted concept of Divinity, to the speculations concerning Samael in later Judaism, to the allegorical interpretation of Scripture as practiced by Philo, and to many other points of similarity. No wonder then that some

30 Segelberg, Maṣḥūta, p. 137.
scholars speak of a pre-Christian, Jewish Gnosticism, or to seek to find the origins of Gnosticism in Judaism, heterodox or otherwise.\(^{31}\) Hegesippus and Justin Martyr sought the origins of Gnosticism in heterodox Judaism, although they may be referring to Simonianism. But Simon may have derived his ideas from some existing Jewish heresy. Van Unnik comes to the conclusion that "In its origins Gnosis is Jewish-Near-Eastern occultism, Oriental mysticism."\(^{32}\) Another European scholar says, "There was a Jewish Gnosticism before there was a Christian Gnosticism...."\(^{33}\)

Most ardent of the advocates of a Jewish origin is Grant. He advances the theory that (1) an essential element in gnosticism was provided in and by heterodox Judaism, and that (2) gnosticism, at least in some of its forms "arose out of the debris of shattered apocalyptic hopes."\(^{34}\) He finds support for this in the account of the Basilidians as presented by Irenaeus (Adv. Haer. I, 24), in a description of the re-

\(^{31}\) Albright, F.S.A.C., p. 339, Quispel, Jung Codex, p. 66.

\(^{32}\) W.C. Van Unnik, Jung Codex, p. 78.

\(^{33}\) Oscar Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity," J.B.L., LXXVIII (1955), 214.

\(^{34}\) Robert M. Grant, "Gnostic Origins and the Basilidians of Irenaeus," V.C., XIII (1959), 121, 125. His thesis is further developed in Gnosticism and Early Christianity.
lation of the celestial and the terrestrial.

For we read that the God of the Jews, who was more 'petulant and willful' than the other angels, desired to secure empire for his people, but provoked the rebellion of the other angels and their peoples. The result was that discord prevailed among men and among angels, and the Jews were perishing. It is hard to see how this picture can be related to anything but the failure of Jewish apocalyptic hopes and to the tragic events of the first and second centuries of our era (events leading up to the destruction of the temple in 70 A.D., rebellion under Bar Kochba in 132-135). The failure of apocalyptic predictions, and of prophecy interpreted as apocalyptic prediction, would explain why the Basilidians, like other early Gnostics, regarded the Old Testament prophecies as inspired by angels, not by the supreme Father.35

Without denying the Semitic and specifically Jewish elements in Gnosticism, one can say that the Jewish theory of its origins leaves too many factors unaccounted for. The names of the Archons are Jewish, but they are used in contempt. One of these names, Burkitt thinks, definitely indicates a non-Jewish origin of Gnosticism.36 Burkitt's point is well taken, but leaves difficulties with names like Samael, Oriel, etc., which are not found in Christian literature.

Perhaps the Jewish theory can be disposed of with the mediating position of Wilson:

Gnosticism in the strict sense appears first after the entrance of Christianity upon the stage of the wider world. The N.T. itself affords evidence of an incipient movement, which by the second century had grown into a world-religion

35 Grant, "Gnostic Origins...," V.C., XIII (1959), 122f.
36 See full quotation supra, p. 192f. from Church and Gnosis, p. 36f.
and constituted a real danger to the Christian faith. The origins of this movement are obscure, but in so far as it is pre-Christian it seems to derive from Jewish speculation of a more or less unorthodox character. It is however suggested that this "pre-Christian" Gnosis, Jewish or pagan, would be more naturally classified not as Gnosticism, but as pre-gnosis. 37

7. Christianity Contorted?

The Apocryphon abounds with evidence of the Christian antecedents of Gnosticism. There are the Christian figures of Christ, Saviour, Holy Spirit. To be sure they are "gnosticized," but still are discernable as Christian derivatives. The doctrine of the Trinity is directly mimicked in the Gnostic Trinity of Father, Mother and Son. Even though it is a far cry from the Christian doctrine, the Gnostics of the Apocryphon did have a soteriology. The modus operandi differs, but the Saviour of the Gnostics is still Christ.

