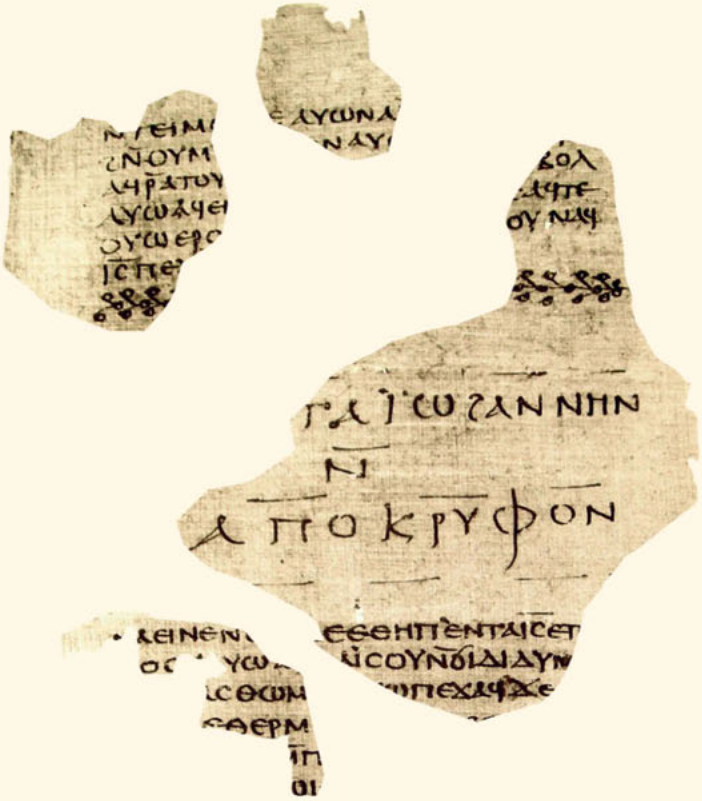
Przemysław Piwowarczyk

Lexicon of Spiritual Powers in the Nag Hammadi "Library" in the Light of the Texts of Ritual Power



UNIWERSYTET ŚLĄSKI
WYDAWNICTWO

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Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego • Katowice 2021

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The publication has been prepared as part of the project
No 2013/09/N/HS1/00383 funded by National Science Center

The publication has been funded as part of the programme
"Excellent science — support for academic monographs"

Książkę dofinansowano z programu
„Doskonała nauka — wsparcie monografii naukowych"
Ministra Edukacji i Nauki (nr projektu DNM/SP/468950/2020)

Ministerstwo
Edukacji i Nauki

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General Introduction

The Lexicon is conceived as a reference book for the names of spiritual powers attested in the Nag Hammadi "library" presented against the background of the texts of ritual power. It provides the names in their immediate lexical and narrative context without any claims to wider philological or theological analyses, although the body of evidence has been put together with the aim of enabling further investigation also in this field. The main goal of the Lexicon is to establish for the first time a tool for reliable research on interrelations between two source corpora replete with the names of power. In previous scholarship, there were made many dispersed observations regarding the influence of so-called magical material on Gnosticism and on the Gnostic heritage in the texts of ritual power (see below), but the solid source base which would enable quantitative analyses has not been built yet. Preliminary observations made in the introduction lead to the conclusion that, in the area of the names of power, Gnostics were rather innovative, and interdependencies with the texts of ritual power are of minor importance. However, the meticulous analyses remain an agenda for the users of the Lexicon.

The number of entries in the main part of Lexicon is 343, but the way in which this figure has been determined needs some clarifications. The Lexicon does not include all the spiritual powers from the Nag Hammadi texts, but rather those introduced with specific individual names. As such, the Lexicon does not comprise abstract concepts personalized as aeons, such as Ekklesia "Church," Sophia "Wisdom," Kalyptos "The Hidden-One," etc. They abound, especially in the texts of Valentinian background, however, the theological ideas behind them are too complex to be investigated in the present book. The biblical figures are also beyond the scope of interest

here. However, a number of clearly spiritual powers with the names of the biblical characters found their place in the Lexicon. The cases concerned are →Abel, →Iakôb, and →Kain. Furthermore, I decided to exclude the figure of Seth, portrayed in the Nag Hammadi "library" not only as a human character in narrations based on rewritten Genesis but also as an important, spiritual aeonic power and agent of salvation.[1] However, the compound name Emmak^{h}a Set^{h} has its entry, regardless of its very probable identification with Set^{h} himself. The same double, human, and spiritual character has Adam^{2} who is also not listed, although there is an entry on his variant manifestation →Pigeradama. There are also cases where we cannot be completely certain whether or not a given figure represents a human figure or is a spiritual power. The best examples might be →Norea who in *Hyp. Arch.* is certainly a daughter of Eve, but her identity in the text conventionally labelled *Norea* (IX 2) is not so obvious, hence these occurrences are both included in the Lexicon. Other ambiguous figures are the recipients of the divine revelation, →Messos and →Zostrianos, who also have their entries. Although Melchizedek seems to be a supernatural power[3] in the *Pistis Sophia* and *Books of Jeu*, in the Nag Hammadi corpus in the text under the title *Melchizedek* (IX 1), the title figure plays a role of a mere receiver of a revelation, and as such is not incorporated into the Lexicon.

In some cases, it was difficult to decide if two names refer to the same power or to two different ones. When there were parallel passages (*Ap. John* and *Gos. Eg.*) generally the names were acknowledged as variants. Few exceptions are always mentioned in the commentaries. It was also relatively easy to equate orthographic variants of Coptic (for example, Elêeim and Elêim) or the forms representing Greek case endings retained in the process of translation (for example, Adônaiou for Adônaios). In other cases, the equation of two names was a result of a common characteristic or similar narrative context. Nevertheless, there are still some names, especially those attested only once, which may refer to the same power, but it cannot be clarified in the sources we have to our disposal. In such situations, two names are taken as referring to the two distinct powers.[4]

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1 On a figure of Seth, a reasonable amount of scholarly work has been already done, see Klijn 1977; Onasch 1980; Pearson 1981; Stroumsa 1984: 73—77; Turner 1998; Burns 2014: 78—89.

2 Jackson 1981; Luttikhuizen 2000; Brankaer 2008: 276—281.

3 Dalgaard 2016.

4 As in the case of Olsên (NHC VIII 47,18, *Zost.*) and Olsês (NHC III 65,2 = NHC IV 76,21 *Gos. Eg.*). The first power is characterized as one of the so-called "guardians of glory,"

The Lexicon does not include *voces* that cannot be identified from the context as proper names. Some uncertainty may arise when the string of letters is preserved only partially. In such cases, I tended to exclude those words, even if they are regarded by some scholars as proper names.[5] Some of the choices I have made are to some extent arbitrary, however, the number of those cases is significantly limited (virtually all the instances are listed above) and does not disturb the general picture and statistics in any reasonable degree.

Besides the thirteen codices from Nag Hammadi, in the main part of the Lexicon, there are included also two other codices of very similar content: P.Berlin inv. 8502 (known also as Akhmim Codex, *Berolinensis Gnosticus*, further referred to as BG) and *Codex Tchacos* (further referred to as CT). Appendix to the lexicon proper includes also the names of power attested in two further codices, *Codex Askevianus* (CA) and *Codex Brucianus* (CB), sometimes regarded as similar in content to those from Nag Hammadi but in fact essentially different and representing mainly relatively coherent speculative theology of the group labelled Jeuians by the modern scholars.[6]

The names of the spiritual powers attested in the Nag Hammadi codices are presented together with the attestations in the magical material. This category of sources is understood broadly and includes texts on papyri and parchment in Greek, Coptic, and in some cases even in Demotic and Aramaic, curse tablets (*defixiones*), protective spells inscribed on metal leaves (*lamellae*), and texts engraved on amulets (magical gems).

If the given name appears also in the literary texts, such attestations are also listed. The most commonly referred are Coptic texts of Gnostic flavour found in CA and CB. Anti-heretical works of Irenaeus, Pseudo-Hippolytus,

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the other presides over the sunrise. The similarity of the names might be accidental, but it might be also the same spiritual power in two different aspects of its activity.

5 An example might be ⲁ]ⲃⲓ[....]ⲁⲓⲁⲓ ⲁⲃⲁⲃⲁ in NHC IX 5,24 (*Melch.*) analysed by Van der Kerchove 2013: 271—272.

6 Both codices, neglected in the past decades, recently attracted significant interest of scholars, esp. a volume on their theology by Evans 2015; also Daalgard 2016, and studies by E. Crégheur. Because of the advanced stage of editorial process, I was unable to take into account the recent edition of the Book of Jeu by Crégheur (BCNH T 38) who reconstruted proper organization of the *Codex Brucianus*, and whose index of words and names of power is much wider than the appendix to this book, since Crégheur's aim was to include all *voces* and *nomina magica*, not only proper names. Besides Jeuian *Books of Jeu*, CB includes also so called *Untitled Text* that features many Sethian traits and spiritual powers. They are listed in the entries of the main part of the Lexicon in the section "other texts."

Epiphanius and others are also frequently quoted, as well as Christian Apocrypha. However, the entries on figures very common in Jewish and Christian sources as →Mik^{h}aêl, →Gabriêl or →Satanas are not appended with full index of source attestations. In those cases, the reader should refer to given literature.

The Lexicon was created on the basis of the only complete edition of the Nag Hammadi "library" published in the series *Nag Hammadi Studies* (NHS), but more recent and in many cases superior editions of *Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi* were also consulted. For the texts of ritual power, it was not my goal to use all the published material, which would be impossible to complete. Nevertheless, I consulted the main corpora and some editions scattered through journals and catalogues (especially in the case of magical gems). Since the volume dedicated to the Coptic texts of ritual power (Meyer & Smith 1999) includes only translations, I also consulted all the original editions.

Magic and Ritual Power

It is not my goal in this book to formulate the definition of magic, neither in general nor in the antiquity. Much scholarly work has been already done on these issues, but the general consensus has not emerged so far,[1] as it will probably never do. In the studies on the ancient magic over the last two decades, we can, however, observe that the notion of magic as a religious activity based on ritual gains more and more acceptance. The turning point seems to be the volume of the translations of the Coptic magical texts, prepared by Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith (original edition in 1994; I refer to the reedition from 1999), with the carefully chosen subtitle "Coptic Texts of Ritual Power." In the introduction, the authors characterize the nature of the religious activities present in the texts they selected:

> Deities are summoned by "the power of" a talisman, a name, or the power of another divinity. Angels have power and angels are "powers." The ritualist accomplishes nothing alone, "not by my power, but by the power of" some greater figure. The whole thing is reminiscent of nothing so much as the system of Roman patronage, where a complicated social network enabled individuals to exert pressure based not on power they themselves held but on their relation to a greater personage. In these texts, such a network of forces is ritualized (Meyer & Smith 1999: 5).

1 Among the more recent important theoretical approaches to magic in the late ancient Mediterranean, there are Braarvig 1999; Thomassen 1999; Gruenwald 2011; Dieleman 2012; Frankfurter 2019: 3—20; Sanzo (forthcoming) gives an extensive survey of recent scholarship.

Einar Thomassen developed further the concept of this specific ritual, putting stress on the egocentric manipulation with the power performed by practitioners not in the name or on behalf of the community but for the sake of their own persons in the moments of crisis (Thomassen 1999). Jaco Dieleman understands such rituals in a wider frame of "stress management" and "survival strategies" (Dieleman 2012: 338).

The notion of magic as a ritual-based religious activity does not necessarily result in abandoning the very word "magic," or such a widely recognized source categories as "magical gems" or "magical papyri." Our sources and scholarly tradition allow us to maintain the old term "magic" still in use. In their volume, Meyer and Smith put the "ritual power" in the subtitle, but, still, the main title features "magic."[2] In the Greek "magical papyri," the very term "magic" and its derivatives are present and praised. The magic itself is labelled as sacred and its practitioners are understood as blessed initiates. In some passages of the magical handbooks, the language taken from the Greek mystery cults appears, which provides legitimacy and authority for all the other religious traditions included in the texts (Betz 1991: 248—250). The magical activity is there never juxtaposed against civic religion or other ritual praxis.

Then, I maintain "magic" besides "the texts of ritual power" as a recognizable and convenient umbrella term for the vast corpus of sources, including Greek, Coptic (and some Demotic) papyri, curse tablets, lamellae, and gems altogether. When I, however, analyse and interpret source material, the shift towards ritual enables us to write about particular texts of "ritual power" and individual "powers" involved. I do not refer to the performers of the magical actions as notorious magicians or sorcerers but, more neutrally, as practitioners.

However, it needs to be further clarified what kind of sources I present as a background for the material from the Nag Hammadi codices. First of all, there are so-called Greek magical papyri. The label is purely conventional but widely adopted and recognized. The bulk of this corpus is dated between the second century B.C. and the fifth century A.D. (mostly in the 2nd and 3rd centuries). The corpus as a whole is much indebted to the earlier Egyptian magical traditions. In the same handbooks, there are texts written in Greek, Demotic, and so-called Old Coptic. They

2 For Sanzo (forthcoming) term "ritual power" as presented by Meyer and Smith is nothing more than "a euphemism for 'magic'." His position seems, however, too critical, since even a simple renaming exonerates from negative bias associated with a notion of "magic."

originated in the same milieu and were used by the same practitioners.[3] There exists a standard edition of the most important texts preserved in Greek, made by Karl Preisendanz and amended by Albert Henrichs in the second edition (PGM). This edition did not include, however, the demotic passages, in the particular spells often shifted between the Greek texts. The texts in their integrity are given only in the volume of translations edited by Beltz (GMPT). The editions of much later (even medieval) Coptic texts of ritual power are dispersed, but the translations of many (not all) of them can be found in the aforementioned book by Meyer and Smith. Recently, Roxanne B. Sarrazin (2017a) prepared the most complete catalogue of Coptic texts of ritual power. Two important longer works of ritual power were left aside by Meyer and Smith as they were already published by Angelicus Kropp: the so-called *Oratio Mariae ad Bartos* (Kropp 1935) and the *Praise of Archangel Michael* (Kropp 1966). Two other important Coptic handbooks of ritual power were published after Meyer and Smith's volume appeared (Meyer 1996; Choat & Gardner 2013). Very recently, there was launched an online Kyprianos Database of Ancient Ritual Texts dedicated to the texts of ritual power in Coptic (https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/manuscripts-search/). Unfortunately, this project started after I have completed the major part of my work.

Curse tablets (*defixiones*) are pieces of durable material (mainly lead) inscribed to bring power against somebody or something (Gager 1992: 3—6). Not a long time ago, Armina Kropp (2008) published the corpus of the Latin curse tablets. *Defixiones* in Greek are dispersed, but, except for some older corpora, we have to our disposal somewhat outdated but still valuable survey prepared by David R. Jordan (1985).[4] The broad selection of curse tablets has been prepared by John G. Gager (1992) and since it contains both Latin and Greek texts, tablets in the Lexicon are given according to Gager's numbers. Since Gager's work contains only translations, the editions have always been consulted.

Lamellae are also inscribed pieces of metal but, contrary to *defixiones*, they served as beneficial and protective amulets (Kotansky 1994: XV—XVI). Roy Kotansky (1994) reproduces the original text and gives translation. His volume contains, however, only the texts of known provenance.

3 On the social and linguitic contexts of the creation of "magical papyri" esp. Cf. Dieleman 2005, Dieleman 2011 (focused on Demotic papyri).

4 Still, *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* also cointains a lot of valuable material.

The second part which is intended to include the texts of unknown provenance has not yet appeared. For my purpose, these categories of sources are of less importance since they have only minor points of contact with demonology of the Nag Hammadi texts.

To the fourth category of sources belong so-called magical gems. They are precious or semi-precious stones cut with figural representations and inscriptions. They have their own stock demonological repertoire, although in a few cases there are striking links to the powers featured in the Nag Hammadi corpus. There are thousands of published gems, dispersed through the corpora dedicated to particular collectionions,[5] very often together with some non-magical material. I tried to consult as many as it was possible, however, the seminal corpus and study of Campbell Bonner (1950) was of major importance to me, followed immediately by the corpus of magical gems from Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Delatte & Derchain 1964). Along with them, I consulted many other catalogues of museum and university collections. In the cases of Abrasak[s], Iaô, and Sabaôth, because of the substantial amount of material on the subject, I decided to provide more substantial descriptions of only the gems included in corpora of Bonner and Delatte & Derchain, while as regards other corpora, I only give the catalogue numbers adding a description only in cases when the gem is highly relevant to the topic.

The world of Jewish magical texts written in Semitic languages is only briefly referred to, and usually only through the works of the specialists in the subject. This particular field of study has been intensively explored in recent years. Editions of new texts and reeditions of those already known appear and a large scholarly production is constantly brought forth (for the survey see Ronis 2015). The main reason, however, why I put aside this category of sources is the nature of the links between the Jewish magic and the Greek magic in the late antiquity. As Gideon Bohak (2008: 253—258) persuasively argued, in the Jewish magic, there are no more than very few certain borrowings of names and figures taken from the magic written in Greek. Names written in Hebrew (and Aramaic) are also very easy to misinterpret for the script has no vowels, and we can almost never be certain if the string of letters which resembles a name known from the Greek magical papyri or the Nag Hammadi texts refers to the external tradition or is simply randomly generated. I would identify them

5 There is an online database *The Campbell Bonner Magical Gems Database*, bringing many of them together, see http://www2.szepmuveszeti.hu/talismans/.

as somehow meaningful if they occur in the narrative contexts or when they are characterized by the standard epithets, but on a regular basis, they appear only in the chains of *voces*.

Spiritual Powers

In the late ancient typologies, predominantly of Middle Platonic and Neoplatonic provenance, demons were a distinctive category of intermediary beings placed between the gods and the men.[1] Christians organized the spiritual world differently, recognizing all the supernatural figures of the traditional religions of Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians collectively as maleficent. They acknowledged, however, the category of the angels, beneficial spirits subordinated to God. Although in the New Testament demons (δαίμονες) as evil spirits occur only in a few passages, first of all in the story of the possessed men (or man) of Gadara (Matt 8: 28—24 and parallels),[2] no later than in the first half of the third century did Origen (*C.Cels.* 8,31) clearly state that demons are responsible only for the evil (this opinion was widespread also earlier, yet not so precisely formulated).

Pagan, philosophical demonology was neither coherent nor unequivocal. Celsus himself (2nd c. A.D.) seems not to have any problem to equate angels from the Jewish and Christian texts with the demons as understood by "pagan" intellectualists.

> And if it is certain angels of which you speak, whom do you mean by them, gods or some other kind of being? You presumably mean some other kind — the daemons.[3]

1 A good example of such a definition is that of Maximus of Tyre, *Or.* 8,8: "[A] race of secondary immortal beings, the so-called daimones, which have their station in the space between earth and heaven. These daimones are inferior in power to God, but superior to men; they are the gods' servants and men's overseers" (transl. Trapp); cf. Ammonius Saccas, in: Photius, *Bibl.* Cod. 251; Porphyry, *Abst.* II 37—38.

2 In the New Testament evil beings are mostly called "spirits" (πνεύματα). On the demonology of the New Testament, see Eitrem 1966.

3 Celsus, in: Origen, *C.Cels.* 5,2. (transl. Chadwick).

This is probably the only text in which such an equation appears (Sena 2017: 76) and is given as a suggestion rather than a firm statement. In the later Platonism, Porphyry drew a clear division between demons and angels, acknowledging the former as inhabitants of the air, and the latter of the aether.[4] Cornelius Labeo, also quoted by Augustine, did the same.[5] For Porphyry, the individual's tutelary spirits are demons, not angels (the Plotinus's spirit was, however, more a god than a demon).[6] In the light of the oracle of Oenoanda (1st or 2nd c. A.D.) and similar oracles quoted by the Christian authors, we can see that also the gods of the traditional religion, at least in the theological program of Apollo's Oracle in Claros, were called *angeloi* and understood as intermediary beings sharing a portion of divinity with the highest inaccessible god (Cline 2011: 19—45). Local cults of angels were widespread in the eastern Mediterranean, and although the identity of deities behind the angel varied, all of them served as intermediaries (Cline 2011: 47—76).

The Nag Hammadi texts treated as a collection or even separately do not present any systematic demonology/angelology. Heterogeneous traditions sometimes mingle even in the single text. The best examples of this phenomenon are *Orig. World* and *Ap. John*. Nevertheless, even more theologically coherent works are not homogeneous in nomenclature and characteristic of spiritual powers. Although the Nag Hammadi texts were produced by the Christians, we should not understand their demonology primarily from the Christian perspective. In the case of the Nag Hammadi "library," not only is Christian and philosophical demonology engaged, but also the Egyptian imagery seems to be highly influential. In the "library," the term "demons" appears not infrequently,[7] but angels are much more ubiquitous.[8] However, spiritual beings might be also called "aeons,"[9] "guardians,"[10] "luminaries"[11] and by many other appellations. The characteristics of those categories are not consistent either in the "library" as a whole or in the single codices. Moreover, inconsistency in use of demonological categories may be observed in one text. Next to the already

4 Porphyry, *De regressu animae*, fr 2, apud. Augustine, *De civ. D.* 10,9.

5 apud. Augustine, *De civ. D.* 9,19.

6 Porphyry, *Plot.* 10.

7 Cf. attestations listed by Siegert 1982: 231.

8 Cf. Siegert 1982: 202. This category of powers is analysed in full by Scopello 2018.

9 Gr. αἰών; cf. Siegert 1982: 206—207.

10 Gr. φύλαξ, Copt. ⲣⲉϥⲥⲁⲣⲉϩ; cf. Siegert 1982: 169 and 321.

11 Gr. φωστήρ, Copt. ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ; cf. Siegert 1982: 121 and 322.

mentioned terms, the one especially frequent word for the spiritual beings is "power."[12] Since it does not evoke any particular religious affiliation and, furthermore, conforms lexically with the concept of "the texts of spiritual power," on the pages of this book I use a term "spiritual powers" or simply "powers" to denote the supernatural beings collectively, regardless of their nature and relation to the highest god and men. However, when I treat a particular being in the context of a given passage I refer to it according to its source description.

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12 Gr. δύναμις, Copt. ϭⲟⲙ; cf. Siegert 1982: 192—194 and 235—236.

"Gnostics" and Magic

Although not all the texts from Nag Hammadi originated in the Gnostic milieu (even if we understand the term "gnostic" very broadly), it cannot be denied that many of them present the ideas that the ancient authors link to the Christian teachers and communities, usually grouped together and sharing similar ideas about the differentiation between the highest God and the creator. For convenience, we call them "Gnostics."[1] For the topic, the most important issue is to look more closely at Gnostic involvement into operations with ritual power (or magic — as ancient authors call it). There are three main sources that point at the links between various Gnostic groups and the magical practices.

1. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1,13) accuses Mark the Magician (μάγος), who is listed among the followers of Valentinian school of Gnosticism, for practising magic. Not only does the chapter about Mark contain vague and general accusations (found elsewhere in Irenaeus's work), but it also describes particular ritual practices, which gives credibility to his account.[2] However, in regard to the known repertoire of ritual power, he mentions only love potions and subjection spells (φίλτρα καὶ ἀγώγιμα / *amatoria et edlectantia*).

1 The most influential and many-sided deconstructions of this term are Williams 1996 and King 2003. Williams does not deny any usefulness of typological categories. Insted of "Gnosticism," he proposes "biblical demiurgical traditions" (Williams 1996: 51—53).

2 Other authors simply repeat or rework Irenaeus's relation. Only Ps.-Hippolytus (*Haer.* 6,39—40) adds some further pieces of information, however, of a minor value (Förster 1999: 26—27) see also Eusebius, *H.e.* IV 11,4; Epiphanius, *Haer.* 34,1,6; Theodoretus, *Haer.* I,9. Commentary on Irenaeus's relation about "magical" practices of Mark in Förster (1999: 54—162), see also Logan 1994: 40—41.

2. Plotinus (*Enn.* 2,9,14) informs us about the people in his close circle who practised magical incantations:

> For when they write magic chants (ἐπαοιδὰς γράφωσιν), intending to address them to those powers, not only to the soul but to those above it as well, what are they doing except making the powers obey the word and follow the lead of people who say spells and charms and conjurations, any one of us who is well skilled in the art of saying precisely the right things in the right way, songs and cries and aspirated and hissing sounds and everything else which their writings say has magic power in the higher world? (transl. Armstrong)[3]

Those people might be easily identified as those who read the treatises known to us from Nag Hammadi (cf. Porphyry, *Plot.* 16).[4]

3. Origen (*C.Cels.* 6,32) deals with a diagram described by Celsus, on which the names of seven archons were written. Origen himself was able to get the more or less similar object. He connects it with the group he calls Ophites[5] and states that some of the names he found in the diagram of Ophites are taken from the magical lore.[6]

Sometimes scholars provide also further references:

4. Justinus, *1 apol.* 26,4, on Menander: ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γενόμενον πολλοὺς ἐξαπατῆσαι διὰ μαγικῆς τέχνης οἴδαμεν ("[W]e know to have deceived many while he was in Antioch by his magical art," transl. ANF).[7]
5. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,24,5 and 7, on Basilidians: *Vtuntur autem et hi magia et incantationibus et inuacationibus et reliqua uniuersa periergia, nomina quoque quaedam adfingentes quasi Angelorum* ("These men, moreover, practice magic; and use images, incantations, invocations, and every other kind of curious art. Coining also certain names as if they were those of the angels (…)," transl. ANF), and the very famous passage: *Esse autem principem illorum*

3 On this passage Brisson 2013.

4 On this passage Tardieu 1992.

5 Origen, *C.Cels.* 6,24 and 30. Origen affirms (*C.Cels.* 6,24) that he never met in person people who would share the ideas expressed on the diagram.

6 On this passage Witte 1993: 122—125; Mastrocinque 2005: 94—121; Logan 2006: 36—46; Ledegang 2008; Rasimus 2009 (esp. pp. 15—20).

7 Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,23,5, depends on Justin, when he writes on Menander: ipse ad summum magiae peruenit; cf. Eusebius, *H.e.* 3,26,1—2.

Abrasax, et propter hoc CCCLXV numeros habere in se ("They hold that their chief is *Abraxas*; and, on this account, that word contains in itself the numbers amounting to three hundred and sixty-five," transl. ANF).[8]

6. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,25,3, on Carpocatians: Τέχνας οὖν μαγικὰς ἐξεργάζονται <καὶ αὐτοι˙> καὶ ἐπαοιδάς, φίλτρα τε καὶ χαριτήσια, παρέδρους τε καὶ ὀνειροπόμπους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κακουργήματα / *artes enim magicas operantur et ipis et incantationes philtra quoque et charitesia et paredros et oniropompos et reliquas malignationes* ("They practise also magical arts and incantations; philters, also, and love-potions; and have recourse to familiar spirits, dream-sending demons, and other abominations," transl. ANF). Irenaeus underlines especially an engagement of Carpocratians into love magic, which corresponds with the general accusation of licentiousness.[9]
7. Epiphanius, *Haer.* 39,9,2, on Sethians, "It is amazing to see how he [i.e. devil] deceived man into many offences and dragged him down to transgression, to fornication, adultery and incontinence, to the madness of idols, to sorcery (καὶ γοητείας) and bloodshed" (transl. Williams 2009: 281).
8. Tertullian, *De praescr.* 43,1, on heretics in general (this work is addressed primarily against Valentinians and Marcionites): *Notata sunt etiam commercia haereticorum cum magis quam pluribus, cum circulatoribus, cum astrologis, cum philosophis, curiositati scilicet et deditis* ("It has also been a subject of remark, how extremely frequent is the intercourse which heretics hold with magicians, with mountebanks, with astrologers, with philosophers," transl. ANF).

All the evidence presented above gives a very weak basis for a study on the relation between Gnostics and magic. It even calls such relation into question. Relations of Epiphanius and Tertullian are so general that they lack any source value. Justin, our earliest author, also brings no specific information. His remark on magic seems to refer to the biblical figure of Simon the Magician,[10] put at the beginning of the succession of heretics,

8 Cf. Epiphanius, *Haer.* 24,2,2 and 7,4.

9 Cf. Ps.-Hippolytus, *Haer.* 7,32,5; Eusebius, *H.e.* 4,7,9; Epiphanius, *Haer.* 27,4,7.

10 Mentioned briefly in Acts 8:4—25. The historicity and legend of Simon are fully investigated by Haar 2003, esp. 132—227.

the idea fully developed by Irenaeus, but present already in Justin. It seems that nothing more than a shadow of Simon, the forefather of heresy, is responsible for characterization of the followers of Carpocrates and Basilides as notorious magicians. Noteworthy, in a description of the practices of Basilides and Carpocrates appears only the love magic, which supports the general aim of anti-heretic writers to denigrate both of them as extraordinary licentious. Moreover, Irenaeus gives no specific evidence of heretical involvement into magic.

The passages of Plotinus and Origen deserve more attention. The former informs us that his opponents "write magic chants." The verb means also "to draw" and that is exactly what Celsus and Origen had in their hands — a diagram with drawings and some words of power. Notwithstanding Origen's accuracy in the description of the diagram, his remark about the magical provenance of the names used in the diagram is untenable. The names →Ialdabaôth^{h}, →Astap^{h}aios and →Ôraios belong to the Sethian tradition and are attested in the later Coptic works that derived them from Sethian sources but not in the "magical papyri" preserved in Greek. We cannot rule out that the followers of Basilides known to Irenaeus indeed made use of a name →Abrasak^{s}, but certainly, they adopted it from contemporary texts of ritual power (where it abounds) and were not inventors of it. The diagrams created by some "Gnostics" were not a medium of ritual power (and we never read in the sources about such application of them) but rather the graphical instrument of meditation, education or initiation, as an exact purpose of their creation remains uncertain.[11]

Besides the references in Christian texts, the existence of Gnostic magical practices might be proven by the magical artefacts, many of which have been labelled as "Gnostic." Putting aside that the label has been given to them only because of a small group of shared names of power, and not because of any particular theological concept, let us also scrutinize the evidence only from the point of view of onomastics.

The magical gems are the type of artefacts most often linked to the Gnostics. The fact that they were recognized by early scholars as the Gnostic gems resulted in the label (maintained in some editions esp. AGDS; Mastrocinque 2003), although already much contested, triggering a lot of over-interpretations posed over the material which has very little to

11 CB contains some graphic representations that give us some idea how such diagrams may look like. On the "Gnostic" iconography and its purposes, see Pearson 2004b and Markschies 2009.

do with the original Gnostic sources, especially witnessed by the Nag Hammadi texts.[12]

In the past scholarship, many papyri with the texts of ritual power have also been labelled as "Gnostic," without enough reason for such attribution. Fortunately, this label gradually goes out of use as misleading (e.g. *Suppl.Mag* I 78), nevertheless, we should look closer at these texts before we reject their "Gnostic" attribution. I refer here to the list of "Gnostic" papyri assembled by Samuel (1985: 317), who, besides the texts known from the codices, provides some additional papyrological material:

1. "Gnostic amulet" *P.Oxy.* VI 924 (Meyer & Smith 15); 4th c.; protective amulet against fever. Nothing in these texts points at the Gnostic provenance. The name →Abrasak^{s}, that probably was the only reason for such a label, belongs to stock names of traditional Graeco-Egyptian magic.
2. "Gnostic amulet" *P.Oxy.* VII 1060 (Meyer & Smith 25); 6th c. (?); amulet to protect a house against vermin. Aphrodite is the main deity invoked. The sequence Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωνέ also occurs, but there is nothing that may be associated with any particular Gnostic school or text.
3. "Gnostic amulet" *P.Princ.* II 107 (GMPT 83); 5th—6th c.; amulet against fever. It contains several biblical quotations and conjuration of →Mik^{h}aêl but nothing particularly Gnostic.
4. "Gnostic amulet" *P.Oxy.* XVI 2063 (GMPT 28c); 6th c.; a binding spell of Artemisian scorpion. There is nothing particularly "Gnostic" in this text. The names of power and combinations of vowels have nothing in common with known Gnostic sources.

To Samuel's list we may add one codex:

5. So-called Rossi's "Gnostic" tractate (Meyer & Smith 71, the authors correctly took the traditional epithet Gnostic between parentheses), hosted in Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin, now lost; in Coptic. It contains a series of protective spells with particularly numerous invocations to spiritual powers. Among the names of power shared with Nag Hammadi corpus, the angels →P^{h}ariêl and →Bariêl do not belong to the standard magical repertoire. There might have been some points of contact with the Sethian tradition, which has been proven for some other Coptic texts of ritual power and are briefly presented below.

12 In the most recent studies, the Gnostic key is used for example by Mastrocinque 2003: 64 and 66—68; Śliwa 2014: 226.

This short survey shows that among so-called Gnostic papyri in Greek and Coptic, there are no unquestionable pieces of Gnostic provenance. However, Rossi's tractate (and a few other codices) proves that some Coptic magical texts contain recognizable Gnostic names of powers. This fact proves the points of contact but it still remains unjustified to label such pieces "Gnostic."

Sometimes as a proof of the magical influence exerted on the Gnostic texts, late ancient works preserved in Coptic in CA and CB are pointed out. Among them, *Pistis Sophia* (in CA) is without doubt influenced by the texts of ritual power. H.M. Jackson (1989: 70) points at three *nomina barbara* commonly used in the magical papyri and on magical gems, present also in *Pistis Sophia* (but not in the Nag Hammadi):

1. ⲁⲃⲉⲣⲁⲙⲉⲛⲑⲱ (CA p. 367, l. 22) and its variants ⲁⲃⲉⲣⲁⲛⲉⲛⲑⲱ (CA p. 360, l. 5) and ⲁⲃⲉⲣⲁⲛⲉⲛⲑⲱⲣ (CA p. 354, l. 8)
2. ⲁⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲭⲁⲙⲁⲣⲉⲓ (CA p. 354, l. 12), in the Greek texts usually written with kappa, although the form with gamma also appears (PGM 7, ll. 311—313, 316)
3. ⲃⲁⲓⲛⲭⲱⲱⲱⲭ (CA p. 382, l. 1) and ⲭⲁⲓⲛⲭⲱⲱⲱⲭ (CA p. 356, l. 22)

In *Pistis Sophia*, these words occur as the proper names of divine figures not as mere *voces*. As they were commonly used by the practitioners of ritual power and are present neither in the Gnostic literature of Nag Hammadi nor in the relations of the Church fathers, the direction of dependence is easy to establish — from the texts of ritual power to *Pistis Sophia*. The most prominent divine figure in both *Pistis Sophia* and the two *Books of Jeu* is Ieou, the figure completely absent in the Nag Hammadi texts. The name is attested in PGM as a name of an author of a particular spell "Stelae of the Jeou (Ἰέου) the hieroglyphist, in his letter" (PGM V, ll. 96—97, transl. GMPT), which might indicate a point of contact.

For Jackson, however, not only *Pistis Sophia* but also the Sethian texts are abundant with names taken from "pillaging of the 'glossolalia' of sorcerers" (Jackson 1989: 71) and as such are meaningless. As the examples, he even lists the famous names of →Ialdabaôt^{h}, and →Barbêlô, according to him coined on the basis of the *nomina barbara* of the magicians. Besides that, he traces 14 other names back to magical texts: →Abrana, →Abrasak^{s}, →Adônaios, →Ark^{h}entek^{h}t^{h}a, →Astap^{h}aios, →Banênephroum, →Barbar, →Barpharagges, →Bissoum, →Elôaiou, →Iaô, →Iouêl, →Iôêl, →Kodêrê. The association of the *nomina barbara* with the Sethian figures by the means of creative letter permutation is proposed

also by Fauth (1973: 82—83). All these names are discussed separately in the Lexicon, but a general result of my observation does not support such intuitions. It has to be stressed that *Pistis Sophia* (and the *Books of Jeu*) should be treated on their own rights, without connection with the Nag Hammadi dossier. The recognizable influence of magical material on *Pistis Sophia* does not prove any dependence of the nomenclature and characteristic of the "powers" in the Nag Hammadi texts on such sources.

If the Gnostics indeed would have borrowed their demonology (or a reasonable part of it) from the contemporary magic, it should be explained why they did so. Jackson (1989: 77—78) offers a very simple answer. They tried to shroud their doctrine with the aura of mystery, and the use of *voces* and *nomina barbara* taken from magic was an effective way to achieve it. Moreover, the Semitic-like names served as an indication of reportedly ancient oriental lore.

The ideas of Jackson have been fully developed by Attilio Mastrocinque, the main protagonist of the close linkage between magic and Gnosticism. His ideas rest both on the patristic evidence presented above, and the examination of some texts of ritual power and gems. The whole argument was put forth in the monograph *From Jewish Magic to Gnosticism* (2005). Mastrocinque's opinions are radical. He writes, "Magic and Gnosis (or, at least, some streams of these types of heresy) were therefore closely interlinked and inseparable from each other" (2005: 44). Mastrocinque also gives a reason why the Gnostics were so keen to use magic. According to him, it was due to their rejection of the Jewish God. He forbade magic, thus the use of it was a conscious rebellious act (2005: 46—47). More careful in his opinions was William Brashear who rejected any significant influence of Gnosticism on magic but still maintained that "the papyri were not so much influenced by Gnosticism as Gnosticism was by magic" (Brashear 1995: 3423). When we took into account only the issue of the names of power, even such a moderate opinion seems unjustified.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that some names of "powers" are attested in the Nag Hammadi texts and the magical material in the same or very similar form. As far as we know, all the preserved "Gnostic" manuscripts (and surely all manuscripts from Nag Hammadi) were written by the Christians. Christianity contributed to the traditional Graeco-Egyptian magic with its own formulas (taken mainly from liturgy) and names probably no earlier than in the 4th, and largely at the turn of the 4th and

the 5th c. (Shandruk 2012: 50).[13] It is reasonable to assume, that before the 4th c., the use of magic among Christians was much more limited than among their pagan neighbours (cf. Origen, *C.Cels.* 1,6), though it is impossible to assert that Christians do not take advantage of it at all. The possibility that Gnostics (i.e. Christians) borrowed some demonic figures from magic cannot be then completely ruled out only because of the chronology.

Direct dependence is, however, not the only solution to this problem. First of all, some names might have been (and certainly were) free Gnostic creations. The only limited number of the names of powers found in the Nag Hammadi texts could be traced down to Jewish or Egyptian roots. We cannot reject entirely an opinion by Jackson who, overwhelmed by the flood of names, stated, "the author simply let his own imagination run riot in an orgy of what might aptly be called Gnostic glossolalia" (Jackson 1989: 69). More recently, Bohak warns scholars that they "must avoid assuming that a certain vox must have some meaning" (Bohak 2013: 80) — in our study we cannot assume that every name has a meaningful core or is a distortion of other better recognizable name. Indeed, we know that religious specialists invented new words to get better contact with divine reality or/and to attract their audience. Lucian writes on the Alexander of Abonoteichus that "uttering a few meaningless words like Hebrew or Phoenician, he dazed the creatures, who did not know what he was saying" (*Alex.* 13, transl. Harmon). Lucian, a native of Samosata is a reliable witness when he states that Alexander's words had no meaning in the Semitic languages, but were free inventions. There are no reasons to refuse Gnostics similar creativity.

Moreover, some simple names, attested in the Nag Hammadi texts and in magical papyri, such as →Abrana, →Barbar and →Kodêrê, might be invented independently in the magic and in the Gnostic circles. Bohak (2003: 78) notes that the same is true in the case of short, isolated *voces* that resemble some Hebrew or Aramaic words.

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13 On the introduction of the specific Christian methods of divination very similar results were achieved by Wiśniewski 2013: 231—232.

Powers of Jewish Origin

Some scholars tried to interpret the demonology of the Nag Hammadi texts in the light of Jewish apocalyptic literature. The most prominent is probably Madeleine Scopello, who in a series of articles investigates *Allogenes* (Scopello 2007; Scopello 2018: 33—39), *Gos. Jud.* (Scopello 2008; Scopello 2011) and Gnostic angelology in general (Scopello 2018: 32—33) on the background of Henochic literature, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, Dead Sea Scrolls, and Hekhalot literature. Noteworthy are also the analyses of →Sabaôt^{h} in the Nag Hammadi texts against the background of the Merkavah mysticism (Alexander 1999: 1060—1062).

Undeniably, Jewish apocalyptic has a profound impact on the imagery of the divine realms present in the Nag Hammadi texts. However, when we look closer at the names of the powers in the Nag Hammadi corpus, we are surprised how scarce is the presence of angelic and demonic figures originated in the Jewish literature.

When we examine the lists of angels and other supernatural beings compiled by previous scholars, we can see that only a small fraction of the names they collected could be corroborated also in the Nag Hammadi texts. From the list of angels arranged by Petersen (1926) that includes angelic names from magical, astronomical and apocryphal Jewish texts, no more than three are present in Nag Hammadi (→Iouêl, →Iôêl, →Samaêl). Only in the case of Samaêl are we sure that his figure was invented in Semitic tradition, as the etymology of this name given by *Hyp. Arch.* (NHC II 86,21—97,5) is justified only in Hebrew or Aramaic. It does not mean that the author (or authors) of *Hyp. Arch.* was a Jew, but certainly, he was interested in the contemporary Jewish demonological speculation.

Michl (1962), who takes into account also the angels attested in the early Christian literature, included in his catalogue also Aiôlaios (→Aileôu), →Astap^{h}aios, Aut^{h}ronios (→Aut^{h}rounios), →Bariēl, →Belias, →Daueit^{h}e, →Êlêlêt^{h}, →Iaô, →Ialdabaôt^{h}, Iaôt^{h} (→At^{h}ôt^{h}), and →Ôraios

This group is, however, far from homogeneity. Aut^{h}ronios, Daueit^{h}e and Êlêlêt^{h} appear exclusively in the Christian Coptic material, so their names are derived directly or indirectly from Nag Hammadi or similar texts. Astap^{h}aios, Ialdabaôt^{h} and Ôraios occur also in contemporary relation of Origen and on one magical gem (Bonner No 188). Iaô has a Jewish origin but is also omnipresent in the texts of ritual power, so its way into the Nag Hammadi texts was not certainly directly from the Jewish tradition. Bariel and Belias are, indeed, the figures originated in the Jewish literature. Iaôt^{h}, except Nag Hammadi, is attested only in *Test.Sol.*, so the name might be a Jewish creation as well.

Scholars, of course, tried to find both the Hebrew or Aramaic roots of many more names of the powers, as well as Jewish counterparts of the spiritual figures attested in Nag Hammadi, with such prominent ones as →Ialdabaôt^{h} and →Barbelô. It should not surprise that they succeeded. It does not mean, however, that they were right. Gideon Bohak (2003: 69) tackling an issue of the alleged omnipresence of the Hebrew roots among the *voces magice* in the magical papyri, explains this phenomenon in the context of modern scholarship, not ancient preferences for Semitic languages. According to him:

1. Since scholars refuse to accept the fact that the origins of many *voces* (in our case names and figures of demons) still elude us, they desperately try to find some solution.
2. Because some (in our case few) *voces* (demons) can be with certainty traced back to the Jewish literature, scholars overemphasize the importance of the Semitic elements in the magical tradition (in our case in the Nag Hammadi texts).
3. For we know much more about Hebrew and Aramaic then, for example, "Nubian or Carian," scholars indulge the tendency to look for solutions in the languages they know the best.
4. Because in the studies on the ancient history, there is a certain bias in favour of the issues relating to the Jews, by the Jewish and Christian scholars alike, it is difficult to investigate the real scope of the Jewish influence on the no-Jewish environment.

Bohak writes even of "a pan-Judaic perspective, which leads many scholars to look for Jewish elements even where none are to be found"

(Bohak 2003: 70). All of that is right also in the case of studies on the Gnostic demonology.

Names of certainly Hebrew (or Aramaic) origin in the Nag Hammadi corpus are mainly of three types:

1. Divine names and epithets. Fives names of Jewish God appear in the Nag Hammadi texts: →Iaô, →Adônaios, →Adônein (and variants of the latter two), →Elôeim (and its variants), and Sabaôt^{h}. These names also occur in abundance in the magical material. Except for Sabaôt^{h}, they do not play a pivotal role in the Nag Hammadi narratives. It is especially striking in the case of Iaô. Omnipresent in magical papyri and on the gems, he occurs only four times in the Nag Hammadi texts, always together with other figures. To the powers listed above, we should add a name coined from a string of the Hebrew divine epithets →Abel Barouk^{h} that, contrary to the previous ones, does not belong to the magical stock names.
2. Angelic names. In the Nag Hammadi texts, we have the names of archangels →Gabriêl, →Mik^{h}aêl, and →Ouriêl. Except for the first one, their presence is, however, marginal. Mik^{h}aêl, the chief archangel in both Jewish and Christian literature features twice, Ouriêl only once. Raphaêl appears neither in the Nag Hammadi texts nor in CA and CB. The names listed by Petersen (1926) and mentioned above do not play any significant role as well. In the texts of Nag Hammadi, these powers are subordinate to the main figures of the Sethian narrative which correspond with the role of angels in the Jewish and Christian tradition. However, they are not called angels, they do not form a homogenous group and are not listed together.

   Moreover, some of the Nag Hammadi texts refer to the angelic classes: sarap^{h}ein (→sarap^{h}in) and →k^{h}eroubin. Their role is also minor and generally concomitant with their functions in the Jewish literature. They are much less exploited than in the magical texts.
3. Names of Biblical figures. In the Nag Hammadi texts, this group is limited to →Iakôb, →Kain and →Abel. Powers bearing these names are clearly supernatural and their character corresponds only loosely with the biblical narrative.

Solomon, very often portrayed in the late ancient literature, not only Christian and Jewish, as a master of demons,[1] appears on the margins of

1 Wypustek 2001: 81—83; Busch 2013.

the polemical texts from Nag Hammadi but is portrayed as a historical figure and not as a power (Van der Vliet 2013).

It is obvious that the majority (if not all) of those names entered the Nag Hammadi texts not directly from the Hebrew but through the Greek. The form →Adônaios is the best example. The name →Iaô is also typically Greek rendering of the Tetragrammaton. The texts of ritual power written in Greek are good candidates for the vehicle of this exchange, but we should remember that those forms were present in the literature of the Christian provenance as well.

Powers of Egyptian Origin

The specific Egyptian contribution to the demonology of the Nag Hammadi texts is clearly visible only in the longer recension of the *Ap. John* (NHC II 1 and NHC IV 1) in a long interpolation (NHC II 15,29—19,10; NHC IV 24,22—29,18), the most probably included in the process of transmission in Coptic. It consists of the list of 72 angels — creators of the limbs (NHC II 15,29—17,6 ; NHC IV 24,22—26,16), seven powers over those 72 (NHC II 17,7—8; NHC IV 26,17—20), thirty powers particularly active in the limbs (NHC II 17,8—29; NHC IV 26,20—27,13), seven over those 30 (NHC II 17,29—32 ; NHC IV 27,13—17), those over the senses (NHC II 17,32—18,2; NHC IV 27,27 — after 27,23 lacuna begins), rulers over the matter and its aspects (NHC II 18,2—14), and four chief demons of passions (NHC II 18,4—19). At the end of this long passage, the author (editor?) of the *Ap. John* reveals the source where he has taken his information from: the *Book of Zoroaster* (NHC II 19,10; NHC IV 29,18).[1] The immediate context[2] suggests that it may be the source only for the passage on the human passions, but Quack (1995: 120—122) proves that under the name of Zoroaster circulated the works deeply indebted to Egyptian magic and astrology. Quack also proved that the given passage in the *Ap. John* is dependent on the traditional Egyptian speculation on decans

1 ⲡⲓϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲣⲟⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲥ. *Orig. World* provides the titles of books containing the names of power but does not list the names themselves: *Archangelic Book of the Prophet Moses* (NHC II 102,8—9), *The first book of Noraia* (NHC II 102,10—11), *Account of Oraia* (NHC II 102,24—25), *Book of Solomon* (NHC 107,3).

2 "Now there are other ones in charge over the remaining passions whom I did not mention to you. But if you wish to know them, it is written in the book of Zoroaster" (NHC II 19, 6—10, transl. NHS 33, 111).

and their relation to the body parts. As many names recorded in the text have no parallel, their Egyptian provenance is not easy to ascertain, but there is one compelling piece of evidence, the name too complicated to be a result of the parallel invention. The power called →Ark^{h}entek^{h}t^{h}a, which means "Horus the lord of Athribis," attested in the *Ap. John* and in the same form in magical papyri and on magical gems, proves that at some stage of transmission of *Ap. John*, the text fell into the hands of a Christian with some level of interest in traditional Egyptian astrology.

The conviction that the parts of the body were under control of astral powers had its roots in the Egyptian astronomical speculation, but was recognized also by the Greek authors, as Celsus witnessed:

> After this Celsus says, "That in these matter, even including the very least, there is a being to whom authority has been given, one may learn from the teaching of the Egyptians. They say that the body of man has been put under the charge of thirty-six daemons, or ethereal gods of some sort, who divide it between them, that being the number of parts into which it is divided (though some say far more). Each daemon is in charge of a different part. And they know the names of the daemons in the local dialect, such as Chnoumen, Chnachoumen, Knat, Sikat, Biou, Erou, Erebiou, Rhamanoor, and Rheianoor, and all the other names which they use in their language. And by invoking these, they heal the sufferings of the various parts." (Origen, *C.Cels.* 8,58, transl. Chadwick)

Moreover, the Egyptian Christians shared the opinion that supernatural powers (for Christian equated with maleficent spirits) are closely bond with particular limbs.

> He [Pachomius: P.P.] said to the brothers who had led him to him, "I assure you, this demon is hiding in him and will not speak to me by this man's voice; but I am going to examine his whole body till I find out which of his members he is hiding in." While he was examining his whole body he came to the fingers of his hands and said to the brothers, "Here is the way the demon got in by, I have found it in the fingers of his hands." Then when he came to his neck, the place where the demon was, [the demon] made a great outcry and the man gave a violent jerk, and four men were hardly able to hold him. (*Vita Pachomii*, SB^{o} 110, transl. Veilleux 1980: 162—163)

If such a monastic hero like Pachomius shared traditional Egyptian opinions about particular demons residing in the limbs, there is no surprise that some Christian Egyptians found no obstacle to competing

the revelation given by Christ to John with the list of names of such spiritual powers.

Quack analyzed not only the isolated names but the whole structure of the passage, which makes his argumentation fully convincing (despite some too vague interpretations of particular names). According to his analyses, the demonology of this particular part of *Ap. John* does not hinge upon the tradition of magical papyri but is indebted to Egyptian astronomical and theological speculations. Of course, it is only one but very important passage attested only in two copies of *Ap. John*. Except for longer recension of *Ap. John*, in the Nag Hammadi corpus, there are no unambiguous traces of spiritual powers rooted in the Egyptian tradition.[3]

3 Sasabek, analyzed by Ghica 2010, is a possible but still only tentative candidate.

Powers of Greek Origin

In some pieces from the Nag Hammadi "library," there are names of power clearly derived from the Greek words. They are especially numerous in *Zostrianos*, which is hardly a surprise taking into account that similar texts circulated in Greek in a circle of Plotinus (Porphyry, *Plot.* 16). Also *Paraph. Shem* features many names derived from Greek, although, in a very garbled form, recognized fully by Roberge (2000, in: NHMS 72). Meaning of the names in *Paraph. Shem* corresponds more or less to the functions of a given power, and at least some of them were with all probability coined by the author of the work (see for example →Moluk^{h}t^{h}a). In the process of the translation into Coptic, the meaningfulness of those names was not acknowledged anymore and they underwent the process of further distortion. Lack of the names of Greek deities is especially striking. Such figures as Hermes, Artemis or Hecate occupy a prominent position in the texts of ritual power,[1] their names were also present in the Greek astrological speculation (and as such are present in CA), so it is highly probable that we have to do with a deliberate choice, not a mere accident. The Gnostic authors consciously created their own mythology different from traditional Greek myths and imagery of magical texts. The only recognizable Greek mythological figure is unexpectedly Himirêris (*Orig. World*, NHC II 109, 3), a third-rate deity associated with Eros.

1 Bonner 1950: 39—44; Wypustek 2001: 86—88.

"Gnostic" Creations

I am convinced that the guidelines of the Gnostic demonology were not adopted one-to-one from the external traditions but reshaped and very often even invented by the Gnostics themselves. It is evident in the light of the list given below. It presents eleven powers which occur in the Nag Hammadi texts the most frequently. The parallel attestations in *Ap. John* and *Gos. Eg.* are treated as a single occurrence:

Barbêlô	44
Ialdabaôt^{h}	22
Sakla	18
Sabaôt^{h}	17
Êlêlêt^{h}	16
Armozêl	11
Oroiaêl	11
Daueit^{h}e	10
Doksomedôn	10
Armêdôn	9
Gamaliêl	9

It is evident that the most common names of power are those originated within the Sethian milieu. From the list above, only Sabaôt^{h} and Sakla are not the original Gnostic creations. However, these two have also been reinterpreted by Sethians. Sethians indeed made use of some current Jewish divine and angelic names, but only Sabaôt^{h} has been incorporated into the core of their theological system.

The predominance of the Sethian onomastic becomes clear when compared with names of Jewish origin which are of only trace presence (except for Sabaôt^{h} and Sakla listed above).

Iouêl	13
Adonaios	9
Gabriêl	7
Satanas	7
Eloeim	5
Elôai	4
Iaue	4
Iaô	4
Samaêl	5
Adônein	3
Iôêl	3
Mik^{h}aêl	2
Belias	1
Ouriêl	1

The number of occurrences of typical "magical" names in the Nag Hammadi texts is even lower:

Abrasak^{s}	5
Iaô[1]	4
Barp^{h}aragges	2

Even more telling than the marginal presence of the three abovementioned powers is an absence of other stock names of magical tradition, such as Baink^{h}ôôôkh[2] or K^{h}nubis. All this proves that the texts of ritual power gave only minor inspiration for the Gnostic authors. This result, unexpected at the start of the project, finds solid support in a relatively small amount of the places taken from the texts of ritual power attesting (with various degree of certainty and accuracy) the powers listed in particular entries of the Lexicon.

1 Despite the fact that Iaô is a name of Jewish origin, he is, first of all, an important name of power in the magical tradition.

2 This power appears twice in *Pistis Sophia*, see above p. XXIV.

Names of the Powers in the Nag Hammadi Corpus

When the analyses of etymology and provenance of the names of powers in the Nag Hammadi texts clearly point at their originality, a quantitative and statistical approach could show the irregularities in the presence of names of power within the corpus as a whole. The results bring us closer to an answer to the question about the role of demonology in the composition of the single codices, subsets of codices, and the whole "library."[1]

Single texts

Codex	Text	Occurrences of demonic names	Number of unique names of demons in the text (or codex)[1]
I	*Pr.Paul*	0	0
	Ap. Jas.	2	1
	Gos.Truth.	0	0
	Treat.Res.	0	0
	Tri.Trac.	0	0
		2	1
II	*Ap. John*	194	151
	Gos.Thom.	0	0
	Gos. Phil.	4	2
	Hyp. Arch.	10	5
	Orig. World	30	13
	Exeg.Soul	0	0

1 Because the names may appear in more than one text in the single codex, the number of unique names in the codex is not a sum of unique names in the particular texts included in the codex.

Codex	Text	Occurrences of demonic names	Number of unique names of demons in the text (or codex)
II	*Thom.Cont.*	0	0
		238	159
III	*Ap. John*	49	26
	Gos. Eg.	97	51
	Eugnostos	1	1
	Soph. Jes. Chr.	0	0
	Dial.Sav	0	0
		147	65
IV	*Ap. John*	148	127
	Gos. Eg.	76	43
		224	164
V	*Eugnostos*	0	0
	Apoc.Paul	0	0
	1 Apoc. Jas.	5	2
	2 Apoc. Jas.	0	0
	Apoc. Adam	9	8
		14	10
VI	*Acts Pet. 12 Apost.*	5	1
	Thund.	0	0
	Auth.Teach.	0	0
	Great Pow.	2	2
	Plato Rep.	0	0
	Disc 8—9	0	0
	Pr.Thanks.	0	0
	Asclepius	0	0
		7	3
VII	*Paraph.Shem*	49	21
	Treat.Seth.	7	4
	Apoc. Pet.	1	1
	Teach.Silv.	0	0
	StelesSeth.	19	17
		76	43
VIII	*Zost.*	160	99
	Ep. Pet. Phil.	0	0
		160	95

Codex	Text	Occurrences of demonic names	Number of unique names of demons in the text (or codex)
IX	*Melch.*	16	12
	Norea	2	1
	Testim. Truth.	2	1
		20	14
X	*Marsanes*	4	3
XI	*Interp.Know.*	0	0
	Val.Exp.	0	0
	Allogenes	40	29
	Hypsiph.	7	2
		47	28
XII	*Sen.Sextus*	0	0
	Gos.Truth.	0	0
		0	0
XIII	*Trim. Prot.*	26	25
	Orig. World	0	0
		26	25
BG	*Gos.Mary*	0	0
	Ap. John	60	27
	Soph. Jes. Chr.	1	1
	Act.Pet.	0	0
		61	27
CT	*Ep.Pet.Phil*	0	0
	1Ap.Jes.	7	4
	Gos. Jud.	19	11
	Allogenes2	4	1
	CH XIII	0	0
		30	15

On the one hand, the first observation is that not all the texts of the Nag Hammadi "library" contain names of powers. As many as 28 (NHC I,1; I,3; I,4; I,5; II,2; II,6; II,7; III,4; III,5; V,1; V,2; V,4; VI,2; VI,3; VI,5; VI,6; VI,7; VI,8; VIII,2; XI,1; XI,2; XII,1; XII,2; XIII,2; BG 1; BG 4; CT 1; CT 5) of total 60 texts (all the texts from Nag Hammadi, BG and CT) do not have any single name. A few other texts feature only single names, as NHC I,2 (*Ap. Jas.*) where only Satanas appears. On the other hand, we have at our disposal the texts with numerous names of powers.

The first ten texts with the highest total number of the names of powers are listed below:

1. NHC II 1 (*Ap. John*): 194
2. NHC VIII 1 (*Zost.*): 160
3. NHC IV 1 (*Ap. John*): 148
4. NHC III 2 (*Gos. Eg.*): 97
5. NHC IV 2 (*Gos. Eg.*): 76
6. BG 2 (*Ap. John*): 60
7. NHC III 1 (*Ap. John*): 49
8. NHC VII 1 (*Paraph.Shem*): 49
9. NHC XI 3 (*Allogenes*): 40
10. NHC II 5 (*Orig. World*): 30

The Sethian texts occupy the first seven places on the list. It proves clearly that the interest in demonology in this current of Gnosticism was particularly vivid. In the first ten texts, there are eight Sethian works, including all the four manuscripts of *Ap. John* and two of *Gos. Eg.* Furthermore, Sethian current of the Gnostic thought is represented by *Zost.* and *Allogenes*. A difference in the number of the names of power between long and short recensions of *Ap. John* draws special attention. It is a result of insertion into the longer version already mentioned demonological passage based on *Book of Zoroaster*. All the other texts linked to the Sethian school of Gnosticism also contain a fair number of the names of powers: *Hyp. Arch.*: 10, *Apoc. Adam*: 9, *Steles Seth*: 21, *Melch.*: 16, *Trim. Prot.*: 24. Only *Marsanes* (X) features merely four names. The Sethian texts altogether include the great majority of all the names of powers in the Nag Hammadi corpus (together with BG and CT), exactly 927 occurrences for total 1056 (88%). Sethian domination is even stronger when we take into account the number of unique names of powers in each text:

NHC II 1 (*Ap. John*): 151
NHC IV 1 (*Ap. John*): 127
NHC VIII 1 (*Zost.*): 95
NHC III 2 (*Gos. Eg.*): 51
NHC IV 2 (*Gos. Eg.*): 43
BG 2 (*Ap. John*): 27
NHC III 1 (*Ap. John*): 26
NHC XI 3 (*Allogenes*): 26

NHC XIII 1 (*Trim. Prot.*): 25
NHC VII 1 (*Paraph. Shem*): 21

Based on the number of individual powers mentioned by name, the Sethian texts occupy the first nine places. Such results show that research on the relations between Greco-Roman magic and Nag Hammadi could be reduced almost completely to the relations between magic and Sethian texts (with one important exception of *Paraph. Shem*). Statistics show without any doubt that other schools of Gnostic thought (first of all Valentinians), non-Gnostic Christian currents or even originally non-Christian traditions (Hermeticism) represented in the Nag Hammadi "library" were not at all interested in the names of spiritual powers.

With the use of statistic analyses, it is also possible to show a distribution of names of powers between single codices. Such an approach may help to answer if demonological interest might be a reason behind the composition of them.

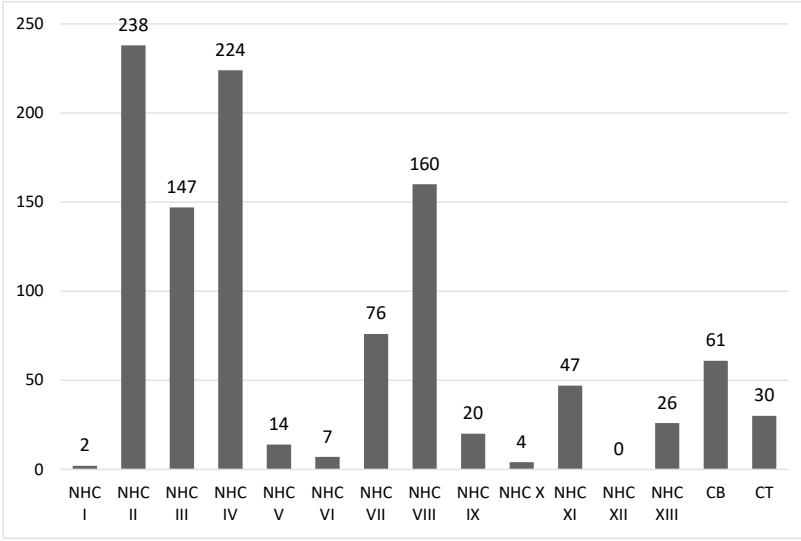


Figure 1. Total number of the names of powers according to codices

If we take into account the number of unique names, the proportion looks very similar.

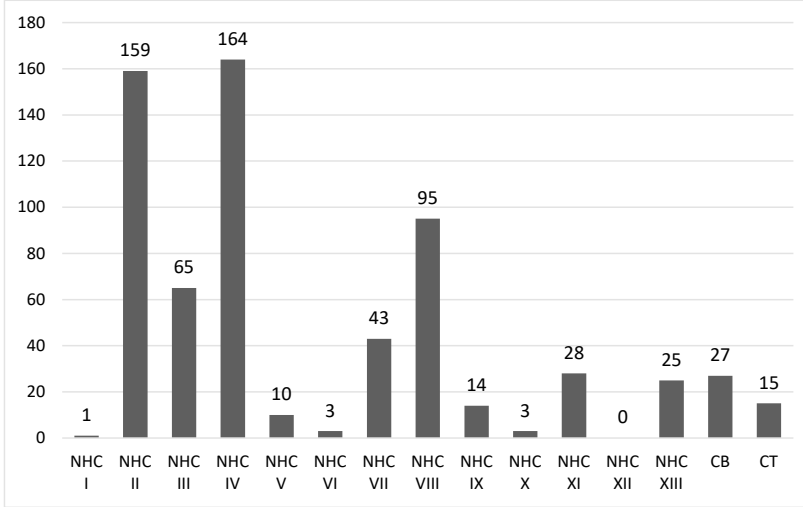


Figure 2. Number of unique names of powers according to codices

While analyzing the single codices, important features appear. First of all, there are codices with minor or even no interest in demonology. We count among them codex I, in which the Valentinian content prevails, codex VI, where we can find Plato and Hermetic writings, but surprisingly also apocalyptic codex V and codex X with the Sethian *Marsanes*. In codex XII, not even a single name of power appears. The highest numbers of the names of powers we have in the codices with the Sethian texts (except the already mentioned codex X).

In both categories, of a total number of the names of powers and a number of unique names, two codices dominate: NHC II and NHC IV. They owe their position to the already mentioned demonological passage in a longer recension of *Ap. John*. These passages, NHC II 15,29—19,10 and NHC IV 24,22—29,18, include 127 and 112 names of powers, which gives respectively 53% and 50% of all the names in the codices. Codex VII as a whole contains seven texts, but only two of them have some interest in demonology (*Ap. John*, *Orig. World*), so a rationale behind its composition was certainly not demonological content. In the case of NHC IV, the situation is different. There are only two texts included (*Ap. John*, *Gos. Eg.*), both filled with names of powers. Codex VIII owes its position to *Zost.* Even in its current, very lacunous state, the text includes many names, and the total number was certainly higher. The other text in the codex *Ep. Pet. Phil.* bears no names, but almost certainly it was appended to *Zost.* to fill the pages left after copying of the latter (*Zost.* counts 140 pages, *Ep. Pet. Phil.* only nine).

It is already widely accepted that the Nag Hammadi "library" consists of subsets of codices grouped together according to physical features such as palaeography, binding, and a type of papyri used in the cartonnages. There are two main propositions of internal division of the Nag Hammadi "library" into separate subgroups. While M. Williams's (1996) approach was limited to the distribution of scribal hands, A. Khosroyev (1995) working independently took into account also the documents from the cartonnages and type of covers. Recently, L. Painchaud (2018), supported Williams's division, taking into account many extra-paleographical criteria, although he did not split group B into two subgroups. Still, the propositions of both Khosroyev and Williams/Painchaud are presented and concorded below.

Khosroyev	Williams
A: II, VI, IX, XIII	
B: IV, V, VIII	
C: I, VII, XI	A: I, VII, XI
	B1: IV, VIII
	B2: V, VI, IX
	C: II, XIII
NHC III	NHC III
NHC X	NHC X
NHC XII	NHC XII

According to the subgroup divisions proposed by Williams (1996: 243) and Khosroyev (1995: 20—22) distribution of the names of powers through particular groups runs as follows:

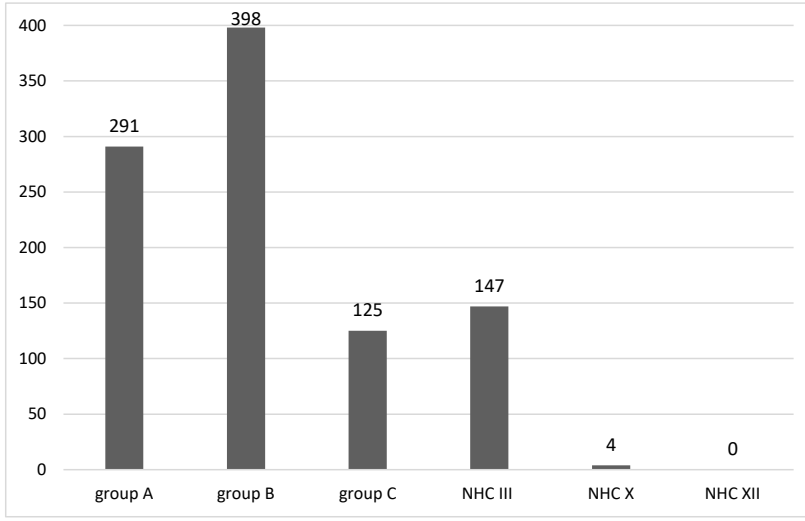


Figure 3. Total number of names of powers according to Khosroyev's distribution of subgroups of codices

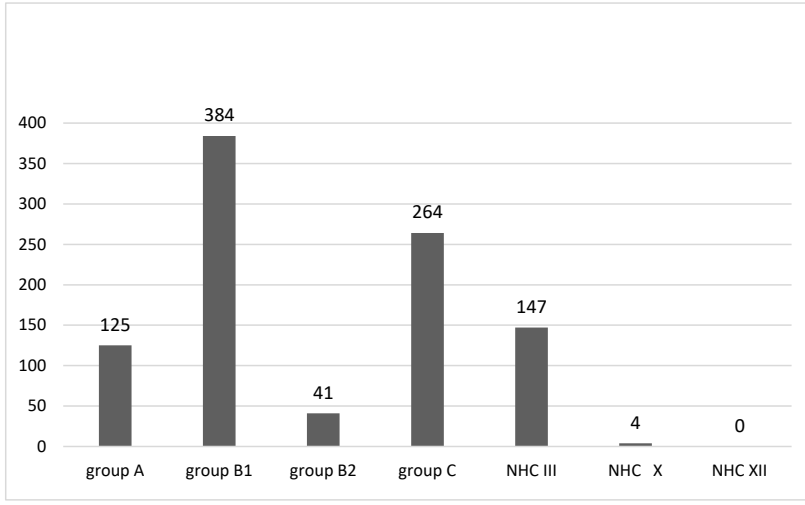


Figure 4. Total number of names of powers according to Williams's distribution of subgroups of codices

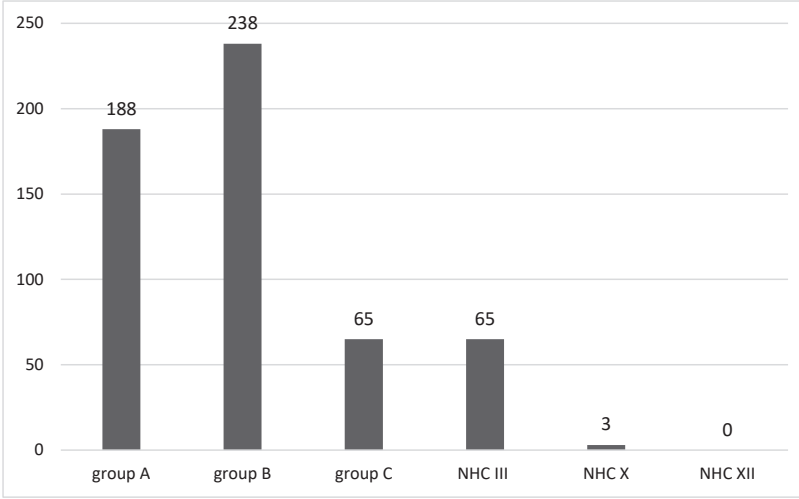


Figure 5. Number of unique names of power according to Khosroyev's distribution of subgroups of codices

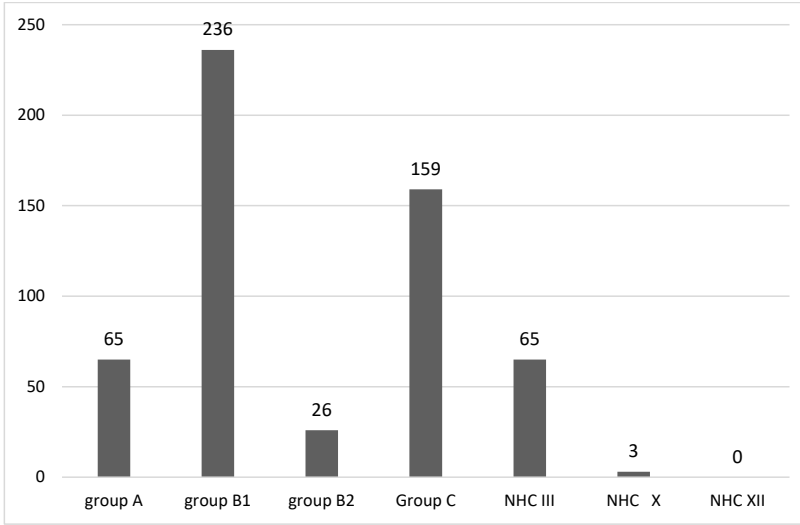


Figure 6. Number of unique names of power according to Williams's distribution of subgroups of codices

Regardless of the differences in the internal division of the "library," it is evident that in some subgroups the demonological content plays only a minor role. The only subset separated by all the scholars, Khosroyev's group C (Williams's group A),[2] consists of three codices with very different

2 This subgroup is the only group accepted by the wide consensus of scholars (Orsini 2008).

theological material. While predominantly "Valentinian" Codex I has virtually no demonical names, codex VII has a significant number of unique powers provided by *Paraph. Shem*. Codex XI contains two Valentinian texts with no demonological interest and two Sethian ones with a considerable interest in demonology. The interest in the names of powers could not be a reason to assemble such a set of codices. Only a group formed by NHC IV and NHC VIII (Williams's B1; Khosroyev adds NHC V) might be regarded as assembled with a special interest in the names of power.

Editorial Remarks and Conventions

When not given in the original script, the Coptic names are consistently provided in Leipzig-Jerusalem transliteration (Grossman & Haspelmath 2015), which in few cases is applied also to the names preserved in the Greek texts. Quoting the Greek texts, in regard to capitalization and diacritical marks, I follow the convention of a given edition. However, the well recognized proper names (e.g. names of angels) are consistently given with a capital letter and diacritics even when the edition does not use them. An exception is the name Iaô, given with small letter and no accent and aspiration marks when it may represent not a proper name but only a sequence of vowels. If the name lacks a wider lexical context, such a decision is more or less arbitrary. The names and words in Semitic languages and Demotic Egyptian, which appear a few times in the commentary, are transliterated according to a convention used by editors and commentators who are quoted in a given place. Variants of the names of power are marked by the sign "v" in the upper index.

Square brackets [ ] indicate lost letters and conjecture. The number of dots within brackets refers to the estimated number of missing letters. If the dots are absent, the number of missing letters is impossible to calculate. Angle brackets < > give the standard Greek form of the Coptic words of Greek origin or the standard Sahidic form of the Coptic words if the source text is written in other dialect or with unstandardized ortography.

Lexicon of Spiritual Powers

1 [...]ⲁⲛⲏⲛ ([...]anen)

1. NHC XIII 48*,28 (*Trim. Prot.*)

One of the three seizing ones (ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲱⲣⲡ), together with Kamaliêl (→Gamaliêl) and →Samblô, servants (ὑπηρέτης) of the great holly luminaries (φώστηρ). They carried away an initiate (his exact identity remains uncertain) and took him into the light-place of his (i.e. of the initiate?) fatherhood (ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ <τόπος> ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲫ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ).

Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 352—353

Commentary and literature

Two other members of the triad of the "seizing ones" are known from other sources, but the name of [...]anen seems to be unique. They have an auxiliary function in the ascent of the chosen up to the spiritual world. In the Greek Vorlage, they were probably associated with the verb ἁρπάζω, describing a direct ascent to the God (cf. Ap 12:5).

Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 352—353

2 [...]ⲉ ([...]e)

1. NHC IV 25,6 (*Ap. John*)

Only the last letter of the name is preserved in NHC IV. There is also a supralinear stroke visible over the precedent lost letters, which proves it certain that we have to do here with a proper name. In NHC II 16,6, there are barely preserved the words "left elbow."

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left elbow (ⲡⲕⲉⲗⲉⲛⲕⲉϩ ⲛ̄ϩⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

3 [..]ⲥⲱⲛ ([..]sôn)

1. NHC VIII 47,20 (*Zost.*)

Barry & Funk 2000, In: BCNH T 24: 328—327, propose coniecture [ⲉⲓ]ⲥ̄ⲱⲛ̄ "en parallèle avec le nom qui suit et qui commence par ⲉⲓ."

The assistant (βοηθός) of the guardians of the glory (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ).

Barry & Funk 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 327—329

4 ⲁⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲣⲓⲁⲙ (aarmouriam)

1. NHC II 17,31 (*Ap. John*)

In NHC IV 27,16 fully restored on the basis of NHC II.
One of the seven over the limbs of the body.

5 ⲁⲁⲧⲟⲓⲙⲉⲛⲫⲏⲫⲉⲓ (aatoimenp^{h}êp^{h}ei) = ⲁⲁⲧⲟⲓⲙⲉⲛⲯⲏⲫⲉⲓ (aatoimenp^{s}êp^{h}ei)^{v}

1. NHC II 16,26^{v} = NHC IV 26,1 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); an exception in a long list of angelic creators of particular limbs.

Etymology, commentary and literature

When the usual pattern in the list of the creators is: name of the angel + limb created, Aatoimenp^{s}êp^{h}ei is followed by the phrase ⲛⲱⲟⲩ ⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲫⲉ ⲉⲧⲣⲛ̄ ⲙⲙⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ("theirs are the breaths which are in all the limbs," transl. NHMS 33). The plural here is not easy to understand. The ending of the name does not match any of the Greek plural endings. "They" may refer to Aatoimenp^{s}êp^{h}ei, as well as to two preceding angels →Ipouspobôba and →Bineborin — creators of veins and arteries respectively. In such a case, Aatoimenp^{s}êp^{h}ei would be, however, left without any responsibility. The most plausible solution is that there is a scribal error and another name or Aatoimenp^{s}êp^{h}ei's creation was omitted before ⲛⲱⲟⲩ. Quack interprets the second part of the name as Egyptian *p^{3} syf* "divine child."

Quack 1995: 117

6 ⲁⲁⲭⲓⲁⲣⲁⲙ (aak^{h}iaram) = ⲁⲭⲓⲁⲣⲁⲙ (ak^{h}iaram)^{v}

1. NHC II 18,1 = NHC IV 27,21^{v} (*Ap. John*)

The one over the arrangement (ⲡⲭⲱⲛϥ) of the senses (or body?).

7 ⲁⲃⲁⲗⲫⲏ (abalp^{h}ê)

1. NHC VII 45,6 (*Paraph. Shem*)
Female likeness (ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲓⲛⲉ) that would be blown out from the mouth of the demon (δαίμων) at the end of the world.

8 ⲁⲃⲉⲇⲱ (abedô) = ⲍⲁⲃⲉⲇⲱ (zabedô)^{v}

1. NHC II 16—17^{v} = NHC IV 25,18 (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left ribs (ⲡⲥⲡⲓⲣ ⲛ̄ⲑⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

9 ⲁⲃⲉⲗ (abel)

1. NHC II 10,36 (*Ap. John*)
The name in NHC IV reconstructed on the basis of NHC II.
The seventh authority (ἐξουσία); begotten by the archon (ἄρχων). He does not appear in the parallel list in NHC III and BG, where he is replaced by →Kainan Kasin or by a pair →Kainan and →Kaê respectively.

2. NHC II 24,25 = NHC III 31,20 = BG 63,1 (*Ap. John*)
The name in NHC IV reconstructed on the basis of NHC II.
The other name given to one of the sons of the chief ruler (πρωτάρχων): →Elôim and →Iaue. Which one of them it is associated with could be hardly determined. Taking into account only the sequence of names, it differs from one manuscript to another, and so in NHC II and III it refers to →Elôim, in BG to →Iaue. Barc & Funk (2012, in: BCNH T 35: 301) do not take the sequence into account and maintain a certain connection between Abel and →Elôim.

3. NHC IV 26,20 (*Ap. John*)
One of the seven appointed over the creator angels of the body limbs. Only two last letters are preserved. Coniecture is dependent on the preceding name →ⲕⲁ[ⲓⲛ, unfortunately also preserved only partially.

Texts of ritual power

Meyer & Smith 129, l. 12 (Kropp I: 29; Kropp II: 105; Meyer & Smith 1999: 279); ⲁⲃⲁⲏⲗ; one of the seven holy archangels (ἀρχάγγελος) by the right side of the father.

Commentary and literature

In *Ap. John*, Abel appears in two different contexts and refers to two different figures. Firstly, he is one of the authorites/angels of the archons' court. Secondly, however, Abel is simply another name of Iaue as one of the two sons of the chief ruler. The second identification might be explained by the literal reading of the Hebrew text of Genesis 4,25 (Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 301).

Müller 1959: 296; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 301—302

10 ⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲃⲟⲣⲟⲩⲭ (abel borouk^{h})

1. NHC IX 6,14 (*Melch.*)

The context seriously damaged. The subject of the text addresses the power in the 2nd sing. Somehow associated with the knowledge, but the roles of its giver and receiver are both possible.

Funk, Mahé & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 136

2. NHC IX 16,19 (*Melch.*)

The context seriously damaged. In the hymnic passage composed in the 1st sing. Perhaps it is the name of Father of All (NHC IX 16,9; probably also NHC IX 16,17—18: ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲟ̄), to whom the hymn is addressed as a whole.

Funk, Mahé & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 155; Van der Kerchove 2013: 273

Texts of ritual power

PGM CXXIV, l. 6v; (Maltomini 1980: 99; GMPT: 321); βαρουχ; adjured as "the first of the underworld angels (πρῶτε ἄγγε[λε τ]ῶν καταχθονίων)."

Meyer & Smith 46, l. 1 (Stegemann 1934: 52; Meyer & Smith 1999: 92); ⲃⲁⲣⲟⲩⲭ; in a spell to heal a foot; in the sequence ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲭ ⲃⲁⲣⲟⲩⲭ ⲃⲁⲣⲟⲩⲭⲁ.

Meyer & Smith 105, above figura magica (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 401; Meyer & Smith 1999: 213); ⲃⲁⲣⲟⲩⲭ; probably the name of power adjured in a spell and represented by figura magica.

Meyer & Smith 127, l. 108 (Kropp I: 62; Meyer & Smith 1999: 269); ⲃⲁⲣⲟⲩⲭ; context seriously damaged; in the sequence of words of power.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 337, No 516; βαρουχ; Obv. A sequence of names and words of power, with βαρουχ among them (the editors join him with the following name as βαρουχαβραμ); Rev. Sequence of names and words of power, as well as characters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 340, No 521; βαρουχ; Obv. Preserved only partially; a sequence of names and words of power, among them βαρουχ (the editors join him with the following name as βαρουχαβραμ); Rev. preserved only partially, a sequence of names and words of power.

Etymology, commentary and literature

It is a commonly accepted opinion (formulated by Schenke, but presented first time by Pearson 1981, in: NHS 15: 53) that the name does not refer to the biblical figure of Abel but is a kind of acronym of the sequence of epithets of the Jewish God: father (אב), god (אל), blessed (ברוך). It proves influence (nevertheless very limited) of the Jewish Hebrew liturgy on the *Melch*. The name in such a double (or triple) form is not testified in the non-Coptic magical material, where only Baruk^{h} appears. According to Van der Kerchove (2013: 273) the triple structure of the name might reflect the triadic nature of the original Sethian deity. However, as the original triad contains also a female element, such an interpretation does not seem plausible.

Maltomini 1980: 110; Pearson 1981, in: NHS 15: 53; Funk, Mahé & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 136; Schenke 2012: 487—488; Van der Kerchove 2013: 273

11 ⲁⲃⲏⲛⲗⲉⲛⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓ (abênlenark^{h}ei)

1. NHC II 16,18 = NHC IV 25,21 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of marrow (ⲁⲧⲕⲁⲥ <ⲁⲗⲧⲕⲁⲥ>).

12 ⲁⲃⲓⲣⲉⲥⲥⲓⲁ (abiressia) = ⲁⲃⲓⲣⲉⲥⲥⲓⲛⲉ (abiressine)^{v} = ⲁⲃⲣⲓⲥⲉⲛⲉ (abrisene)^{v2}

1. NHC II 10,37^{v2} = NHC III 17,2 = NHC IV 17,3^{v2} = BG 40,14—15^{v} (*Ap. John*)

Eighth of the twelve authorities (ἐξουσία) begotten by the archon (ἄρχων).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Perhaps from the Hebrew root אביר — "strong," but taking into account limited influence of Hebrew on the Nag Hammadi onomastics (see Introduction) it does not seem very plausible. Even less plausible is etymology proposed by Tardieu "père des violents" (based on Semitic ab-'arīṣīm) who identifies Abiressia with the constellation of Scorpio. Barc gives no etymology, referring only to the "mysteriéux" nature of this name.

Abiressia should be identified with one of the five 'over the chaos of the underworld' placed below the seven kings of the heavens (BG 41,12—15).

Schwab 1897: 149; Michl 1962: 201; Tardieu 1984: 282; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 250—253.

13 ⲁⲃⲓⲧⲣⲓⲱⲛ (abitriôn)

1. NHC II 16,7 = NHC IV 25,7 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right underarm (ⲑⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

14 ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲛⲁ (abrana)

1. NHC II 17,29 = NHC IV 27,13 (*Ap. John*)

One particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the toes of the left foot (ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲏⲏⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM XII, l. 117 (PGM 2: 65; GMPT: 57; Daniel 1991: 8); ἀβρανα; in the sequence of names and words of power used in the coercive spell; Daniel 1991 joins the name with the following one as αβραναζουχηλ.

Meyer & Smith 70, l. 121 (Kropp I: 26; Meyer & Smith 1999: 132); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲛⲁⲑⲁⲛⲁⲃⲣⲁ; palindrome in a long sequence of names and words of power.

Meyer & Smith 133, p. 19, l. 16 (Worrel 1930: 254; Meyer & Smith 1999: 310; Mirecki 1994: 51); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲛⲁⲑⲁⲛ; Mirecki (1994: 451) has ABRABATHAN, but it is probably a typing error.

Philipp 1986: 119—120, No 196; αβραν; Obv. A long sequence of words of power, including αβραν; Rev. Ouroboros and characters within his coil.

Etymology

The first four letters represent Hebrew ארבע which means "four," with metathesis of letters in the middle. Since the name of God in Hebrew consists also of four letters and was called in Greek tetragrammaton, the number four was regarded as connected with the well recognized powerful deity (Barb 1957). For Jackson the name is a meaningless *vox* taken from the magic. Tentative is, however, the reasoning of Mirecki presented in his analysis of spell Meyer & Smith, No 133. He proposes to read the sequence of letters ABRABATHANALBA as a unity. He notices that the third letter r is a typical consonantal shift from l, so we should see here a variation of a very common palindrome ABLANATHANALBA. Even if the name itself is not derived directly from the palindrome, Mirecki's intuition rightly points at the power of this sequence of letters. Whether the figure of Abrana has been shaped upon the sequence, or the palindrome took its power from an obscure spiritual power, remains uncertain.

Barb 1957: 68—69; Philipp 1986: 120; Jackson 1989: 75; Mirecki 1994: 457

15 ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁϧ (abrasak^{s})

1. NHC III 52,26 = NHC IV 64,21 (*Gos. Eg.*)

Servant (διάκονος) of the fourth great luminary (φωστήρ) →Êlêlêt^{h}.

2. NHC III 53,9—10 = NHC IV 65,2 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The eternal life (ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ) is his consort (σύζυγος); together with another three couples of great lights and their consorts, Abrasak^{s} forms the fifth ogdoad.

Böhlig, Wisse & Labib 1975, in: NHS 4: 180

3. NHC III 65,1 = NHC IV 76,19 (*Gos. Eg.*)

Mentioned in a long list of divine beings revealed or revealing themselves to somebody. Two versions of the text differ and seem to be loosely connected with the precedent section.

Böhlig, Wisse & Labib 1975, in: NHS 4: 194—197

4. NHC V 75,22 (*Apoc. Adam*)

Together with →Sablô and →Gamaliêl, Abrasak[s] rescues men from fire and wrath and takes them above the aeons and rulers (ἀρχή).

5. NHC VIII 47,13 (*Zost.*)

In the list of glories enabling salvation. One of the attendants (together with →Seisauêl and →Audaêl), lit. "those who stand before them" (ⲛⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩⲣ[ⲁⲩ]; ed. BCNH T 24) i.e. before preeceding spiritual powers.

Barry & Funk 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 562

Other texts

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,24,7; Abrasax; In the description of a system of Basilides and his followers, "They make out the local position of the three hundred and sixty-five heavens in the same way as do mathematicians. For, accepting the theorems of these latter, they have transferred them to their own type of doctrine. They hold that their chief (princeps) is Abrasax, and, on this account, that word contains within itself numbers amounting to three hundred and sixty-five" (transl. ANF, modified).

Ps.-Hippolytus, *Haer.* 7, 26,6; Ἀβρασάξ; In the description of the system of Basilides, "they even claim that there are 365 heavens and that their great Ruler (τὸν μέγαν ἄρχοντα) is Abrasax, whose name contains the numerical value 365" (transl. M.D. Litwa).

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 24,7,2 and 4; Ἀβρασάξ; According to Epiphanius, Basilides maintained that Abrasaks was a power and the first principle (δύναμιν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχὴν) and his name makes 365 as year has 365 days.

Ps.-Tertullianus, *Adv. omn. haer.* 1,5; Abraxas (precisely in Gen. Abraxae and Acc. Abraxan); In a note on Basilides's system, Abrasax is presented as the highest god (summum deum) who created the Mind (Nous).

Hieronymus, *Comm. in Amos*, PL 25,1018 D; Ἀβράξας; In a description of Basilides's system, Abraxas is presented as the monstrous name of the omnipotent God (omnipotentem Deum) that in Greek letters makes equivalent of the number of the days in a year. Then Hieronymus gives the name Μείθραν as another name for the year used by pagans (ethnici).

Traité de Magie, ed. Delatte 1927, p. 26, l. 18; Ἀβρασάς; one of many spirits of demons (τὰ πνεύματα τῶν δαιμονίων) against whom a practitioner invokes the God.

Texts of ritual power

PGM I, l. 302 (PGM 1: 16; GMPT: 11); Ἀβρασάξ; identified with Apollo; the one who views sunset from the dawn (ὃς δύσιν ἀντολίηθεν ἐπισκοπιάζει[ς).