Burkitt was one of the first to present Gnosis as an attempt to make Christianity palatable to Greek civilization (contra I Cor. 1:22f.). 38 His thesis was that the Eschatology of the early Church, being unfulfilled, became a stumbling block. 39 In this he adumbrates the view of R.M. Grant, although the latter seems to have Jewish eschatology in view, rather than

37 "Gnostic Origins," V.C., IX, 211.
38 Church and Gnosis, p. 9, cf. Bell, Cults and Creeds, p. 91.
39 Church and Gnosis, p. 10, 57.
Christian. Albert Schweitzer says, "However much obscurity surrounds the rise of Gnosticism, the one thing that is certain is that Christian-Hellenistic Gnosis arose out of Christian-Eschatological Gnosis." 40

It seems certain that the Gospel of Thomas stems from Jewish-Christian sources. It has variants from the Synoptics in common with the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies, which are usually regarded as Jewish-Christian. The Gospel of Thomas is definitely related to the lost Gospel to the Hebrews (cf. Logia #12). 41 MacRae sums up the evidence concerning the Gospel of Thomas by saying—

Perhaps, in view of the other arguments adduced to show dependence upon early Jewish-Christian sources, the type of Gnosis represented by Thomas is a primitive Jewish-Christian one, distinguishable only with difficulty from the speculations of early Jewish-Christian orthodoxy. 42

Of the Pistis Sophia, Schmidt says that it "derived from Gnostic circles originating in Syria, but later settled in Egypt." 43 Thus all evidence seems to point

42 MacRae, ibid., p. 67.
to a Jewish-Christian source for the origin of Gnosticism.

The Apocryphal literature gives us a clue to the environment in which Gnosticism may have arisen. In a study totally aside from the Gnostic problem, Cullmann points out that the Hellenists (the first century Jews who advocated adopting Greek culture) are related to the Qumran sect (Essenes?), and the Gospel of John by their common opposition to the temple. They are related to the kind of Judaism found in Enoch, Test. Twelve Patriarchs, and Odes of Solomon. Cullmann traces the Son of Man concept to Hellenist circles in Acts, Enoch and John's Gospel. Some Gnostic parallels to this Apocryphal literature have been pointed out in the commentary. A careful study of the whole genre should reveal many more affinities. The stress on the "Son of Man" concept, and the honor paid to "Man" in Ophite theology (Hipp, Ref. V. 6, 45), and in the Apocryphon, certainly has some connections with the New Testament doctrine.

One need not be as radical as Schweizer when he writes concerning the υπόταξη of John 3:19:

Judgment is not understood here as an "event" in the far-distant future, but as the "differentia-

44 Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts...," J.B.L. LXXVIII (1955), 222ff.
tion" between light and darkness that resulted from the coming of Jesus. It has often been shown how markedly this statement differs from those on judgment made by the Synoptists.... In contrast with the environment of the Synoptists, the Fourth Gospel arose in a Greek community where the idea of a last judgment was in no way self-evident. The Greek view of time was cyclical; the thought of history moving toward a definite goal could not be entertained. 46

This quotation shows something of the process that may have been at work in the transition from Jewish to Hellenistic modes of expression. However, one does not need to go to Schweizer's extreme—a Greek community—to explain the Gospel of John. Cullmann's Hellenist Palestinian environment will suffice. 47

In this environment one finds the key to the Gnostic enigma. It is not the disparate elements in Gnosticism that explain its origin, but the synthesis of these elements into what (for the Gnostic) was a coherent system. This is the thesis of the most recent survey of the broad field of gnostic groups:

Modern scholars have advanced in turn Hellenistic, Babylonian, Egyptian, and Iranian origins and every possible combination of these with one another and with Jewish and Christian elements. Since in the material of its representation Gnosticism actually is a product of syncretism, each of these theories can be supported from the sources and none of them is satisfactory alone; but neither is the combination of them all, which would make Gnosticism out to be a mere mosaic of

46 "Orthodox Proclamation," Interpretation, VIII (1954), 387f.