PGM II, ll. 154—155 (PGM 1: 28; GMPT: 17); Ἀβρασάξ; the name written on the right-hand doorpost together with *voces magicae* and characters.

PGM III, l. 77 (PGM 1: 36; GMPT: 20); Ἀβρασάξ; associated with figura magica; in the sequence ὁρκίζω σε Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ, Ἀδωναί, Ἀβρασὰξ.

PGM III, l. 150 (PGM 1: 38; GMPT: 22); Ἀβρασάξ; the god (θεός); in the sequence of names by which the divine power is conjured.

PGM III, l. 213 (PGM 1: 40; GMPT: 24); Ἀβρασά[ξ; the one who joys in sunrise (ἀντολίῃς χαίρ[ω]ν); called to be the gracious god (θεὸς ἵλαος).

PGM III, l. 442 (PGM 1: 52; GMPT: 30); [Ἀβρα]σάξ; in the sequence of names of power associated with the absolute ruler (αὐτοκράτωρ).

PGM III, l. 449 (PGM 1: 52; GMPT: 30); Ἀ]βραξάς; context partially destroyed; a name of power used as a part of the formula for memory.

PGM III, l. 710 (PGM 1: 62; GMPT: 36); Ἀβρασάξ; written in the figura magica of Harpokrates holding a finger in his mouth.

PGM IV, l. 332 (PGM 1: 82; GMPT: 44; Gager 1992: 95); Ἀβρασάξ; the formula "Abrasax hold fast" (κατάσχες) has to be spelled when the practitioner ties 365 knots on the thread.

PGM IV, l. 363 (PGM 1: 84; GMPT: 45); Ἀβρασάξ; one of the names of power by which the god of the demon of the dead (νεκύδαιμον) is invoked.

PGM IV, l. 1535 (PGM 1: 122; GMPT: 67); Ἀβρασάξ; one of the three names by which Myrrh is adjured.

PGM IV, l. 3259 (PGM 1: 178; GMPT: 101); Ἀβρασάξ; in the curse spell, the name to be written on the breast of an ass drawn on an unbaked brick.

PGM V, l. 129 (PGM 1: 186; GMPT: 103); Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequence of names associated with the holy, the headless one (ἅγιος Ἀκέφαλος).

PGM V, l. 142 (PGM 1: 186; GMPT: 103); Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequence of names associated with "lord (κύριος), king, master (δυνάστης), helper" (βοηθός).

PGM V, ll. 363, 367, 369 (PGM 1: 192; GMPT: 107); Ἀβρασάξ; in a sequences of words and names of power intended to be written on a *defixio* papyrus.

PGM VII, l. 221 (PGM 2: 10; GMPT: 122); Ἀβρασάξ; together with other names of power to be written on phylactery against fever.

PGM VII, l. 520 (PGM 2: 24; GMPT: 132); Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequence of words and names of power associated with the holy scarab (ἅγιος κάνθαρος).

PGM VII, l. 649 (PGM 2: 29; GMPT: 136); Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequence of words, names of power and vowel permutations in the love-charm over the cup.

PGM VIII, l. 49 (PGM 2: 47; GMPT: 146); Ἀβρασάξ; identified with Hermes in the business favor spell.

PGM X, l. 41 (PGM 2: 53; GMPT: 150); Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequence of names (ὀνόματα) prescribed to be written in a lamella with the subjecting spell (ὑποτακτικόν).

PGM X, l. 48 (PGM 2: 53; GMPT: 150); Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequence of names (ὀνόματα) prescribed to be written in a lamella with a subjecting spell (ὑποτακτικόν); separated from other names by characters.

PGM XIc, l. 16 (PGM 2: 57; GMPT: 152); Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequence of names and words of power prescribed to be written on a papyrus.

PGM XII, l. 74 (PGM 2: 62; Daniel 1991: 6; GMPT: 155); Ἀ[βρασά]ξ; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the "god of all gods" (θεὸς θεῶν ἁπάντων).

PGM XII, ll. 205, 206 (PGM 2: 72; Daniel 1991: 12; GMPT: 161); Ἀβρασάξ; the word prescribed to be written on both sides of an engraved jasper.

PGM XII, l. 269 (PGM 2: 76; Daniel 1991: 16; GMPT: 163); Ἀβρασάξ; one of the names of the power prescribed to be inscribed on the back side of the stone (i.e. jasper).

PGM XIII, l. 84 (PGM 2: 91; Daniel 1991: 34; GMPT: 174); Ἀβρασάξ; Daniel (1991) has Ἀβρασαξου; the name of the lord in the language of baboons (κυνοκεφαλιστί).

PGM XIII, l. 156 (PGM 2: 94; Daniel 1991: 38; GMPT: 176); Ἀβρασ<ά>ξ; "the number of the year" (ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ); the name given to the Sun by the clever baboon (κυνοκεφαλοκέρδων) in his own language.

PGM XIII, l. 466 (PGM 2: 110; Daniel 1991: 52; GMPT: 184); Ἀβρασάξ; identified as "the number of the year" (ἀριθμὸς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ) in the language of the "clever baboon" (κυνοκεφαλοκέρδων).

PGM XIII, l. 598 (PGM 2: 115; GMPT: 187); Ἀβρασ<ά>ξ; the name of the lord (κύριος) in baboonic (κυνοκεφαλιστί).

PGM XIXa, ll. 16, 31, 43, 47 (PGM 2: 143; GMPT: 257); Ἀβρασάξ; in a very lengthy and graphically elaborated sequence of names and words of power addressed to the demon of the dead (νεκυδαίμων).

PGM XXIII, l. 9 (PGM 2: 151; GMPT: 262); [Ἀβρα]ξ̃ᾶ; reconstruction very tentative; the text is an excerpt from the 18th book of Kestoi by Julius Africanus; the vocative form of this name is not attested elsewhere; the demon famous for a cosmic name (περίβωτε τὸ κοσμικὸν οὔνομα δαίμων).

PGM XXVIIIa, l. 3 (PGM 2: 154; GMPT: 265); Ἀβρα<ς>άξ; in the sequence of names of power mainly of Hebrew origin used in a binding spell.

PGM XXXIIa, l. 6 (PGM 2: 158; GMPT: 266); Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequence of the four names of power used in the love spell.

PGM XXXVI, l. 42 (PGM 2: 164; GMPT: 270); Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequence of names of power identified as the lord angels (κύριοι ἄγγελοι).

PGM XXXVI, l. 145 (PGM 2: 167; GMPT: 272); Ἀβρασάξ; chtonic demon (χθονὸς <δαίμων>).

PGM XXXVI, l. 350 (PGM 2: 175; GMPT: 277); Ἀβρασάξ; one of the "strong and great names" (τῶν κραταιῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὀνομάτων) used in the love spell.

PGM XLV, l. 1 (PGM 2: 180; GMPT: 282); Ἀβρ[ά]ξ[α]ς; in the sequence of names and words of power.

PGM LVIII, l. 34 (PGM 2: 186; GMPT: 286); Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with figura magica.

PGM LIX, l. 4 (PGM 2: 187; GMPT: 286); Ἀβρ[ασά]ξ; in the sequence of four names of power, probably given as a compound name of a god.

PGM LXI, l. 33 (PGM 2: 190; GMPT: 291); Ἀβρασάξ; the name of Harpokrates sitting on a lotus (Ἁρποκράτης ἐπὶ λωτῷ καθήμενος).

PGM LXI, l. 54 (PGM 2: 191; GMPT: 292); Ἀβρασάξ; the image of Abrasak^{s} is prescribed to be made as a part of the love spell ritual.

PGM LXVIII, l. 7 (PGM 2: 201; GMPT: 297); Ἀβρασάξ; the power invoked in the love spell to inflame the heart and soul of a beloved.

PGM LXIX, ll. 1, 2 (PGM 2: 201; GMPT: 297); Ἀβρασ[άξ], Ἀβρασάξ; the name invoked in the spell for strength; there is a formula of identification of a practitioner with Abrasak^{s}, "I am Abrasak^{s}" (ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι Ἀβρασάξ).

PGM LXXIX, l. 2 (PGM 2: 207; GMPT: 299); Ἀβρασάξ; maybe he is referred to as the eternal one (εϊ[λα]μ).

PGM LXXX, l. 2 (PGM 2: 208; GMPT: 299); Ἀβρ[ασ]άξ; maybe he is referred to as the eternal one (ἰλαμ). The text is identical with PGM LXXIX.

PGM LXXXI, l. 4 (PGM 2: 208; GMPT: 299); Ἀβρασάκξ; in the sequence of names of power.

PGM LXXXIX, ll. 1, 2, 3, 15, 16 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 36; GMPT: 302); Ἀβρασάξ; invoked in the protection spell, also in the formula "I am Abrasak^{s}" (ἐγώ ἰμει Ἀβρασάξ).

PGM XCII, l. 7 (*Suppl.Mag.* II: 62; GMPT: 303); Ἀβρασάξ; given as a paragon of good voice (φωνή).

PGM CI, l. 42 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 165; GMPT: 309; Gager 1992: 105); Ἀβρασάξ; an element of the compound name of the relentless god (ἀπαρέτητος <ἀπαραίτητος> θέος).

PGM CXVI, l. 9 (Pintaudi 1977: 246; GMPT: 314); Ἀβρασάξ; in a long sequence of names and words of power.

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305, col. III, l. 8; [Ἀ]βρ[α]σάξ; in the sequence of words and names of power prescribed to be written on papyrus in a spell for favor (χαριτήσιον).

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5306, l. 47; Ἀβρασάξ; between ΑΩ and seven vowels at the end of protective spell.

PDM xiv, l. 392 [col. XIII, l. 27] (Griffith & Thompson 1994: 98; GMPT: 218); ʾbrʿsʿks; invoked as yʿh-ʿo ʾbrʿsʿks to a ring in the spell for seduction of a woman.

PDM xiv, l. 698 [col. XIII, l. 24] (Griffith & Thompson 1994: 146; GMPT: 233); ʾbrˁs(t)ˁks; in the sequence of names associated with the moon and stars.

PDM xiv, l. 1033 [col. XIIv, l. 8] (Griffith & Thompson 1994: 184; GMPT: 245); ʾbrˁsˁks; as an element of compound name explicitly identified as that of Moses's (mw-s·s) god.

Meyer & Smith 15 (PGM 2: 212; Meyer & Smith 40); Ἀβρασάξ; in an amulet against fever; as an isolated name of power.

Meyer & Smith 43, l. 120 (Worrel 1935: 23; Meyer & Smith 1999: 87); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁⲝ; in a phrase ⲙⲁϯ ⲛⲁⲓ (...) ⲡⲧⲁϫⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁⲝ.

Meyer & Smith 47, l. 10 (*BKU* I: 21; Kropp II: 13; Meyer & Smith 1999: 93); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲍⲁⲝ; The text of incantation: "You are Ax, you are Abrasax, the angel who sits upon the tree of Paradise, who sent sleep upon Abimelech for seventy-five years" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 59, l. 6r (Römer & Thissen 1990: 176; Meyer & Smith 1999: 110); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲍ; "great archangel of the sun, whose hand is streched over his rays" (transl. in: Meyer & Smith 1999: 110).

Meyer & Smith 64, l. 39 (Crum 1905: 254; Kropp I: 16; Kropp II: 201; Meyer & Smith 1999: 122); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁⲕⲍ; a pregnancy protecting spell, in the sequence of names of power.

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 3, l. 2 (Kropp I: 65; Meyer & Smith 1999: 135); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁϫⲁⲏⲗ; in the protective spell against powers of evil, "the one over the lightning" (ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁⲕϫⲁⲏⲗ ⲡⲉⲓⲑⲓⲭ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛⲉⲃⲣⲉϧⲉ; transl. in: Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 91, l. 29r (Crum 1896: 87; Kropp II: 236; Meyer & Smith 1999: 194); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁϫⲥⲁⲝ; in the list of names of power; Kropp II: 236 translates incorrectly as "Abraxas Sax."

Meyer & Smith 95, l. 34 (Beltz 1984: 96; Kropp II: 245; Meyer & Smith 1999: 201); ⲁⲩⲣⲁⲥⲁⲝ; invoked on a curse in a phrase, "and my salvation — that is I, Abrasax" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 113, l. 4 (Girard 1927: 63; Meyer & Smith 1999: 228); ⲁⲣⲃⲁⲥⲁⲕⲥ; praised together with other powers in the introductory part of the spell.

Meyer & Smith 120 (no edition of the Coptic text; Meyer & Smith 1999: 244); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲕ..[; the name is written over the central figure of the group of the three figurae magicae.

Meyer & Smith 128, l. 7 (Kropp I: 50; Kropp II: 31 — only partial translation; Meyer & Smith 1999: 270); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁⲝ; in the sequence of names of power at the beginning of the spell.

Meyer & Smith 133, p. 15, l. 16 (Worrel 1930: 252; Mirecki 1994: 450; Meyer & Smith 1999: 309); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁⲕ; in a long sequence of names of power; Mirecki (1994: 450) gives Abra<sa>k, which is not noted by Worrel.

Meyer & Smith 133, p. 20, l. 3 (Worrel 1930: 254; Mirecki 1994: 451; Meyer & Smith 1999: 310); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁⲕ; in a long sequence of names of power.

Meyer & Smith 134, p. 14r, l. 2 (Pleyte & Boeser 1897: 470; Kropp II: 81; Meyer & Smith 1999: 321); ⲁⲃⲣⲁϫⲓⲱ; in a long sequence of names of power invoked by Jesus purportedly in Hebrew (ⲙⲛⲧϩⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ), in his letter to Abgar, king of Edessa.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 14, l. 14 (Meyer 1996: 34); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁⲝ; the one who measures the right hand (ⲧⲥⲓⲝ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ) of the father.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 7, l. 10 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 56); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁⲝ; the one who stands before the throne (θρόνος).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 8, l. 26 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 58); ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁⲝ; the great light of God (ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ); the one who has the sign (ⲡⲓⲏⲁⲓⲛ <ⲙⲁⲉⲓⲛ>) of Jesus.

Gager 1992: 100, No 28, l. 15 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 181); Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequence of names of power used to adjure the demon of a dead man.

Gager 1992: 101, No 29, l. 13; (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 212, No 51); [Ἀβρασ]άξ; a name used to adjure a demon of a dead man.

Gager 1992: 108, No 33, l. 11 (Naveh & Shaked 1985: 230); אברסכס; "the great angel who overturned Sodom and Gomorrah" (transl. Gager).

Gager 1992: 137, No 47, col. IV, l. 15 (Cormack 1951: 26); Ἀβρασάξ; in a long sequence of *voces magicae* and names of power.

Gager 1992: 169, No 77, l. 18; (Youtie & Bonner 1937: 55); Ἀβρασάξ; in a long sequence of *voces magicae* and names of power.

Gager 1992: 171, No 78, side B, l. 3 (Wünsch 1909: 38); Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequence of names of power; one of the "lord gods" (κύριοι θεοί).

Gager 1992: 174, No 82 (four times); "Abrasax"; in the sequences of names of power; one of the "lord gods."

Gager 1992: 212, 214, No 115, ll. 14, 20, 40 (Collart 1930: 250); Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequences of names of power; "the bodylike bodiless one, who draws down the light, lord of the first creation" (transl. Gager 1992: 214).

Naveh & Shaked 1993: 62, Amulet No 19, l. 11; אבראסכס; the one appointed over a fever.

Naveh & Shaked 1993: 73, Amulet No 22, l. 9; אברסס; in the sequence of names of power.

Naveh & Shaked 1993: 80, Amulet No 24, l. 5; אברכסיס; in the sequence of words and names of power.

Naveh & Shaked 1993: 189, 197, Geniza No 24, p. 3, l. 5, p. 20, l. 12 (three times); אברסכסיא, אבר[א]ס[כס; the hidden one, associated with the great name.

Naveh & Shaked 1993: 210, Geniza No 19, p. 1, l. 33; אבר[כסס; a commander (שר); invoked together with the angelic powers.

Naveh & Shaked 1993: 220, Geniza No 23, p. 1, l. 3; אבסכס; the great and awesome one; an unutterable name.

Kotansky 1994: 52, No 11 appendix, l. 2; Ἀβρασάξ; one of the "lor gods" (κύριοι θεοί); invoked at the first place in a long sequence of names of power to protect the crops.

Kotansky 1994: 129, No 32, l. 16; Ἀβρασάξ; in the phylactery of Moses (Φυλακτήριον Μωσέως); in the sequence of names of power and the *voces magicae*.

Kotansky 1994: 156, No 33, ll. 20, 24, (Kotansky 1994: 156); Ἀβρασάξ, Ἀβρσάξ; on an amulet including a long list of angelic names.

Kotansky 1994: 206, No 38, l. 3; Ἀβρασάξ; on a long list of names of power invoked against male and female demons.

Kotansky 1994: 370, No 62, l. 13; Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequence of *voces magicae*, names of power and characters.

Kotansky 1980b, l. 12 (Kotansky 1980b: 181); Ἀβρασάξ; in the sequence of names of power, mainly associated with the Jewish God and angels, and chains of letters, used in the spell against an evil spirit and epilepsy (πτωματισμός).

Brandt *et al*. 1972: 119, No 2902; Ἀβραχάξ; Obv. Isis, below a cock-headed anguipede; names of power around the figures, including Ἀβραχάξ; Rev. Three graces and words of power.

Bonner 1950: 254, No 8; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. The mummy of Osiris, inscription βαινχωωωχ Ἀβρασάξ.

Bonner 1950: 255, No 13; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. The mummy, on the left Ἀβρασάξ, on the right μωσεν, below ζοζζοζ; Rev. σεσενγενβαρανγης.

Bonner 1950: 259, No 36; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Anubis; Rev. αβλαναθαναλβα Ἀβρασάξ.

Bonner 1950: 259, No 39; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Anubis; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Bonner 1950: 260, No 45; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A god with a head and a neck of a waterbird; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Bonner 1950: 262, No 53; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede inscribed ιαω; Rev. Athena, on bevel Ἀβρασάξ.

Bonner 1950: 265, No 64; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A head of Medusa; Rev. Triple Hecate, torches, daggers and whips, inscription Ἀβρασάξ βαινχωωωχ.

Bonner 1950: 266, No 75; Ἀβραεαξ; Obv. Harpocrates, above αβραεαξ, below ιαω; Rev. A lion and stars.

Bonner 1950: 278, No 152; Ἀβρα[σά]ξ; Obv. A headless figure, with an inscription αβλαναθα[να]λβα Ἀβρα[σά]ξ, and ιαω below; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 162; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, letters of ιαω separate in field; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 163; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, below ιαω; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ stars and crescent.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 166; Ἀβραεαξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with the shield on the left arm with ιαω engraved; Rev. αβραεαξ and characters.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 167; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, letters of ιαω separate in field, Rev. Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαώ.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 169; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ and minor signs.

Bonner 1950: 283, No 180; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A human-headed anguipede, below Ἀβρασάξ; Rev. ιαω.

Bonner 1950: 286, No 198; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Harpocrates seated on a lotus, below ιαω; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ ιαεω.

Bonner 1950: 290, No 222; Ἀβρασά; Obv. The sun-god; Rev. αβρασα.

Bonner 1950: 291, No 224; Ἀβρ̣ασ̣άξ; Obv. The sun-god, left Ἀβρασάξ.

Bonner 1950: 291, No 226; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. The sun-god with a female worshipper, above ιαω, in exergue Ἀβρασάξ; Rev. A cock-headed anguipede with a shield on the left arm, with ιαω engraved on the shield.

Bonner 1950: 291, No 227; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. The sun-god, names Μιχαηλ Σαβαῳ[θ P]αφαηλ in the margin; Rev. Winged victory, Ραχαηλ Ἀβρασάξ in the margin.

Bonner 1950: 298, No 268; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Tabula ansata, inscribed φύλαξ; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ. The engraving on the reverse is probably later than in obverse (Bonner 1950: 298).

Bonner 1950: 310, No 341; Ἀβρασά; Obv. A man holding a situla and a cross; Rev. Ἰάω Σαβαὼ Ἀβρασά.

Bonner 1950: 312, No 349; Ἀβρασ̣[άξ]; Obv. A pig walking on a tail of a lion-headed snake; Rev. Sarapis, inscribed βαινχωωωχ and χνουωρ Ἀβρασ[αξ σι]σ̣ισρω σισιφερμου.

Bonner 1950: 312, No 350; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A mummy reclining on a snake; Rev. χυχ βαχυχ βακαξιχυχ βατητοφων Ἀβρασάξ ιαω ωαι.

Bonner 1950: 315—316, No 368 (Bonner 1950: 316, plate XX); Ἀβρασξ; Obv. An animal-headed god and Aphrodite, Ἀβρασξ on the left, and ιαωιω on the right; Rev. A fully-dressed woman figure.

Bonner 1950: 316, No 374; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Trophy, pantheos and Osiris; Rev. βαινχωωωχ Ἰάω Ἀβρασάξ.

Bonner 1950: 318, No 380; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Two demons with canine heads and a mummy; Rev. Characters, Ἀβρασάξ and ιαω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 27, No 8; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with ιαω on the shield; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 28, No 9; Ἀβρασ[άξ]; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with ιαω on the shield; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 30, No 15; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with Ἰάω around the shield; Rev. Ἀδωνὲ Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼ Εἰάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 31—32, No 20; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with ιαω under the shield; Rev. [αβλαναθα]ναλβα Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 32—33, No 22; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with Ἰάω Σαβαώθ under the shield; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 33, No 24; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼ Ἰάω around the figure; Rev. Ἰάω Σαβαὼ Ἀδωναὶ Μιχαήλ and seven vowels.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 33—34, No 25; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with Ἰάω under the shield; Rev. Ἰάωε Ἀβρασὰξ Μιχαὴλ Ἀδωνέ and characters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 34, No 27; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with Ἰάω under the figure, and Ἀβρασάξ around the figure; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Οὐριὴρ Σαβαώ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 35, No 29; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with Ἰάω on the shield, six vowels, and Ἀβρασάξ in the field; Rev. A sequence of letters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 37, No 33; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede; Rev. figure holding a sceptre, with Ἀβρασάξ around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 41, No 41; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A figure with the head of the bird of prey, with Ἰάω below, and Ἀβρασάξ on the left; Rev. Three figures in long robes.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 54, No 50; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Scarab; Rev. A sequence of vowels and words of power, with Ἰάω and Ἀβρασάξ among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 78, No 92; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. The mummy of Osiris, with Σαβαώθ around the figure; Rev. Ἰάη Ἀβρασὰξ Ἰάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 95, No 114; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Anubis, with Αβλαναθαλ Ἰάω and triple iota around the figure; Rev. A person in a long robe, with Ἀδωναὶ Ἀβρασάξ around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 102, No 127; Ἀβρασάξ; Anubis between two human figures, with Μιχαήλ and Ἀβρασὰξ Ἰάω in the field.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 102—103, No 128; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Anubis; Rev. A bird-headed figure holding a situla, with Ἰάω Ἀβρασὰξ Ἀδωνιέ around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 116—117, 148; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A lotus flower surrounded by animals; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 117, No 149; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A child on a lotus flower surrounded by animals, with Ἰάω on the bottom; Rev. A scorpion, with Μιχαὴλ Ἀδωναὶ Ἀβρασάξ around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 133, No 169; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A deity with the face of Bes, with Ἀβρασάξ around the figure; Rev. A word of power.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 134—135, No 172; Ἀβρα[σάξ]; Obv. A deity with the head of Bes, standing on Ouroboros, with Ἀβρα[σάξ] inside Ouroboros; Obv. A mummy between a headless nude man and a lion-headed deity; with a sequence of the words of power at the bottom.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 149—150, No 194; Ἀβρασάξ; Thoth holding a situla, a palindrome around the figure; Rev. A sequence of words of power, with Ἀβρασάξ among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 54, No 201; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A nude dog-headed figure riding a lion; Rev. A nude young man; the sequence of words of power with Ἀβρασάξ around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 155—156, No 203; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Hecate; Rev. A sequence of words of power, with Ἀβρασάξ among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 162, No 211; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A dog-headed figure holding a sceptre; invocation to →Mik^{h}aêl around the figure; Rev. A sequence of names of power, with Ἀβρασάξ among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 166, No 216; [Ἀβρ]ασάξ; Obv. A pig fighting with the serpent; Rev. A sequence of words of power among them with Ἀβρασάξ among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 194, No 257; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Nemesis holding a balance; Rev. A cock-headed anguipede, with Ἰάω on the shield written, and Ἀβρασάξ in the bottom, and Σαβαώθ on the right.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 205—206, No 280; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Heracles fighting the lion; Rev. Triple Hecate, with Ἰάω above the figure, and Ἀβρασάξ below it.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 218, No 296; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Chariot of the Sun, with Ἰ[ά]ω Ἀβρασάξ below the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 220, No 300; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A solar deity; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 220—221, No 301; Ἀβρασάς; Obv. A solar deity; Rev. Ἀβρασὰς Ἰάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 223, No 303; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A lion-headed figure holding a cane with the snake twisted around it, with Ἰάω on the right; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 223, No 304; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A lion-headed figure holding cane with the snake twisted around it, with Ἀβρασάξ below in the frame; Rev. A sequence of words of power.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 224—225, No 306; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A lion-headed figure; Rev. Divided into twelve sections, each of them includes words of power, with Ἀβρασὰξ Σεμ among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 227, No 312; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede holding a shield, with Ἰάω Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴ ἀβλαναθα around the figure; Rev. A nude male figure holding a whip, standing on a lion.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 257, No 362; Ἀβραξάς; Obv. A serpent, a bud of lotus, a key and other artifacts; Ἀβραξὰς Ἀδωναὶ Ἰάω Σαβαώθ around the figures; Rev. A mummy with the head of an ass; sequences of words and names of power in the field and around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 256, No 379; Ἀβρασάς; Obv. Characters, βαρκαβα and Ἰάω; Rev. Ἀδωνή, Ἀβρασάς and characters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 279, No 397; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Eagle; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 289, No 411; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. An unrecognized goddess; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 303, No 436; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A squatting figure; Rev. Flames on altar, above Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 313 No 457; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Cratere; Rev. σεμεσιλα Γαβριλ Ἰηάω Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 326, No 485; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Ἀβρασὰξ ἀβρασαρειφω Ἀδωναῖε and vowels; Rev. characters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 327, No 488; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 328, No 493; Ἀβρα[σά]ξ; Obv. A sequence of names and words of power, with Ἀβρασάξ among them; Rev. Plain.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 334, No 511; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Ouroboros with characters within; Rev. A sequence of words of power, with Ἀβρασάξ among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 341, No 522; Ἀβρασ[άξ]; An omulet only partialy preserved. Obv. Ἰάω, Ἀβρασ[άξ] and traces of other words; Rev. probably parts of the words of power.

Daniel & Sijpesteijn 1988: 169, l. 2; Ἀβρασάξ; As Ἰαω Ἀβρασάξ Ἀδωναί invoked on a protective amulet.

Gesztelyi 2000: 80, No 255; Ἀβράξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede; Rev. Ἰάω Σαβαώ Ἀβράξ Ἰάω.

Philipp 1986: 48, Nr 42; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. Three graces, around the group Ἀβρασάξ; Rev. Eros with a bow, the names of power, restored plausibly as Ἀδωναὶ Ἀδωνέ around the figure.

Philipp 1986: 50—51, No 47; Ἀβρασάξ; One-sided; group of four in the boat; the outer two, identified by the editor as Nikes, in the middle two crowned figures; Σαβαὼ Ἀβρασὰξ Ἰάω above.

Philipp 1986: 81—82, No 111; Ἀβασάζ; Obv. A dog-headed deity adoring Osiris; Rev. ιαως Ἀβαὼθ Ἀβασάζ.

Philipp 1986: 101, No 157; Ἀβρασάξ; One-sided; a triple Khnum, with Ἀβρασάξ below.

Philipp 1986: 114, No 187; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A male figure; names of power on his body and in the field; Rev. A sequence of words of power, including Ἀβρασάξ.

Weiss 2007: 319, No 669; Ἀβρασάζ; Obv. Helios; Rev. A cock, Ἀβρασάζ around the figure.

Zazoff *et al.* 1970: 56, No 194; Ἀβρασάζ; Obv. A dog-headed deity; Rev. Ἀβρασάζ.

Zazoff *et al.* 1970: 160, No 611; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A lizard; Rev. Ἀβρασάζ.

Zazoff *et al.* 1975: 388, No 78; Ἀβράξαζ; Obv. A monkey mounted on a lion, with σισιρω σισφερ μου χνουω Ἀβρασαζ around the figure; Rev. A figure of a standing young man.

Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 172—173, No 2236; Ἀβρασάξ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with Ἀβρασάξ around the figure; Rev. Μιχαὴρ Οὐριὴρ Γαβριήρ.

Abrasak[s] appears also on the gems in other collections in an association with the cock-headed anguipede: Brandt *et al.* 1972: 120, No 2908; Gesztelyi 2000: 80, No 54; Śliwa 2014: 79, No 50; Zwierlein-Diehl 1993: 68, 70, Nos 10—11; with Demeter: Philipp 1986: 49 and 103—105, Nos 44 (restoration uncertain), 159—161, 165; with the dog-headed deity: Philipp 1986: 98, No 148; with Harpocrates on a lotus flower: Henig *et al.* 1994: 223—225, Nos 495, 498; Philipp 1986: 75—76, Nos 96, 98; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 160, No 2199; with Pantheos: Philipp 1986: 1110, No 177; with Ouroboros: Zazoff *et al.* 1975: 312—313, No 1720; with the snake: Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 178, No 2255; with the snake-headed deity: Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 174, No 2241; with Ourobo-

ros: Brandt *et al.* 1972: 118, No 2894; Philipp 1986: 118, No 191; on non-figurative gems: Philipp 1986: 119, No 195.

Abrasak[s] found his way also into the Jewish texts of ritual power written in Hebrew and Aramaic, although in the Semitic context he belongs to less frequent powers (for example TS K1.127, l. 29, in: Schiffman & Swartz 1992: 122; TS K1.163, l. 26; TS K1.26, l. 6, in: Schäfer & Shaked 1997: 249 and 267).

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to commonly accepted reconstruction of A. Barb, the root of the name renders Hebrew ארבע, which means "four," with a metathesis of letters in the middle (→abrana). The creation of the name Abrasak[s] is not, however, witnessed in the ancient Jewish tradition. Abrasak[s] (most often in the form אברסכס) entered the Jewish magical texts written in Hebrew, Aramaic and Judeo-Arabic from outside. It occurs in the incantation bowls, magical texts from Cairo Genizah and the magical tractates. The Jewish practitioners of ritual power were unaware of the numerical value of the name, because the gemmatrical value of the letters of the name in the Jewish languages never gives 365. In some cases, the name does not even consist of seven letters. Together with the various spellings, it indicates that Abrasak[s] is a figure taken from the outside of the Jewish tradition and that it entered into it independently several times. It was adopted as the name of a powerful angelic figure and is often portrayed as an angel. Sometimes he is even tied with the Biblical tradition. In a few cases, his name is even combined with the name of God (examples Bohak 2008: 250, n. 54). The original Hebrew idea of "four letters" was substantially modified in the Greek-speaking milieu. The religious affiliation of the creation of Abrasak[s] cannot be, however, traced down. Then the word was transformed in the line with Greek numerical substantives such as μονάς, δύας, τριάς, etc. To gain a meaningful name, the practitioners of ritual power added to it two additional letters, to make a numerical value of the name 365 (1 +2 + 100 + 1 + 200 + 1 + 60) — equal the number of the days in a year (this computation was already widely known in anitiquity). Seven letters represent seven days of the week. Nonetheless, the powerful "four letters" were still conspicuous, forming an ideal magical name. Whether Ἀβραξας was primarily a mere magic word or from the beginning perceived as a name of a personalized power, remains uncertain. The isopsephic meaning of this name might be even derived from astrological theories with no original bond to theology.

Even for some late authors, Abrasak[s] was perceived rather as a word of power than as a proper name (Augustine, *De haeres.* 4).

According to the relation given by Irenaeus, the figure od Abrasak[s] played an important role in the later development of Basilides's system. However, in the survived fragments of Basilides himself and his son and disciple Isidore, Abrasak[s] does not appear. Ps.-Tertullian and Epiphanius, although they present certain issues in a different way than Ireneaus, which might be traced back to their hypothetical common source, in main body of their relation, they are directly or indirectly indebted to Ireneaus (Löhr 1996: 281—283) and cannot be regarded as the independent witnesses. At this point, Ps.-Hippolytus depends on Irenaeus as well. The latter refers not to the original teaching of Basilides as seen through preserved fragments but only to the later reinterpretations (Löhr 1996: 271—273 and 322—323). Sethian texts from Nag Hammadi do not conform to this late Basilidian innovations as they present Abrasak[s] not as a supreme deity but as a minor subordinate figure belonging to the wider group of powers. Abrasak[s] also does not belong to the core of the Sethian mythological narrative and lacks in *Ap. John*. and some other texts of this tradition. Significantly, in Nag Hammadi, there is no mention of another late Basilidian power — a saviour figure, Kaulakau (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,24,5; Saudelli 2013). Summing up, there is not a trace of interdependence between the portrait of Abrasak[s] in Nag Hammadi texts and the patristic works.

Those late Basilidans did not invent Abrasak[s] but made use of an already (probably only recently) developed concept. If it had been the contrary, the magical material would have been much more in line with Basilidian system, as presented by Irenaeus. Moreover, if Basilidians had been really inspired by "magic," there would be many more occurrences of the aforementioned Kalakau than the only one in Greek payrus, dated to 5th—6th c. (P.Mil.Vogl. inv. 1258—1259—1260, ed. *Suppl.Mag.* II 264, No 98). Nevertheless, Basilidians and some magical gems seem to share, to some extent, the idea of a solar nature and superior position of Abrasak[s]. As the letter value of his name represents a solar year, it is not surprising that his representation on many magical gems takes the form of a cock-headed deity interpreted as a solar manifestation. The seven letters in his name may point at seven planets under his rule (already Reitzenstein 1904: 272). While on gems and in the texts of ritual power, his name is not limited to the solar or astronomical contexts; in the Nag Hammadi texts, the solar characteristic of Abrasak[s] is not even implied. His name

had been probably borrowed by some Sethian authors from astronomical and numerological speculations (involving probably also some Basilidians) but it is reused completely out of that context.

Reitzenstein 1904: 272—274; Dornseiff 1925: 105; Bonner 1950: 133—134, Barb 1957: 68—81, Michl 1962: 201—202, Jackson 1989: 75; Schäfer & Shaked 1997: 255; Michel 2004: 240—241; Bohak 2008: 247—250

ⲁⲃⲓⲣⲓⲥⲉⲛⲉ →ⲁⲃⲓⲣⲉⲥⲥⲓⲁ

16 ⲁⲅⲣⲟⲙⲁⲩⲙⲁ (agromauma)

1. NHC II 16,20 = NHC IV 25,23 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the heart (ϥⲏⲧ <ⲡⲉⲏⲧ>).

17 ⲁⲇⲁⲃⲁⲛ (adaban)

1. NHC II 16,3—4 = NHC IV 25,2 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the neck (ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲧ).

18 ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓⲟⲥ (adônaios) = ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓⲟⲩ (adônaiou)^{v} = ⲁⲇⲇⲱⲛ (addôn)^{v2}

1. NHC II 10,33^{v} = NHC III 16,24 = BG 40,9 (*Ap. John*)

The fifth authority (ἐξουσία); the angel (only in NHC III and BG: ἄγγελος) begotten by the archon (ἄρχων); called also →Sabaôt^{h} in NHC II (in NHC III and BG, Sabaôt^{h} feature as a separate, sixth authority).

2. NHC II 101,31 (*Orig. World*)
The fourth androgynous force (δύναμις) of the seven heavens of the chaos (ⲧⲥⲟⲱⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲟⲥ <χάος>); his feminine name is the kingship (ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ).

3. NHC III 18,3 = BG 42,3 (*Ap. John*)
One of the authorities over the seven heavens (ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ); the fifth body (σῶμα) in the sevenness (ἑβδομάς; ⲧⲙⲉⲣⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ) of the week (σάββατον); in a parallel passage in NHC II and IV, →Sabaôt^{h}.

4. NHC III 58,13—14 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The fifth of the twelve assisting angels (ⲣⲉⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲓ <παραστατεῖν>), also called →Sabaôt^{h}.

5. NHC V 39,11 = CT 26,13 (*1 Apoc. Jas.*)^{V2}
An archont (ἄρχων); unaware (ⲁⲧⲉⲓⲙⲉ) of the saviour's true nature.
Thomassen 2013a: 84

6. NHC VII 52,25 (*Treat. Seth*)
In the phrase "the race of Adônaios" (ⲡⲓⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ <γένος> ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲁ̅ⲇ̅ⲱⲛⲁⲓⲟⲥ); this race means those who repent after rebellion against the wisdom (σοφία).
Riley 1996, in: NHMS 30: 156—157

7. NHC VII 55,2 (*Treat. Seth*)
There is a disturbance (ⲡⲧⲱⲣ) between Adônaios and the house (ⲡⲏⲉⲓ) of →sarap^{h}in and →k^{h}eroubin. It should be understood as a war waged by archons against repenting Adônaios.
Riley 1996, in: NHMS 30: 162

8. NHC VII 55,8 (*Treat. Seth*)
Adônaios knows the great Seth and because of that the archons cannot inflict on him.

9. CT 52,11 (*Gos. Jud.*)
The fifth over the chasm and chaos.

Other texts

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,30,5 and 11; Adoneus; In the system of Ophites (Irenaeus: "alii"), the fourth power (called also heaven, angel and creator) of hebdomade (Ebdomas); to him belong the prophets Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah and Daniel.

Ps.-Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5,26,4; Ἀδωναῖος; In the system of Justin (the Gnostic) one of the 12 mother's angels (τῶν μητρικῶν ἀγγέλων) generated by first principles Father and Edem.

Berlin.Kopt.Buch No 128, l. 7; ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓⲟ[ⲥ; the third of the seven archons in the system of Sethians (ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲑⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM I, l. 310 (PGM 1: 16; GMPT: 11); Ἀδωναῖος; adjured as a self-growing nature (ὁρκίζω Φύσιν αὐτοφυῆ, κράτιστον Ἀδωναῖον).

PGM III, l. 653 (PGM 1: 60; GMPT: 35); ⲁⲇⲱⲛ; in the sequence of names of power, mainly of Semitic origin.

PGM IV, l. 1560 (PGM 1: 122; GMPT: 67); Ἀδωναῖε; the great god (ὁ μέγας θεός); the one who supports the man in life (τὸν στηρίζοντα ἄνθρωπον εἰς ζωήν).

PGM IV, l. 1735 (PGM 1: 126; GMPT: 69); Ἀδωναῖε; one of the names to be written on a gemstone above the head of an engraved image of Eros.

PGM IV, ll. 1802—1803 (PGM 1: 128; GMPT: 70); Ἀδωναῖε; in the sequence of the great names of the highest deity invoked as "hidden and the most prominent" (κρύφιε καὶ πρεσβύτατε).

PGM V, l. 143 (PGM 1: 186; GMPT: 103); Ἀδωναῖε; in the sequence of names associated with the "lord (κύριος), king, master (δυνάστης), helper" (βοηθός).

PGM VIII, l. 61 (PGM 2: 48; GMPT: 146); Ἀδωναῖε; in the sequence of "the great names" (τὰ μεγάλα ὀνόματα) written in the business favor spell.

PGM XII, l. 264 (PGM 2: 76; Daniel 1991: 16; GMPT: 163); Ἀδωναῖε; as Ἀδωναῖε Σαβαώθ given as the name of the lord (κύριος) according to the Jews (κατὰ δ'Ἰουδαίους).

PGM XIII, l. 147 (PGM 2: 94; Daniel 1991: 38; GMPT: 176); Ἀδωναῖε; one of the first angels (ὁ οἱ πρῶτοι φανέντες ἄγγελοι).

PGM XVI, l. 9 (PGM 2: 135; GMPT: 252); Ἀδωναῖος (exactly Ἀδωναίου); in the sequence of names and words of power used to conjure the demon of the dead (νεκυδαίμων).

PGM XVI, l. 61 (PGM 2: 137; GMPT: 253); Ἀδω]ναί[ου; Mainly reconstruction; in the sequence of names and words of power used to conjure the demon of the dead (νεκυδαίμων).

PGM XXVIIIa, l. 2 (PGM 2: 154; GMPT: 265); Ἀδωνέ; in the sequence of names of power mainly of Hebrew origin used in the binding spell.

PGM LXII, l. 22 (PGM 2: 193; GMPT: 293); Ἀδωνέ; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the great god (θεός μέγας), who lies in the pure earth (ἐν τῇ καθαρᾷ γῇ).

PGM LXVII, l. 10 (PGM 2: 200; GMPT: 296); Ἀδωναῖος, exactly Ἀ]δ̣ω̣ν̣α̣[ίου; in the sequence of names of power, probably the compound holy name of the demon (ἅγιον ὄνομα τοῦ̣ δαίμονος).

PGM XCII, l. 8 (*Suppl.Mag.* II: 62; GMPT: 303); Ἀδωνίος; given as a paragon of grace (χάρις). The editors prefer to interpret the power in this place as Adonis, because of the association with Kupris (i.e. Aphrodite) who follows him. They do not, however, exclude Adônaios.

PGM CVI, l. 10 (Brashear 1975: 28; *Suppl.Mag.* I: 27; GMPT: 311); Ἀδωνιας; as the name of power in the protection spell, according to the reading in *Suppl.Mag.* It may be an angel (ἄγγελος).

Kotansky 1994: 278, No 52, l. 63 (Gager 1992: 234, No 125; Gelzer *et al.* 1999: 54); Ἀδωνης; God who sits over the Mount of Sinai invoked as Εἰναϑ Ἀδωνης Δεχοχθα.

Kotansky 1980b, l. 30 (Kotansky 1980b: 181); Ἀδωναῖε; in the sequence of names of power, mainly referring to the Jewish God, used in the spell against the evil spirit and epilepsy (πτωματισμός).

Gager 1992: 101, No 29, l. 3 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 211, No 51); Ἀδωναῖος; one of the names used to adjure a nekydaimon.

Philipp 1986: 103, No 159; Ἀδωνɜος (sic!); Rev. A cock-headed anguipede; Ἰάω Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼϑ Ἀδωνɜος below; Rev. obelisk and vowels.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Greek form of the Hebrew name Adonai, see →Adônein. The form Addôn appears only once in CT in a passage parallel to that in NHC V. In the Sethian tradition, it belongs to the fixed list of the seven archons, but in other texts his role differs. In *1 Ap. Jas.* he is a principal archon but in *Treat. Seth*, he represents the repenting aspect of the lower word.

Michl 1962: 203; Tardieu 1984: 280; Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 238; Thomassen 2013a: 84

19 ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲉⲓⲛ (adônein) = ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲓ (adôni)^{v} = ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲓⲛ (adônin)^{v2}

1. NHC II 11,32^{v2} = NHC III 18,4—5^{v2} = NHC IV 18,21^{v2} = BG 42,5^{v} (*Ap. John*)

One of the seven over the heaven (NHC III and BG: ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲭⲛ̄ ⲣⲥⲁϣⲫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ); the sixth body (σῶμα) in the sevenness (ἑβδομάς; ⲧⲙⲉⲣⲥⲁϣⲫⲉ) of the week (σάββατον).

2. NHC II 12,23 = NHC IV 19,24 = BG 44,2^{v} (*Ap. John*)
The sixth authority (ἐξουσία) associated with the power (ⲧⲥⲟⲛ) envy (NHC II and IV: ⲡⲕⲱϩ) or understanding (BG: σύνεσις); the form Adôni is here reconstructed as ⲁⲇ[ⲱⲛⲓ] on the basis of BG 42,5.

3. NHC III 17,4^{v2} = BG 40,17^{v2} (*Ap. John*)
The eleventh authority (ἐξουσία); angel begotten by the archon (ἄρχων); not identical with the fifth authority →Adonaios; in the parallel passage in NHC II there is →melk^{h}eiradônein.

Other texts

Test.Sol. 18,14; Ἀδῶναήλ; his name causes a spirit (πνεῦμα) and an element (στοιχεῖον) Metat^{h}iak^{s} to withdraw; one of thirty-six.

Test.Sol. 18,17; Ἄδωναί; his name causes a spirit (πνεῦμα) and an element (στοιχεῖον) P^{h}obot^{h}êl to withdraw; one of thirty-six.

Test.Sol. 18,36; Ἄδωναί; invocation Ἄδωναΐ; μάλθη causes a spirit (πνεῦμα) and an element (στοιχεῖον) Ruk^{s} Ik^{h}t^{h}uon to withdraw; one of thirty-six.

Texts of ritual power

PGM I, l. 304 (PGM 1: 16; GMPT: 11); Ἄ]δωναί; father of all (It remains uncertain if this epiteth refers to him); The whole nature trembles because of him; identified with Apollo.

PGM II, l. 116 (PGM 1: 28; GMPT: 16); Ἄδωναΐ; among other *vox magicae* and names of power; associated with the supreme deity.

PGM III, l. 76 (PGM 1: 36; GMPT: 20); Ἄδωναί; associated with figura magica; in a sequence ὁρκίζω σε Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ, Ἄδωναί, Ἀβρασὰξ.

PGM III, l. 148 (PGM 1: 38; GMPT: 22); Ἄδωναί; the god (θεός); his name used to conjure a supreme heavenly power.

PGM III, l. 220 (PGM 1: 42; GMPT: 24); Ἄδωνα[ί]; "being a world, alone among immortals tours the world, self-taught, untutored" (κόσμος ἐὼν μοῦνος κόσμον ἀθανάτων ἐ[φοδε]ύεις, αὐτομαθής, ἀδίδακτος) (transl. GMPT).

PGM III, l. 476 (PGM 1: 52; GMPT: 31); ἀδωνιη; in the sequence of words of power in the spell for good memory.

PGM III, l. 533 (PGM 1: 54; GMPT: 32); Ἄδων[αί; in the sequence of words and names of power.

PGM III, l. 653 (PGM 1: 60; GMPT: 35); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; in the sequence of names of power, mainly of Semitic origin.

PGM IV, l. 92 (PGM 1: 70; GMPT: 39); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; in the sequence of names of power, mainly of Hebrew origin.

PGM IV, l. 385 (PGM 1: 84; GMPT: 45; Gager 1992: 95, No 27); Ἄδωναί; as Βαρβαρ Ἄδωναί; lord of the world (ὁ κύριος κόσμου); the one who hides stars (ὁ τὰ ἄστρα κρύβων) and controls the heaven (ὁ οὐρανοῦ κρατῶν).

PGM IV, l. 389 (PGM 1: 84; GMPT: 45; Gager 1992: 95, No 27); Ἀδωναί; one of the names of the ruler of the world (ὁ κύριος κόσμου).

PGM IV, l. 1485 (PGM 1: 122; GMPT: 66); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names of power by which "the gods, the phantoms of these dead" (θεοί, τὰ εἴδωλα τῶν νεκύων), (transl. GMPT) are adjured.

PGM IV, l. 1539 (PGM 1: 122; GMPT: 67); Ἀδωναί; one of the more coercive and stronger names (τῶν ἐπακολουθοτέρων καὶ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων) by which the myrrh is adjured.

PGM IV, l. 1555 (PGM 1: 122; GMPT: 67); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names of power adjured after burning the myrrh in the fire.

PGM IV, l. 1589 (PGM 1: 124; GMPT: 67); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names associated with "the one, only-begotten" (ὁ εἷς, μονογενὴς).

PGM IV, l. 1628 (PGM 1: 124; GMPT: 69); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names associated with "the greatest in heaven" (τὸν μέγαν ἐν οὐρανῷ).

PGM IV, ll. 1940—1941 (PGM 1: 132; GMPT: 71); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with Helios and angels (ἄγγελος).

PGM IV, l. 2772 (PGM 1: 160; GMPT: 90); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names of power used in the spell of attraction.

PGM V, l. 128 (PGM 1: 186; GMPT: 103); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names associated with the holy, headless one (ἅγιος Ἀκέφαλος).

PGM V, ll. 471—472 (PGM 1: 196; GMPT: 110); Ἀδωναί; the master of gods (δυνάστης τῶν θεῶν), identified with Zeus.

PGM V, l. 480 (PGM 1: 196; GMPT: 110); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names used to invoke the power identified with Zeus.

PGM VII, ll. 220, 220a-b (PGM 2: 10; GMPT: 122); Ἀδωναί; together with other names of power to be written on phylactery against fever.

PGM VII, l. 311 (PGM 2: 14; GMPT: 125); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names of power to be written on a phylacterion.

PGM VII, l. 596 (PGM 2: 27; GMPT: 135); Ἀδωναί; prescribed to be written on the wick of the lamp used in the love spell (agoge).

PGM VII, l. 605 (PGM 2: 27; GMPT: 135); Ἀδωναί; mentioned as the one who "was cast out because of his violent anger" (ἐπὶ χόλῳ βίᾳ ἐβλήθη).

PGM VII, l. 626 (PGM 2: 28; GMPT: 135); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names and words of power in the love spell.

PGM VII, l. 649 (PGM 2: 29; GMPT: 136); Ἀδωνάϊ; in the sequence of words, names of power, and vowel permutations in the love-charm over the cup.

PGM VIII, l. 96 (PGM 2: 50; GMPT: 147); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names of power associated with the "the god placed over necessity" (τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀνάγκης τεταγμένον θεὸν).

PGM VIII, l. 102 (PGM 2: 50; GMPT: 147); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with "the oracle-giving god" (ὁ χρησμῳδὸς θεὸς).

PGM X, l. 7 (PGM 2: 52; GMPT: 149); Ἀδωναί; the context partially destroyed; in the sequence of names of power in the love-spell.

PGM X, l. 48 (PGM 2: 53; GMPT: 150); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names (ὀνόματα) prescribed to be written in a lamella in a spell for subjection (ὑποτακτικόν).

PGM XII, l. 54 (PGM 2: 60; Daniel 1991: 4; GMPT: 155); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names of power associated with "the master of shapes" (ὁ δεσπότης τῶν μορφῶν).

PGM XII, l. 63 (PGM 2: 61; Daniel 1991: 4; GMPT: 155); Ἀδωνεαί; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the highest god (ὁ ὕψιστος θεός).

PGM XII, l. 74 (PGM 2: 62; Daniel 1991: 6; GMPT: 155); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the "god of all gods" (θεὸς θεῶν ἁπάντων).

PGM XII, l. 90 (PGM 2: 63; Daniel 1991: 6; GMPT: 156); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the power who "drives the winds together from the four regions, the one who sits upon the lotus etc." (transl. GMPT).

PGM XII, l. 92 (PGM 2: 63; Daniel 1991: 6; GMPT: 156); Ἀδωνεαί; in the sequence of names of power associated with the great one (μέγας).

PGM XII, l. 166 (PGM 2: 69; Daniel 1991: 10; GMPT: 159); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names associated with the great gods (οἱ μεγάλοι θεοί). Daniel (1991: 10) joins the word with the preceding one as βαλεθανχεβρωουθαστἈδωναί.

PGM XII, l. 285 (PGM 2: 77; Daniel 1991: 18; GMPT: 164); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names and words of power, and vowel permutations associated with "the greatest god, who surpasses all the power" (Θεὲ μέγιστε, ὃς ὑπερβάλλεις τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν).

PGM XIII, l. 80 (PGM 2: 91; Daniel 1991: 34; GMPT: 174); Ἀδωναῖε; as Αραθυ Ἀδωναῖε identified as the god (ὁ θεὸς).

PGM XIII, l. 453 (PGM 2: 109; Daniel 1991: 52; GMPT: 184); Ἀδωναί; one of the first angels to have appeared (οἱ πρῶτοι φανέντες ἄγγελοι).

PGM XIII, l. 926 (PGM 2: 127; Daniel 1991: 72; GMPT: 193); Ἀδωναί; in a long sequence of words and names of power, and permutations of vowels associated with the great heaven (ὁ οὐρανός μέγας).

PGM XXIIb, ll. 15, 16 (PGM 2: 149; GMPT: 261); Ἀ]δωνάι, Ἀ]δο̣νά̣ι; context partially destroyed, in the sequence of names of power.

PGM XXVIIIb, l. 4 (PGM 2: 155; GMPT: 265); Ἀδωναεί; in the sequence of names of power, mainly of the Hebrew origin, used in the binding spell.

PGM XXXIIa, l. 6 (PGM 2: 158; GMPT: 266); Ἀδωνα<ί>; in the sequence of the four names of power used in the love spell.

PGM XXXIIa, ll. 22—23, 25 (PGM 2: 158; GMPT: 266); Ἀδωναί; the true name (τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀληθινόν) of the highest of the gods (ὕψιστος θεῶν).

PGM XXXV, l. 21 (PGM 2: 161; GMPT: 268); Ἀδωναί; the might (κράτος) of Adônai invoked among others to conjure the supreme god.

PGM XXXV, ll. 21—22 (PGM 2: 161; GMPT: 268); Ἀδωναί; the crown (στέφανος) of Adônai invoked among others to conjure the supreme god.

PGM XXXVI, l. 42 (PGM 2: 164; GMPT: 270); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names of powers identified as the lord angels (κύριοι ἄγγελοι).

PGM XXXVI, l. 203 (PGM 2: 170; GMPT: 274); Ἀδωναί; invoked as the power assuring all the favor (χάρις).

PGM XXXVI, l. 350 (PGM 2: 175; GMPT: 277); Ἀδωναί; one of the "strong and great names" (τῶν κραταιῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὀνομάτων) used in the love spell.

PGM XLIII, l. 12 (PGM 2: 179; GMPT: 281); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names and words of power in the protection spell.

PGM XLV, ll. 4, 5 (PGM 2: 180; GMPT: 282); Ἀδωναια; in the sequence of names and words of power.

PGM LVII, l. 1 (PGM 2: 184; GMPT: 284); Ἀδω[ναί]; context destroyed; in partially destroyed opening part of a spell, probably the protective one.

PGM LIX, l. 4 (PGM 2: 187; GMPT: 286); Ἀδωνα[ί]; in the sequence of four names of power, probably given as a compound name of the god.

PGM LXII, l. 38 (PGM 2: 194; GMPT: 293); Ἀδων[α]ί; in the sequence of the words of power in the protection spell.

PGM LXVIII, ll. 13—14 (PGM 2: 201; GMPT: 297); Ἀδωναί; the power invoked in the love spell to inflame the heart and soul of a beloved.

PGM CI, l. 20 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 164; GMPT: 308; Gager 1992: 104, No 30); Ἀδωναί; an element of the compound name of the all-seeing god (παντεπόπτης θέος).

PGM CVI, l. 1 (Brashear 1975: 28; *Suppl.Mag.* I: 27; GMPT: 310); Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of names and words of power in the protective spell.

PGM CVI, l. 10 (Brashear 1975: 28; *Suppl.Mag.* I: 27; GMPT: 311); Ἀδοναει; as the name of power in the protective spell.

PGM CXXIIIf, fr. A, l. 14 (Maltomini 1980: 69; GMPT: 320); Ἀδοναει; followed by Ελοει, together with other names of power included into figura magica.

PGM CXXIIIf, fr. B, col. II, l. 5 (Maltomini 1980: 69; GMPT: 320); Ἀδοναει; together with other names of power on the margin of figura magica.

PGM CXXVb, l. 7 (Maltomini 1980: 116; GMPT: 320); Αδωνο[ει; context almost completely destroyed; in the sequence of names of power.

PDM xiv, l. 1061 [col. XVv 6] (DMP I: 188; GMPT: 246); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; written in the Coptic letters in the midst of Demotic text; for bringing in a thief, it is prescribed to recite the sequence of names of power to the beaker of Adônai.

Meyer & Smith 25 (PGM 2: 09; Meyer & Smith 1999: 49); Ἀδονέ; invoked among other names and words of power, in an amulet protecting house against vermin.

Meyer & Smith 43, l. 152 (Worrell 1935: 24; Meyer & Smith 1999: 88); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; "the one, who rules over the four corners of the world" (ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉϫⲛ̄ ⲡⲉϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲟϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ, transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 60, p. 1. 15 (Worrell 1923: 323; Kropp II: 118; Meyer & Smith 1999: 112); [ⲁ]ⲇⲟⲛⲁ; in the sequence of names of the great god (ⲡⲛⲁⲥ ⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ).

Meyer & Smith 60, p. 2, l. 7 (Worrell 1923: 325; Kropp II: 119; Meyer & Smith 1999: 113); ⲁ[ⲇ]ⲟⲛⲓ; as ⲓⲁⲱ ⲁ[ⲇ]ⲟⲛⲓ, the names the father almighty is invoked by.

Meyer & Smith 61, ll. 7—8 (Stegeman 1934: 70; Till 1935: 216; Meyer & Smith 1999: 114); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲓ, ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲉⲓ; The name is written under the line of characters and (as ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲉⲓ) inside the rectangular frame above the David's star located in its midst (not in editio princeps, correction by Till 1935: 216).

Meyer & Smith 62, l. 1 (Drescher 1950: 266; Meyer & Smith 1999: 116); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; in the fragmentarily preserved context, in a sequence ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ.

Meyer & Smith 66, col. IIr, l. 6 (Worrell 1935: 8; Meyer & Smith 1999: 126); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲉ; invoked as, "Adone, the great angel, who stands over 12 hours of the day" (ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲣⲁⲧϥ ϩⲓϫⲛ ⲧⲙⲉ̄ⲓ̄ⲃ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲟⲩ transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 70, ll. 14, 55, 64, 105, 121 (Kropp I: 22, 24, 26; Meyer & Smith 1999: 131—132); ⲁⲇⲟⲛⲁⲓ, ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; in the sequence of names of power.

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 3, l. 5; p. 4, l. 4; p. 5, ll. 11, 15; p. 6, l. 8; p. 8, l. 12; p. 9, ll. 2, 4,17; p. 11, l. 12; p. 17, l. 7 (Kropp I: 65—67, 69—71, 75; Meyer & Smith 1999: 135—139, 143); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁϩⲗ, ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; p. 4, l. 5 and p. 6, l. 8: compound name ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲗⲟⲉⲓ; p. 6, ll. 8—9 and p. 8, ll. 12—14: ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲗⲟⲉⲓ ⲡⲁⲛⲇⲱⲕⲣⲁⲇⲱⲣ; p. 9, ll. 2—3: ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲗⲟⲉⲓ ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲇⲱⲕⲣⲁⲇⲱⲣ; p. 9, ll. 4—5: ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲗⲟⲉⲓ, the names of the one and only great god (ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁϥ); p. 9, ll. 17—18: ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲗⲟⲉⲓ ⲉⲗⲉⲙⲁ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲕⲧⲁⲛⲓ; p. 11, ll. 11—12 and p. 17, ll. 7—8: ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ allmighty (ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲱⲕⲣⲁⲇⲱⲣ or ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲇⲱⲕⲣⲁⲇⲱⲣ); p. 5, l. 11: mentioned "the seal of the Adonai, the father" (ⲧⲉⲓⲥⲫⲣⲁⲕⲓⲥ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲓⲱⲑ).

Meyer & Smith 83, l. 14 (MacCoull 1979—1982: 11; Meyer & Smith 1999: 176); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲉ; in a sequence of the divine names of Jewish origin; "god of gods, lord of lords" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 91, ll. 16r, 28r (Crum 1896: 86—87; Kropp II: 235—236; Meyer & Smith 1999: 193—194); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; in Crum's edition there is a lacuna in l. 16 with only an ending ⲓ visible and a conjecture in the footnote; conjecture was accepted by Kropp and Meyer & Smith.

Meyer & Smith 92, col. 1, ll. 2, 31 (Beltz 1983: 80; Kropp II: 238—239; Meyer & Smith 1999: 195—196); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; in sequences of names of power.

Meyer & Smith 95, l. 29 (Beltz 1984: 95; Kropp II: 244; Meyer & Smith 1999: 201); ⲁⲇⲱⲛ; one of the speechless spirits (ⲛⲛⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛⲕⲟⲩⲣⲉ: transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 200).

Meyer & Smith 99, l. 3 (Crum 1921: 105; Kropp III: 111; Meyer & Smith 1999: 206); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; in the phrase ⲕⲩⲣⲉⲛ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ.

Meyer & Smith 113, l. 3 (Girard 1927: 63; Müller 1959: 311; Meyer & Smith 1999: 228); ⲁⲧⲱⲛⲉ; praised together with other powers in the introductory part of the spell.

Meyer & Smith 125, l. 1 (there is no edition of the Coptic text; Meyer & Smith 1999: 251); Adonai; text seriously damaged; in the sequence of divine and angelic names of Hebrew origin.

Meyer & Smith 127, ll. 99, 102 (Kropp I: 61; Meyer & Smith 1999: 268); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ, ⲁⲧⲟⲛⲁⲓ; in the sequence of names of power.

Meyer & Smith 129, over the figura magica (Kropp I: 31; Meyer & Smith 280); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲓϩⲗ: in the sequence of names of power.

Meyer & Smith 131, ll. 13r, 33r, 39r, 59r, [99r], 53v, 63v, 74v (Kropp I: 36—37, 39, 43—44; Kropp II: 91—92, 135—137, 139; Kropp 1965: 14, 16 and 18 — only 39r, 59r and [99r]; Meyer & Smith 1999: 283—285 and 287—288); in 131, ll. 13r, 39r, 53v and 63v: ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲉⲓ; there is also a fully reconstructed ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲉⲓ in 131, ll. 99r, 59r and 131,74v: ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; in 131, l. 33r: ⲁⲇⲟⲛϩⲗ; in all the cases in sequences of multiple names of power.

Meyer & Smith 132, l. 55 (Kropp I: 49; Meyer & Smith 1999: 291); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; above the image of crucifixion; in the sequence of divine and angelic names introduced by the name of Jesus Christ.

Meyer & Smith 133, p. 17, ll. 4, 15 (Worrell 1930: 253; Mirecki 1994: 451; Meyer & Smith 1999: 309); ⲁⲇⲱⲛϩ, ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲉⲓ; in a very long sequence of names and words of power.

Meyer & Smith 134, p. 2v, l. 5; p. 9r, l. 14; p. 9v, l. 28 (Pleyte & Boeser 1897: 445, 457—458; Meyer & Smith 1999: 315, 318—319); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; adjured in sequences of divine names, mainly of Hebrew origin.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 3, l. 12 (Meyer 1996: 12); ⲁⲧⲱⲛⲁⲓ; one of the names associated with god, who seats upon the exalted throne (θρόνος), and who rules all the spirits (πνεῦμα).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 4, l. 1 (Meyer 1996: 14); ⲁⲧⲱⲛⲁⲉⲓ; as ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲁⲧⲱⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲉⲗⲱⲉⲓ praised as the destroyer of all evil and magic (μαγεία).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 7, l. 15 (Meyer 1996: 20); ⲁⲧⲱⲛⲁⲉⲓ; as ⲁⲧⲱⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲉⲗⲱⲉⲓ invoked to grant safety.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 11, l. 7 (Meyer 1996: 28); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; in the sequence of names of power invoked to release the blood (ⲕⲉⲃⲱⲗ ⲡⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟⲃ).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 12 (Meyer 1996: 30); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; on figura magica.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 15, l. 17 (Meyer 1996: 36); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; in the sequence of powerful blessed names (ⲛⲍⲁⲙ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁϩⲁⲁⲧ).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 16, l. 23 (Meyer 1996: 38); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; in the sequence of names of power invoked to stop the blood to flow (ⲕⲉⲱⲗ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟⲃ).

P.Iand. inv. 9 A,B, p. 7, l. 10 (Kropp 1965: 12); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ; in a sequence ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲗⲱⲉⲓ associated with the seven angels.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 3, l. 16 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 48); ⲁⲧⲱⲛⲁⲓ; the one of the great names in the heights (ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲍ ⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲧϩⲛ ⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 6, l. 5 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 54); ⲁⲧⲱⲛⲉ; in a long sequence of names and words of power associated with "the living God" (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲉϩ).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 10, l. 14 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 62); ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲉ; in the sequence of words and names of power used to invoke divine powers.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 16, l. 6 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 74); ⲁⲗⲱⲛⲉ; in the sequence of the three names: ⲁⲗⲱⲛⲏ ⲉⲗⲱⲉ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ, prescribed to be written on a phylactery against sickness.

London Ms. Or. 4714, part 4 (Crum 1897: 212; Kropp II: 128); ⲁⲧⲱⲛⲁⲓ; adjured to help Maria to break the stone and melt the iron "before water and oil" (an act of consecration). The text is a version of "Oratio Mariae ad Bartos."

Gager 1992: 67, No 12, l. 27 (Wünsch 1907: 12); Ἀδωναί; one of the names of the god above the heaven, who is seated upon cherubim (→ⲭⲉⲣⲟⲩⲃⲓⲙ), and who separated earth and sea.

Gager 1992: 100, No 28, l. 15 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 181, No 47); Ἀδωναί; the one of the names of power by which the demon of a dead man is conjured.

Gager 1992: 101, No 29, l. 11 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 212, No 51); Ἀδων[αί]; in the sequence of names of power mainly of Hebrew origin.

Gager 1992: 134, No 45, l. 14 (Audollent 1904: 40); ἀδωνεια; in the sequence of names of power; one of the great gods (των μεγαλων θεων).

Kotansky 1994: 4, No 2, l. 1; Ἀδωναῖε; in the sequence of names of power: Ἀδωναῖε'Ελωαῖε Σαβαωθ.

Kotansky 1994: 52, No 11, appendix, l. 3; Ἀδοναῖε; one of the "lord gods" (κύριοι θέοι); in a long sequence of names of power against unweather and grain-rust.

Kotansky 1994: 55, No 12, l. 15; Ἀδωνεαί; in the sequence of *voces magicae* and names of power, mainly of Semitic origin.

Kotansky 1994: 119, No 29, l. 2; Ἀδωναεί; written under the feet of a human image.

Kotansky 1994: 129, No 32, l. 14; Ἀδωναῖε; in the phylactery of Moses (Φυλακτήριον Μωσέως); in the sequence of names of power, mainly of Semitic origin; in the phrase'Ιάω Σαβαώθ Ἀδωναῖε.

Kotansky 1994: 206, No 38, l. 1; Ἀδωναί; on a long list of names of power invoked against male and female demons.

Kotansky 1994: 222, No 41, l. 42; Ἀδονέ; on a long list of divine and angelic names invoked to protect the house.

Kotansky 1994: 326, No 57, l. 4; [Ἀδ]ω[ν]αί; in a long sequence of names of power invoked against epilepsy and headache.

Kotansky 1994: 332, No 58, l. 2; [Ἀδ]ωναί; in the sequence of *voces magicae* and names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 354, No 60, l. 2; Ἀδωναῖε; invoked in a spell for favor as Ἀδωναῖε Σαβαώθ.

Kotansky 1994: 370, No 62, ll. 2, 10—11; Ἀδωναί; in the sequence of *voces magicae*, names of power and characters.

LB, l. 28 (Gelzer *et al.* 1999: 42); Ἀδωναί; as a compound name Σαβαὼθ Οὐαωθ Ἀδωναί; the one who sits over the Sinai.

Bonner 1950: 264, No 65; Ἀδωναί; Obv. Head of Gorgon; Rev. Triple Hecate, an inscription encircling a stone ιαω σαβαωθ Αδωναὶ χω[---].

Bonner 1950: 276, No 143; Ἀδωναί; Obv. A ram-headed deity and female figure; Rev. ιαιαιαηιηι'Ιάω Σαβαὼ Ἀ[δ]ωναί and other words of power.

Bonner 1950: 278, No 153; Ἀδωναί; Obv. Ouroboros with bonded figure under its head, an inscription Μιχαὴλ Ραφαὴλ Ἀδωναὶ Ἰάω; Rev. Characters.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 168; Ἀδωναί; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, letters of ιαω separated in the field; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ Γαβριήλ.

Bonner 1950: 284, No 188 (Bonner 1949: 44); Ἀδωναί; Obv. A lion-headed figure holding a staff and a situla, nude except for apron; Ἀαριήλ on the left, Ἰαλδαβαώθ on the right; Rev. The seven names Ἰα Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ Ἐλωαὶ Ὠρεὸς Ἀσταφεός.

Bonner 1950: 300, No 281; Ἀδωνέ; Obv. Ouroboros with minor signs and characters, an inscription βαρουι εσιλα Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωνέ μαρμαραωθ εθωυθ; Rev. Plain.

Daniel & Sijpesteijn 1988, l. 3; Ἀδωναί; on a protective amulet.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 29, No 14; Ἀδωνέ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede holding the shield; with Ἰάω below the figure; Rev. Ἀδωνὲ Αἰλωὲ Μιχαήλ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 30, No 15; Ἀδωνέ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with Ἰάω around the shield; Rev. Ἀδωνὲ Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼ Εἰάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 33, No 24; Ἀδωναί; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼ Ἰάω around the figure; Rev. Ἰάω Σαβαὼ Ἀδωναὶ Μιχαὴλ and seven vowels.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 33—34, No 25; Ἀδωνέ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with Ἰάω under the shield; Rev. Ἰάωε Ἀβρασὰξ Μιχαὴλ Ἀδωνέ and characters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 51—52, No 44; Ἀδωναί; Obv. A headless deity; Rev. A lion and a human corpse, a sequence of words and names of power around the figure, with Ἀδωναί among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 95, No 114; Ἀδωναί; Obv. Anubis, with Αβλαναθαλ Ἰάω, and triple iota around the figure; Rev. A male figure in a long robe, around the figure Ἀδωναὶ Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 102—103, No 128; Ἀδωνιέ; Obv. Anubis; Rev. A bird-headed figure holding a situla, with Ἰάω Ἀβρασὰξ Ἀδωνιέ around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 110, No 134; Ἀδωναί; Obv. A nude child sitting on a lotus flower; Rev. A cock-headed anguipede holding a shield; with Ἰάω, Ἀδωναὶ, Ταβαν around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 117, No 149; Ἀδωναί; Obv. A child on a lotus flower surrounded by animals, with Ἰάω on the bottom; Rev. A scorpion, with Μιχαὴλ Ἀδωναὶ Ἀβρασάξ around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 134—135, No 172; Ἀδωνέ; Obv. A deity with the head of Bes, standing on Ouroboros, with Ἀβρα[σάξ] inside Ouroboros; Obv. A mummy between a headless nude male and a lion-headed figure; a sequence of the words of power at the bottom, with Ἀδωνέ among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 140—141, No 181; Ἀδωναί; Obv. A deity with a radiant halo around the head, words and names of power in the field; Rev. A sequence of words and names of power, with Ἀδωναί among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 162, No 211; Ἀδωνέ; Obv. A dog-headed figure holding a sceptre; ab invocation to →Mikʰaêl around the figure; Rev. A sequence of names of power, with Ἀδωνέ among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 218—219, No 297; Ἀδωναῖε; Obv. A chariot of the Sun; Rev. Wovels and Ἀδωναῖε.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 251, No 350; Ἀδωναί; Obv. A lion-headed snake, with Γαβριὴλ Οὐριὴλ Σουριήλ around the figure; Rev. Ἀδωναί.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 257, No 362; Ἀδωναί; Obv. A serpent, bud of lotus, a key and other artefacts; with Ἀβραξὰς Ἀδωναὶ Ἰάω Σαβαώθ around the figures; Rev. A mummy with the head of an ass, with sequences of words and names of power in the field and around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 258—259, No 364; Ἀδωνοεί; Obv. A figure in a helmet and an inscription addressed to Tantal; Rev. An altar, a chalice, serpents, with Ἀδωνοεί, αδωα and Σαβαώ around the figures.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 259, No 365; Ἀδωνέ; Obv. A lizard, with Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωνὲ Ἐλεουέ around the figure; Rev. A sequence of names and words of power.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 265, No 379; Ἀδωνή; Obv. Characters, βαρκαβα and Ἰάω; Rev. Ἀδωνή, Ἀβρασάς and characters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 316—317, No 460 (Gager 1992: 236, No 126); Ἀδωναί; Obv. and Rev. A long conjuration addressed to βαρβαθιαὼθ τὸν Σαβαώθ, also called Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναί.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 318, No 463; Ἀδωναί; No figures. Obv. Σαβαώθ; Rev. word of power understood as the name of Ἀδωναί (τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα).

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 325, No 484; Ἀδωναί; Obv. Ἰάω Ἀδωναὶ Εἰαω Ἰδημαη, words of power and characters; Rev. Characters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 326, No 485; Ἀδωναῖε; Obv. Ἀβρασὰξ ἀβρασαρειφω Ἀδωναῖε and vowels; Rev. Characters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 328, No 493; Ἀδωναί; Obv. A sequence of names and words of power, with Ἀδωναί among them; Rev. Plain.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 338, No 517; Ἀδωναῖε; Obv. A sequence of words and names of power, with Ἀδωναῖε among them. Rev. Plain.

Kotansky 1980; Obv. Cronos; Rev. An inscription: Ἰάω Σαβαώθ Ἀδωναί οἱ τρεῖς μεγάλοι.

Neverov 1976, no page number, No 144; Ἀδωναί; Obv. Harpocrates, with Μιχαὴλ Ραφαὴλ Ἀναήλ around the figure; Rev. Hippopotamus, with Ἀδωναί above.

Philipp 1986: 48, No 42; Ἀδω[ναί, Ἀδ]ωνέ; Obv. Three graces, with Ἀβρασάξ around the group; Rev. Eros with a bow; names of power around the figure, restored plausibly as Ἀδωναί, Ἀδωνέ.

Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 154—155, No 2187; Ἀδωναί; "Frygian" rider and Ἀδωναί Ἰάω Σαβαώ; Rev. Nemesis standing on a lion.

Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 166—167, No 2220; Ἀδωναί; Obv. Heliorus, with Σεσενγενβαγαραγγησγρην around the figure; Rev. Ἀδωναί.

Zwierlein-Diehl 1993: 71, No 13; Ἀδωναί; Obv. Chnubis, ευλαμω Ἀδωναί and seven vowels; Rev. Μιχαήλ and Οὐριήλ.

Other texts

→Adonaios

Commentary and literature

The name in the Adônein form renders the original Hebrew spelling of the Greek →Adonaios. However, the authors of *Ap. John*. (the only Nag Hammadi text that features Adônein) recognized these names as two different powers. The name appears on the list of seven archons (once in the set 7+5) and as such belongs to the original Ophite strata of the Sethian mythology. Taking into account that in the "magical" material of every kind the Semitic form is evidently prevalent over the Greek one, reverse pattern in the Nag Hammadi codices indicates that the Gnostic authors were not influenced by contemporary texts of ritual power in their onomastic preferences.

Michl 1962: 202—203; Jackson 1989: 75

20 ⲁⲉⲣⲟⲥⲓⲏⲗ (aerosiêl)

1. NHC III 62,16 = NHC IV 74,1 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The guardian (NHC IV: ⲡⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ) of the great incorruptible race (ⲧⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ <γενεά> ⲛ̄ⲁⲫⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲥ <ἄφθαρτος> / NHC IV: ⲁⲧⲭⲱϩⲙ̄) together with →Selmek^{h}el; companion of the four hundred angels of the air (ⲛ̄ⲁⲉⲣⲟⲥⲓⲟⲥ <ἀερόδιος> ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος>).

21 ⲁⲑⲩⲣⲱ (at^{h}urô)

1. NHC II 18,10 = NHC IV 28,4 (*Ap. John*)

The one over the wetness (ⲡⲱϭⲃⲉ <ⲱϭⲃ>).

Texts of ritual power

PGM XIII, l. 645 (PGM 1: 117; GMPT: 188); ⲁϑηρουω; in a long sequence of *voces* prescribed to be pronounced by a practitioner, and directed, among others, also to the water.

PGM LXII, l. 85 (PGM 1: 185; GMPT: 294); ⲁϑρυω; in a long sequence of words of power organized around figura magica.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Brashear explains ⲁϑρυω in PGM LXII as the Egyptian "Hathor the Great" (with reference to PGM 3: 244). Greek form Ἄϑυρ may refer also to the third month ϩⲁⲑⲱⲣ in the Egyptian calendar (November/December), when the Nile flooded the Egypt. The authority of At^{h}urô over the wetness may then accurately correspond to the character of the flood season, and as such be a rare example when the original Egyptian character of the demon clearly corresponds to its area of responsibility in *Ap. John*.

Brashear 1995: 3578; Quack 1995: 119

22 ⲁⲑⲱⲑ (at^{h}ôt^{h}) = ⲁⲱⲑ (aôt^{h})^{v} = ⲓⲁⲱⲑ (iaôt^{h})^{v2} = ϩⲁⲱⲑ (haôt^{h})^{v3}

1. NHC II 10,29 = NHC III 16, 20^{v3} = BG 40,5^{v2} (*Ap. John*)

The first authority (ἐξουσία), an angel (only in NHC III and BG: ἄγγελος) begotten by the archon (ἄρχων).

2. NHC II 11,26 = NHC III 17,22^{v} = BG 41,18^{v2} (*Ap. John*)

One of the seven over the heaven (NHC III and BG: ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉ); the first body (σῶμα) in the sevenness (ἑβδομάς; ⲧⲙⲉϩⲥⲁⲃⲏⲉ) of the week (σάββατον).

3. NHC II 12,16 = NHC IV 19,17 = BG 43,13^{v2} (*Ap. John*)

The first authority (ἐξουσία) associated with the power (ⲧⲍⲟⲙ) "goodness" (NHC II and IV: χρηστός) or "providence" (BG: πρόνοια).

4. NHC II 17,8 = NHC IV 26,18 (*Ap. John*)

The first one of the seven appointed over the angels who created the limbs of the body.

5. NHC III 58,8 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The first of the twelve assisting angels (ϩⲉⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲓ <παραστατεῖν>); his name given by generations of man (ⲛ̄ⲅⲉ]ⲛⲉⲁ <γενεά> ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) is lost in a lacuna.

Other texts

CB p. 110, l. 16 (three times) (2Jeu); ⲓⲁⲱⲑ; in the sequence of imperishable names of the Father which are in the treasure of the light.

Test.Sol. 18,13;'Ιαώθ bonds the spirit (πνεῦμα) and an element (στοιχεῖον) Kourtaêl.

Test.Sol. 18,27;'Ιαώθ; His name written together with the name of →Ouriêl causes the spirit (πνεῦμα) and element (στοιχεῖον) Ruk^{s} Mant^{h}adô to withdraw.

Texts of ritual power

The sequences ⲁⲱⲑ and ⲁⲑⲱⲑ are very productive as an element of compound divine names; as an isolated name, it occurs, however, rarely. The forms ⲁⲟⲑ and ⲁⲱⲧ are not included in the list below.

PGM IV, l. 388 (PGM 1: 84; GMPT: 45; Gager 1992: 95, No 27); Ἀώθ; one of the names of the ruler of the world (ὁ κύριος κόσμου).

PGM IV, l. 389 (PGM 1: 84; GMPT: 45; Gager 1992: 95, No 27); αθωθ; one of the names of the ruler of the world (ὁ κύριος κόσμου) or a mere *vox magica* associated with him.

PGM IV, l. 1376 (PGM 1: 118; GMPT: 64); Ἀώθ; in the sequence of names of power associated with "holy, very powerful," etc. powers.

PGM IV, l. 3030 (PGM 1: 170; GMPT: 96); Ἀώθ; in the sequence of names associated with the holy god (ἅγιος θεὸς).

PGM IV, l. 3263 (PGM 1: 178; GMPT: 101);'Ιαώθ; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with Typ^{h}ôn, the shaker of the world (ὁ σείσας τὸν κόσμον).

PGM V, l. 134 (PGM 1: 186; GMPT: 103); Ἀώθ; in the sequence of names of power associated with "the mighty headless one" (ἀκέφαλος).

PGM V, l. 479 (PGM 1: 196; GMPT: 110);'Ιαώθ; in the sequence of names and words of power used to invoke the power identified with Zeus.

PGM VII, l. 567 (PGM 2: 25; GMPT: 134); Ἀώθ; in the spell of lamp divination, in a long sequence of words of power invoked to call the spirit who flights in the air (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀεροπετές).

PGM XII, l. 118 (PGM 2: 65; Daniel 1991: 8; GMPT: 157); Ἀώθ; the great name (τὸ μέγα ὄνομα); effective (name or the power itself) against every god, demon (δαίμων) or angel (ἄγγελος).

PGM XIXa, l. 44 (PGM 2: 143; GMPT: 257); Ἀώθ; in a very long and graphically elaborated sequence of names and words of power associated with the demon of a dead person (νεκυδαίμων).

PGM XXIIb, l. 16 (PGM 2: 149; GMPT: 261); Ἀώθ; context partially destroyed; probably in the sequence of names of power; the lord of the all.

Meyer & Smith 59, l. 11r (Römer & Thissen 1990: 176; Meyer & Smith 1999: 110): ⲓⲁⲱⲑ; called "our god" (ⲛⲁⲕⲡⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ), "lord" (ⲕⲓⲣⲉ) and "father."

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 9, l. 21 (Kropp I: 70; Meyer & Smith 1999: 139); ⲓⲁⲱⲑ; a part of a secret name (ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲑⲏⲡ) of a god who seats in the heights.

Meyer & Smith 78, l. 24 (Crum 1934a: 52; Meyer & Smith 1999: 166); ⲓⲁⲑⲱⲑ; one of the three names (ⲡⲉϣⲟⲙⲧ ⲛⲣⲁⲛ) by which the God is adjured.

Meyer & Smith 133, p. 15, l. 17; p. 17, l. 4; p. 19, ll. 2, 11 (Worrell 1930: 252—254; Mirecki 1994: 450—451; Meyer & Smith 1999: 309—310); ⲓⲁⲱⲑ, ⲁⲱⲑ, ⲓⲁⲑⲱⲑ, ⲁⲱⲑⲁ; in a very long sequence of names of power; they do not follow one another.

Gager 1992: 113, No 36, l. 39 (Wünsch 1907: 24); Ἀώθ; in the phrase "Iaô Aôth Abaôth, the god of Israma (Ἰσραμα)."

Bonner 1950: 286, No 197; Ἰαωθ; Obv. Harpocrates seated on lotus; Rev. ιωθ Ἰαωθ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 292, No 416; Ἀώθ; Obv. A man holding a wreath; names of power written on his corpse, with Ἀώθ among them. Rev. Vowels.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 326, No 487; Ἀώθ; Obv. Ἀὼθ Ἀβραὼθ Ἀβραμαώθ, no figures; Rev. Plain.

Delatte & Derchain 1960: 340—341, No 521; Ἰαώθ; no figures; sequences of names and words of power on both sides, with Ἰαώθ at the first place.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Ἰαώθ is a simple conflation of the names Ἰάω and Σαβαώθ. The vox αωθ could be seen as an abbreviation of Σαβαώθ (Blau 1898). There are, however, more elaborate interpretations deriving it from the Hebrew word אות (=χαρακτήρ) (Dornseiff 1925) or general Semitic 'athūd "a ram" (Tardieu 1984: 279), both impossible to verify and less plausible. The variants of the name may be accidental or may indeed refer to different spiritual figures, however Ἰαώθ is reognized as the 3rd decan of Gemini constellation in *Test.Sol.* (Gundel 1936).

Blau 1898: 102; Dornseiff 1925: 37; Gundel 1936: 79; Michl 1962: 217; Tardieu 1984: 278—279; Brashear 1995: 3581 and 3588; Fauth 2014: 21

23 ⲁⲓⲗⲉⲟⲩ (aileou) = ⲉⲗⲁⲓⲉ (elaie)[v]

1. NHC VII 31,7 (*Paraph. Shem*)

Aileou enables the passage through the wicked region (ⲧⲉⲓⲑⲉⲥⲓⲥ <ϑέσις> ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ); Roberge refers this name to a protective garment worn by the saviour in the Hades.

Roberge 2010: 135

2. NHC VII 46,11[v] (*Paraph. Shem*)

In the 1st person sing. invocation by Protennoia (?). Elaie is coupled with K[h]elke and labelled the immortal (ἀθάνατος) testimony (ὑπόμνημα).

3. NHC VII 46,21[v] (*Paraph. Shem*)

In the 1st person sing. invocation by Protennoia (?). According to Wisse in passage NHC IX 46,20—29 we have a doublet due to homoioteleuton.

Wisse 1996, in: NHMS 30: 121

Other texts

Origen, *C.Cels.* 6,31; Αἰλωαιός; in the ascension text ascribed by Origen to Ophites, archon (ἄρχων) ruling over the sixth gate (of heaven), so the sixth ruler in the Ogdoad. Origen gives a prayer which enables to pass by him. In the prayer, there is also mention of a symbol (σύμβολον) of a mother, which schould be given to an archon. Here, mother is meant to be Sophia or Prunikos (Witte 1993).

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Wisse, it is probably genitive form of ⲁⲓⲗⲉⲟⲥ. Both Wisse (in NHS 30) and Roberge (2010) take it for a different spelling of Elaie (from ⲉⲗⲁⲓⲟⲥ, NHC VII 46,11) from the Greek ἐλεός "mercy." Note, however, also the proposition of Rasimus that the name seems to be derived from Elohim. Rasimus's etymology is coherent with the general tendency of naming the seven planetary archons, the idea that lacks, however, in *Paraph. Shem*. The function of an archon as a guardian of passage in *Paraph. Shem* and in *C.Cels.* is very similar, but because *Paraph. Shem* in general is not influenced by the Sethian (or Ophite) demonology, the case of Aileou may be an isolated exception.

Michl 1962: 203; Witte 1993: 121; Wisse 1996, in: NHS 30: 88; Rasimus 2009: 105; Roberge 2010: 135; Rasimus 2013: 112

24 ⲁⲓⲛⲟⲛ (ainon)

1. NHC III 44,25 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The name in NHC IV reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC III. The power (ⲧⲥⲟⲙ) of the three-male child of the Great Christ (ⲡⲱⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ <χριστός>).

25 ⲁⲕⲉⲓⲱⲣⲓⲙ (akeiôrim)^{V} = ⲁⲕⲓⲱⲣⲉⲓⲙ (akiôreim)

1. NHC II 15,35 = NHC IV 24,30^{V} (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of a nose (ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲟⲁ); the name is preserved completely only in NHC II; different reading [ⲉⲕⲉⲓ]ⲱⲣ[ⲓⲙ] in NHC IV is given by the editors probably because of the length of lacuna.

26 ⲁⲕⲓⲣⲉⲥⲥⲓⲛⲁ (akiressina)

1. NHC III 58,18 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The eighth of the twelve assisting angels (ϩⲉⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲓ <παραστατεῖν>).

ⲁⲕⲓⲱⲣⲉⲓⲙ → ⲁⲕⲉⲓⲱⲣⲓⲙ

27 ⲁⲕⲣⲁⲙⲁⲛ (akraman) = ⲁⲕⲣⲁⲙⲁⲥ (akramas)^{V}

1. NHC III 65,7 = NHC IV 77,1 (*Gos. Eg.*)

Appears together with other salvation-bringers; the guardian of the souls of the chosen (ⲡⲉⲧϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲉϥⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲡ).

2. NHC VIII 47,3^{v} (*Zost.*)

In the list of glories enabling salvation; one of the guardians (five in total) of the immortal soul (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ⳨ⲯⲩⲭⲏ <ψυχή> ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ); in the identification of Akramas with Akraman the company of →Stremp^{s}ouk^{h}os plays the key role.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 559—561

Other texts

CB p. 239, l. 26 (Untitled Text); ⲁⲅⲣⲁⲙⲁⲥ; He belongs to the group of the three watchers (φύλαξ). Together with the other two, he serves as a helper (βοηθός) for light-spark (ⲡⲉⲥⲡⲓⲛⲑⲏⲣ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) believers.

Texts of ritual power

Meyer & Smith 50, ll. 1—2 (Krall 1892: 120; Stegemann 1934: 38; Kropp II: 222; Meyer & Smith 1999: 98); ⲁⲕⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲁ; Krall reads ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲕⲁⲧⲁ, which is preserved in Kropp's translation "anankata (?)." The new reading is given by Stegemann.

Meyer & Smith 63, l. 29 (Beltz 1985: 33; Meyer & Smith 1999: 118); ⲁⲕⲣⲁⲛⲁⲧⲁ; one of the "four incorporeal creatures" (Ⲗ ⲥⲟⲛⲧ ⲛⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲟⲥ) with six wings and four faces.

Meyer & Smith 70, l. 108 (Kropp I: 26; Choat & Gardner 2013: 109; Meyer & Smith 1999: 132); ⲁ̣ⲕ̣ⲣⲁⲙⲓⲏⲗ; one of the names of the one who lives in heavens.

Meyer & Smith 115 (Crum 1909: 53; Meyer & Smith 1999: 231); ⲁⲕⲣⲁⲙⲁ; among other names of power, associated probably with Jesus.

Meyer & Smith 135, l. 112 (Kropp 1966: 31; Meyer & Smith 1999: 332); ⲁⲕⲣⲁⲙⲁⲧⲁ; one of the four creatures around God's throne.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 15, l. 7 (Meyer 1996: 36); ⲁⲕⲣⲁⲙⲁⲧⲁ; in the sequence of blessed names (ⲛⲉⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ) of the right side of the altar (θυσιαστήριον) of the father, by which the nine guardians (ⲡⲉⲟⲩⲣⲓⲧ) are adjured.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Perhaps a derivative of a very common *vox magica* akramak^{h}amari (about this vox Meyer & Smith 1999: 231; Brashear 1995: 3578); an example of such a permutation is given in PGM XVIIa (PGM 2: 138).