Along similar lines is the approach of Wilson:

Again, it is possible to trace the ultimate sources of particular Gnostic ideas in the religions of Egypt and Babylonia and Persia, but we are not here concerned with roots so far back. What is distinctive of Gnosticism is a certain combination of these elements, and the primary task must be to trace this combination to its source.49

All the evidence now seems to point to Syro-Palestine as the locale, and a Jewish-Christian environment as the source for the rise of Gnosticism. Perhaps tradition has not been too far wrong in tracing the movement to Simon Magus of Samaria (Acts 8:9-21).

II THE DEVELOPMENT OF GNOSTICISM

The inner development of gnosticism can be partially traced now, and should be capable of further explication when all Nag Hammadi texts are edited and translated. Irenaeus (III. 4, 3) states that the Gnostics originated with Menander, or his teacher, Simon of Tyre.50 According to Hippolytus (Ref. V. 9, 5) the Naasenes accepted Simon's Ἀπόφασις μετάλαγη as a sacred book.51 Their connection with the Sethians

51 Casey, "Naasenes and Ophites," J.T.S., XXVII (1925), 382.
is illustrated by Logia # 4 of the Gospel of Thomas:

"The man old in days will not hesitate to ask a little child of seven days about the place of Life, and he will live..." (CGPT. 31:4-8). Hippolytus (Elem. V. 7, 20-21) cites this as a Naasene "Thomas" saying: "He who seeks me will find me in children from seven years, for there, hidden in the fourteenth aeon, I shall be manifest." 52

The preceding chapters have noted many motifs common to Naasenes, Ophites, Sethians and Barbelo-Gnostics. Some of these motifs and doctrines can be traced back to Saturninus and/or Simon. We have, then, these groups as the core from which others radiated. Hippolytus (Ref. V. 6,3 cf. V. 8, 29) tells us that the name "Gnostic" was first applied to the Ophites. 53

From Irenaeus (I. 5,1, cf. I. 28, 8,9, II. 17) we learn that the Valentinians were the first offshoot of the so-called Gnostic heresy. 53

At this time it may be difficult to prove exactly how the Valentinians, the Marcionites, the Basilidians and other groups sprang from the "core" of Syro-Palestinian Gnostics. That the first group, at least,


so originated is attested by Irenaeus, I. 5,3.

...some Valentinians believed in aeons existent before Bythos and Sige, in order that they might appear more perfect than the perfect and more 'gnostic' than the Gnostics...The Gnostics whom the Valentinians wished to surpass were the Ophites whose complicated doctrines of aeons Irenaeus describes in I, 27 and from whom he believed all Valentinians to have descended.\footnote{Casey; "Study of Gnosticism," J.T.S., XXXVI (1935), 48f.}

The proliferation of Gnostic systems is shown by the fact that Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Epiphanius and Ex. Theodotus give us seven versions (presumably from various schools of Valentinian thought) of the development of the Pleroma. "Every day every one of them invents something new, and none of them is considered perfect unless he is productive in this way," says Irenaeus (I. 18,5).\footnote{Jonas, Gnostic Religion, p. 179.}

Farther afield from the main body of Gnostics, yet definitely part of the movement are the Hermetic groups, the Mandaeans, and the Manichaeans. Each of these is in a category by itself, yet all have the common features of dualism, the gulf between the two realms of Light and Darkness, the stress on "gnosis," and, especially in the latter two, the indebtedness to Christianity for many elements in their systems. From the Apocryphon it now seems evident that the Manichaeans were closer to the main body of Gnostics than had been believed formerly.
Related to the problem of the organic growth of Gnosticism is that of the movement of thought. At least three suggestions have been made. (1) The movement is from myth to philosophy. Kraaling, pursuing a Babylonian prototype for the Anthropos, believes this to be the case. He says, "We have in Gnosticism many examples of Oriental mythological figures that paled and lost color as they came into contact with Hellenistic rationalism." Casey seems to hold the same view of Gnostic development:

Valentinus and Basilides, however, were philosophizing theologians who through mere feebleness of thought and imagination failed to produce what Bunyan with consummate art succeeded in realizing, a philosophical allegory, deep in meaning and luminous in form. Perhaps I Tim. 1:4 sheds some light on the problem. If the Epistle is Pauline, then the admonition "Neither give heed to fables and endless genealogies..." would argue for a mythological gnosis in the 1st. century.

(2) The movement is from philosophy to mythology. Burkitt said that the Gnostic writings tried to explain the role of Jesus in a new way. They were explanations of the particular mystery presented by Christianity, therefore they were philosophies first, then mythologies came later. He thought that Valentinus represented the original, and that mythological

56 Kraaling, Anthropos, p. 80.
57 The Background of the New Testament... , p. 73f.
Gnosis (e.g. Apocryphon of John) was derivative and degenerate. For him "the mythological tale of the Fall of the Sophia is a mere embodiment of the philosophical notion as it appears in Valentinus' system." However, with the discovery of the Apocryphon at Nag Hammadi it is impossible to date A.J. much later than Valentinus, and probably should be dated earlier. So at best only a parallel development can be held, not a development of Barbelo-Gnosticism from Valentinianism.

The development is from mythology to philosophy and back again to mythology. This may be possible with the late and extremely degenerate Gnosticism represented by the Pistis Sophia. However, the time element will not permit a theory of development of Barbelo-Gnosticism into Valentinianism, nor of its reverse. It is possible, of course, that the two groups represent diverse developments from a common first century antecedent. Indeed, the evidence we now have seems to point in that direction.

III CONCLUSION

It needs to be pointed out that in ancient times, and in contemporary civilization, it has been possible

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58 Burkitt, Church and Gnosis, p. 40f.

59 Wilson, "Gnostic Origins Again," V.C., XI (1957), 108, cites Walter Till and Haenchen as holding to this view.
for mythological and philosophical concepts to exist side by side. With Gnosticism, genealogy is important only as providing a clue to understanding it and its role in the age in which it flourished. Viewing it as a radical Christian heresy one can understand its impact upon Biblical exegesis and Church history. If it is an attempt to make Christian doctrine palatable (to demythologize it) to the intelligensia of the Hellenistic world, then it helps us understand the course the Church followed in steering between the Scylla of rigid literalism and the Charybdis of allegorical fancy.

APPENDIX

Plate 32, trans., perhaps add "in the" before "light."
Plate 54, l. 10, text, perhaps amend to
Plate 73, l. 24 and Pl. 74, l. 10, trans., perhaps read "Spirit of Life" instead of "living Spirit."

Page 166, add footnote 10 as follows:

Page 169, add footnote 13 as follows:

Page 199, add footnote 32 as follows:
Gnostic Religion, p. 154f.
ERRATA

Plate 60, text, note 10, should read "9".
Plate 65, text, note 8, should read "three" instead of "four."
Plate 69, text, note 27-29, should read ετυγοιτ.
Page 180, read ἦρκ.
Page 257, Index A, read θιλω, not φιλω.
Page 258, Index B, read άρμουπιενά, not άρμοτριενά.
Page 258, Index B, read μωυχσ, not μωυχσ.

ADDENDA

Plate 52, trans., perhaps add "in the" before "light."
Plate 54, l. 10, text, perhaps emend to
Plate 73, l. 24 and Pl. 74, l. 10, trans., perhaps read
"Spirit of Life" instead of "living Spirit."
Page 168, add footnote 10 as follows:
Page 169, add footnote 13 as follows:
Page. 199, add footnote 82 as follows:
Gnostic Religion, p. 154f.
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