In the Sethian tradition (as attested in *Gos. Eg.* and *Zost.*), his role is fixed as a guardian figure set over the souls of the chosen at some stage of their journey into salvation. Rather coherent characteristic of Akraman (and derivatives) in the magical tradition is connected with the role of the

guardian of the throne of God. The fact that the name is attested only in the later Coptic texts of ritual power, but not in Greek "magical" ones, suggests that is was taken from the Sethian tradition.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 559 and 561

28 ⲁⲕⲣⲉⲙⲱⲛ (akremôn)

1. NHC VIII 126,9 (*Zost.*)

The second aeon (αἰών); the ineffable (ⲡⲁⲧⲱⲁϫⲉ); it contains the second luminary (φωστήρ): →Zak^{h}t^{h}os and →Iak^{h}t^{h}os.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

Commentary and literature

The second of four subaeons of the Protophanes aeon in the Sethian system.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

29 ⲁⲕⲣⲱⲛ (akrôn)

1. NHC VIII 52,15 (*Zost.*)

Context seriously damaged. In a doxology directed to various spiritual beings. Whether the characteristic thrice-male (ⲡⲱⲙⲧϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ) in the next line refers to Akrôn, remains uncertain.

Barry *et al.* (2000), in: BCNH T 24: 567

ⲁⲗⲧⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ → ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ

30 ⲁⲗⲫⲗⲉⲅⲉ (alp^{h}lege) = ⲁⲗⲫⲗⲉⲅⲉⲥ (alp^{h}leges)^{v}

1. NHC VIII 88,12 (*Zost.*)

Context partially destroyed. In a doxology directed toward many divine figures. ⲁⲗⲫⲗ[ⲉⲅ]ⲉ restored by Layton (1991), in: NHS 31:170. Barry & Funk, in BCNH T 24: 400, restore the name in this passage ⲁⲗⲫ[ⲉⲅⲉ]ⲉ as in NHC XI.

2. NHC XI 54,19^{v} (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage with other divine beings; a separate being or only a name of →Epip^{h}aneu.

Commentary and literature

It seems that all the names in the doxological passage NHC VIII 88b—23a should be interpreted as a collective designation of Barbelo aeon as the first Kalyptos. Alp^{h}lege never appears independently and has no particular identity.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 624.

31 ⲁⲙⲃⲣⲟⲥⲓⲟⲥ (ambrosios)

1. NHC VIII 126,13—14 (*Zost.*)

The third aeon (αἰών); the virgin (παρθενός). It contains the third luminary (φωστήρ) →Sêt^{h}eus and →Antip^{h}antês within.

Texts of ritual power

In the PGM II the phrase "by ambrosian mouth" is associated with Apollo-Phoibos (PGM II, ll. 84, 87, 99).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Greek ἀμβρόσιος means "immortal," "divine." The third of four subaeons of the First-Appearer (Protophanes) aeon in the Sethian system.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

32 ⲁⲙⲏⲛ (amên)

1. NHC II 16,1 = NHC IV 24,31 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the teeth (ⲛⲟⲃϩⲉ).

Other texts

Ps.-Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5,26,3; Ἀμήν; In the system of Justin (the Gnostic), the one of the 12 father's angels generated by the first principles: Father and Edem.

Texts of ritual power

PGM IV, l. 857 (PGM 1: 102; GMPT: 55); Ἀμήν; in the sequence of names and words of power prescribed to be spoken in the charm of Solomon that produces a trance (Σολομῶνος κατάπτωσις).

PGM XII, l. 86 (PGM 2: 63; Daniel 1991: 6; GMPT: 156); Ἀμήν; in the compound "holy and precious name" (ἅγιον καὶ ἐπίτιμον ὄνομα) that rules all the creature. Daniel does not separate it from the preceding words of power. In this case, Amên might be regarded as a mere ending liturgical formula.

PGM XII, l. 113 (PGM 2: 65; Daniel 1991: 8; GMPT: 157) Preisendanz supplements Ἀμή<ν>, Daniel however left αμη.

Etymology, commentary and literature

The name is most probably taken from liturgical formula "amen" (ἀμήν). Completely different context does not allow to identify Amên with →Amênai.

33 ⲁⲙⲏⲛⲁⲓ (amênai)

1. NHC XIII 48*,16 (*Trim. Prot.*)

One of the three robe-givers (ⲛⲉϯⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ <στολή>). Protennoia delivers an initiated (the exact identity of the 3rd person sing. object remains uncertain) to them and they gave him the robes of the light (ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ <στολή> ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

The name might be taken from liturgical formula "amen" (ἀμήν), but the issue remains less certain as in the case of →Amên. The figure of Amênai as well as other robe-givers (→Iammôn, →Elassô) is attested only

in *Trim. Prot.* The very act of taking on the robe as an element of the ascent of the spirit also does not appear except for this text. All the three figures are, however, clearly recognized as beneficial. Completely different context does not allow to identify Amênai with →Amên.

BCNH T 32: 350—351

34 ⲁⲙⲓⲱⲣⲡ (amiôrp^{s})

1. NHC II 17,32 = NHC IV 27,17 (*Ap. John*)

One of the seven having power over the limbs of the body.

35 ⲁⲙⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥ (ammonas)

1. NHC IX 68,4 (*Testim. Truth*)

An unrighteous one (ἄδικος). The money lenders are gratified by him.

Pearson 1981, in: NHS 15: 186; A. Mahé, J.-P. Mahé 1996, in: BCNH T 23: 206

2. NHC IX 68,7 (*Testim. Truth*)

The father of Ammonas is also the father of sexual union (συνουσία).

Pearson 1981, in: NHS 15: 186; A. Mahé, J.-P. Mahé 1996, in: BCNH T 23: 206

Other texts

CA p. 311, ll. 10—11; ⲁⲙⲱⲛⲁⲥ; an unrighteous one (ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲁ.ⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ <ἀδικία>), identified with the dragon of an outer darkness.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Ammonas is a distorted name of Mammon from Luke 16:9 μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας, and as such represents greediness. He has nothing in common with an Egyptian god Ammon.

A. Mahé, J.-P. Mahé 1996, in: BCNH T 23: 206

36 ⲁⲙⲟⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ (amoiaiai) = ⲁⲙⲟⲓⲁⲥ (amoias)[v]

1. NHC VII 31,5[v] (*Paraph. Shem*)
Enables the pass through the wicked region (ⲧⲉⲓⲑⲉⲥⲓⲥ <θέσις> ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ).

2. NHC VII 46,7 (*Paraph. Shem*)
In an address of the 1st person sing. subject (probably Protennoia).

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Wisse, Amoiaiai is a vocative form of ⲁⲙⲟⲓⲁⲓⲟⲥ, identical with ⲁⲙⲟⲓⲁⲥ.
According to Roberge, the name derives from the Greek ὅμοιος "like," "resembling." The figure represents the universal garment of →Derdekeas.

Wisse 1996, in: NHS 30: 120; Roberge 2010: 134

37 ⲁⲛⲁⲣⲱ (anarô)

1. NHC II 18,33—34 = NHC IV 29,5 (*Ap. John*)
The head of the material soul (ⲧⲁⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲩⲗⲓⲕⲏ <ὑλικόν> ⲛ̄ⲯⲩⲭⲏ <ψυχή>); the insight (ἔννοια) into the true character of passions.

38 ⲁⲛⲏⲥⲓⲙⲁⲗⲁⲣ (anêsimalar)

1. NHC II 16,22 = NHC IV 25,25 (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the spleen (σπλήν).

39 ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲑⲉⲩⲥ (antit[h]eus)

1. NHC VII 126,13 (*Steles Seth*)
In a hymnic passage sung by the 1st pl. subject; the name of the Unbegotten (ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲙⲓⲥⲉ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM VII, ll. 635—636 (PGM 2: 29; GMPT: 136); ἀντίθεος; the epithet of the deceitful demon (πλανοδαίμων), compared against the true god Asklepios.

Etymology

Most probably from Greek ἀντίθεος, "equal to the gods," "godlike."

40 ⲁⲛⲧⲓⲫⲁⲛⲧⲏⲥ (antip^{h}antês)

1. NHC VIII 54,24 (*Zost.*)

One of the four luminaries (φωστήρ) of the great mind (νοῦς) Protophanes (πρωρτοφανής).

2. NHC VIII 126,16—17 (*Zost.*)

The third luminary (φωστήρ) in the third aeon (αἰών) →Ambrosios; coupled with →Set^{h}eus.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 47

Etymology, commentary and literature

Together with →Set^{h}eus forms the second luminary in the →Ambrosios, the third subaeon of the aeon Protophanes in the Sethian system.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 646—647

41 ⲁⲡⲟⲫⲁⲛⲧⲏⲥ (apop^{h}antês)

1. NHC VIII 129,2 (*Zost.*)

Perhaps the virgin-light (παρθενωφωτός) as its mate →Ap^{h}ropais. It comes before →Zostrianos and brings him into the First-Appearer (πρωτοφανής).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 653

42 ⲁⲣⲁⲃⲏⲉⲓ (arabêei)

1. NHC II 16,29 = NHC IV 26,4 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left penis (ⲡⲃⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

What the left penis means is difficult to explain. Because, just above, a creator of the right buttock (→Bedouk) is mentioned, we should expect Arabêei to create the left buttock. Quack interprets him as the 1st decan of Sagittarius or the 3rd decan of Capricornus constellations (in Greek αρεβου or ερεβιου, in Firmicus Maternus eregbuo). As such, the figure would be rooted in the Egyptian astronomical speculation; such equation is, however, not certain.

Gundel 1936: 78; Quack 1995: 117

43 ⲁⲣⲁⲙⲉⲛ (aramen)

1. NHC VIII 88,11 (*Zost.*)

Context partially destroyed. In a doxology, directed to many spiritual beings.

2. NHC XI 54,18—19 (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage with other divine beings. A separate being or only a name of →Epip^{h}aneu.

Commentary and literature

It seems that all the names in the doxology NHC VIII 88b—23a should be interpreted as a collective designation of →Barbêlô as the first Kalyptos. They never appear independently and have no particular identity.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 624

44 ⲁⲣⲁⲣⲓⲙ (ararim)

1. NHC II 16,14 = NHC IV 25,15 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left shoulder joint (ⲡⲭⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

45 ⲁⲣⲁⲭⲉⲑⲱⲡⲓ (arak^{h}et^{h}ôpi)

1. NHC II 16,16 = NHC IV 25,17—18 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right ribs (ⲡⲥⲡⲓⲣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

46 ⲁⲣⲃⲁⲟ (arbao)

1. NHC II 17,13 = NHC IV 26,25 (*Ap. John*)

One particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the left hand (ⲧⲥⲓⲭ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

Texts of ritual power

Gager 1992: 144, No 54, l. 3 (Moraux 1960: 12); Ἀρβαω[θ]; in the sequence of names of power listed on a curse tablet prepared against the legal opponents.

Etymology, commentary and literature

The contracted form of a quite common name of power Ἀρβαθιαω, derived from Hebrew ארבע יהוה "fourfold Iaô." In *Ap. John* without any Jewish context. There are also many occurrences of the name with reversed consonants, i.e. 'abrao,' as separated name or in compound names. The form 'arbao' also occurs in the compound names like Arbat^{h}iaôt^{h} (Gager 1992: 67, No 12; see also index in: Delatte & Derchain 1964: 352). They are, however, not listed here.

Barb 1957: 68—69; Moraux 1960: 33—34; Fauth 1983: 75—86; Fauth 1991: 41; Kotansky 1994: 5—6

47 ⲁⲣⲉⲭ (arek^{h}) = ⲁⲣⲉⲭⲏ (arek^{h}ê)^{v}

1. NHC II 16,14 = NHC IV 25,16^{v} (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the belly (κοιλία).

48 ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲏⲗ (ariaêl)

1. NHC II 100,25 (*Orig. World*)

The name under which the perfect (τέλειος) know →Ialdabaôt^{h} because of his lion (ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲉⲓ)-like appearance.

Fossum 1985: 322; Jackson 1985: 16

Other texts

CA p. 256, l. 20 (Pistis Sophia III); ⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ; in the phrase: "punishments (κόλασις) of Ariêl."

CA p. 257, l. 6 (Pistis Sophia III); ⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ; if someone renounces pride and boasting his soul is saved from Ariêl's pits of fire (ⲛⲓⲉⲓⲉⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱϩ̄ⲧ).

CA p. 257, l. 22 (Pistis Sophia III); ⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ; if someone renounces robbery, he is saved from Ariêl's rivers of fire (ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲣⲱⲙ).

CA p. 258, l. 2 (Pistis Sophia III); ⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ; if someone renounces wickedness, he is saved from Ariêl's seas of fire (ⲛⲉⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱϩ̄ⲧ).

CA p. 375, l. 7 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ; Abiout and K^{h}armôn are his paralemptai.

CA p. 375, l. 10 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ; He punishes the soul of a slanderer in Amente for 11 months and 21 days.

CA p. 377, l. 25 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ; He takes revenge (τιμωρέω) and punishes (κόλασις) the soul of a robber and a thief in Amente for 3 months and 8 days.

CA p. 378, l. 26 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ; His paralemptai take the soul of a scornful man.

CA p. 379, l. 3 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ; He takes revenge (τιμωρέω) and punishes (κόλασις) the soul of a scornful man in Amente for 20 months.

Ps.-Hippolytus, *Haer.* V 14, 5; Ἀριήλ; the third ruler of winds (ἄρχων ἀνέμων τρίτος) in the system of Peratae, listed among other powers of the sky.

Texts of ritual power

Meyer & Smith 37, l. 2 (PGM 2: 223; Meyer & Smith 1999: 56); Ἀριήλ; the light of God (φῶς μου θεοῦ); on a long list of names of power, mainly of Semitic origin.

Meyer & Smith 81, l. 30 (Crum 1934b: 198; Meyer & Smith 1999: 173); ⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ; one of the invisible names and fearful names that gather all the world.

BKU 12, l. 1 (Kropp II: 120); [ⲁ]ⲣⲓⲏⲗ; invoked and adjured as ⲁ]ⲣⲓⲏⲗ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁⲣⲓⲟ to come and bless the bottle (of oil?).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 5, l. 1 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 52); ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲏⲗ; in a long sequence of words and names of power, as well as variations of vowels, probably understood as a one complex name.

Kotansky 1994: 221, No 41, l. 29; Ἀριήλ; on a long list of divine and angelic names invoked to protect the house.

Łajtar & Van der Vliet 201: 96—97, No 9, l. 45; Ἀριήλ; in a long sequence of names of power forming a phylactery or a seal of the living God.

Bonner 1950: 284, No 188; Ἀαριήλ; Obv. A lion-headed figure holding a staff and a situla, nude except of an apron; Ἀαριήλ on the left and Ἰαλδαβαώθ on the right; Rev. The seven names: Ἰα Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ Ἐλωαὶ Ὡρεὸς Ἀσταφεός.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 339, No 519; Ἀριήλ; No figures, an inscription on both sides; Ἀριήλ at the beginning of a sequence of names and words of power, at least a part of it understood as a secret name (μέγα ὄνομα).

Etymology, commentary and literature

The name is clearly a derivation of Ariêl (hebr. אריאל "God's lion"). The name refers to Jerusalem in Isa 29:4. As the form Ariêl is common in the Jewish and magical literature, Ariaêl is not attested elsewhere except of *P.Macq.* I 1, which, among other indications, proves the strong ties of this particular handbook of ritual power to Sethian literature.

Peterson 1926: 396—397; Bonner 1949; Bonner 1950: 135—138; Scholem 1960: 71—72; Michl 1962: 204; Jackson 1985: 16—17; Painchaud 1995, in: BCNH T 21: 268; Mastrocinque 2005: 75

49 ⲁⲣⲓⲱⲙ (ariôm)

1. NHC XIII 48*,25 (*Trim. Prot.*)

On of the three glorifiers (ⲛⲉⲧϯⲥⲟⲟⲩ); Protennoia delivers an initiated (his exact identity remains uncertain) to them, and they glorify him with the glory of fatherhood (ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ).

Commentary and literature

The group of the three glorifiers (→Ariôm, →Phariêl) is not attested except in *Trim. Prot.*

Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 352

50 ⲁⲣⲙⲁⲥ (armas)

1. NHC II 17,8 = NHC II 26,18 (*Ap. John*)

One of the seven appointed over the creator angels of the body limbs.

51 ⲁⲣⲙⲏ (armê)

1. NHC VIII 62,19 (*Zost.*)

The luminary (φωστήρ) of the aeon (αἰών) of →Barbêlô; the all-perfect (παντέλειος). Only two first letters preserved. Layton (1991), in: NHS 31:138, does not restore this name. The restoration given by Barry & Funk (2000, in: BCNH T 24: 356) is based on NHC VIII 63,20. At that place, only two last letters of the name are visible, but the fact that the name appears on the list of luminaries of Barbêlô, makes this reading almost certain.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 577

2. NHC VIII 63,20 (*Zost.*)

The all-perfect (παντέλειος). Only two last letters preserved (and one of them is uncertain), but when compared with passage NHC VIII 62,16—21, the restoration appears almost certain.

3. NHC VIII 119,6 (*Zost.*)

The consort (ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲁϥ) of the light-bearer →Armêdôn. In NHC VII only two first letters are preserved, but the name is extant in *P.Bodmer* XLIII (Kasser & Luisier 2007).

Commentary and literature

One of the three luminaries of →Barbêlô (together with →Salamek[s] and →Semen). In *Zost.* they reveal the structure of the aeonic world. The triad of the luminaries appears also in NHC XI 56,24—25, but the name →Armê is placed in lacuna and fully restored by the editors.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 577; Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 8—9

52 ⲁⲣⲙⲏⲇⲱⲛ (armêdôn) = ϩⲁⲣⲙⲏⲇⲱⲛ (harmêdôn)[v]

1. NHC VII 126,12 (*Steles Seth*)

In a hymnic passage sung in by 1st pl. subject with the interpolation of the 1st sing. In a phrase "you who are Armêdôn to me" (ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲉⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲙⲏⲇⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ), the name refers to the Unbegotten (ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲙⲓⲥⲉ).

2. NHC VIII 86,19^{v} (*Zost.*)

In a doxology passage, probably sung by →Iouêl (because of the female article).

The great (ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ); might be interpreted as an epithet of the following name →Epiphaneu.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 623

3. NHC VII 119,5 (*Zost.*)

Context partially destroyed. The first luminary (φωστήρ) of the Kalyptos aeon. He has →Armê as his consort (ⲉⲧⲛⲙⲁϥ). Only the last three letters are preserved but *P.Bodmer* XLIII gives the first two letters ⲁ̣ⲣ̣[---]. The restoration →Ap^{h}re]dôn given by Barry & Funk (2000, in BCNH T 24) is then to be rejected. Layton (in: NHS 31: 204) gives no restoration for Armêdôn's consort, but Barry & Funk propose →Ar[mê]; it is confirmed by *P.Bodmer* XLIII (Kasser & Luisier 2007: 258).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 623 and 639

4. NHC VIII 120,3^{v} (*Zost.*)

The first of the aeons (αἰών). The glory of the father (ⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲱⲧ). He is followed by the second luminary (φωστήρ), so his identity as luminary should also be recognized.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 640

5. NHC VIII 126,23 (*Zost.*)

Context almost completely destroyed. Restored as ⲁ̣ⲣⲙ̣[ⲏⲁⲱⲛ by both Layton (in: NHS 31) and Barry & Funk (BCNH T 24).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 649

6. NHC VIII 127,9 (*Zost.*)

Identified with the First-Appearer (πρωτοφανής); the perfect male (ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ <τέλειος> ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲧ); the activity of those living together (ϯⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲓⲁ <ἐνέργεια> ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲉⲓⲟⲩⲙⲁ). It seems that beings expressed by a series of *voces magicae* are within him.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 649

7. NHC XI 45,36^{v} (*Allogenes*)

Another name of the First-Appeared (πρωτοφανής); perfect (τέλειος), invisible (ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲩ), noetic (νοῦς).

Turner & Wintermute 1990, in: NHS 28: 247—248

8. NHC XI 54,12 (*Allogenes*)
In a hymnic passage together with other divine beings; a great one (ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ).

9. NHC XI 58,17^{v} (*Allogenes*)
The First-Appeared (ⲡⲣⲱⲣⲧⲟⲫⲁⲛⲏⲥ); the perfect mind (ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ <τέλειος> ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ <νοῦς>); the goodness (ⲧ̀ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ <ἀγαθός>) of the Triple Male Child.

Commentary and literature
Usually treated as an epithet of the First-Appeared (ⲡⲣⲱⲣⲧⲟⲫⲁⲛⲏⲥ), subaeon of Barbêlô. In the passage NHC VIII 119,3—120,4, it is, however, presented as a separate entity, the first of the four luminaries of Kalyptos.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 623, 639—640, and 649; Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 10—11

53 ⲁⲣⲙⲏⲇⲱⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲁⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲣⲙⲟⲍⲏⲗ (armêdôn nousanion armozêl)

1. NHC XIII 38*,34—35 (*Trim. Prot.*)
The name is partially a reconstruction: ⲁⲣⲙⲏⲇⲱⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲥ[ⲁⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲣⲙⲟⲍⲏⲗ]. The one over the first aeon (αἰών).

54 ⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲡⲓⲁⲉⲗ (armoupiaêl) = ⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲡⲓⲏⲉⲗ (armoupiêel)^{v} = ϩⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲡⲓⲁⲉⲗ (harmoupiaêl)^{v2}

1. NHC II 11,1^{v} = NHC III 17,3—4 = BG 40,16^{v2} (*Ap. John*)
The tenth (of total twelve) authority (ἐξουσία) begotten by the archon (ἄρχων).

Michl 1962: 214; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 250—253

2. NHC III 58,19^{v2} = NHC IV 70,5^{v2} (*Gos. Eg.*)
The tenth of the twelve assisting angels (ϩⲉⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲓ <παραστατεῖν>).

Texts of ritual power

P.Macq. I 1, p. 2, l. 22 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 46); ϩερμωπιηλ; one of those within the four great ineffable luminaries of light (ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛϥⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ <φωστήρ> ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲁⲁϫⲉ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Barc & Funk (2012, in: BCNH T 35: 253) prudently note only "mysteriéux." For Tardieu (1984), the names render the Hebrew formula "crudelity in the face of God," which is completely implausible in the light of very weak ties between the Nag Hammadi texts and Semitic vocabulary. His tenth position in both texts indicates that Armoupiaêl belongs to the fixed set of angels. In *Ap. John*, he should be identified with one of the five "over the chaos of the underworld" installed below the seven kings over the heavens (BG 41,12—15).

Michl 1962: 214; Tardieu 1984: 282—283; Barc & Funk (2012), in: BCNH T 35: 250—253

55 ⲁⲣⲙⲟϫⲏⲗ (armozêl) = ϩⲁⲣⲙⲟϫⲏⲗ (harmozêl)^{v}

1. NHC II 8,5 = NHC III 11,24 = NHC IV 12,14 = BG 33,8—9^{v} (*Ap. John*)

The first light (φωστήρ, ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ), light-aeon (ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ϥⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ) only in NHC II; in NHC II and NHC IV, the first angel (ⲡⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ); in NHC III, an angel of the first aeon (ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲱⲛ); in BG, an angel of the light in the first aeon (ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ ⲙⲡⲉϩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ). Grace (χάρις) belongs to him.

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 227—228

2. NHC II 9,2—3 = NHC III 13,8^{v} = BG 35,9^{v} (*Ap. John*)

In NHC II, the first luminary (φωστήρ); in NHC III located within the first aeon (ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲱⲛ <αἰών> ϩⲁⲧⲛ̄ ϩⲁⲣⲙⲟϫⲏⲗ); in BG associated with the aeon without a closer specification (ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ <αἰών> ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϩⲁⲣⲙⲟϫⲏⲗ). Armozêl is never identified with the first aeon, although his relations to it and to the divine figures placed over (ⲉϫⲙ) or within it — the great God, Autogenes and Christ — are uncertain.

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 235

3. NHC III 51,18 ^{v} = NHC IV 63,13 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The luminary (φωστήρ) begotten by the Manifestation, the great power (δύναμις, ϭⲟⲙ) of the great light (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

4. NHC III 52,10 = NHC IV 64,3 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Grace (χάρις, ϩⲙⲟⲧ) is a consort (σύζυγος) of Armozêl in the first ogdoad of Autogenes.

5. NHC III 52,22^{v} (*Gos. Eg.*)
The first great light (φωστήρ, ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ), →Gamaliêl is his servant (διάκονος).

6. NHC III 65,13^{v} = NHC IV 77,8 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Mentioned in a long list of divine beings revealed or revealing themselves to somebody. The great light (φωστήρ, ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ), the place (ⲡⲙⲁ) of the living Autogenes, the god of the true and incoruptible man Adamas.

7. NHC VIII 29,3 (*Zost.*)
The luminary (φωστήρ) over the first aeon (αἰών); although context is uncertain, he is associated with the god of truth (ⲧⲙⲉ) and unity of the soul (ψυχή).
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 546

8. NHC VIII 32,5 (*Zost.*)
In a very destroyed context; a luminary (φωστήρ); the name reconstructed on the basis of the first two letters.
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 547—548

9. NHC VIII 51,17 (*Zost.*)
In a badly preserved doxology directed toward many spiritual beings; a luminary (φωστήρ).
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 565

10. NHC VIII 100,6 (*Zost.*)
Context totally destroyed. The name restored on the basis of three initial letters and supralinear stroke.

11. NHC IX 6,4 (*Melch.*)

One of the four archistrategs (ἀρχιστρατηγός), luminaries (φωστήρ) and powers (ⲛ̄[ⲥⲟⲙ]); in a hymn addressed to twelve aeonic figures.

Funk *et al.* 2001, in : BCNH T 28: 30—31 (esp. n.73), 133—134

Other texts

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,29,2—3; (H)armogenes; the first out of four luminaria coupled with its "emissio subministranta" Charis.

Investiture of Archangel Gabriel (CSCO.SC 31, p. 67, l. 8); ϩⲟⲣⲙⲟⲥⲓⲏⲗ; angel, trumpeter of the aeons of light who signals before the just when they enter the city of the beloved.

The Book of Resurrection of Jesus Christ, our Lord (known also as an *Apocalypsis of Bartholomew*) 49 (Ms C 33,9, Westerhoff 1999: 136 = Kropp I: 81); ϩⲁⲣⲙⲟⲥⲓⲏⲗ; listed among many other angelic powers; the one with the spiritual trumpet (ⲧⲥⲁ[ⲗⲡⲓⲅ]ⲝ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛⲁ).

Texts of ritual power

Meyer & Smith 81, ll. 14, 22 (Crum 1934b: 198; Meyer & Smith 1999: 171); ϩⲱⲣⲙⲟⲥⲓⲏⲗ, ϩⲱⲣⲙⲓⲥⲏⲗ; the trumpet in his hand gathers the angels for the salutation of the Father and the whole council of the Father (ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉⲧⲍⲁⲗⲡⲓⲝ <σάλπιγξ> ⲛⲧⲟⲧⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲡⲁⲥⲡⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ <ἀσμασμός> ⲛⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲡⲉⲭⲉⲣⲱⲥⲓⲁ <γερουσία> ⲧⲏⲣⲩ ⲛⲡⲓⲱⲧ). In his hand are the gatherings (ⲛ[ⲥⲱⲟⲩϩ) of the race of Adam and children of Zoe. Crum (1934b: 198) notes that although in the lacuna we cannont read the word "trumpet," the word was probably intended.

Meyer & Smith 113, l. 23 (Girard 1927: 64; Meyer & Smith 1999: 229); ϩⲱⲣⲙⲟⲥⲓⲏⲗ; he sings within the veil of the father (ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲁⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ).

Meyer & Smith 122, ll. 44, 47 (Meyer & Smith 1999: 248); ϩⲱⲣⲙⲟⲥⲉⲏⲗ; in the spell for a good singing voice; by Stephen Emmel consequently translated as "Harmozel"; Armosêl is an addresee of the spell, as such he is characterized as a "great ruler" (ⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ), the one "of sweet voice, pleasing like Philemon, you of sweet voice" (ⲡⲁⲡⲓϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧϩⲟⲗⲉⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲟⲧⲉⲙ ⲉⲛⲑⲉ ⲙⲫⲓⲗⲉⲙⲟⲛ ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲥⲙⲏ ⲉⲧϩⲟⲗⲟⲥ) (Meyer & Smith 1999: 248).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 2, ll. 21—22 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 46); ϩⲉⲣⲙⲱⲥⲏⲗ; one of those within the four great ineffable luminaries of light (ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ <φωστήρ> ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲁⲭⲉ).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 12, l. 5 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 66); ⲁⲣⲙⲱⲥⲓⲏⲗ; together with other names usually associated with the four luminaries written inside figura magica.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Zost. associates his name with the Greek verb "to join" (ἁρμοζειν); it may render Hebrew ארמיס or הרמיז equivalent of the Persian Hormuzd. Tardieu (1984) also links him to Hormuzd and traces his origin in Zoroastrian speculation which seems unjustified. According to Michl 1962: 24, Armozêl is identical with Ἁρμουσηρ, Ἀρμουσερ or Ἑρμουσουρ of some magical texts.

Armozêl is an original Sethian creation and belongs to the fixed group of the four luminaries. As such, he belongs to the core of the Sethian myth.

Schwab 1897: 186, 227; Michl 1962: 214; Tardieu 1984: 273; Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 546

56 ⲁⲣⲙⲟⲍⲏⲗ ⲟⲣⲛⲉⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲑⲣⲟⲩⲛⲓⲟⲥ (armozêl orneos eut^{h}rounios)

1. NHC VIII 127,22—23 (*Zost.*)

The first aeon (αἰών) of the first luminary (φωστήρ) in the Autogenes aeon.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 659—650

Commentary and literature

According to Turner (in: BCNH T 24: 649—650), there are three separate beings here. He notes also the resemblance of the name Eut^{h}rounios to →Aut^{h}rounios.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 659—650

57 ⲁⲣⲟⲏⲣ (aroêr)

1. NHC II 17,24 = NHC IV 27,7 (*Ap. John*)

One particulary (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the right shine-bone (ⲧⲥⲏⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Quack interprets the name as *ḥr.w-wr* "Horus the great" (rendered in the magical material as ⲁⲣⲟⲩⲏⲣ).

Quack 1995: 118

58 ⲁⲣⲟⲩⲫ (aroup^{h})

1. NHC II 17,19 = NHC IV 27,2 (*Ap. John*)

One particulary (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the belly (κοιλία).

59 ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓⲣ ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲉⲓⲛ (ark^{h}eir adônein)

1. NHC III 58,20 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The eleventh of the twelve assisting angels (ϩⲉⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲓ <παραστατεῖν>). The reconstruction of this name by Böhlig & Wisse (in: NHS IV) is more than putative because of the preservation of only three first letters ⲁⲣⲭ[ⲉⲓⲣ ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲉⲓⲛ] and lack of parallel places.

60 ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲛⲇⲉⲕⲧⲁ (ark^{h}endekta)

1. NHC II 17,33 (*Ap. John*)

The name in NHC IV reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC II; the ones in charge over senses (αἴστησις). It seems that we have here a group of beings — as the form ⲛⲉⲧϩⲓⲭⲛ̄ suggests. It does not, however, fit the pattern of the following powers. Perhaps the copyist took final ⲁ as a sign of Greek plural neutrum.

61 ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲛⲧⲉⲭⲑⲁ (ark^{h}entek^{h}t^{h}a)

1. NHC II 17,27 = NHC IV 27,11 (*Ap. John*)

The one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in toes of the right foot (ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲏⲏⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM IV, l. 2003 (PGM 1: 134; GMPT: 73); Ἀρχεντεχθα; in the sequence of words of power prescribed to be written on the forehead of the skull in the love-spell.

PGM VII, l. 252 (PGM 2: 12; GMPT: 123); Ἀρχ[εντε]χθα; a word of power used on the request for a dream oracle.

PGM VII, l. 362 (PGM 2: 16; GMPT: 127); Ἀρχεντεχθα; in the sequence of words of power used in the request for a dram oracle.

PGM VII, l. 403 (PGM 2: 18; GMPT: 128); Ἀρχεντεχθα; in the sequence of words of power prescribed to be written on a lead tablet (λάμνα) used in an aggressive spell.

PGM XXIIb, l. 29 (PGM 2: 150; GMPT: 261; emendation of Schmidt 1935:1178); Ἀρχεντεχθα; in an address to the lamp that "lights the way to Harsentephtha and to Harchentechtha, and to the great [father] Osiris-Michael" (transl. GMPT, modified).

Michel 1986: 201—392, No 493; Ἀρχενθεχθα; Obv. An octagonal figure inside Ouroboros, with words of power in between; Ἀρχενθεχθα among the words.

Philipp 1986: 108—109, No 175; ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲛⲧⲉⲭⲑⲁ; One-sided: A gorgoneion and a two-headed snake, with seven vowels above; ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲛⲧⲉⲭⲑⲁ between the gorgoneion and the snake.

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Jackson, the name is taken from the magical literature. Precisely, however, it is the name of the Egyptian God Horus of Athribis *ḥr.w- ḫntỉ- ḥ.tỉ* and means, "Hor, the first of Athribis."

Philipp 1986: 90, 109; Ritner, in: GMPT: 332; Jackson 1989: 75—76; Brashear 1995: 3580; Quack 1995: 118—119; Meyer & Smith 1999: 332

62 ⲁⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁⲥ (asaklas)

1. NHC II 16,33 (*Ap. John*)

The name in NHC IV 26,9 is reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC II. An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left kidney (ⲧⲥⲗⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

In spite of the resemblance of his name to Sakla, his characteristic is completely different, thus the onomastic similarity is rather incidential.

63 ⲁⲥⲓⲛⲉⲩ (asineu)

1. NHC VII 126,7 (*Steles Seth*)
In a hymnic passage sung by the 1st pl. subject. Only the last three letters preserved. Reconstructed on the basis of NHC XI 54,29. The name of the unbegotten one (ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲙⲓⲥⲉ).

2. NHC XI 54,29 (*Allogenes*)
In a hymnic passage. According to Turner, the praise might be given by →Iouêl. The name of the unbegotten one (ⲁⲧϫⲡⲟ). In Turner's opinion, the name here refers to the entire Triple-Powered One.
Turner 1990, in: NHS 28: 257

64 ⲁⲥⲙⲉⲛⲉⲇⲁⲥ (asmenedas)

1. NHC II 17,31 = NHC IV 27,15 (*Ap. John*)
One of the seven having power over the limbs of the body.

65 ⲁⲥⲧⲁⲫⲁⲓⲟⲥ (astap^{h}aios) = ⲁⲥⲧⲟⲫⲁⲓⲟⲥ (astop^{h}aios)^{v} = ⲁⲥⲧⲣⲁⲫⲁⲓⲱ (astrap^{h}aiô)^{v2}

1. NHC II 11,29 = NHC III 17,24^{v} = BG 41,20—42,1 (*Ap. John*)
One of the seven over the heaven (ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲃⲏⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉ); the third body (σῶμα) in the sevenness (ἑβδομάς; ⲧⲙⲉϩⲥⲁⲃⲏⲉ) of the week (σάββατον).
Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 255—257

2. NHC II 12,19^{v2} = NHC IV 19,19^{v2} = BG 43,17 (*Ap. John*)
The third authority (ἐξουσία); in BG associated with power (ⲧϭⲟⲙ) and messianity (ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭ̄ⲥ̄ <χριστός>; meaning goodness <χρηστός> is also possible), but in NHC II and IV with power (ⲧϭⲟⲙ), and divinity (ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ).
Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 256

3. NHC II 101,22 (*Orig. World*)

The third son of the ruler (ἄρχων). He opened his eyes and said to the father "as." Then, the father called him Astap^{h}aios.

4. NHC II 101,34 (*Orig. World*)

The seventh androgynous force (δύναμις) of the seven heavens of the chaos (ⲧⲥⲟⲱⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲟⲥ <χάος>); his feminine name is Wisdom (σοφία).

Other texts

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,30,5 and 11; Astaphaeus; In the system of Ophites (Irenaeus's "alii"), the seventh power (called also heaven, angel and creator) of hebdomad (Ebdomas); Prophets Ezra and Zephaniah belong to him.

Origen, *C.Cels.* 6,31; Ἀσταφαιός; the ruler of the third gate (τρίτης ἄρχων πύλης), so the third archon in the Ogdoas, and the overseer of the water as the first element (ἐπίσκοπε πρώτης ὕδατος ἀρχῆς). Origen quotes an Ophite adjuration to Astap^{h}aios. According to Witte, the mention of water may refer to some sacramental rites of Ophites. Origen, *C.Cels.* 6,32, states that his name is taken by Ophites from the magical lore (ἀπὸ μὲν μαγείας).

Berlin.Kopt.Buch No 128, l. 8; ⲁ[ⲥⲧⲁⲫⲁⲓⲟⲥ; only the first letter of the name preserved; the seventh of the seven archons in the system of the Sethians (ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲑⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM XII, l. 186 (PGM 2: 70; Daniel 1991: 12; GMPT: 160); ἀστραφαι; in the sequence of words of power associated with the lord, the origin of heavenly world (ἡ γένεσις τοῦ οὐρανίου κόσμου).

PGM XII, l. 288 (PGM 2: 77; Daniel 1991: 18; GMPT: 164); Ἀσταφαῖος (exactly τὸν Ἀσταφαῖον); in the sequence of names of power associated with the greatest god (μέγιστος θέος).

Bonner 1950: 284, No 188; Ἀσταφεός; Obv. A lion-headed figure holding a staff and a situla, nude except for an apron; Ἀαριήλ at the left and Ἰαλδαβαώθ at the right of the figure; Rev. The seven names Ἰα Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ Ἐλωαὶ Ὡρεὸς Ἀσταφεός.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Barc (2012, in: BCNH T 35: 256—257) suggests the dependence on the Hebrew verbal form ʾachtof. The suggestion is based on the messianic aspect of Ez 16:9 where it appears. He also (BCNH T 35: 256) identifies him with →Iôbêl, one of the seven authorities put over the heavens and the seven days of the week. Astap^{h}aios expresses the messianic aspect which

replaces jubilee, the period of time given by God to Moses as the time for the Jews, over which Iôbêl presides.

Bonner 1949: 44; Bonner 1950: 136; Michl 1962: 205; Jackson 1989: 76; Witte 1993: 121; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 255—257

66 ⲁⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲭⲙⲏ (asterek^{h}mê) = ⲁⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲭⲙⲏⲛ (asterek^{h}mên)^{v}

1. NHC II 15,32^{v} = NHC IV 24,26 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right eye (ⲡⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲏ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Quack, the name may reflect the 2nd or the 3rd decan of Sagittarius or the 2nd decan of Gemini constellations; the name of the Egyptian god Khnum (knm), well attested in the tradition of the magical papyri, is clearly visible. If so, the figure is rooted in the Egyptian astronomical speculation. Such an identification is, however, not certain.

Gundel 1936 : 77—80; Quack 1995: 114—115

67 ⲁⲥⲧⲣⲱϥ (astrôp^{s})

1. NHC II 16,12 = NHC IV 25,13 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right breast (ⲧⲥⲓⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲏ).

Commentary and literature

Quack refers him to the 2nd decan of Aquarius constellation. If so, the figure is rooted in the Egyptian astronomical speculation. Note, however, that a form attested in the ancient catalogues of the decans is not identical with Astrôp^{s}.

Gundel 1936: 77—80; Quack 1995: 116

68 ⲁⲥⲫⲓϧⲓϧ (asp^{h}ik^{s}ik^{s})

1. NHC II 17,18 = NHC IV 27,1 (*Ap. John*)

One particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the right ribs (ⲡⲥⲡⲓⲣ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲏ).

69 ⲁⲩⲇⲁⲏⲗ (audaêl)

1. NHC VIII 47,13 (*Zost.*)

In the list of the glories enabling salvation. One of the attendants (together with →Seisauêl and →Abrasak^{s}), lit. "those who stand before them" (ⲛⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲁⲣⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲣ[ⲁⲩ], reading according to BCNH T 24.) i.e., before the preceding spiritual beings.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 562

Texts of ritual power

Test.Sol. 18,26;Ῥύξ Αυδαμεώθ; the twenty second spirit (πνεῦμα) and the element (στοιχεῖον); he causes the pains of heart; made by Raiouôt^{h} to withdraw.

70 ⲁⲩⲑⲣⲟⲩⲛⲓⲟⲥ (aut^{h}rounios)

1. NHC VIII 8,8 (*Zost.*)

The great ruler on high (ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁⲣⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ). He speaks to the initiated about the creation and the structure of the universe.

2. NHC VIII 9,2 (*Zost.*)

The great ruler on high (ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲙⲁⲣⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲭⲓⲥⲉ). He speaks to the initiated about the creation and the structure of the universe.

3. NHC VIII 47,21—22 (*Zost.*)

The assistant (βοηθός) of the guardians of the glory (ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ).

Other texts

The *Book of Resurrection of Jesus Christ, our Lord* (known also as an *Apocalypsis of Bartholomew*) 49 (Ms A 80,48, Westerhoff 1999: 136 = Kropp I: 81); ⲁⲩⲑⲣⲟⲛⲓⲟⲥ, in a so-called "fourth hymn," sung by the angels to Adam, on the list of angels, there are mentioned "Aut^{h}ronios and his crowns" (ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϥⲕⲗⲟⲙ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Aut^{h}rounios is identical with the third segment of the name →Armozêl Orneos Euthrounios. According to Scopello (1981: 378), his name and function resemble the angel Metatron known from the rabbinical speculation. Aut^{h}rounios does not play, however, such a crucial role in the pleroma as Metatron at the God's court. His is rather a medium-level power responsible for mediation between pleroma and the lower world.

Michl 1962: 206; Scopello 1981: 378.

71 ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲏⲣ (autoêr)

1. NHC XI 54,17 (*Allogenes*)

Mentioned in a hymnic passage together with other divine beings; he might be seen as a separate being or only as a name of →Epip^{h}aneu.

72 ⲁⲫⲣⲏⲇⲱⲛ (ap^{h}rêdôn)

1. NHC VII 126,10—11 (*Steles Seth*)

Mentioned in a hymnic passage sung by the 1st pl. subject; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲙⲓⲥⲉ).

2. NHC VIII 86,13 (*Zost.*)

Mentioned in a hymnic passage, probably sung by →Iouêl (identification on the basis of the female article); a great one (ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ).

3. NHC VIII 88,18 (*Zost.*)

Context partially destroyed; mentioned in a hymnic passage addressed toward the One (ⲛⲧⲕⲟⲩⲁ).

4. NHC VIII 122,6 (*Zost.*)
In the plural form; the glory (ⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ); the limitless (ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲣⲏⲭⲛⲟⲩ).

5. NHC XI 54,23—24 (*Allogenes*)
Mentioned in the hymnic passage, praised by an unspecified subject (context destroyed); the aeon of aeons (ⲡⲉⲱⲛ <ⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲛ> ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲉⲱⲛ <ⲁⲓ̈ⲱⲛ>), a great one (ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲥ), the one (in the phrase: ⲛⲧ̄ⲕ ⲟⲩⲁ), the perpetual (ⲉⲧⲁϫⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛⲓⲙ).

Other texts

CB p. 230, l. 22 (Untitled Text); ⲁⲫⲣⲏⲇⲱⲛ; He and his twelve good-makers (ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲭⲥ) belong to the pleroma created by the Father.

CB p. 231, l. 14 (×2, Untitled Text); ⲁⲫⲣⲏⲇⲱⲛ; one out of the three aspects (ⲟⲩϩⲟ) of the indivisible one (ⲡⲁⲧⲡⲱϫ), called Ap^{h}rêdôn Pek^{s}os.

CB p. 231, ll. 17—18 (Untitled Text); ⲁⲫⲣⲏⲇⲱⲛ; He takes the thought (ἐπίνοια) emerging from the deep (βάθος) and takes it to the Only-Begotten One (μονογενές).

CB 233, ll. 26-27 (Untitled Text); ⲁⲫⲣⲏⲇⲱⲛ; One of the aspects of the Third Father.

CB p. 246, l. 4 (Untitled Text); ⲁⲫⲣⲏⲇⲱⲛ; He exists with his twelve good-makers (ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛⲭⲥ) in a pleroma in the immeasurable depth (βάθος).

CB p. 248, l. 14 (Untitled Text); ⲁⲫⲣⲏⲇⲱⲛⲓⲁ; in the phrase "law (νόμος) in Ap^{h}rêdônia"; The law is somehow related to Christ as the father of the believers, but its exact meaning remains uncertain.

CB p. 269, l. 18 (Untitled Text); ⲁⲫⲣ[ⲏⲇⲱⲛ]; in a destroyed context; probably responsible, together with Musanios, for the creation of some body members in his type (τύπος).

Commentary and literature

Böhlig (1989a) links him to Manichaean divine figure Fredon. However, if there is any real interdependence, it goes from Sethian material to Manichaeism. Alternatively, both traditions may draw from a common source.

73 ⲁⲫⲣⲟⲡⲁⲓⲥ (ap^{h}ropais)

1. NHC VIII 129,3 (*Zost.*)
The virgin-light (παρθενωφωτός), together with →Apop^{h}antês. They came before →Zostrianos and bring him into the First-Appeared (πρωτοφανής).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 653

74 ⲁⲭⲁⲙⲱⲑ (ak^{h}amôt^{h}) = ⲁ.ϫⲁⲙⲱⲑ (ačamôt^{h})^{v}

1. NHC V 34,3 = CT 21,4 (*1 Apoc. Jas.*)

Mentioned in the instruction given by Jesus to James on what to do and say to the heavenly tax-collectors (τελώνης); Ak^{h}amôt^{h} is a female and there is a race (γένος) produced by her down from the pre-existent one (ⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲫⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲫⲟⲟⲡ).

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 221

2. NHC V 35,9 = CT 22,7^{v} (*1 Apoc. Jas.*)

Mentioned in the instruction given by Jesus to James on what to do and say to heavenly tax-collectors (τελώνης); Wisdom (σοφία) is the mother of Ak^{h}amôt^{h}.

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 224—225

3. NHC V 35,10 (*1 Apoc. Jas.*)

Mentioned in the instruction given by Jesus to James on what to do and say to the heavenly tax-collectors (τελώνης); she has neither a father nor a male consort (σύζυγος). She is a female from female, and her race is produced without male.

4. NHC V 36,5 = CT 23,3 (*1 Apoc. Jas.*)

The woman (ⲧⲉⲥϩ̄ⲓⲙⲉ); the name Ak^{h}amôt^{h} is interpreted (ἑρμηνεύειν) as the wisdom (σοφία).

5. CT 21,26 (*1 Apoc. Jas.*)

Mentioned in the instruction given by Jesus to James on what to do and say to the heavenly tax-collectors (τελώνης). The parallel passage in NHC V 34,27—28 is not preserved. The heavenly tax-collectors are created by Ak^{h}amôt^{h}, the soul is, however, greater then she.

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 227

Other texts

Irenaeus, *Haer* 1,4—8; Achamoth ; In the account on Valentinian system (of Ptolemaeus), the name of the higher Wisdom, called also the Holy Spirit, who was separated from Pleroma and cast into lower world. She could not enter Pleroma back and generated the visible world through her passions. She is a source of a pneumatic seed in the souls.

Ps.-Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5,26,4; Ἀχαμώθ; In the system of Justin (the Gnostic), one of the 12 mother's angels generated by the first principles, Father and Edem.

ⲁⲭⲓⲁⲣⲁⲙ → ⲁⲁⲭⲓⲁⲣⲁⲙ

75 ⲁⲭⲓⲏⲗ (akʰiêl)

1. NHC II 17,2 = NHC IV 26,12 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right knee (ⲧⲕⲗⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM IV, l. 3214 (PGM 1: 178; GMPT: 100); Ταχιήλ; one of the three words of power prescribed to be written on the base of a bowl in the divination rite.

76 ⲁⲭⲭⲁ (akʰkʰa)

1. NHC II 16,3 = NHC IV 25,1 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the uvula (σταφυλή).

Texts of ritual power

A sequence of letters a few times included into more complex words of power (PGM II, l. 100; PGM II, l. 180; PGM IV, l. 1491; PGM XII, l. 13).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 8, l. 12 (Meyer 1996: 22); ⲁⲭⲁ; one of the holy sounds (ⲛⲫⲱⲛⲏ <φωνή> ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ) in a sequence ⲁⲭⲓ ⲁⲭⲁ ⲁⲭⲁⲙ ⲣⲁ, used to adjuration of the father, ruler of all (παντοκράτωρ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Quack, Akʰkʰa is the 1st decan of Pisces constellation, by Firmicus Maternus given as Acha, which seems possible but still remains uncertain. There are also some examples of the Jewish liturgical formula βαρουχ αθθα (from the Hebrew ברוך אתה) in the magical material (Kotansky 1994; cf. Bohak 2003). Far from certainty is, however, whether

Ak^{h}k^{h}a might be a distortion of the original at^{h}t^{h}a. Context does not indicate at liturgical or any other Jewish origin.

Gundel 1936: 78; Kotansky 1994: 7—8; Quack 1995: 115; Bohak 2003: 73.

77 ⲁⲱⲗ (aôl)

1. NHC II 17,25 = NHC IV 27,9 (*Ap. John*)

One particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the right knee (ⲧⲕⲗⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

ⲁⲱⲑ → ⲁⲑⲱⲑ

78 ⲃⲁ[...]ⲙⲟⲥ (ba[...]mos)

1. NHC VIII 47,19 (*Zost.*)

The assistant (βοηθός) of the guardians of the glory (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ).

79 ⲃⲁⲑⲓⲛⲱⲑ (bat^{h}inôt^{h}) = ⲑⲁⲃⲓⲛⲱⲑ (t^{h}abinôt^{h})^{v}

1. NHC II 17,22 = NHC IV 27,5^{v} (*Ap. John*)

One particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in all genitals (ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲇⲟⲓⲟⲛ <αἰδοῖον> ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM XII, l. 102 (PGM 2: 64; Daniel 1991: 6; GMPT: 156); βαθινι; in the sequence of words of power and permutations of vowels associated with the sacred egg (τὸ ὠὸντὸ ἅγιον).

Etymology, commentary and literature

If emended to ⲃⲁⲓⲛⲑⲱⲑ, it would mean "Soul of Thoth," but it may be a distortion of a widespread name of power βαινχωωωχ. One way or another, the figure seems to be derived from the Egyptian religious tradition.

Quack 1995: 118

80 ⲃⲁⲗⲃⲏⲗ (balbêl)

1. NHC II 16,10 = NHC IV 25,11 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the fingers of the left hand (ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲓϫ ⲛ̄ⲟⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

Other texts

Ps.-Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5,26,4; Βάβελ; In the system of Justin (the Gnostic), one of the 12 mother's angels generated by the first principles Father and Edem.

Texts of ritual power

PGM IV, l. 1010 (PGM 1: 106; GMPT: 58); Βαλ Βηλ (so PGM, Quack join them into βαλβηλ); in the sequence of the greatest names (τὰ μέγιστα ὀνόματα) of the lord.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Quack equates him with βελβελ, the 2nd decan of Gemini constellation in *Test.Sol.* 18,12 (and traces his name is PGM). If so, the figure is rooted in the Egyptian astronomical speculation.

Gundel 1936: 78; Quack 1995: 115

81 ⲃⲁⲛⲏⲛⲉⲫⲣⲟⲩⲙ (banênep^{h}roum)

1. NHC 1 = NHC IV 24,30 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the lips (ⲥⲡⲟⲧⲟⲩ).

Texts of ritual power

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 28, No 10; βανε; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede holding a shield; Rev. A bust of a bearded man, Ἀβραὴλ Ἀδονεὺ βανε around the figure.

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Jackson (1989), from the deformation of common *vox magica* ιαεωβαφρενεμουνοθιλαρικιφ. Derivation seems, however, far from being obvious. The name might be indeed coined on the basis of magical *voces* with βανε, however, its provenance still remains uncertain.

Jackson 1989: 76

82 ⲃⲁⲛⲱ (banô)

1. NHC II 16,21 (*Ap. John*)

The name in NHC IV 25,24 is fully restored on the basis of NHC II. An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the lungs (πνεύμων).

83 ⲃⲁⲟⲩⲙ (baoum)

1. NHC II 16,13 = NHC IV 25,14 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right shoulder joint (ⲡϫⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

84 ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣ (barbar)

1. NHC II 17,15 = NHC IV 26,28 (*Ap. John*)

One particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the right breast (ⲧⲥⲓⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM IV, l. 385 (PGM 1: 84; GMPT: 45); Βαρβαρ; as Βαρβαρ Ἀδωναί given as a self-presentation of the ruler of the world (ὁ κύριος κόσμου), one who hides the stars (ὁ τὰ ἄστρα κρύβων) and controls the shining heaven (ὁ λαμπροφεγγὴς οὐρανοῦ κρατῶν).

PGM IV, l. 1555 (PGM 1: 122; GMPT: 67); Βαρβαρ; in the sequence of names of power used to adjure the god, the sequence of the first three names is Ἀδωναί Βαρβαρ'Ιάω.

PGM XII, l. 90 (PGM 2: 63; Daniel 1991: 6; GMPT: 156); Βαρβαρ; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the true nature (ἔφυς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ)

of the god; followed by Ἀδωναὶ. Daniel (1991) joins it with the preceding word as ιωιωβαρβαρ.

PGM XV, l. 15 (PGM 2: 134; GMPT: 251); Βαρβαρε; in the sequence of words of power associated with the demons (δαίμονες); preceded by the names Ἰαὼ Σαβαώ.

PGM XXIIa, l. 25 (PGM 2: 148; GMPT: 260); Βάρβαραν (nom. Βάρβαρας?) a paradigm of richness in the prayer of favour addressed to Helios, god over the heavens.

Meyer & Smith 59, ll. 9r, 11v (Römer & Thissen 1990: 176; Meyer & Smith 1999: 110—111); ϩⲁⲣϩⲁⲣⲓⲱⲑ; In the sequence of names of power associated with lord, "our god" invoked in the spell for protection.

Meyer & Smith 116, l. 23 (Beltz 1983: 73; Meyer & Smith 1999: 232); ϩⲁⲣϩⲁⲣⲟⲩⲭ; in the sequence ⲁⲉⲗⲟⲩⲭ ϩⲉⲗⲟⲩⲭ ϩⲁⲣϩⲁⲣⲟⲩⲭ, it refers to a place or personalized power.

Meyer & Smith 132, ll. 13, 22 (Kropp I: 47—48; Meyer & Smith 1999: 290); ϩⲁⲣϩⲁⲣⲁⲱⲑ; associated or even idenitied with the Jewish God in a spell attributed to Jesus Christ.

Bonner 1950: 300, No 284; βαρβαρα; Obv. In a long sequence of names and words of power and permutations of vowels; Rev. An ouroboros and characters.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 5, l. 4 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 52); ϩⲁⲣϩⲁⲣⲁⲏⲗ; in a long invocation consisting of names and words of power, as well as permutations of vowels.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 9, l. 24 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 60); ϩⲁⲣϩⲁⲣⲁⲏⲗ; one of the angels (ἄγγελος) of heavenly earth (ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲉⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛⲓⲟⲛ <οὐράνιον>).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 10, ll. 6—7 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 62); ϩⲁⲣϩⲁⲣⲁⲏⲗ; one of the angels (ἄγγελος) of heavenly earth (ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲉⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛⲓⲟⲛ <οὐράνιον>).

P.Stras. K 204v fr. C, J., M, l. 12 (Hevesi 2018: 59); ϩⲁⲣⲁϩⲁⲣⲁⲟⲑ; preceded by another, partially preserved, name of power; God of Hebrews (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲛⲉϩⲉⲃⲣⲉⲟⲥ).

Kropp 2008, No 11/2/1/8, l. 14 (Audollent 1904: 370); Βαρβαριε; in the sequence of names of power, partially of Jewish origin; associated with a great god (*magnum deum*).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Fauth (1993) gives this name as an example of reduplication, very common in the names of spiritual beings in magical texts. Whether the syllable "bar-" should be treated as meaningful is far from certainty, however, Merkelbach & Totti (1990: 96) refer to the word ϩⲁⲣϩⲁⲣ, "to burn," and to the Hebrew *arba* "four" as a name for tetragrammaton, and Jahwe, who is also a God of flame.

In the Nag Hammdi "library," it appears only once in the part which belongs to the later strata of the longer recension of *Ap. John*. It does not represent the original Sethian demonology, and it was rather coined on the basis of similar names and *nomina barbara* present in the magical literature.

Jackson 1989: 76; Merkelbach & Totti 1990: 96; Römer & Thissen 1990: 179; Fauth 1993: 66—67; Brashear 1995: 3582; Hevesi 2018: 88

85 ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲏⲗⲱ (barbêlô) = ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲏⲗⲟⲛ (barbêlon)^{V} = ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲏⲗⲱⲛ (barbêlôn)^{V2} = ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲗⲱ (barbalô)^{V3}

1. NHC II 4,36 = NHC III 7,19^{V} = BG 27,14 (*Ap. John*)

The three versions of *Ap. John* are compatible in general but differ in details. Female power of the first power (δύναμις, ⲧⲥⲟⲙ, ⲧⲫⲟⲣⲡ ⲛⲥⲟⲙ), brought forth as the first thought (ἔννοια) of the monadic (μονάς) god-father (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ); the perfect power (ⲧⲧⲉⲗⲓⲁ <τελεία> ⲛ̄ⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ <δύναμις>, ⲧⲥⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ); the providence of all (ⲧⲡⲣⲟⲛⲟⲓⲁ <πρόνοια> ⲙⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ or similar); image of the invisible one (ⲑⲓⲕⲱⲛ <εἰκών> ⲙⲡⲁⲧⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟϥ or similar); the perfect aeon (ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ <αἰών> ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ); the womb of everything (only NHC II: ⲙ̄ⲙⲏⲧⲣⲁ <μήτρα> ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ), mother-father (NHC II only: μητροπάτωρ). It is less certain whether the following set of characteristics (the first man, holy spirit, the thrice-male, the thrice-powerful, the thrice-named) refers also to Barbêlô (as clearly in NHC II) or there was a separate emanation — the First Man (ⲡⲫⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ, ⲟⲩϩⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) — which versions NHC III and BG suggest. The second interpretation is justified by the list of eons of the Father, where the First Man is listed next to Barbêlô (NHC II 6,2—8 = NHC IV 9,1—8; NHC III 9,3—8; BG 29, 8—14).

2. NHC II 5,13 = NHC III 8,6^{V} = NHC IV 7,28 = BG 28,5—6 (*Ap. John*)

She requests invisible virginal spirit (NHC II and IV: ⲡⲁϩⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ <ἀόρατον> ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛ <παρθενικόν> ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ <πνεῦμα>) to give her foreknowledge (πρόγνωσις, ⲡⲫⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ).

3. NHC II 5,19 = NHC III 8,12^{V} = NHC IV 8,8 = BG 28,12 (*Ap. John*)

The perfect power (ⲧⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ <τέλειος> ⲛ̄ⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ <δύναμις>; ⲧⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ <δύναμις> ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ; ⲧⲥⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲭⲏⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) of the invisible spirit (NHC III: ⲡⲁϩⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ <ἀόρατον> ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲁ<πνεῦμα>) / the Invisible virginal spirit (NHC II and IV: ⲡⲁϩⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ <ἀόρατον> ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛ <παρθενικόν> ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ <πνεῦμα>) / the invisible one (BG: ⲡⲁⲧⲛⲁⲩ). Together with him, she is glorified by a providence (<πρόνοια>).

4.NHC II 5,25 = NHC III 8,19^{v} = BG 28,20 (*Ap. John*)
Indestructibility (ἀφθαρσία, ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ) glorifies the invisible one (ⲡⲁⲧⲛⲁⲩ) (or the invisible spirit: NHC III has ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ <ἀόρατον> ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ<πνεῦμα>) and Barbêlô for she came forth because of her.

5. NHC II 5,26—27 (*Ap. John*)
She requests (αἰτεῖν) the invisible spirit (ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ <ἀόρατον> ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ <πνεῦμα>) to grant her eternal life (ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲱⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ). In other versions in this context the exact name Barbêlô does not appear.

6. NHC II, 5,31 = NHC III 8,24^{v} = NHC IV 8,20 = BG 29,5 (*Ap. John*)
Eternal life and other emanations glorify the invisible spirit (NHC II and NHC IV: ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ <ἀόρατον> ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ <πνεῦμα>) and Barbêlô for they came forth because of her.

7. NHC II 6,1 = NHC IV 8, 26 (*Ap. John*)
Truth (ⲧⲙⲏⲉ) and other emanations glorify the excellent spirit (ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ <πνεῦμα> ⲉⲧⲱⲟⲏⲡ) and Barbêlô for they came into being because of them.

8. NHC II 6,5 = NHC III 9,6^{v} = BG 29,12 (*Ap. John*)
This passage in NHC IV is reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC II. Identical with the providence (only NHC II and IV: πρόνοια) and thought (ἔννοια, ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ); one of the five (πεντάς, ⲡϯⲟⲩ, ⲧⲙⲉϩϯ) aeons (αἰών) of the father, together with the First Man, foreknowledge (πρόγνωσις, ⲡⲱϩⲣ̄ⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ), indestructibility (ἀφθαρσία, ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲧⲉⲕⲟ) and eternal life (ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲱⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ). In NHC II and IV, there is a sixth aeon, the truth (ⲧⲙⲉ), which clearly contradicts the concept of pentad. It should be regarded as a later addition.

9. NHC II 6,10 = NHC III 9,11^{v} = NHC IV 9,12 = BG 29,20 (*Ap. John*)
Barbêlô looks at the Father (NHC III and BG) or the Father looks at Barbêlô (NHC II and NHC IV) and she conceives a spark (σπινθήρ, ⲟⲩϯⲕ <ⲡⲧⲱⲕ>) of light.

10. NHC II 6,22 = NHC III 9,23^{v} = NHC IV 10,1 = BG 30,14 (*Ap. John*)
The providence (πρόνοια) of the invisible virginal spirit (NHC II and NHC IV: ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ <ἀόρατον> ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛ <παρθενικόν> ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ

<πνεῦμα>) / the Great Invisible Spirit (NHC III: ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲁϩⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ <ἀόρατον> ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ <πνεῦμα>) / the Invisible Spirit (ⲡⲁⲧⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲛ̄ⲁ<πνεῦμα>); she begets light (ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

11. NHC II 7,3 = NHC III 10,14^{v} = NHC IV 10,18 = BG 31,9 (*Ap. John*)

The mind (νοῦς) glorifies Barbêlô and the invisible spirit (ⲡⲁϩⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ <ἀόρατον> ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ <πνεῦμα>).

12. NHC II 7,14 = NHC III 11,1—2^{v} = NHC IV 11,4—5 = BG 32,2 (*Ap. John*)

Aeons glorify Barbêlô and the invisible spirit (ⲡⲁϩⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ <ἀόρατον> ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ <πνεῦμα>) since they came forth because of her.

13. NHC II 7,17 = NHC III 11,5^{v} = NHC IV 11,8—9 = BG 32,6 (*Ap. John*)

The self-generated (αὐτογενής) is a son o Barbêlô (NHC III and BG), completed by the great invisible spirit (NHC III: ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲁϩⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ <ἀόρατον> ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ <πνεῦμα>) / the Spirit (BG: ⲡⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲁ <πνεῦμα>) or is completed together by Barbêlô and the holy spirit (NHC II and IV: ⲡⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ <πνεῦμα>).

14. NHC III 42,12^{v} = NHC IV 52,4 (*Gos. Eg.*)

In both manuscripts the passage is only fragmentarily preserved. The second power of ogdoas (NHC III: ⲧⲙⲉϩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲅⲇⲟⲁⲥ <ὀγδοάς>) or the second power being ogdoas (NHC IV: ϯⲥⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲉϩⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲅⲇⲟⲁⲥ <ὀγδοάς>); the mother (ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲩ) and virgin (παρθενός). She originated form herself, and she consents father of the silence (σιγή, ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲣⲱϥ).

15. NHC III 62,1^{v} = NHC IV 73,12 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The male virgin (ⲧⲁⲣⲥⲉⲛⲓⲕⲏ <ἀρσενική>); ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθενός>; ϯϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθενός>); the great Seth praises her.

16. NHC III 69,3^{v} (*Gos. Eg.*)

Her name is recorded by the Great Seth as a part of a divine revelation summarized in his book.

17. NHC VII 121,21 (*Steles Seth*)

The whole second Stele is dedicated to Barbêlô who is addressed to in a hymnic form. The first aeon (αἰών), male virgin (ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθενός>), the first glory of the invisible father (ⲡⲓϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲩ); called perfect (τέλειος); triple power (ⲛ̄ϣⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ϭⲟⲙ); a great monad (μονάς), an elect monad (μονάς); the first shadow (ϯϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲓⲃⲉⲥ) of the holy father; light from light (ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ); the producer of perfection (ϯⲣⲉϥϫⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ <τέλειος>); aeon giver (ϯⲣⲉϥϯ ⲉⲱⲛ <αἰών>); a hidden one (καλυπτός); world of understanding (ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ <κόσμος>) ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ); a great male noetic first-appeared (ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲱⲧⲟⲫⲁⲛⲏⲥ <πρωτοφανής>) ⲛ̄ⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥ <νοῦς>); the fatherly God (ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲱⲧ); divine child (ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ); a begetter of multiplicity (ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥϫⲡⲉ ⲏⲡⲉ); wisdom (σοφία); knowledge (γνῶσις); truthfulness (ϯⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉ); mind (νοῦς); world of truthfulness (ⲟⲩⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ <κόσμος> ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉ); the aeon of aeons; the all-perfect (παντέλειος). The subject (1st pl.) of the hymn is convinced that Barbêlô heard and saved him and gives thanks and blessing to her.

Funk, Poirier, Turner 2000, in: BCNH T 27: 108

18. NHC VIII 36,14 (*Zost.*)

Context preserved very fragmentarily; the perfect (τέλειος) mind (νοῦς).

19. NHC VIII 36,20 (*Zost.*)

Context preserved very fragmentarily.

In the next corrupted line, the hidden one (καλυπτός) occurs in an unclear context.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 552

20. NHC VIII 37,20 (*Zost.*)

Context preserved very fragmentarily.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 552

21. NHC VIII 53,10 (*Zost.*)

Context preserved very fragmentarily. Two lines below, the epithet "thrice-male" (ⲛ̄ϣⲙⲧϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ) appears, which refers probably to the known figure of the "three-male child" but its relation to Barbêlô remains unclear.

22. NHC VIII 62,21 (*Zost.*)

Aeon (αἰών); the luminaries (ⲛⲓⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ <φωστήρ>) of her are listed: →Salamek[s], →Semen, and →Armê.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 577

23. NHC VIII 63,6 (*Zost.*)

Context preserved very fragmentarily; virgin (παρθενός); connected somehow with the invisible three-powered spirit (ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑ̄ⲙ̄ⲧ̄ⲥⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ <πνεῦμα>).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 577

24. NHC VIII 83,9 (*Zost.*)

Context not completely preserved; in a long presentation of the Sethian system; an aeon (αἰών); the perfect virginal male of three kinds (ⲧⲑ̄ⲙ̄ⲧ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ <γένος> ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθενός> ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ <τέλειος>); the introspection of the preexisting god (ⲧⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲟⲏⲥⲓⲥ <κατανόησις> ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲣ̄ⲑ̄ⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲟⲡ), the knowledge of the primal existence (ⲧⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ <γνῶσις> ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲑⲟⲣ̄ⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲩⲡⲁⲣⲝⲓⲥ <ὕπαρξις>); blessedness (ⲧⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ <-μακάριος>) of the Invisibile Spirit; she was called by her name because of the thought (ⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲧⲃⲁⲣⲃⲏⲗⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲣⲓⲧⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲛⲟⲓⲁ <ἔννοια>) which probably means that she is identical with the thought.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 621—622

25. NHC VIII 87,10 (*Zost.*)

Context preserved only fragmentarly; the perfect one (τέλειος); the virgin (παρθενός); unclear relation through the simplicity (-απλοῦς) of the blessedness (-μακάριος) to the three powered Spirit (ⲡ̄ⲑ̄ⲙ̄ⲧ̄ⲥⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ <ἀόρατον> ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ <πνεῦμα>) is indicated.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 623

26. NHC VIII 91,19 (*Zost.*)

Context almost completely destroyed.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 625

27. NHC VIII 118,10 (*Zost.*)

In the praise directed by Barbêlô toward herself and the invisible spirit; an aeon (αἰών), the knowledge (γνῶσις) of the invisible perfect

three-powered spirit (ⲡⲓⲁϩⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ <ἀόρατον> ⲛ̄ⲱ̄ⲙ̄ⲧ̄ⲥⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ <τέλειος> ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ <πνεῦμα>).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 637

28. NHC VIII 119,23 (*Zost.*)

Context fragmentarily preserved; the passage treats about Kalyptos, a subaeon of Barbêlô.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 639

29. NHC VIII 122,1 (*Zost.*)

Preceding lines destroyed. The phrase "becomes a Barbêlô, becomes a primordial aeon" (ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲃ̄ⲁ̄ⲣⲃⲏⲗⲱ ϣⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲱⲛ <αἰών>) refers probably to Kalyptos, a subaeon of Barbêlô.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 641

30. NHC VIII 124,11 (*Zost.*)

The follower (ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲏϩ) of the eon (αἰών) of Barbêlô, i.e. Kalyptos subaeon; the subject received goodness (ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ <ἀγαθός>) through an unnamed figure, probably the first-appeared (πρωτοφανής).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 645

31. NHC VIII 129,10 (*Zost.*)

In a short doxology directed by →Zostrianos towards the supreme aeons; the virgin (παρθενός).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 653

32. NHC IX 5,27^{v2} (*Melch.*)

Context partially destroyed, reconstructed on the basis of BCNH T 29:72; in a hymn addressed to twelve aeonic figures; the movement of every nature (φύσις); the mother of aeons (ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ <αἰών>). In this passage the name is partially reconstructed [ⲧⲃ̄]ⲁⲣⲃ̄[ⲏⲗⲱⲛ] and the ending -ⲱⲛ bases only on NHC IX 16,26. It may be a specific feature of *Melch.*, it might be, though, also an isolated scribal error.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 28: 31, 132; Van der Kerchove 2013: 274

33. NHC IX 16,26^{v2} (*Melch.*)

In a form of a trishagion-prayer; the mother of the aeons (ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ <αἰών>). The prayer opens with triple "You are holy" (ⲧⲉⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ), and ends with "for ever and ever. Amen."

Gunk, Mahé, Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 154—155; Van der Kerchove 2013: 274

34. NHC X 8,28 (*Marsanes*)

The aeon (αἰών); the male virgin (ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθενός> ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲩⲧ); she became male because she had been divided from the male. In this passage, Marsanes in the 1st sing. describes how the power (δύναμις) leads him into Barbêlô-aeon.

Pearson 1981, in: NHS 15: 274; Funk, Poirier, Turner 2001, in: BCNH T 27: 394—395

35. NHC X 43*,21—22 (*Marsanes*)

Context very fragmentary, only the pharase "divine Barbêlô" (ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲏⲗⲱ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) is possible to be reconstructed. This is the only attestation of the epithet "divine" in connection with Barbêlô.

Funk, Poirier, Turner 2001, in: BCNH T 27: 464

36. NHC XI 46,34^{v3} (*Allogenes*)

The aeon (αἰών). Turner understands the vision of the aeon of Barbêlo in this passage as the final stage of Allogenes's initiation.

Turner & Wintermute 1990, in: NHS 28: 249; Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 14—15

37. NHC XI 51,13—14 (*Allogenes*)

An aeon (ⲡⲓⲉⲱⲛ <αἰών> ⲛ̄ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲏⲗⲱ). It has types (τύπος) and forms (εἶδος) of those who trully exist, the image (εἰκῶν) of the hidden one (καλυπτός), the first-appeared (πρωτοφανής) of a male mind (νοῦς), the divine self-generated (ἀυτογενής), the divine triple male (ⲡⲱϣⲛⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲧ).

Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 17

38. NHC XI 53,28—29 (*Allogenes*)

Aeon (αἰών) of Barbêlô is the same as the first thought (ϯⲱⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲛⲟⲓⲁ <ἔννοια>).

Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 18

39. NHC XI 56,26—27 (*Allogenes*)

The luminaries (φωστήρ) of the aeon (αἰών) of Barbêlô are introduced.

Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 20—21

40. NHC XI 58,21 (*Allogenes*)

In the 1st sing. revelation, the self-generated (αὐτογενής) relates his vision of the aeon (αἰών) of Barbêlô, which is probably the same as the directly preceding primary origin of blessedness (ϯⲱⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲏ <ἀρχή> ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ <μακάριος>).

Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 21—22

41. NHC XI 59,3—4 (*Allogenes*)

In the 1st person sing. revelation; Autogenes turns to the aeon (αἰών) of Barbêlô.

Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 22

42. NHC XI 59,6 (*Allogenes*)

The male virgin (ϯⲯⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθενός>); her luminaries (φωστήρ) enable Allogenes to see powers (ⲯⲉⲛⲥⲟⲙ).

Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 22—23

43. NHC XIII 38*,9 (*Trim. Prot.*)

In the 1st person sing. self-proclamation; the first thought of the Father (i.e. Protennoia); the perfect glory, the image (εἰκών) of the Invisible Spirit (πνεῦμα), the mother and the light.

44. CT 35,18 (*Gos. Jud.*)

Judas proclaims that the origin of Jesus derives from the immortal (ἀθάνατος) aeon (αἰών) of Barbêlô.

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 327—328

Other texts

CB p. 133, ll. 6, 13 (2Jeu); ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲏⲗⲟⲥ; placed in the twelfth aeon together with an invisible god (ⲁⲯⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ).

CA p. 13, l. 22 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲏⲗⲱ; the power of Barbêlô is the body (σῶμα), which Jesus wore in the height; he casts it into Mary.

CA p. 48, l. 12 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲏⲗⲱ; there are great emanations (ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲃⲟⲗⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲥ) of Barbêlô.

CA p. 116, l. 26 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲏⲗⲱ; Mary received the form (μορφή) of Saviour (?) from Barbêlô according to the matter (ὕλη).

CA p. 122, l. 9 (Pistis Sophia I); ϐαρϐηλω; Jesus came forth from Barbêlô.

CA p. 128, ll. 4, 7, 22 (Pistis Sophia II); ϐαρϐηλω; little →Sabaôt^{h} casts truth into the matter (ὕλη) of Barbêlô which is the body of the Saviour.

CA p. 129, l. 4 (Pistis Sophia II); ϐαρϐηλω; Saviour receives the garment of light from Barbêlô.

CA p. 354, ll. 12—13 (Pistis Sophia IV); ϐαρϐηλω; Jesus calls her a leech (βδέλλα).

CA p. 356, l. 25 (Pistis Sophia IV); ϐαρϐηλος; mother of Pistis Sop^{h}ia.

CA p. 368, ll. 3, 9 (Pistis Sophia IV); ϐαρϐηλος; Jesus takes wine and blood from her place (τόπος).

CA p. 373, l. 23 (Pistis Sophia IV); ϐαρϐηλω; together with other powers, she praises the secret powerful name.

Irenaeus, *Haer* 1,29,1: Barbelon; In the system of Gnostics (Gnostici), she is an aeon who does not grow old and who was the principle of creation.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 25,2,2 and 4; Βαρβηλώ; according to some Nicolaites, Barbelô is an emanation of the father and the mother of →Ialdabaôt^{h} or →Sabaôt^{h}. She resides in the eighth heaven. Being distressed because of her son's vainglory, she had an intercourse with the archons to plant her power in their children.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 25,3,4; Βαρβηλώ; according to the others among Nicolaites, →Ialdabaôt^{h} is the eldest son of Barbelô.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 26,1,9; Βαρβηλώ; in a description of the system of Gnostics, also called Borborites, the one originated from the powers on high, revealed to Noah by Noria; an adversary of the archon.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 26,10,4 and 10: Βαρβηλώ, Βαρβηρώ: in a description of the system of Gnostics, also called borborites; the mother of the living (ἡ μήτηρ τῶν ζώντων), to whom the soul possessing gnosis ascends; located in the 8th heaven.

Theodoretus, *Haer.* 1,13: Βαρβηλώθ; the first aeon in the system of barbeliotes (βαρβηλιωτῶν); she resides in the virgin Spirit.

Priscillian, *Lib.ap.* 35 (CSCL 18, p. 29, l. 15); Barbilon; given, among others, as an example of a power which is not a God. In this passage, it is not specified who acknowledges the divine nature of Barbilon. Schepss (CSCL 18, XVI) suggests that the name should be emended against codex as Barbelon.

Texts of ritual power

P.Macq. I 1, p. 1, l. 16 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 44); ϐαρϐελω; the living wisdom (ⲧⲓⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ <σοφία> ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ), filled from the loins of the father and who begotten the perfect living man (ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ<τέλειος> ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

The origin of the name is uncertain and many etymologies have been proposed. Probably the Gnostics did not know its meaning and did not

trouble about it because they do not provide any etymology (in contrast to →Ialdabaôth). Already Bousset (1907: 14) proposed that it might by a deformation of Greek παρθένος, "a virgin." Quispel (1965: 73) provides the similar names and proposed hypothetical etymology of Abrbeloth based on ʿchabēr baal, "companion of the Lord," leaving uncertain if he derives the name Barbêlô also from this phrase. Fauth (1973: 81—83) traces it back to the decan name Marmariaô (or its variants) and proposes Semitic Vorlage as "Herr der Lichter" (מר מאורות). Böhlig (1989b: 427; cf. Scopello 1981: 378) suggests the Aramaic ba'rba' 'elōh — "in vier ist Gott." Van der Kerchove (2013: 274) traces in this name the Aramaic word *bar*, "a son," leaving belô(n) unexplained. Scopello (1981: 378 n. 26) refers to the etymology "Bar Baal" — the son of the Lord." Jackson (1989: 74—75) derives it from *nomina barbara* of the magical texts, where the names and *voces* very often comprise the syllabes βαρ and βαρβαρ (→ⲃⲁⲣⲃⲁⲣ). He notes that the dissimilation of the liquid λ and ρ is a frequent phenomenon, and along this line, explains the variant in Epiphanius. As the proof, he is able, however, to refer only to the forms like βερβαλι or βελβαλι found in PGM XIII, ll. 75, 198, 205—206, 529—530, 549—550, 587). The plain fact that he is unable to detect any of the variant names present in the Gnostic texts (or even anything undoubtedly derived from them) is a proof against his hypothesis.

Regardless the etymology of her name, Barbêlô is an original Gnostic--Sethian creation. In the early Sethian texts (*Ap. John*, *Trim. Prot.*) Barbêlô is an element of the supreme divine triad, consisting of the invisible spirit, his first thought — Barbêlô, and the self-generated (Autogenes) as her self-begotten child. Triple (or multiple) nature of Barbêlô, pointed at in those early works, refers to her as a whole, completeness. The same function has a common notion of her as a male-virgin or androgynous (Turner 2000, in: BCNH T 27: 103).

In the later texts (*Allogenes*, *Marsanes*, *Steles Seth*, *Zost.*), the relation between the first principle, the invisible spirit, and Barbêlô is mediated through the three powered one, but the exact nature of relationship between those figures differs from one text to another. In those later texts, the triadic nature of Barbêlô means that her aeonic nature is complex and the three subaeons are contained within her: the hidden one (Kalyptos), the first-appeared (Protophanes), and the self-generated (Autogenes). Precise relation of Barbêlô and her subaeons vary according to each single treatise. Besides subaeons, Barbêlô is a residue of many other divine figures. The divine figures above and within Barbêlô are in spiritual and

intellectual motion and might be to some extent interchangeable. In those later texts, Barbêlô is deprived of any individuality and appears as a non--personal element of the spiritual structure.

Quispel 1965: 73; Fauth 1973: 81—83; Scopello 1981; Stroumsa 1984: 61—62; Böhlig 1989b: 427; Jackson 1989: 74—75; Brashear 1995: 3582; Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 75—76.81—113; Funk, Poirier and Turner 2000, in: BCNH T 27: 102—110.394—395; Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 10; Van der Kerchove 2013: 274—275; Evans 2015: 58, 125—127

86 ⲃⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ (barias)

1. NHC II 16,18 = NHC IV 25,19 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right hip (ⲧϯⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM VII, l. 198 (PGM 2: 8; GMPT: 121); βαριας; part of a word of power prescribed to be written and worn as an amulet against the flows from eyes.

Meyer & Smith 127, l. 108 (Kropp I: 62; Meyer & Smith 1999: 269); ⲃⲁⲣⲓⲁⲛⲁ; in the sequence of words of power.

87 ⲃⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ (bariêl)

1. NHC XIII 48*,22 (*Trim. Prot.*)

One of the three enthroning ones (ⲛⲉⲧϯⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ <θρόνος>), together with →Nouth*a*n and →Sabênai. Protennoia delivers an initiated (his exact identity is uncertain) to them, and they enthroned him from the throne of glory (ⲡⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ <θρόνος> ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ).

Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 352

Texts of ritual power

PGM IV, l. 1030 (PGM 1: 108; GMPT: 58); Βαρβαριήλ; a god (θεός) with a gold crown and a memnonian staff (ῥάβδος Μεμνοΐνης) in his hand. Most probably, in this case we do not have a reference to an angel Bariêl but rather the common word of power Βαρβαρ supplemented with theomorphic suffix.

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 12, l. 11 (Kropp I: 72; Meyer & Smith 1999: 140); ⲃⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ; one of the seven archangels of →Gabriêl.

Other texts

The name is present as a name of angel in some Hebrew texts (Schwab 1897: 200).

Etymology, commentary and literature

From Hebr. בריאל — "God has created him." The figure of Bariêl as well as other two enthroning ones, are known only from *Trim. Prot.*

Schwab 1897: 200; Michl 1962: 208; Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 352

88 ⲃⲁⲣⲣⲱⲫ (barrôp^{h})

1. NHC II 16,13 (*Ap. John*)

Name in the NHC IV 25,13 fully reconstructed on the basis of NHC II; an angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left breast (ⲧⲥⲓⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

89 ⲃⲁⲣⲫⲁⲣⲁⲅⲅⲏⲥ (barp^{h}araggês) = ⲥⲉⲥⲉⲅⲅⲉⲛⲃⲁⲣⲫⲁⲣⲁⲅⲅⲏⲥ (seseggenbarp^{h}araggês)^{v} = ⲥⲉⲥⲉⲅⲅⲉⲛⲃⲁⲣⲫⲁⲣⲁⲅⲅⲏⲛ (seseggenbarp^{h}araggên)^{v2}

1. NHC III 64,18^{v2} = NHC IV 76,7^{v} (*Gos. Eg.*)

On a list of divine beings revealed to the subject; a purifier (NHC IV: ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲧ̄ⲃⲃⲟ; according to NHC III, it is the separate group of beings).

2. NHC VIII 6,12 (*Zost.*)

In the →Zostrianos's description of the first baptism in the name of the self-generated (αὐτογενής); the great one; the one who purifies (ⲧ̄ⲃⲃⲟ).

Funk, Poirier, Turner 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 503

Other texts

CB p. 263, l. 27 (Untitled Text); ⲃⲁⲣⲫⲁⲣⲁⲅⲅⲏⲥ; the power (ⲥⲟⲙ) over the living water. It purifes two other powers, →Mik^{h}ar and →Mik^{h}eu.

PGM II, l. 108 (PGM 1: 26; GMPT: 16); σενσενγεν· βαρφαραγγης; one of the names of the supreme deity of many names (πολυώνυμος).

PGM II, l. 122 (PGM 1: 28; GMPT: 17); σεσενγενβαρφαραγγης; associated with waters (σεσενγενβαρφαραγγης ὑδάτων); one of the names of the supreme deity.

PGM II, l. 174 (PGM 1: 30; GMPT: 18); σενσενγεν βαρφαραγγης; written under the figura magica of the headless one.

PGM III, l. 13 (PGM 1: 34; GMPT: 18); σεσενγεν βαρφαραργης; one of the names of a sacred spirit (ἱερὸν πνεῦμα).

PGM III, ll. 79—80 (PGM 1: 36; GMPT: 20); σε[σε]νγενβ[αρ]φαραγγ[ης]; in the sequence of words of power.

PGM III, l. 110 (PGM 1: 36; GMPT: 21); σ]εσενγεν βαρφαραγγη[ς]; in the sequence of names of power.

PGM III, l. 155 (PGM 1: 38; GMPT: 22); σεσενγεν βαρφαραγγης; an amplifier of fire and of much light (πυρὸς αὐξητὰ καὶ πολλοῦ φωτ[ὸς]).

PGM III, l. 217 (PGM 1: 42; GMPT: 24); σεσε[νγενβ]αρφαραγγης; probably the name of god.

PGM III, l. 436 (PGM 1: 50; GMPT: 30); σεσενγεν βαρφαραγγης; part of the name of power to be pronounced on the 15th day of the moon according to the charm for foreknowledge.

PGM IV, l. 364 (PGM 1: 84; GMPT: 45); σεσενγεν βαρφαραγγης; one of the names of power by which the god of the demon of the dead (νεκύδαιμον) is invoked.

PGM IV, ll. 981—982 (PGM 1: 106; GMPT: 57); σεσενγενβαρφαραγγης; in the sequence of names of power associated with "the holy light" (ἱερὸν φῶς).

PGM IV, l. 1025 (PGM 1: 108; GMPT: 58); σεσενγεν βαρφαραγγης; the lord; the one who has his power and strength in fire.

PGM VI, l. 34 (PGM 1: 200; GMPT: 111); σεσεγγενβαρφαραγης; one of the names of power associated with Apollo as the son of Leto.

PGM VII, l. 312 (PGM 2: 14; GMPT: 125); <σ>εσενγεν βαρ[φαρανγης]; in the sequence of words and names of power to be written on a phylacterion.

PGM VII, l. 1005 (PGM 2: 44; GMPT: 144); σεσε]γγ[ενβαρφαραγγης; invoked in a conjuration of the demon of the dead (νεκύδαιμον).

PGM XII, l. 170 (PGM 2: 69; Daniel 1991: 10; GMPT: 159); [σεσε]νγεν βαρφαραγγης; the holy (ἅγιος); the one who loosens all the chains (ὁ διαλύων πάντα τὰ δεσμὰ), etc.

PGM XII, l. 295 (PGM 2: 78; Daniel 1991: 18; GMPT: 164); σεισενγφαραγγης; in the sequence of names and words of power, and vowel permutations associated with "the greatest god, who surpasses all the power" (Θεὲ μέγιστε, ὃς ὑπερβάλλεις τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν).

PGM XXXVI, l. 242 (PGM 2: 171; GMPT: 275); σεσεγγενβαρφαργγης; prescribed to be permuted many times and written together with a figura magica in the curse spell.

PGM XXXVI, l. 310 (PGM 2: 173; GMPT: 276); σεσενγενβαρφαραγγης; one of the names of power prescribed to be adjured in the love spell.

PGM XLIII, ll. 15—16 (PGM 2: 179; GMPT: 281); σεσεγγεν σφραγγης; in the sequence of names and words of power used in the protection spell.

PGM XLVIII, ll. 4—5 (PGM 2: 181; GMPT: 282); cecεrrec βαρφαραrrec; in the sequence of words of power and permutations of vowels; in a protection spell.

PGM LXVII, ll. 13—14 (PGM 2: 200; GMPT: 296); σε[σενγεν βαρφαραγγης; in the sequence of names of power, probably in the compound holy name of the demon (ἅγιον ὄνομα τοῦ δαίμονος).

PGM CVI, ll. 2 and 5 (Brashear 1975: 28; *Suppl.Mag.* I: 27, No 10; GMPT: 310—311); Σεσενγ[ε]ρ Βαρφαρ[αν]γης; Σεσενγεν Βφαραγης; in the sequence of names and words of power used in the protective spell.

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5306, l. 11; [Σ]εσενκεν Βραφαραγγης; the great one invoked in a protective spell.

Meyer & Smith 64, l. 130 (Kropp I: 21; Meyer & Smith 1999: 124); βαρφαρανκγc.

Meyer & Smith 117, ll. 80—81 (Satzinger & Sijpesteijn 1988: 56; Meyer & Smith 1999: 235); cнcнnкнβαρφαrнc; invoked to appear to a practitioner.

Meyer & Smith 128, l. 9 (Kropp I: 50; Kropp II: 31; Meyer & Smith 1999: 270); Kropp I divided as: cecaN·κεβαρ·θαρακ·εcταmнaмnoγτε; Kropp II already: cecεrrεN βαρφαραrrнc; Meyer reads "Sesanke Barpharakes Tameamnoues" ignoring the separators; one of those on the right and on the left (of God?).

Meyer & Smith 131, ll. 96, [103] (Kropp I: 39; Kropp II: 139; Kropp 1965: 18; Meyer & Smith 1999: 285); cγncγnrнc [βαρ]ф[αρα]nr[нc]; invoked to appear to a practitioner and fight (нιϣε) for him. The name in l. 103, restored only in Kropp 1965.

Meyer & Smith 133, p. 19, l. 3 (Worrell 1930: 253; Mirecki 1994: 451; Meyer & Smith 1999: 309); cecнkιnβαρφακнc; in a very long sequence of names and words of power.

P.Iand. inv. 9 A,B, p. 8, ll. 4—5 (Kropp 1965: 12); cεnceнκε βαρφαN; one of the holy names (нτнναmιc <δύναμις> ετογααβ) by which Bat^{h}ouriêl is invoked.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 10, ll. 18—19 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 62); cecнnrнnβαρφαραNκнc; in invocation (containing many names and words of power) to those on the right side, the left side, and beside the divinity (τнєτнογτε).

Gager 1992: 101, No 29, l. 4 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 211, No 51); σ]εσ[ε]νγεν φαρ[α]γγης; one of the names of power used to adjure a nekydaimon.

Gager 1992: 169, No 77, l. 25; (Youtie & Bonner 1937: 55); σεσενγεν ιω βαρφαραν[γης ...]; in a sequences of the *voces magicae* and names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 82, No 18, ll. 4, 10—11; Σεσεγενβαρφαανγης, Σεσεγνβαρβαργνς; in the sequence of names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 206, No 38, l. 6; Σεσενγενβαρφαραγγης; on a long list of names of power invoked against male and female demons.

Kotansky 1994: 249, No 48, ll. 5—6; Σεσενγενβαρφαρανγης; in the sequence of names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 326, No 57, ll. 5—6; Σεσενγενβαρφαρανγης; in a long sequence of names of power invoked against epilepsy and headache.

Kotansky 1980b, ll. 16—17 (Kotansky 1980b: 181); Σεσενγενβαρφαρανγης; in the sequence of names of power, letters and characters, used in the spell against evil spirit and epilepsy (πτωματισμός).

Bonner 1950: 255, No 13; Σεσενγενβαρανγης; Obv. A mummy, Ἀβρασάξ on the left, Μωσην on the right, ζοζζοζ below; Rev. σεσενγενβαρανγης.

Bonner 1950: 292, No 233; Σεσενγενφαρανγη; Obv. A lion-headed figure, σεσ. below; Rev. Plain.

Bonner 1950: 357, No 314; Σεσενγενφαρανγης; Obv. Ouroboros enclosing Sarapis seating on the throne; Rev. No figures, only a sequence of words of power, σεσ. among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 292, No 416; Σεσεγγενβαρφαρανγης; Obv. A man holding a wreath and a serpent; Σεσ. Δαμναμενευς on the serpent. Rev. Vowels.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 302, No 434; Σεσενγενβαρφαραγγης; Obv. A nude warrior; Rev. A goat, Σεσ. around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 333—334, No 510; Σεσενβαριαρανγης; Obv. Σεσ. and characters within Ouroboros; Rev. A sequence of names and words of power.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 337, No 516: Σεσενγενφαρανγης; No figures, a sequence of names and words of power on both sides, Σεσ. among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 340, No 520; Σεσεγγενβαρφαρανγης; No figures, a sequence of names and words of power on both sides, Σεσ. among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 340, No 521; Σεσενγεν βαρμ..αρανγης; No figures, a sequence of names and words of power on both sides, Σεσ. among them.

On other gems, in association with a cock-headed anguipede: Gesztelyi 2000: 80, No 54 (Σεσεγγενβαρφαραγγης); with a gorgoneion: Philipp 1986: 51—52, No 49; with Heliorus: Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 166—167, No 2220 (Σεσενγενβαγαραγγησγρην); Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 65, No 9 (Σισενγενβαρφαρανγη); with Ouroboros: Zazoff *et al.* 1970: 56—57, 196 (Σσσενγενβαρφαραν); on non-figurative gems: Philipp 1986: 119, No 195 (Σεσενγενβαρψαρανγες).

Dupont-Sommer 1951: 10 (Scholem 1960: 85); ויגסוס וגרפרב; in the sequence of names by which the Metatron is to be blessed.

Etymology, commentary and literature

A relatively common name in the Aramaic texts of ritual power (see e.g. Naveh & Shaked 1985: 70, Amulet No 7, l. 11; Naveh & Shaked 1993: 73, 85, Amulet No 22, l. 11; Amulet No 25, l. 8). In the Jewish circles, Barpharaggês might be understood as the spirit "Sesengen, the son of Pharanges," but

the Semitic origin of the name is not certain, may be derived from Persian (Scholem 1960: 97—100). Fauth (1970) compares him with the god "Ssm bn Pdršša."

In a sharp contrast to the texts of ritual power, in the Sethian tradition Barpharagges never was a deity of supreme or major importance. He appears only twice in the Sethian corpus as a purificator and is always associated with the process of baptism. He does not belong to the core of the Sethian system but was appropriated by some strands of the Sethian tradition, probably influenced by baptismal groups of Semitic background.

Scholem 1960: 97; Fauth 1970: 254—155; Jackson 1989: 76; Brashear 1995: 3598

90 ⲃⲁⲥⲓⲗⲓⲁⲇⲏⲙⲏ (basiliadêmê)

1. NHC II 16,2 = NHC IV 24,32 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the tonsils (παρίσθμιον).

91 ⲃⲁⲥⲧⲁⲛ (bastan)

1. NHC II 17,27 (*Ap. John*)

The name in NHC IV reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC IV; one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the right foot (ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

Texts of ritual power

Meyer & Smith 43, l. 23 (Worrell 1935: 18; Meyer & Smith 1999: 84); ⲃⲁⲥⲧⲁⲓ; one of the names of Isis. Although the spell has a healing purpose, the other names of Isis do not correspond to other powers of *Ap. John*, so also the resemblance of Bastai and Bastan is a matter of coincidence.

92 ⲃⲉⲇⲟⲩⲕ (bedouk)

1. NHC II 16,28 = NHC IV 26,3 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right buttock (ⲡⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ). There is no creator of the left buttock on the list.

93 ⲃⲉⲗⲓⲁⲥ (belias)

1. NHC II 11,3 = NHC III 17,5 = BG 40,18—19 (*Ap. John*)

The twelfth authority (ἐξουσία), the angel (only in NHC III and BG: ἄγγελος) begotten by the archon (ἄρχων). Only in NHC II characterized as the one over the depth of Amente (ⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲡϫⲓⲕ ⲛ̄ⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ).

Other texts

Ps.-Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5,26,4; Βελίας; In the system of Justin (the Gnostic), one of the 12 mother's angels (τῶν μητρικῶν ἀγγέλων) generated by the first principles Father and Edem.

Texts of ritual power

PGM IV, l. 962 (PGM 1: 106; GMPT: 55); βελια; in the sequence of names and words of power and permutations of vowels associated with the living and fiery (πυριφεγγής) god, begetter of life (ὁ ἀόρατος φωτὸς γεννήτωρ).

Gager 1992: 214, No 115, l. 34 (Collart 1930: 250); Βελίας; in the sequence of names of power.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Without any doubt the name Belias is a distortion of the Hebrew בליעל word that in the Bible denotes the wicked or the worthless. Later it developed into demonic figure popular in the Jewish pseudepigraphic literature (cf. Βελιάρ in index to *Testamenta XII patriarchum*, de Jonge 1978: 214; see also *Oracula Sibyllina* II 167; III 63 and 73; *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*; *Lifes of the prophets*). It is attested also in *NT* in Rom 6:15 in the form Βελιάρ. The name is a clear loan from the Jewish tradition (but the intermediation of *NT* cannot be excluded), but in *Ap. John* it is fitted into Sethian model of multiple rulers over the cosmos. The change in the spelling is also noteworthy. As the case of Justin the Gnostic testifies, a form "Belias" was known in various Gnostic circles. Belias should be identified with one of the five "over the chaos of the underworld" installed below the seven kings over the heavens (BG 41,12—15).

Michl 1962: 209; Tardieu 1984: 284; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 250—253

94 ⲃⲏⲣⲓⲑⲉⲩ (bêrit^{h}eu)

1. NHC VIII 88,10 (*Zost.*)

Context partially destroyed; in a doxology directed toward many spiritual beings.

Barry & Funk (2000, in: BCNH T 24: 400) restore the name as ⲏⲣⲃⲏ[ⲣ]ⲓ[ⲑⲉⲩ.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 624.

2. NHC XI 54,17 (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage with other divine beings; individual power or only a name of →Epip^{h}aneu.

Texts of ritual power

PGM XIII, l. 167 (PGM 2: 95; Daniel 1991: 38; GMPT: 177); βεριθεν; in a three--element sequence of words of power associated with the god over the cosmos and fire (θεὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ πυρός).

Etymology, commentary and literature

It seems that all the names in the doxology NHC VIII 88b—23a should be interpreted as a collective designation of Barbelo as the first Kalyptos. They never appear independently and have no particular identity.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 624

95 ⲃⲉⲣⲱⲧⲑ (berôtt^{h})

1. NHC VI 41,30 (*Great Pow.*)

The latest edition of the text by Cherix (= BCNH C 2) differs from the edition of NHS 11 and gives ⲁϩⲉⲛ$\overline{\text{ⲃⲉⲣⲱⲧⲑ}}$. This phrase was primarily understood as "for nine bronze coins" (NHS 11:309). The first to understand it as a proper name was Schenke (1985). However, his observation was for a long time not fully acknowledged.

Dead Jesus is handed over to →Sasabek and Berôtt^{h} and put to shame (ἐλέγχειν). Williams identifies the tormented not as Jesus but as Judas's soul punished by Christ.

Etymology, commentary and literature

As Ghica notes, in the Phoenician theogony as presented by Philo of Byblos (Eusebius, *P.e.* 1,10,14), βηρούθ is the masculine element in the primeval divine couple.

Williams 1979, in: NHS 11: 307; Schenke 1985; Cherix 1993, in: BCNH C 2; Ghica 2010: 95—99

96 ⲃⲏⲗⲩⲁⲓ (bêluai)

1. NHC II 16,9 = NHC IV 25,9 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left hand (ⲧⲥⲓⲝ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

ⲃⲏⲣⲓⲑⲉⲩ → ⲃⲉⲣⲓⲑⲉⲩ

97 ⲃⲓⲃⲗⲱ (biblô)

1. NHC II 16,23 = NHC IV 25,26 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the kidneys (ⲛ̄ⲥⲗⲁⲧⲉ <ⲥⲗⲱⲧ>).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Quack emends the name to ⲃⲓⲃⲓⲱ and interprets it as an Egyptian phrase "soul of souls" (in the Greek magical tradition as βιβιου), although he also points at the possible link to the 1st decan of Pisces (Greek βιου). One way or another, the figure is rooted in the Egyptian tradition.

Gundel 1936: 77; Quack 1995: 116

98 ⲃⲓⲛⲉⲃⲟⲣⲓⲛ (bineborin)

1. NHC II 16,26 (*Ap. John*)

The name in NHC IV 25, 30 is fully reconstructed on the basis of NHC II; an angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the arteries (ἀρτερία).

99 ⲃⲓⲥⲥⲟⲩⲙ (bissoum)

1. NHC II 15,34 (*Ap. John*)

NHC IV 24,29 restored completely on the basis of NHC II; an angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right ear (ⲡⲙⲁⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM XII, l. 289 (PGM 2: 78; GMPT: 164); βεσσουμ; in the sequence of names of power associated with the greatest god (μέγιστος θέος).

Commentary and literature

The identification of the power with the word of power given in PGM XII is possible but not certain. Presence of Astap^{h}aios in the same sequence of names of power in PGM does not settle the Sethian provenance of Bissoum.

Jackson 1989: 76

100 ⲃⲗⲁⲟⲙⲏⲛ (blaomên)

1. NHC II 18,17 (*Ap. John*)

The name in NHC IV reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC II; the chief demon (ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ <ἀρχηγός> ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ <δαίμων>); he belongs to fear (ⲧⲣⲛⲱⲣⲉ <ⲧⲣⲛⲱⲱⲣⲉ>).

101 ⲃⲟⲁⲃⲉⲗ (boabel)

1. NHC II 17,4 = NHC IV 26,13 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of toes (ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲛⲃⲉ) of the right foot.

102 ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ (gabriêl)

1. NHC III 52,23 = NHC IV 64,17 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The great one (ⲡⲛⲟϭ), servant (NHC III: διάκονος; NHC IV: διάκων) of →Oroiaêl.

Choat & Gardner 2013: 15

2. NHC III 53,6 = NHC IV 64,28 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The great one (ⲡⲛⲟϭ); love (ἀγάπη) is his consort (σύζυγος).

3. NHC III 57,7 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The great one (ⲡⲛⲟϭ); servant (διάκων) of →Oroiaêl; →Gamaliêl talked to him about angel of chaos (χάος).

4. NHC III 64,26—27 = NHC IV 76,18 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The great one (ⲡⲛⲟϭ); a servant (NHC III: διάκονος; NHC IV: διάκων) of light (φωστήρ; ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

5. NHC VIII 57,9 (*Zost.*)

In a destroyed context. The restorations of the closest context by Barry & Funk (in: BCNH T 24: 346) and Turner (in: BCNH T 57: 570) differ completely.

6. NHC VIII 58,21—22 (*Zost.*)

Spirit-giver (ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄); the mediator of the invisible spirit (ⲡⲓⲁϩⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 574

7. CT 53,23 (*Gos. Jud.*)

On the command of the great spirit; he gave spirits (πνεῦμα) to the great generation (γενεά).

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 362—363

Other texts

CA p. 12, l. 4 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; an angel (ἄγγελος) of the aeons; Jesus took his likeness when entered the world (κόσμος).

CA p. 12, l. 6 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; an angel (ἄγγελος); archons (ἄρχων) thought that Jesus entering the world is a real Gabriêl.

CA p. 13, l. 20 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; Jesus speaks to Mary in the type (τύπος) of Gabriel.

CA p. 125, l. 8 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; Jesus took the type (τύπος) of Gabriel and looked down at Mary from heaven.

CA p. 129, l. 17 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; together with →Mikʰaêl summoned by the first mystery (ⲡⲓⲫⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲓⲟⲛ), equipped with the outpouring of light (ⲧⲁⲡⲟϩⲣⲟⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ) and sent to the chaos (χάος) to help Pistis Sophia.

CA p. 130, ll. 12, 20 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; together with →Mikʰaêl will give the mysteries of the light to the powers.

CA p. 131, l. 1 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; Gabriêl and →Mikʰaêl did not take for themselves from the light of Pistis Sophia.

CA p. 133, l. 20 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; together with →Mikʰaêl poured the light over the body (σῶμα) of Pistis Sophia.

CA p. 134, l. 15 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; a servant of drink (ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱ), i.e. outpouring of light; together with →Mikʰaêl brought the drink into the chaos (χάος) and brought Pistis Sophia up.

CA p. 134, l. 20 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; together with →Mikʰaêl did not take the lights of Pistis Sophia for themselves but cast them onto her.

CA p. 139, ll. 10, 12 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; together with →Mikʰaêl guided Pistis Sophia through the places (τόπος) of the chaos (χάος) and brought her up.

CA p. 141, l. 15 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; together with →Mikʰaêl set on the left side of Pistis Sophia.

CA p. 148, l. 15 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; together with →Mikʰaêl guided Pistis Sophia through the places (τόπος) of the chaos (χάος) and brought her up.

Ps.-Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5,26,3; Γαβριήλ; In the system of Justin (the Gnostic) one of the father's 12 angels generated by the first principles Father and Edem.

Origen, *C.Cels.* 6,30; Γαβριήλ; the fourth of the seven ruling demons in the Ophite diagram as described by Origen; in a shape of an eagle.

Test.Sol. 18,6; Γαβριήλ; His name causes the spirit (πνεῦμα) and an element (στοιχεῖον) Barsapʰaêl to withdraw.

Texts of ritual power

PGM I, l. 301 (PGM 1: 16; GMPT: 11); Γαβριήλ; identified with Apollo; the first angel (πρωτάγγελε).

PGM III, l. 149 (PGM 1: 38; GMPT: 22); Γαβριήλ; the god (θεός); the divine power conjured by him.

PGM III, l. 406 (PGM 1: 48; GMPT: 28); [Γ]αβριήλ; in the sequence of words and names of power.

PGM III, l. 534 (PGM 1: 54; GMPT: 32); Γαβριήλ; in the sequence of words and names of power.

PGM IV, l. 1815 (PGM 1: 128; GMPT: 71); Γαβριήλ; one of the seven angelic names inscribed as "a sword" (τὸ ξίφος) on a golden leaf.

PGM VII, l. 1013 (PGM 2: 44; GMPT: 145); Γαβριήλ; a powerful archangel (δυνατός ἀρχάγγελος); called in the purpose of divination by a dream.

PGM X, l. 44 (PGM 2: 53; GMPT: 150); Γαβριήλ; in the sequence of names (ὀνόματα) prescribed to be written in a lamella (λάμνα) with the subjection spell.

PGM XXIIa, l. 27 (PGM 2: 148; GMPT: 260); Γαβριήλ; the paradigm of fame in a prayer of favor addressed to Helios, the god over the heavens.

PGM XXXVI, l. 310 (PGM 2: 173; GMPT: 276); Γαβριήλ; one of the names of power prescribed to be adjured in the love spell.

PGM XLIII, l. 21 (PGM 2: 180; GMPT: 281); Γαβριήλ; in the sequence of names and words of power used in the protection spell.

PGM CVI, l. 6 (Brashear 1975: 28; *Suppl.Mag.* I: 27; GMPT: 311); Γαβριήλ; in the sequence of five angelic names in the protection spell.

PGM XC, l. 4; (*Suppl.Mag.* II: 205; Traversa 1953: 57; GMPT: 302); Γαβριήλ; in the sequence of names and words of power, many of which with the Jewish connotations.

P.Kell.G. 86, right margin: (*P.Kell.G.*: 216) Γαβριήλ; together with three other angels in a fever amulet.

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5306, l. 7; Γαβριήλ; one of the saint archangels (τῶν ἁγίων ἀρχαγγέλων) of "the great power of our Lord God almighty."

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5312, l. 7; Γαβριήλ; on a list of angelic powers; the one over the powers (ἐπὶ τῶν δυνάμεων).

Meyer & Smith 10 (PGM 2: 221; Meyer & Smith 1999: 36); Γαβριήλ; Invocation of the Christ "who has come through Gabriel in the womb of the virgin Mary" (ὁ ἐλθὼν διὰ τοῦ Γαβριὴλ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς Μαρία[ς], τῆς παρθένο[υ]) (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 29, l. 1 (Barry 1908: 61—62; Meyer & Smith 1999: 52); Καβριήλ; invoked together with →Mikʰaêl and God himself. Barry emendates to Γαβριήλ.

Meyer & Smith 36, ll. 14, 33 (PGM 2: 229—230; Meyer & Smith 1999: 56); Γαβριήλ; invoked together with other angels.

Meyer & Smith 43, ll. 45, 50—51, 118 (Worrell 1935: 19, 23; Meyer & Smith 1999: 85, 87); Γαβριήλ; invoked as a healer: Γαβριήλ θεράπευσον or κύριε Γαβριήλ κύριε Γαβριήλ θεράπευσον τὸν πάσχοντα; invoked together with other divine beings.

Meyer & Smith 54, l. 6 (Quecke 1963: 249; Meyer & Smith 1999: 101); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; in a healing amulet.

Meyer & Smith 57a (Crum 1905: 417, Kropp II: 123; Meyer & Smith 1999: 103); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; the archangel (ἀρχάγγελος) who received the good news of the son of Almighty (ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ) (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999); invoked to give the healing power to water, oil and honey.

Meyer & Smith 63, l. 33 (Beltz 1985: 33; Kropp II: 114; Meyer & Smith 1999: 118); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; invoked together with seven other archangels (ἀρχάγγελος).

Meyer & Smith 64, ll. 35, 39, 117 (Crum 1905: 254; Kropp I: 16, 20; Kropp II: 201, 203; Meyer & Smith 1999: 122, 124); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; a help(er) (ⲃⲱⲏⲑⲓⲁ <βοήθεια>); one of the seven archangels associated with the vowel ε, the *vox magica* ειιακ and the grace (χάρις).

Meyer & Smith 66, col. IIr, l. 2, l. 3v (Worrell 1935: 8, 10; Meyer & Smith 1999: 126—127); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; a protective spell; one of the seven archangels

(ἀρχάγγελος); an angel who stands on the left side of the father (ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲥⲁϩⲃⲟⲩⲣ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ); invoked to come with a fiery sword (ⲧⲉⲕⲥⲛⲏ ⲉⲛⲕϩⲱⲧ).

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 2, l. 6; p. 5, ll. 4, 13; p. 6, l. 11; p. 7, ll. 2, 8, 17, 23; p. 8, ll. 3, 15, l. 21; p. 9, l. 9; p. 10, l. 12; p. 11, ll. 6, 20; p. 12, 1l. 3, 9, 18; p. 13, ll. 4, 9, 14; p. 14, ll. 2, 7—8, 15, 21; p. 15, ll. 3, 8, 16, 22; p. 16, ll. 2, 7, 10, 19, 23; p. 17, l. 4; p. 18, ll. 12, 24; p. 19,l. 3; p. 20, ll. 3, 18; p. 21, l. 4 (Kropp I: 64, 66—79; Meyer & Smith 1999: 135—146); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ, ⲅⲁϥⲣⲓⲉⲗ; in a spell against the powers of evil; the main divine being invoked in the text; the good (p. 12, l. 19 ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲑⲟⲥ <ἀγαθός>); the one over the powers (p. 2, l. 6 ⲡⲉⲑⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲙ); the angel of righteousness (ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲛ̄ⲧⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥⲛⲏⲛ <δικαιοσύνη>); invoked to be "a patron, minister and helper in every task" (ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲧⲁⲧⲏⲥ <προστάτης> ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ <οἰκονόμος> ⲛ̄ⲃⲟⲏⲑⲟⲥ <βοηθός> ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲱϥ ⲛⲓⲙ) (p. 11, ll. 6—9; transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 139).

Meyer & Smith 73, ll. 70, 126, 148, 150, 152, 154, 157, 164, 170, 234, 259, and within the figura magica (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 307, 309—310, 312—313; Meyer & Smith 1999: 155—158); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; the great minister of a blazing flame (ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲛ̄ⲗⲓⲧⲟⲩⲣⲅⲕⲟⲥ <λειτουργός> ⲛ̄ⲑϫⲁϩ ⲛⲥⲁⲧⲓ), the great power of the fire (ⲡⲛⲁⲟ ⲉⲛⲟⲁⲙ ⲉⲛⲕⲱϩⲧ); adjured by the practitioner (Cyprian in the narrative frame of the spell) to bind a desired woman.

Meyer & Smith 77, l. 5 (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 375; Meyer & Smith 1999: 162); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; an archangel; power of →Mikhaêl and Gabriêl invoked to bind a desired woman.

Meyer & Smith 78, l. 8 (Crum 1934a: 51; Meyer & Smith 1999: 165); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; adjured in the love spell where *historiola* appears "[who] went to Joseph and caused him to take Mary for himself as [wife]" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 80, ll. 3v—4v (Crum 1934b: 199; Meyer & Smith 1999: 170); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; invoked to give life (ⲙⲁⲧⲁⲛϩⲱ).

Meyer & Smith 88 (Crum 1905: 506; Kropp II: 225; Meyer & Smith 1999: 187); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; invoked as "my father" (ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ).

Meyer & Smith 90, l. 5 (Ernštedt 1959: 153; Kropp II: 232; Meyer & Smith 1999: 191); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; an archangel (ἀρχάγγελος); listed together with other angels from the God's court in a curse spell.

Meyer & Smith 91, ll. 6r, 25r, 29r (Crum 1896: 86—87; Kropp II: 234, 236; Meyer & Smith 1999: 192—194); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; in the invocation in the phrase "the good news (ⲡⲑⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ) of Gabriel the archangel" (ἀρχάγγελος) (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 192) is also brought up. This has to be understood as a reference to the annunciation. The "fiery sword" (ⲧⲥⲛϥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲉ) of Gabriêl (and of other three angels) is mentioned as a means of punishment.

Meyer & Smith 93, l. 10 (Crum 1905: 506; Kropp II: 241; Meyer & Smith 1999: 197); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; invoked together with other angelic powers to give judgement / in the aggressive spell.

Meyer & Smith 100, l. 2 (Crum 1922: 539, Kropp II: 227; Meyer & Smith 1999: 207); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; Invoked with Mik^{h}ael and Souruel in the curse spell.

Meyer & Smith 101, ll. 2, 8 (Rémondon 1953: 158; Meyer & Smith 1999: 208); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; Gabriêl should cause an ulcerous tumor (ⲛⲁϥⲧⲱⲛⲉ <ⲛⲁϣⲡⲱⲛⲉ>) on the victim of the curse.

Meyer & Smith 102, l. d6 (Brunsch 1978: 152; Meyer & Smith 1999: 209); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; listed with other powers around figura magica in the curse spell.

Meyer & Smith 118, l. 38 (Lange 1932: 163; Meyer & Smith 1999: 238); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; identified with "amuath the sun of Amente" (ⲁⲙⲟⲩⲁⲑ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲛⲁⲙⲧⲉ).

Meyer & Smith 124, l. 18: (no edition of the Coptic text; Meyer & Smith 1999: 251); In the sequence of words and names of power, Jesus among them.

Meyer & Smith 125, l. 3 (No edition of the Coptic text; Meyer & Smith 1999: 251), "Gafriel"; in the sequence of divine and angelic names.

Meyer & Smith 128, l. 4 (Kropp I: 50; Meyer & Smith 1999: 270); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; in a long sequence of names and words of power.

Meyer & Smith 129, l. 11 (Kropp I: 29; Meyer & Smith 1999: 279); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; one of the seven holy archangels (ἀρχάγγελος).

Meyer & Smith 131, ll. 84r, [90r], 44v (Kropp I: 38—39, 42; Kropp 1965: 16, 18, but only ll. 84r, [90r] contained; Meyer & Smith 1999: 284, 287); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; one of the seven; invoked to stand at the left side of the practitioner (ⲁⲣⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲥⲁ ⲣⲃⲟⲩⲣ ⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲓ).

Meyer & Smith 132, ll. 44, 56 (Kropp I: 49; Kropp 1965: 14, but only l. 44 contained; Meyer & Smith 1999: 291); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; one of the seven archangels (ἀρχάγγελος).

Meyer & Smith 133, p. 2, l. 3 (Worrell 1930: 242; Mirecki 1994: 441; Meyer & Smith 1999: 304); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; one of the seven angels.

Meyer & Smith 134 p. 3, l. 16r; p. 4, ll. 17—18v; p. 9, l. 14v (Pleyte & Boeser 1897: 447, 449—450, 458; Kropp II: 164—165, note that the part with the p. 9 is not included by Kropp; Meyer & Smith 1999: 315—316, 319); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; an angel (ἄγγελος), an archangel (ἀρχάγγελος); one of the four holy angels standing before the one, who dwells in the heaven; then one of the seven powers (ⲛⲥⲟⲙ) of god and one of the names of God (ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) and archangelic names (ⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἀρχάγγελος>) with the meaning "God and a man" (ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲓ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ); then, one of the eight (in fact, the context requires only seven names, so one of them seems to be superfluous, maybe interpolated in the tradition) creatures of archangels (ⲛⲓⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἀρχάγγελος>) who stay in front of God's presence and one of the seven names worthy to be heard (ⲡϩⲁⲱϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲩⲟⲩ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ).

Meyer & Smith 135, ll. 217, 219, 274 — above the figura magica (Kropp 1966: 45, 59; Meyer & Smith 1999: 337, 341); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; one of the seven commanders; bearer of the good news.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 7, l. 2 (Meyer 1996: 20); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; adjured together with other archangels (ἀρχάγγελος) to protect the body of the practitioner.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 7, l. 7 (Meyer 1996: 20); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; adjured to be on the left side of the practitioner until pain and fear came out of him.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 10, l. 24 (Meyer 1996: 26); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; in the sequence of the seven angelic names invoked for protection.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 11, l. 3 (Meyer 1996: 28); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; in the sequence of names of power invoked to release the blood (ⲕⲉⲃⲱⲗ ⲡⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟⲃ <ⲥⲛⲟⲩ>).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 15, l. 26 (Meyer 1996: 36); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; in the sequence of the angelic names associated with Jesus Christ.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 16, l. 20 (Meyer 1996: 38); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; in the sequence of names of power invoked to stop the blood flow (ⲕⲉⲱⲗ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟⲃ <ⲥⲛⲟⲩ>).

P.Iand. inv. 9 A,B, p. 6, l. 7 (Kropp 1965: 10); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; one of the seven archangels (ἀρχάγγελος) who were by God in the moment of the creation of man; the God is invoked to send him to protect the body (σῶμα) of the practitioner.

P.Iand. inv. 9 A,B, p. 6, l. 14 (Kropp 1965: 10); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; invoked to go on the left side of the practitioner.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 4, l. 8 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 50); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; invoked for help; probably the epithet "father" (ⲡⲓⲱⲧ) is adressed to him.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 4, l. 20 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 50); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; the father (ⲡⲓⲱⲧ) can summon him and his hosts (στρατιά).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 7, l. 17 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 56); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; in the group of four with →Mikʰaêl, →Ouriêl and Rapʰaêl; within them, there is the great one Abriôtʰ Abritʰinôth.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 8, l. 22 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 58); ⲅⲁⲃⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ; the practitioner identifies himself as "I am Gabriêl."

P.Macq. I 1, p. 9, l. 28 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 60); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; on the list of angels of the heavenly earth (ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲉⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛⲓⲟⲛ<οὐράνιον>).

BKU I 24, l. 4 (Müller 1959: 293, No 199; Kropp II: 218); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲏⲗ; amulet with the names of nine guardians of paradise and seven angelic names (without closer specification).

P.Ifao copte 451, l. 6 (Louis 2013: 26); ⲕⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; Invoked together with →Mikʰaêl and Souriê to deliver a judgment against the adversaries of the practitioner.

P.Stras.Copt. 7, l. 12; ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; in a long list of angels to be sent by God upon the practitioner's command.

P.Stras.Copt. 9, l. 4r; ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; in the sequence of names and words of power, some of the Hebrew origin, in the spell for revelation.

Crum 1897 (= London Ms. Or. 4714), parts 5, 6, 9, 12 (Crum 1897: 212—214; Kropp II: 129 and 131—132); ⲅⲁⲃⲣⲓⲏⲗ; an angel (ἄγγελος); Maria thanks God for sending him who gave her good things. Then Maria hails the first word which was spoken by Gabriêl when sent to her. After her prayer, Maria sees Gabriêl on her left and →Mikʰaêl on her right. The former introduces himself as the one who brought "good tidings" (ⲡⲫⲉⲙⲛⲟⲩⲃⲉ; so Crum 1897: 216; Kropp II: 129 has "Botschaft") and then introduces →Mikʰaêl. Maria conjured him not to release before he fulfils her will and protects her against evil demons (δαιμόνιον) and sends her angels for assistance. The text is a version of "oratio Mariae ad Bartos."

Gager 1992: 225, No 119, l. 4 (Wünsch 1907: 26, No 7); Gabriel; angel (angelus); he bound the spirit of Tartarus with the fiery fetters (spirete tartaruce, quem angelus Gabriel de catenis igneis religav[it]).

Gager 1992: 231, No 123, l. 8 (Naveh & Shaked 1985: 160); גבריאל; a mighty hero, always victorious. There is a play of words between the name of the angel and the Hebrew word for a hero (geber).

Kotansky 1994: 105, No 26, l. 2; Γαβριήλ; one of the four angelic names written on the lamella.

Kotansky 1994: 156, No 33, ll. 2, 19; Γαβριήλ; on an amulet including a long list of angelic names.

Kotansky 1994: 249, No 48, l. 10; Γαβριή[λ]; in the sequence of names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 277, No 52, l. 25 (Jordan 1991: 63; Gager 1992: 233, No 125; Gelzer *et al.* 1999: 53); Γαβριήλ; is seated above the fourth heaven.

Kotansky 1994: 375, No 64, l. 1; GABR[IEL]; on an amulet with angelic names.

Kotansky 1980b, ll. 10—11 (Kotansky 1980b: 181); Γαβριήλ; in a sequence of names of power, mainly associated with the Jewish God and angels, used in the spell against an evil spirit and epilepsy (πτωματισμός).

LB, l. 9 (Gelzer *et al.* 1999: 41); Γαβριήλ; the one who sits over the abyss (ἐπί τῆ[ς] ἀβύσσο[υ]).

Bonner 1950: 265, No 73; Χαβριήλ; Obv. A lion, Μιχαὴλ βισνουθ above, Βριμω Χαβριήλ below; Rev. A sequence of words of power and characters.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 168; Γαβριήλ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, letters of ιαω separate in field; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ Γαβριήλ.

Bonner 1950: 281, No 172; Γαβριήλ; Obv. Ouroboros enclosing a cock-headed anguipede holding the shield, Μιχαὴλ Ρεφαὴλ Γαβριὴλ Οὐριήλ above the shield; Rev. An eagle-headed deity.

Bonner 1950: 283, No 179; Γαβριήλ; Obv. A male figure, a snake and an anguipede; Rev. Μειχαὴλ Οὐρειὴλ Γαβριήλ.

Bonner 1950: 288, No 208; Γαβριήλ; Obv. Harpocrates and minor symbols, ιαω in the vertical column; Rev. Γαβριήλ.

Bonner 1950: 304, No 310; Γαβριήλ; Obv. A rider spearing a lying figure; Rev.'Ιάω Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴλ Γαβριήλ and a lion below.

Bonner 1950: 304, No 311; Γαβριήλ; Obv. A rider spearing a lying female figure; Rev.'Ιάω Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴλ Γαβριὴλ Οὐριὴλ χερουβιν σεραπι and a lion below.

Bonner 1950: 305, No 313; Γαβριήλ; Obv. A rider; Rev.'Ιάω Σαβαὼ Γαβριήλ ουσαϛχα ουαδω Γαβριήλ and a lion below.

Bonner 1950: 310, No 338; Γαβιρήλ; A male figure in military dress, Οὐριὴλ Σουριὴλ Γαβιρὴλ εω on the margin; Rev. Μιχαήλ and two stars.

Bonner 1950: 321, No 395; Γαβριήλ; Obv. Pantheos riding the lions flanked by two snakes and the minor elements, an inscription "Protect from all the evil the one who wears it" below, and other names and words of power in the field; Rev. A kneeling man flanked by two Anubises; anguipede and an inscription in the tabula ansata below.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 35—36, No 30; Γαβριήρ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Σαβ Ἄβρα Ἰάω in the field; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Οὐριὴρ Γαβριὴρ Σαβαὼ Ἰάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 95—96, No 116; Γαβριήλ; Obv. Anubis, Οὐριὴλ Σουριὴλ Γαβριὴλ ϑω (perhaps Θώϑ) around the figure; Rev. Μιχαήλ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 114, No 142; Γαβριήλ; Obv. A nude child sitting on the lotus flower; Rev. Γαβριὴλ Σουριὴλ Σαβαώϑ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 162, No 211; Γαβριήλ; Obv. A dog-headed figure holding a sceptre; invocation to →Mik^{h}aêl around the figure; Rev. A sequence of names of power, Γαβριήλ among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 251, No 350; Γαβριήλ; Obv. A lion-headed snake, Γαβριὴλ Οὐριὴλ Σουριήλ around the figure; Rev. Ἀδωναί.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 257, No 362; Γαβριήλ; A serpent, a bud of lotus, a key and other artifacts; Ἀβραξὰς Ἀδωναὶ Ἰάω Σαβαώϑ around the figures; Rev. A mummy with a head of an ass; sequences of words and names of power in the field and around the figure, Γαβριήλ among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 313, No 457; Γαβριλ; Obv. A krater; Rev. σεμεσιλα Γαβρι(ή)λ Ἰηάω Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 325, No 481; Γαβριήλ; Obv. Μιχαὴλ Γαβριήλ κυπσετ; Rev. Αἰλωαί.

Philipp 1986: 53, No 51; Γαβριήλ; Obv. Triple Hecate; Ἰάω Σαβαὼϑ φύλαξον around the figure; Rev. Ἰάω τλρ Σαβαὼϑ Γαβριήλ.

Philipp 1986: 93, No 138; Γαβριήλ; Obv. Heliorus, a vox above, a figure and an inscription, "the highest Michael, the most powerful Gabriel" below; Rev. Anubis and Hekate, *voces* below.

Philipp 1986: 96—97, No 145; Γαβριήρ; Obv. A standing male deity, Γαβριὴρ Σαβαώ in the field; Rev. Anubis and characters.

Śliwa 2014: 83, No 52; Γαβριήλ; Obv. Pantheos; Rev. Animals in five rows; Γαβριήλ on a narrow edge.

Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 165, No 2217; Γαβριήλ; Pantheos, Ἰάω below the figure; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Γαβριὴλ Κουστιὴλ Ραφαήλ.

Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 172—173, No 2236; Γαβριήρ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Ἀβρασάξ around the figure; Rev. Μιχαὴρ Οὐριὴρ Γαβριήρ.

Etymology, commentary and literature

From Hebrew "God is my strength." Gabriêl is attested in the Jewish Bible, in New Testament and Jewish and Christian extracanonical literature. Both traditions feature him as one of the main angelic figures. In the Sethian system, however, Gabriel is a minor power and features as one of the servants of the four luminaries. Only in NHC VIII 58,14ff, he is portrayed as a mediator of the invisible spirit, the highest aeon of the Sethian

system. This variation is interpreted by Turner (in: BCNH T 24: 574) as a remnant of the older Sethian tradition.

Michl 1962: 239—243; Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 573—574

103 ⲅⲁⲗⲓⲗⲁ (galila) = ⲕⲁⲗⲓⲗⲁ (kalila)^{v} = ⲕⲁⲗⲓⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲙⲃⲣⲓ (kalila oumbri)^{v2}

1. NHC II 10, 32^{v2} = NHC III 16,23 = BG 40,8 (*Ap. John*)

The third (of total twelve) authority (ἐξουσία) begotten by the archon (ἄρχων).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 250—253

2. NHC II 17,8^{v} = NHC IV 26,19^{v} (*Ap. John*)

One of the seven appointed over the angels — creators of limbs of the body.

3. CT 52,9 (*Gos. Jud.*)

The third of the five angels (ἄγγελος) over the chasm and the chaos.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Barc (2012, in: BCNH T 35) prudently notes only "mysteriéux," but there is an angel known from the Jewish texts with the name in Hebrew גליאל or גליל. For Tardieu (1984), the name Kalila Oumbri is a deformation of the names of Moses's opponents, Egyptian magicians Jannes and Jambres, but this proposition seems to be oversophisticated. The repeated third position of this angel in two different Nag Hammadi texts shows that Galila belongs to a more or less fixed set of angelic figures. In Tardieu's concept of the twelve authorities representing the signs of the zodiac, Galila refers to Gemini, and the double name Kalila Oumbri corresponds with the two main stars of this constellation. However, the group of the twelve is not a fixed one, as Galila also belongs to the group of the five and the seven. In *Ap. John*. Galila should be identified with one of the five "over the chaos of the underworld" installed below the seven kings over the heavens (BG 41,12—15), which fits perfectly its place in *Gos. Jud*.

Schwab 1897: 208; Michl 1962: 213; Tardieu 1984: 280; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 250—253

104 ⲅⲁⲙⲁⲗⲓⲏⲗ (gamaliêl) = ⲕⲁⲙⲁⲗⲓⲏⲗ (kamaliêl)[v]

1. NHC III 52,21 = NHC IV 64, 15[v] (*Gos. Eg.*)
A servant (διάκονος, διακών) of →Armozêl.

2. NHC III 53,5 = NHC IV 64,27 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Memory (μνήμη) is his consort (σύζυγος).

3. NHC III 57,6 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The great angel (ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ); he commands →Gabriêl to allow an angel to come forth and rule over the chaos (χάος).

4. NHC III 64,26 = NHC IV 76,17 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The great one (ⲡⲛⲟⲩ); a servant (διάκονος, διακών) of one out of four luminaries (ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

5. NHC V 75,23 (*Apoc. Adam*)
Together with →Abrasak[s] and →Sablô, Gamaliêl rescues men from fire and wrath and takes them above the aeons and rulers (ἀρχή).

6. NHC VIII 47,2 (*Zost.*)
In the list of glories enabling salvation; one of the (five in total) guardians of the immortal soul (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ <ψυχή> ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ).
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 559—561

7. NHC IX 5,18 (*Melch.*)
Restoration uncertain (ⲅⲁⲙⲁⲗ]ⲓⲏⲗ); sent to the church (ἐκκλεσία) of the children of Seth. He reveals himself in the first person, but the receiver of the revelation remains uncertain (Melchizedek?).
Funk, Mahé, Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 131

8. NHC X 64*, 19—20 (*Marsanes*)
Context only fragmentarily preserved; the commander over the spirits (ⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ<πνεῦμα>). Pearson supposes that he might be here a revealer figure as in *Melch.*
Pearson 1981, in: NHS 15: 340—341; Funk, Poirier, Turner 2000, in: BCNH T 27: 467

9. NHC XIII 48*,27^{v} (*Trim. Prot.*)

One of the three seizing ones (ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲱⲣⲡ), together with →[---]anên and →Samblô, servants (ὑπηρέτης) of the great saint luminaries (φώστηρ). They carried away an initiate (his exact identity remains uncertain) and took him into the light-place of his (i.e. of the initiate?) fatherhood (ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ <τόπος> ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲫⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ).

Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 352—353

Other texts

CB p. 239, l. 25 (Untitled Text); ⲅⲁⲙⲁⲗⲓⲏⲗ; he belongs to the group of the three watchers (φύλαξ). Together with the other two, he serves as a helper (βοηθός) for light-spark (ⲡⲉⲥⲡⲓⲛⲑⲏⲣ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) believers.

Commentary and literature

In astrological tradition, there is an angel of spring called Gamaêl, its eventual connection with Gamaliêl remains, however, uncertain, so Gamaliêl as a spiritual power is attested only in the Sethian texts. In all of them, Gamaliêl is characterized as a revealer, a protective and beneficial figure, acting on behalf of the chosen in the process of revelation or heavenly ascent. With other beings, in different combinations, he forms specialized groups. In the later, platonicizing Sethian texts, he belongs to the realm of Barbêlô aeon.

Michl 1962: 213; Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 559; Funk, Poirier, Turner 2000, in: BCNH T 27:165—166.467; Funk, Mahé, Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 131; Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 352—353

105 ⲅⲏⲥⲟⲗⲉ (gêsole) = ⲥⲏⲥⲟⲗⲉ (sêsole)^{v}

1. NHC II 16,20 = NHC IV 25,22^{v} (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the stomach (στόμαχος).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Quack refers him to the 2nd decan of Aquarius or the 3rd decan of Scorpio constellations. If so, the figure originated in the Egyptian astronomical speculation. The names attested in the ancient catalogues of decans are, however, very different from those of *Ap. John*, and the link between them is far from being certain.

Gundel 1936: 77—80; Quack 1995: 116

106 ⲅⲟⲣⲙⲁ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲟⲭⲗⲁⲃⲁⲣ (gorma kai ok^{h}labar) = ⲅⲟⲣⲙⲁ ⲕⲁⲓⲟⲭⲗⲁⲃⲁⲣ (gorma kaiok^{h}labar)^{v}

1. NHC II 16,30—31^{v} (*Ap. John*) = NHC IV 26,6 (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right thigh (ⲡⲙⲏⲣⲟⲥ <μηρός> ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

In the context of the list of the 72 angels, it would be reasonable to read the name as a unity and interpret ⲕⲁⲓ as an error of a scribe accustomed to the Greek texts. Quack tentatively refers the second part of the name to the 3rd decan of Pisces (Greek ολαχμ).

Gundel 936: 80; Quack 1995: 117

107 ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲑⲉ (daueit^{h}e) = ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲑⲁⲓ (daueit^{h}ai)^{v}

1. NHC II 8,13^{v} = NHC IV 12,25$^{v?}$ = BG 33,18 (*Ap. John*)
The third light (φωστήρ, ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) placed over the third aeon (αἰών). The name of Daueit^{h}e was omitted in the NHC III by the scribe (in the edition the omission is corrected). Three aeons are with him: understanding (σύνησις), love (ἀγάπη) and idea (Ἰδέα).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 228—229

2. NHC II 9,16^{v} = NHC III 14,1 = BG 36,7 (*Ap. John*)
The souls of saints (Seed of Seth) were placed with Daueit^{h}e in the third aeon. The exact relation of the souls to Daueit^{h}e differs because of the preposition used in each manuscript (ϩⲁⲧⲙ̄ⲡϩ, ϩⲙ).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 237

3. NHC III 51,19 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The luminary (φωστήρ) begotten by the Manifestation, the great power (δύναμις, ϭⲟⲙ) of the great light (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

4. NHC III 52,13 = NHC IV 64,6 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Understanding (σύνεσις, ϲⲟⲟⲩⲛ) is a consort (σύζυγος) of Daueit^{h}e in the first ogdoad of the self-generated.

5. NHC III 52,25—26 = NHC IV 64,21 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The third great light (φωστήρ, ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ), with →Samlo as a servant (διάκονος).

6. NHC III 56,22 = NHC IV 68,4 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The third great light (ⲡⲙⲉϩⲣⲱⲙⲛ̄ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ / φωστήρ); great Seth settles with his seed, according to the NHC III in the fourth aeon (ⲡⲙⲉⲩⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲱⲛ), according to NHC IV, however, in the four aeons (ⲡⲓⲩⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲱⲛ), both versions conclude this sentence with the phrase, "in the Daueit^{h}e."

7. NHC III 65,19 = NHC IV 77,16 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Mentioned in a long list of powers revealed or revealing themselves to somebody. The third one (ⲡⲙⲉϩⲣⲱⲙⲛ̄ⲧ); the place (ⲡⲙⲁ) where the sons of the great Seth rest (according to NHC III only the place of the sons of the great Seth).

8. NHC VIII 29,9 (*Zost.*)
The luminary (φωστήρ) over the third aeon (αἰών); a vision (ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲱⲣϩ?) of knowledge (γνῶσις).
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 546

9. NHC VIII 51,18 (*Zost.*)
In a much destroyed doxology, directed toward many spiritual powers; a luminary (φωστήρ).
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 565

10. NHC IX 6,4 (*Melch.*)
One of the four archistrategs (ἀρχιστρατηγός), luminaries (φωστήρ) and powers (ⲛ̄[ϭⲟⲙ]); in a hymn addressed to the twelve aeonic figures.
Funk & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 30—31 (esp. n.73), 133—134

Other texts
CB p. 264, l. 6 (Untitled Text); ⲗⲁⲩⲉⲓⲇⲉ; the one of the four luminaries (φωστήρ) located in the aeons of Wisdom (σοφία).

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,29,48; Dauid; In the so-called great notice as the third of the four luminaria coupled with its "emissio subministranta," Synesis.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 26,10,1; Δαυίδης; An archon in the fourth heaven according to the system of Gnostics.

Investiture of Archangel Gabriel (CSCO 225, p. 70, ll. 26—27); ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲑⲁⲏⲗ; an angel; the fourth of those presenting themselves before the God. He is in the church of the first-born.

The Book of Resurrection of Jesus Christ, our Lord (known also as an *Apocalypsis of Bartholomew*) 49 (Ms A 80,51, Westerhoff 1999: 138 = Kropp I: 81); ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲇ; the one over the chalice of the church of the firstborn.

Texts of ritual power

Meyer & Smith 70, ll. 14, 45, 72, 77, 105, 106 (Kropp I: 22—26; Choat & Gardner 2013: 107—109; Meyer & Smith 1999: 131—132); ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲑⲉ, once also ⲇⲁⲓⲑⲉ (Meyer & Smith 70, l. 45); In this spell, we can find the most lenghty description of Daueit^{h}e in all the texts of ritual power: "Davithe of the golden hair and lightning eyes it is you who have the key of divinity in your hand. What you shut cannot be opened again, and if you open, cannot be shut. It is you who offer from the golden chalice of the church of the firstborn (ⲧⲕ̄ⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉϣϩⲣⲡ ⲉⲙⲓⲥⲉ). Davithe, you are the original father (ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲏ). It is you who blow the golden trumpet of the father. As you blow, all those who dwell in the entire creation gather to you, whether rulers or angels or archangels" (ⲁⲣⲭⲏ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ) (Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 113, ll. 19, 21 (Girard 1927: 64; Kropp II: 102; Meyer & Smith 1999: 229); ⲧⲁⲩⲓⲇ, ⲧⲁⲩⲓⲇⲑⲉⲁ. It is not certain that the two occurrences of this name, one after the other, refer to the same power. The interpretation of the second occurrence of the name as →Daueit^{h}e goes back to Kropp, while Girard and Frankfurter (in: Meyer & Smith 1999: 229) interpret the letters ⲑⲉⲁ as "divine;" Daueit^{h}e is the father of Christ "who sings in the church of the firstborn child of heaven" (Meyer & Smith 1999: 229). He has a ten-stringed cithara and sings within the veil of the altar (ⲡⲕ[ⲁⲧⲁⲡⲉⲧ]ⲁⲥⲙⲁ ⲡⲡⲉⲑⲉⲥⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲱⲛ <θυσιαστήριον>).

Meyer & Smith 129, ll. 6, 10, 28—29, above a figura magica (Kropp I: 29—31; Meyer & Smith 1999: 279—280). The spell for obtaining good singing voice; ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲑⲉⲁ. Daueit^{h}e is a main object of adjuration in this particular spell, identified with the spiritual voice "the talk of the angels, the voice of archangels" etc. (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 279). The spell contains lenghty adjuration: "I adjure you today, Davithea, the one who reclines upon the bed of the tree of life, in whose right hand is the golden bell and in his left hand is the spiritual guitar (ⲧⲕⲓⲑⲁⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ), who gathers all the angels into father's embrace" (Meyer & Smith 1999: 279). In line 10, the power of complex name ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲑⲉⲩⲁ ⲉⲗⲉⲗⲏⲑ is adjured by the names of the seven archangels. In the

spell, an image of demon is given over which the sequence of names is written, first of which is ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲑⲉⲁ.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 8, l. 8 (Meyer 1996: 22); ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲑⲉⲁ; one of the four imperishable mysteries (ⲡⲉⲃ̄ ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲱⲛ <μυστήριον> ⲛⲁⲧⲱϫⲉⲛ) spread out over the four directions of the heaven (ⲡⲁⲣϣ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ̄ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲡⲉ).

P.Coptic Museum inv. 4958 (no critical edition; Meyer 1996: 76); ⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓⲑⲉ; one of the four great luminaries that are ineffable in their glory (ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ <φωστήριον> ⲉⲛⲁⲧϣⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲡⲉϥⲉⲟⲟϒ), and that are spread over the four corners of the heaven (ⲡⲉϥⲧⲟⲟϒ ⲉⲕⲟⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲡⲉ).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 2, l. 9 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 46); ⲧⲁⲩⲓⲑⲉ; Sabaôt^{h} has keys of Tauit^{h}e in his hand. Choat & Gardner (2013: 47) identify Tauit^{h}e in this place with David.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 2, l. 23 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 46); ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲑⲉ; one of those within the great ineffable luminaries of light (ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛϥⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ <φωστήρ> ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲧϣⲁϫⲉ).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 2, l. 26 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 46); ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲑⲉ; one above 240,000 angels (ἄγγελος) with the sharp swords.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 4, l. 9 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 50); ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲑⲉ; has a golden palm-branch (ⲡⲓϥⲁ <ⲃⲁ>ⲛⲟⲩⲃ).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 5, l. 13 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 52); ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲑⲉ; a servant (ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲛⲡⲟϣϣ); invoked together with other powers.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 12, ll. 6—7 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 66); ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲑⲉ; written inside the *figura magica* together with other names usually associated with the four luminaries.

Łajtar & Van der Vliet 2017: 94—95, No 9, l. 36; Δαυηϑιηλ; one of the 24 immutable luminaries (there is no lacuna, but only three names are given).

Etymology, commentary and literature

NHC VIII 29,9—10 (*Zost.*) associates it with the "seeing" through the Greek verb ἰδεῖν (Turner 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 546). However, according to majority of scholars, the name is derived from the biblical name Daueid (Δαυείδ). The ending -ⲑⲉ may then refer to the Greek ϑεός (god), being equivalent to Semitic -ⲏⲗ in the names of the three other luminaries (Van der Kerchove 2013: 279). Only Tardieu (1984) traces his origin in Zoroastrian speculation, which seems unjustified. The functional connection between the figure of the biblical king and the Gnostic luminary is vague. It does not seem improbable that the equation between these two is a result of a further speculation, based on the similarity of the names. Notably, the names of other three luminaries do not resemble any biblical figure.

Daueit^{h}e is an original Sethian creation and belongs to the fixed group of the four luminaries. As such, he belongs to the core of the Sethian myth.

Michl 1962: 210; Tardieu 1984: 273; Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 544—546; Van den Kerchove 2013

108 ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲑⲉ ⲗⲁⲣⲁⲛⲉⲩⲥ ⲉⲡⲓⲫⲁⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲇⲉⲟⲥ (daueit^{h}e laraneus epip^{h}anios eideos)

1. NHC VIII 128,3—4 (*Zost.*)

The third aeon (αἰών) of the third luminary (φωστήρ) in the Autogenes aeon.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 649—650

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Turner (2000, in: BCNH T 24: 649—650), there are four separate beings here. He also notes that in the list of the fellow aeons of →Deuithe in *Ap. John* (NHC II 8,16 = NHC IV 12,30; NHC III 12,11; BG 34,1), the third one is "Idea". The name Eideos in *Zost.* is probably derived from this abstractum.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 659—650

109 ⲇⲉⲁⲣⲭⲱ (deark^{h}ô)

1. NHC II 16,5 = NHC IV 25,3 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the throat (ⲧⲫⲟⲩⲱⲃⲉ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Quack, the name may be distortion of (ⲡ)ⲇⲉⲁⲭⲱ and refers to the 1st decan of Aquarius constellation. However, even such a form of the name is not attested in the ancient catalogues of decans.

Gundel 1936: 77; Quack 1995: 115

110 ⲇⲉⲓⲑⲁⲣⲃⲁⲑⲁⲥ (deitharbathas)

1. NHC II 17,34 (*Ap. John*)
In NHC IV the name is reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC II; the one in charge over perception (ἀνάλημψις).

111 ⲇⲉⲣⲇⲉⲕⲉⲁⲥ (derdekeas) = ⲇⲉⲣⲇⲉⲣⲕⲉⲁⲥ (derderkeas)[v]

1. NHC VII 1,5 (*Paraph. Shem*)
Introduced as an agent of revelation who addresses his message to Shem.

2. NHC VII 8,24 (*Paraph. Shem*)
He introduces himself in the 1st person sing.; the son of the incorruptible, infinite light (ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲭⲱⲣⲓ̄ ⲉⲧⲉⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ ⲁⲣⲏⲭⲏ̄).
Roberge 2010: 52

3. NHC VII 32,35—36[v] (*Paraph. Shem*)
The context partially lost; it is only clear that he is the one who speaks in this passage.

Etymology, commentary and literature

From the Aramaic דרדג, "to fall in droplets" (Doresse 1960: 147); from the Aramaic דרדקא "a small child" or "a beginning student" (Böhlig 1989b: 425; Wisse 1970: 133; Roberge 2010: 5—6) where sigma in one of the variants of the name is regarded as a Greek ending. For Roberge (1992; 2010: 17), Derdekeas is the name of the celestial Christ who reveals to Shem the origin of the universe and the man, as well as explains the meaning of the history. Stahl is less certain but accepts that Manichaeans might by influenced by Derdekeas when they developed the figure of Jesus of splendor. The answer to the question of Derdakeas's identity depends on an interpretation of certain passages (esp. NHC VIII 38,28—39,1) as christological allusions.

Doresse 1960: 147; Wisse 1970; Böhlig 1989b: 425; Roberge 1992; Stahl 2000; Roberge 2010: 5—6, 129

112 ⲇⲏⲫ[ⲁⲛⲓⲁ] (dêip^{h}[ania])

1. NHC VIII 119,7—8 (*Zost.*)
Only the first four letters preserve, but the name is completely extant in *P.Bodmer* LXIII in the form of Lêip^{h}ania (Kasser & Luisier 2007: 258). The consort (ⲉⲧⲛⲙⲏⲩ) of the luminary (φωστήρ) →Dêip^{h}aneus.

113 ⲇⲏⲫⲁⲛⲉⲩⲥ (dêip^{h}aneus) = ⲇⲓⲫⲁⲛⲉⲩⲥ (dip^{h}aneus)^{v}

1. NHC VII 126,11 (*Steles Seth*)
In a hymnic passage sung by the 1st plural subject; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲡⲁⲧⲙⲓⲥⲉ).

2. NHC VIII 119,6—7 (*Zost.*)^{v}
P.Bodmer LXIII (Kasser & Luisier 2007: 258) has ⲇⲏⲫⲁⲛⲉ[ⲩⲥ] which confirms the identity of those two name variations. The second luminary (φωστήρ); his consort (ⲉⲧⲛⲙⲏⲩ) is →Dêip^{h}ania.

3. NHC VIII 86,16 (*Zost.*)
In a hymnic passage, probably sung by →Iouêl (because of the female article). Only the first five letters preserved, but identification almost certain because of neighbouring divine names →Ap^{h}redôn and others.

114 ⲇⲓⲟⲗⲓⲙⲟⲇⲣⲁⲍⲁ (diolimodraza)

1. NHC II 17,10 = NHC IV 26,22 (*Ap. John*)
One particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the head (ⲧⲁⲡⲉ).

115 ⲇⲟϫⲟⲙⲉⲇⲱⲛ (dok^{s}omedôn) = ⲇⲟϫⲟⲙⲉⲇⲱⲛ ⲇⲟⲙⲉⲇⲱⲛ (dok^{s}omedôn domedôn)^{v} = ⲇⲟⲙⲉⲇⲱⲛ ⲇⲟϫⲟⲙⲉⲇⲱⲛ (domedôn dok^{s}omedôn)^{v2}

1. NHC III 41,14—15^{v2} = NHC IV 51,2—3^{v} (*Gos. Eg.*)

The aeon of the aeons (ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ <αἰών> ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲱⲛ <αἰών>); the light of the powers (ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲙ) of aeons. Probably, in this place Dok^{s}omedôn means the place in which the second trinity of the son, the mother and the father came forth. In NHC IV, the reconstruction of the second segment of the name is not certain.

Böhlig & Wisse 1975, in: NHS 4: 170—171

2. NHC III 43,9—10^{v2} = NHC IV 53,5 (*Gos. Eg.*)

One of the three powers (ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲙ)) and ogdoads (ὀγδοάς) of the father; aeon of the aeons (ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲛ <αἰών> ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲱⲛ <αἰών>); there is a throne (θρόνος) of the father in him and the powers (δύναμις, ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲙ), glories (ⲛⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ), and incorruption (ἀφθαρσία, ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲭⲱϩⲙ̄) surround him.

Böhlig & Wisse 1975, in: NHS 4: 172—173

3. NHC III 43,15 = NHC IV 53,12—13 (*Gos. Eg.*)

Aeon (αἰών); the Father of the great light (ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ); he came forth from the silence and he rests in silence (σιγή). In him, the thrice male child rests (ⲡϣⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲁⲟⲩ) and the throne (θρόνος) of him (Father? dok^{s}omedôn?, child?) is established in him. His name is an invisible (ἀόρατον) and hidden (ⲉⲩϩⲏⲡ) symbol (σύμβολον) and mystery (μυστήριον).

Böhlig & Wisse 1975, in: NHS 4: 172—173

4. NHC III 44,20 = NHC IV 55,9 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The great aeon (αἰών); Many spiritual beings filled him with the power of the word of the pleroma (NHC III: ⲧⲥⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲁϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲡⲗⲏⲣⲱⲙⲁ ⲧⲏⲣⲏⲩ) / powers of the word of the pleroma of light (NHC III: ϩⲉⲛⲥⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩϣⲁϫⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲗⲏⲣⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ). The names and the number of them is hard to complete due to some minor losses in the text, differences between NHC III and IV, and above all, to very unclear grammar.

More lengthy list is given by NHC IV: three males, three offsprings (ⲛⲓⲱϯⲛ̄ⲧ ⲅⲉⲛⲟⲥ <γένος>), males (ⲛⲓⲣⲟⲟⲩⲧ) and male races (ⲛⲓⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ <γενεά> ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲟⲩⲧ), the glories of the father, the glories of Christ, the male offsprings (γένος), the races (γενεά). Probably, we have some redundancies here.

5. NHC III 50,5 = NHC IV 62,4 (*Gos. Eg.*)
In the hymnic passage, in which he is praised among the other powers by the divine Man; the Great aeon (αἰών); there are thrones (θρόνος) in him, and the powers (ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲩ) surround him.

6. NHC III 53,19 = NHC IV 65,13—14 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The self-generated (αὐτογενής) gives praise to him and to other powers. The great aeon (αἰών); there are thrones (θρόνος) in him, and the powers (ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲩ) surround him.

7. NHC III 56,1 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The great aeon (αἰών); the great Seth gives praise to him and to the other powers.

8. NHC III 62,8 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The great aeon (αἰών); the great Seth gives praise to him and to the other powers. There are thrones (θρόνος) in him. Interestingly, the parallel passage in NHC IV does not mention the name but only the great glory-giving aeon (ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲱⲛ <αἰών> ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥϯ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ).

9. NHC VIII 126,8 (*Zost.*)
The first luminary (φωστήρ) →Solmis is infinite according to the type in the hidden (καλυπτός) aeon (αἰών) and Dok^{s}omedôn.

10. NHC IX 6,1 (*Melch.*)[v]
In a hymn addressed to twelve aeonic powers; the firstborn of aeons (ⲡⲱⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ <αἰών>), the splendid one (αἶθοψ). Name partially lost at the end ⲁⲟⲍⲟⲙⲉⲇⲱⲛ ⲇⲟⲙ[.The restoration of Dok^{s}omedôn Dom[edôn is, however, very plausible on the basis of NHC III 41,14 and NHC IV 51,2—3. This restoration is accepted by Funk (2001, in: BCNH T 28: 52) who rejects objections raised by Pearson (1981, in: NHC 15,51) who states that there is not enough space to restore dom[edôn] and proposes dom[iêl]. The connection between the names Dok^{s}omedôn and Domiêl

is, however, not attested in any other place. We do not know what was an exact ending in NHC IV 51,2—3, since there are only middle letters preserved: ⲇⲟ]ⲙⲉⲇ[ⲱⲛ.

Conventional ending might be, however, different and fit as well NHC IX 6,1. The lack of the superlinear stroke over the second part of the name in NHC IX 6,1 does not seem to be of any significance.

Pearson 1981, in: NHC 15: 51; Funk, Mahé & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 30—31.133; Van der Kerchove 2013: 275—277

Etymology, commentary and literature

Greek δοξομεδών, with the meaning "seigneur (μέδων) of the glory" (δόξα); the second part of the name, "Domedôn," is a derivatory word play with a name of power and as such is meaningless. The figure of Dok^{s}omedôn should be rated among original Sethian inventions. Dok^{s}omedôn is a boundary aeon of pleroma, comparable to the limit in the Valentinian system. An adjective αἶθοψ attested only in *Melch.* has strong epic connotations reaching back Homer and is associated with fire and flame (Van der Kerchove 2013: 276—277).

Böhlig 1989b: 425; Funk, Mahé & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 133; Van der Kerchove 2013: 275—277

116 ⲉ[---] (e[---])

1. NHC VIII 88,17 (*Zost.*)

Context partially destroyed; in a hymnic passage.

117 ⲉⲇⲱⲕⲗⲁ (edôkla)

1. NHC III 60,20 = NHC IV 72,1 (*Gos. Eg.*)

With the feminine article; She gives birth to the great incorruptible race (ⲧⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ <γενεά> ⲛ̄ⲁⲫⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲥ <ἄφθαρτος> / ⲁⲧϫⲱϩⲙ̄).

118 ⲉⲓⲇⲟⲙⲉⲛⲉⲩⲥ (eidomeneus)

1. NHC VIII 47,21 (*Zost.*)

An assistant (βοηθός) of the guardians of the glory (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ).

119 ⲉⲓⲗⲱ (eilô)

1. NHC II 16,30 = NHC IV 26,5 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the testicles (δίδυμος); the testicles are clearly given only in NHC IV. NHC II has ⲁⲧⲣⲉⲩⲉ which Waldstein & Wisse (1995, in: NHMS 33: 230) take as a variant of ϩⲱⲧⲏⲣ and understand as a double thing, i.e. testicles.

Texts of ritual power

PGM XII, l. 285 (PGM 2: 77; Daniel 1991: 18; GMPT: 164); Εἰλωείν; in the sequence of the names of power associated with the greatest god (ὁ θέος μέγιστος) over all powers.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Although the name in PGM XII might be seen as "almost certainly a misspeling of Elohim" (GMPT), the power in *Ap. John* is probably totally independent of Jewish tradition, since the group of 72 creator angels shows virtually no Jewish influences.

GMPT: 164

120 ⲉⲓⲣ[.]ⲛ (eir[.]n)

1. NHC VIII 47, 20 (*Zost.*)

An assistant (βοηθός) of the guardians of the glory (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ).

121 ⲉⲗⲁⲥⲥⲱ (elassô)

1. NHC XIII 48*,16 (*Trim. Prot.*)

On of the three robe-givers (ⲛⲉϯⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ <στολή>). Protennoia delivers an initiated (his exact identity remains uncertain) to them, and they give him the robe of the light (ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ <στολή> ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

Sevrin 1986: 65—66; Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 350—351

Commentary and literature

The figure of Elasso as well as the other robe-givers (→Amênai, →Iammôn) is attested only in *Trim. Prot.* The very act of taking on a robe as an element of the ascent of the spirit also does not appear except for this text. All the three figures are clearly recognized as beneficial.

Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 350—351

122 ⲉⲗⲉⲙⲁⲱⲛ (elemaôn) = ⲉⲗⲉⲙⲁⲱⲛⲓ (elemaôni)^{v}

1. NHC VII 126,8 (*Steles Seth*)

In a hymnic passage sung by the 1st plural subject; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲙⲓⲥⲉ); the phrase "the great power" (ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟⲙ) because of the following stigma refers to him rather than to the next →Emouniar.

2. NHC XI 54,30^{v} (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage; according to Turner praise might be given by →Iouêl. The name of the unbegotten one (ⲁⲧⲭⲡⲟ).

Texts of ritual power

Meyer & Smith 62, l. 31 (Drescher 1950: 267; Meyer & Smith 1999: 116); ⲉⲗⲉⲙⲁ; in the distorted last sentence of crucified Jesus: ⲉⲗⲱⲓ ⲉⲗⲱⲓ ⲉⲗⲉⲙⲁ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲕⲑⲁⲛⲓ.

Meyer & Smith 63, l. 12v (Beltz 1985: 33; Kropp II: 115; Meyer & Smith 1999: 119); ⲉⲗⲉⲙⲁⲥ; in the distorted last sentence of Jesus on the cross "Eloei Elemas Sanaoth Abaktani," etc. (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 64, ll. 38, 40 (Crum 1905: 254; Kropp I: 16; Kropp II: 201; Meyer & Smith 1999: 122); ⲉⲗⲉⲙⲁⲥ; in the sequence of names of power, mainly of Hebrew origin.

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 9, l. 17 (Kropp I: 70; Kropp II: 182; Meyer & Smith 1999: 139); ϵλϵмa; in the distorted last sentence of Jesus on the cross "Adonai Eloei Elema Sabaktani" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 78, l. 24 (Crum 1934a: 52; Meyer & Smith 1999: 166); ϵλϵмac; one of the three names (пϵϥoнт нρaн) by which God is adjured; in the sequence: ϵλωϵ ϵλϵмac.

Meyer & Smith 105, l. 2 (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 400; Meyer & Smith 1999: 212); ϵλнмac; as the phrase ϵλωϵι ϵλнмac in the sequence of adjured names of power placed on the right side of figura magica.

Meyer & Smith 109, l. 31 (Drioton 1956: 485; Meyer & Smith 1999: 221); нλϵмac; in the distorted last sentence of Jesus on the cross "Eloi Eli Elemas" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 113, ll. 17—18 (Girard 1927: 63—65, Meyer & Smith 1999: 229); in fact, ϵλϵмa appears only in the transcription made by Girard. In the manuscript, we have the sequence ϵλωι ϵλωι aϩⲓϵвaкc aтωнϵ, so deciphering it as ϵλϵмa relies on the general understanding of the whole as the distorted Jesus's words from the cross "Eloi Eloi Elema Sabaktani."

Meyer & Smith 134, p. 1r, l. 9; p. 2v, l. 6; p. 9r, l. 15 (Pleyte & Boeser 1897: 442, 445, 457; Kropp II: 162—163, 172; Meyer & Smith 1999: 314—115, 318); ϵλϵмac; in the sequence of names of power (or a compound name), mainly of a Hebrew origin, aдωнai ϵλωϵι ϵλϵмac cabaωθ; associated with the lord and the father of the whole world.

Meyer & Smith 135, l. 201 (Kropp 1966: 43; Meyer & Smith 1999: 336); ϵλнмac; in the distorted last sentence of Jesus on the cross "Eloei Elemas Abaktani Sabaoth."

P.Iand. inv. 9 A,B, p. 3, l. 10 (Kropp 1965: 8); ϵλнмac; in a sequence of names of power mainly of Jewish origin associated with God as liberator.

Commentary and literature

At least in *Allogenes*, the name refers to the entire Triple-Powered One (Turner). Since both Allogenes and *Steles Seth* are devoid of the New Testamental elements, the original connection between Elemaôn and Elemas of the last sentence of Jesus is improbable, although it might be so interpreted by later, non-Sethian readers.

Turner 1990, in: NHS 28: 257

123 ⲉⲗⲉⲛⲟⲥ (elenos) = ⲉⲗⲁⲓⲛⲟⲥ (elainos)[v]

1. NHC III 64,21—22[v] = NHC IV 76,11—12 (*Gos. Eg.*)

Together with →Seldaô, the president over the mountain (NHC III: ϩⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ; in this manuscript →Seldaô might be understood as the name of the mountain) or over the rising (NHC IV: ⲉϫⲛ̄ ⲡⲧⲱⲱⲛϥ̄).

2. NHC VIII 6,16 (*Zost.*)

One among those who seal (σφραγίζειν) according to the description of the first baptism in the name of the self-begotten (αὐτογενής); the one "over these powers" (ϩⲓϫⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲟⲙ), however, the powers themselves are not explicitly mentioned.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 503

3. NHC VIII 54,25 (*Zost.*)

Context seriously destroyed; one of the four luminaries (φωστήρ) of the great mind (νοῦς), the first-appeared (πρωρτοφανής).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

4. NHC VIII 126,21 (*Zost.*)

Context unclear. According to Turner (in: BCNH T 24: 657), Elenos, together with his mate, forms the luminary (φωστήρ) in the fourth subaeon of the first-appeared (Protophanes). The name of his mate is not preserved, however, all the editors restore →Seldaô.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

Other texts

CB p. 264, l. 3 (Untitled Text); ⲉⲗⲉⲓⲛⲟⲥ; the power of an uncertain nature located probably within the aeons of the Wisdom (σοφία).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Adjective ἐλάινος refers to an olive-tree, olive-wood or an olive-branch. Together with →Seldaô, Elenos forms a luminary in the fourth subaeon of the aeon Protophanes (the first-appeared) in the Sethian system.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

124 ⲉⲗⲱⲉⲓⲙ (elôeim) = ⲉⲗⲱⲓⲙ (elôim)^{v}

1. NHC II 24,18^{v} = NHC IV 38,1^{v} (*Ap. John*)

Eve defiled by the chief ruler (πρωτάρχων) begot two sons, the first of them being Elôeim.

2. NHC II 24,18^{v} = NHC III 31,12—13 = NHC IV 38,1^{v} = BG 62,11 (*Ap. John*)

He has a face of a bear (in NHC II and NHC IV: ⲟⲩⲉⲟ ⲛⲁⲣⲕⲟⲥ <ἄρκος>) or of a cat (NHC III and BG: ⲡⲉⲁ <ⲉⲟ> ⲛⲉⲙⲟⲩ).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 300

3. NHC II 24,22^{v} (*Ap. John*)

The name in NHC IV is reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC II; set by the chief ruler (πρωτάρχων) over water and earth; a parallel passage is present also in NHC III 31,18—19 and BG 62,17—19 but without providing the names. In these manuscripts, the righteous son is set over the fire and spirit (πνεῦμα).

4. NHC III 31,14—15 = NHC IV 38,5^{v} = BG 62,13 (*Ap. John*)

Contradictive traditions in manuscripts. According to NHC IV (this passage is absent in NHC II), Elôeim is unrighteous (ἄδικος), according to NHC III and BG, he is righteous (δίκαιος).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 300—301

Other texts

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,30,5 and 11; Eloeus; In the system of Ophites (Irenaeus's "alii"), the fifth power (also called a heaven, an angel and a creator) of hebdomade (Ebdomas); to him belong the prophets Tobias and Haggai.

Ps.-Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5,26,2;'Ελωείμ; the name of father — one of the three principles — in the system of Justin (the Gnostic); together with a female principle, called Edem or Israel, he generated twelve maternal and twelve father angels.

Test.Sol. 6,8;'Ελωί; the great name of his (i.e. God's) power (μέγα ὄνομα τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ), effective against the demon (δαίμων) Beelzeboul.

Texts of ritual power

PGM XLV, ll. 5, 6 (PGM 2: 180; GMPT: 282);'Ελωέ; in the sequence of names and words of power.

PGM LXXXIII, l. 19 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 79; GMPT: 300);'Ελωει; in the sequence of names of power associated with the God of the Old Testament.

PGM CXXIIIf, fr. A l. 14 (Maltomini 1980: 69; GMPT: 320); Ελοει; preceded by Αδοναει and together with other names of power included into the figura magica.

PDM xiv, l. 460 [col. XVI 2] (DMP I: 108; GMPT: 221); el-ʿo-e; in a lengthy sequence of the names and words of power introduced as "the words of the lamp."

Meyer & Smith 63, l. 12v (Beltz 1985: 33; Kropp II: 115; Meyer & Smith 1999: 119); ϵλοϵι; in the distorted last sentence of Jesus on the cross "Eloei Elemas Sanaoth Abaktani" etc. (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 64, ll. 38, 40 (Crum 1905: 254; Kropp I: 16; Kropp II: 201; Meyer & Smith 1999: 122); ϵλωϵι; in the sequence of names of power mainly of Hebrew origin.

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 4, l. 4; p. 5, l. 11; p. 6, l. 8; p. 8, l. 13; p. 9, ll. 2, 5, 17 (Kropp I: 65—67 and 69—70; Kropp II: 178—179 and 181—182; Meyer & Smith 1999: 136—139); ϵλοϵι; as a double name "Adonai Eloei"; the first of →Kheroubim and →Seraphim (p. 4, ll. 5—6); "the place of the spirit (πνεῦμα) Adonai Eloei almighty" (παντοκράτωρ) (p. 8, l. 13; transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 138); "Yao Sabaoth Adonai Eloei, only great god" etc. (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 138).

Meyer & Smith 73, l. 168 (twice) (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 310; Meyer & Smith 1999: 156); ϵλωϵι; in Jesus's distorted last sentence on the cross: ϵλωϵι ϵλωϵι ϵλϵмας αβακτανη.

Meyer & Smith 78, l. 24 (Crum 1934a: 52; Meyer & Smith 1999: 166); ϵλοϵ; one of the three names (пеϥωмт нραν) by which the God is adjured; in a sequence: ϵλοϵ ϵλϵмας.

Meyer & Smith 90, l. 21 (twice) (Ernštedt 1959: 153; Meyer & Smith 1999: 191); ϵλωϵι; invoked against enemies; identified with →Sabaōt^{h}.

Meyer & Smith 113, ll. 3, 17 (twice) (Girard 1927: 63; Müller 1959: 311; Meyer & Smith 1999: 228—229); ϵλωι; hailed together with other powers in the introducing part of the invocation spell; then in the phrase: "eloi eloi elema sabaktani."

Meyer & Smith 105, l. 2 (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 400; Meyer & Smith 1999: 212); ϵλωϵι; as the phrase: ϵλωϵι ϵλнмας, in the sequence of names of power placed on the right side of figura magica.

Meyer & Smith 127, l. 99 (Kropp I: 61; Meyer & Smith 1999: 269); ϵλωϵι; in the sequence of various names of power.

Meyer & Smith 131, ll. 39r, 59r, 99r, [53v], 63v (Kropp I: 37, 39, 43; Kropp II: 91, 137 and 139; Kropp 1965: 14, 16, 18, but only 39r, 59r and [99r] contained; Meyer & Smith 1999: 283—285 and 287); ϵλωϵι, ϵλοϵι; in a sequences of the names of power mainly of Hebrew origin.

Meyer & Smith 132, ll. 2—[3] (Kropp I: 47; Kropp II: 57; Meyer & Smith 1999: 290); ϵλωϵι; distorted last word of Jesus on the cross "Eloi [Eloei La]m[a Saba] ktani" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 134, p. 1r, l. 9; p. 2v, l. 6; p. 9r, l. 15; p. 9v, l. 28; p. 10r, ll. 20r—21; p. 13v, l. 28 (Pleyte & Boeser 1897: 445, 457—458, 470; Meyer & Smith 1999: 314—315, 318—319, 321); ϵλωει; adjured in many different sequences of divine names, mainly of Hebrew origin.

Meyer & Smith 135, l. 201 (Kropp 1966: 43; Meyer & Smith 1999: 336); ϵλωει; in the sequence of names taken from the last words of crucified Jesus: "Eloei Elemas Abaktani Sabaoth"

P.Macq. I 1, p. 10, l. 15 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 62); ϵλωϵ; in an invocation to those on the right side, the left side and beside divinity (τнϵτnoγτϵ), containing many names and words of power.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 16, l. 7 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 74); ϵλωϵ; in the sequence of the three names: ⲁⲇⲱnϵ ϵλωϵ cⲁⲃⲁⲱθ, prescribed to be written on a phylactery against sickness.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 4, l. 2 (Meyer 1996: 14); ϵλωει; as ιⲁⲱ cⲁⲃⲁⲱθ ⲁτωnⲁει ϵλωει, praised as destroyer of all evil and magic (μαγεία).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685 p. 7, l. 16 (Meyer 1996: 20); ϵλωει; as ⲁτωnⲁει ϵλωει plead to grant safety.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 11, l. 8 (Meyer 1996: 28); ϵλωει; in the sequence of names of power invoked to release the blood (вωλ пϵcnoв <cnoq>).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 16, l. 25 (Meyer 1996: 38); ϵλωει; in the sequence of names of power invoked to stop the blood to flow (кϵωλ пϵcnoв <cnoq>).

P.Iand. inv. 9 A,B, p. 3, l. 9 (Kropp 1965: 8); ϵ]λωει; in the sequence of names of power, mainly of Jewish origin, associated with God as liberator.

P.Iand. inv. 9 A,B, p. 7, l. 11 (Kropp 1965: 12); ϵλωει; in a sequence: ιⲁⲱ cⲁⲃⲁⲱθ ⲁⲇⲱnⲁι ϵλωει; the name associated with the seven angels and expected to be repeated in the presence of practitioner.

Kropp 2008, No 11/2/1/8, l. 14 (Audollent 1904: 370);'Ελοεε; in the sequence of names of power, partially of Jewish origin; associated with a great god (*magnum deum*).

Kotansky 1994: 221—222, No 41, ll. 23, 42;'Ελοε,'Ελωέ; on a long list of divine and angelic names invoked to protect the house.

Kotansky 1994: 236, No 45, ll. 4—5;'Ελωέ; invoked for good health.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Greek transcription of the Hebrew אלהים. Barc (2012, in: BCNH T 35: 300) argues that *Ap. John*. identifies Elôeim with →Elôaios, one of those over the seven heavens. It seems, however, absolutely unjustified. Not only is the form of the name different, but also a description of the power is different (Elôeim has a face of a cat, Elôaios, of an ass). Barc (responsible for commentary) does not even explain how this particular power would be singled out from the fixed set of the seven to play as an idependent

character. Certainly these two figures were introduced into the text independently and without any attempt of their identification.

Michl 1962: 212; Maltomini 1980: 93; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 300—302

125 ϵλοϵιм (elôeim)

1. NHC VII 82,25 (*Apoc. Pet.*)

The Saviour explains that his material, crucified body belongs to Elôeim.

Brashear 1996, in: NHMS 30: 245; Havelaar 1999: 103

126 ϵλωϫι (elôai) = ϵλωϫιοc (elôaios)^{v} = ϵλωϫιογ (elôaiou)^{v2} = ϵλωϫιѡ (elôaiô)^{v3}

1. NHC II 11,27—28^{v2} = NHC III 17,23^{v} = BG 41,19^{v} (*Ap. John*)

One of those over the seven heavens (ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲣⲁⲓ ϩⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲱϥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉ); the second body (σῶμα) in the sevenness (ἑβδομάς; ⲧⲙⲉϩⲥⲁⲱϥⲉ) of the week (σάββατον); he has the face of an ass (NHC III and BG: ⲡϩⲁ <ϩⲟ> ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲱ) or Typhon (NHC II: ⲟⲩϩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲫⲱⲛ <τυφών>).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 255—257

2. NHC II 12,18^{v3} = NHC IV 19,18^{v3} = BG 43,15^{v} (*Ap. John*)

The second authority (ἐξουσία) associated with the power (ⲧⲥⲟⲙ), providence (NHC II and IV: πρόνοια), or divinity (BG: ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 259—261

3. NHC II 101,19 (*Orig. World*)

The second son of the ruler (ἄρχων); he opened his eyes and said to the father "e" (ϵ). Then, father called him Elôai.

4. NHC II 101,32^{v} (*Orig. World*)

The fifth androgynous force (δύναμις) of the seven heavens of the chaos (ⲧⲥⲟⲱϥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡϫⲁⲟⲥ <χάος>); his feminine name is jealousy (ⲡⲕⲱϩ).

Other texts

Berlin.Kopt.Buch No 128, l. 7; ϵ]λωαιος; the fifth of the seven archons in the system of the Sethians (ϩ̄ϲнθιανος).

Texts of ritual power

PGM I, l. 311 (PGM 1: 16; GMPT: 11);'Ελωαῖος; adjured as the setting and the raising one (ὁρκίζω δύνοντα καὶ ἀντέλλοντα).

PGM IV, l. 92 (PGM 1: 70; GMPT: 39); ελωαι; in the sequence of names of power, mainly of Hebrew origin.

PGM IV, l. 1578 (PGM 1: 124; GMPT: 67);'Ελωαί; in the sequence of names of power and *voces magicae* associated with the self-generated, ever-lasting god (αὐτογενέτωρ, ἀείζων θεός).

PGM V, l. 481 (PGM 1: 196; GMPT: 110);'Ελωαί; in the sequence of names used to invoke the power identified with Zeus.

PGM VII, l. 564 (PGM 2: 25; GMPT: 134);'Ελωαί; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with "the spirit that flies in the air" (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀεροπετές).

PGM XXXV, l. 21 (PGM 2: 161; GMPT: 268);'Ελωέ; the divine is invoked in this spell among others by the garment (ἔνδυμα) of Elôai.

PGM XXXXVI, l. 42 (PGM 2: 164; GMPT: 270);'Ελωαί; in the sequence of names of power identified as the lord angels (κύριοι ἄγγελοι).

PGM XLIII, l. 13 (PGM 2: 179; GMPT: 281);'Ελωαί; in the sequence of names and words of power used in protection spell.

PGM CVI, ll. 1 and 9 (Brashear 1974: 28; *Suppl.Mag.* I: 27; GMPT: 310—311); 'Ελο[αι or'Ελο[ει] and'Ε̣λ̣ο̣αι; in the sequence of names and words of power in the protection spell. The second occurence is a reading given only in *Suppl.Mag.* I.

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5306, l. 29;'Ελωαί; invoked in the protection spell called "prayer of Adam."

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5306, l. 30;'Ελω[α]ί; an unnamed power adjured above'Ελωαί invoked in the protection spell called "prayer of Adam."

Meyer & Smith 125, ll. 1—2 (four times) (no edition of the Coptic text; Meyer & Smith 1999: 251); "eloai"; in the sequence of divine names of Hebrew origin.

Meyer & Smith 127, l. 102 (Kropp I: 61; Meyer & Smith 1999: 269); ελωαι; in the sequence of divine names of various origin.

Kotansky 1994: 4, No 2, ll. 1—2;'Ελωαῖε; in the sequence of names of power 'Αδωναῖε'Ελωαῖε Σαβαώθ.

Kotansky 1994: 206, No 38, l. 1;'Ελωαῖε; on a long list of names of power invoked against male and female demons.

Kotansky 1994: 326, No 57, l. 9;'Ελωαί; in a long sequence of names of power invoked against epilepsy and headache.

Bonner 1950: 284, No 188;Ἐλωαί; Obv. A lion-headed figure holding a staff and a situla, nude except for an apron; Ἀαριήλ on the left, Ἰαλδαβαώθ on the right of the figure; Rev. The seven names Ἰα Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ Ἐλωαὶ Ὡρεὸς Ἀσταφεός.

Commentary and literature

Although the name clearly renders Hebrew Elohim (אלהים) as in the case of Elôeim, in the Setian system Elôei is a distinct character, strongly tied with the fixed set of the seven heavenly rulers. Only in one instance (NHC II 101,19), Elôei is introduced as a son of a ruler, but as one of the three, not of the two, as in the narratives related to Elôeim.

Michl 1962: 212; Jackson 1989: 76

127 ⲉⲗⲱⲣⲕⲁⲓⲉ (elôrkʰaie) = ⲉⲗⲱⲣⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ (elôrkʰaios)ᵛ

1. NHC VII 31,5ᵛ (*Paraph. Shem*)

He enables the passage through the wicked region (ⲧⲉⲓⲑⲉⲥⲓⲥ <ϑέσις> ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ).

2. NHC VII 46,6 (*Paraph. Shem*)

In an address of the 1st person sing. subject (most probably Protennoia).

3. NHC VII 32,30ᵛ (*Paraph. Shem*)

The name of the great light (ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ), the place (ⲡⲙⲁ) from which →Derdekeas comes; the word (λόγος) which has no equal.

Etymology, commentary and literature

The name means "El, the ancient," from Semitic אל, a general name of god, and the Greek ὁ ἀρχαῖος. One of the names of the light, the highest principle in the system of *Paraph. Shem* which is described in terms of the Stoic philosophy.

Roberge 2010: 38—40

128 ϵⲙⲙⲁⲭⲁ ϲⲉⲑ
(emmak^{h}a set^{h}) = ϲⲉⲑ ϵⲙⲙⲁⲭⲁ ϲⲉⲑ
(set^{h} emmak^{h}a set^{h})^{v}

1. NHC VII 118,28 (*Steles Seth*)

The 1st person sing. subject of the text of the First Stele; the son of →Pigeradama.

2. NHC VIII 6,25^{v} (*Zost.*)

In the doxological passage referring to the first baptism in the name of the self-generated (αὐτογενής); he is identified as the son of Adam (ⲡⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲁ̅ⲇ̅ⲁ̅ⲙ̅ⲁ̅ⲥ̅) and the father of immovable race (ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲧⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ <γενέα> ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲕⲓⲙ).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 505

3. NHC VIII 51,14—15^{v} (*Zost.*)

In a list of powers blessed by →Zostrianos; the son of Adam (ⲡⲓⲱⲉⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲁ̅ⲇ̅ⲁ̅ⲙ̅ⲁ̅ⲥ̅) and the father of the immovable race (ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲧⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ <γενέα> ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲕⲓⲙ).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 565

Commentary and literature

Klijn suggested a Semitic root of Emmak^{h}a, with the meaning "servant" (אמה). Pearson cautiously refers to Emmak^{h}a as a nomen barbarum of an unknown meaning. Emmak^{h}a never appears as a separate being but as a part of the compound name of Seth, the son of (heavenly) Adam.

Klijn 1977: 105 n.137; Pearson 1981: 484

129 ϵⲙⲟⲩⲛⲓⲁⲣ (emouniar)

1. NHC VII 126,9 (*Steles Seth*)

In a hymnic passage sung by the 1st pl. subject; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲙⲓⲥϵ).

130 ⲉⲡⲓⲫⲁⲛⲉⲩ (epiphaneu)

1. NHC VIII 86,20 (*Zost.*)
In a hymnic passage, probably sung by →Iouêl; the all-glorious one (ⲡⲁⲛⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ); he might also be interpreted not as a separate figure but as an epithet of the preceding being →Armêdôn.

Only the first four letters are preserved in the manuscript, the identification is, however, almost certain due to the vicinity of the name Aphredôn and associated names attested in NHC XI.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 623

2. NHC XI 54,13 (*Allogenes*)
In a hymnic passage; the perfect one (τέλειος).

Etymology, commentary and literature
The preserved form of the name corresponds with the Greek vocative. Most probably, the nominative form would be ⲉⲡⲓⲫⲁⲛⲉⲩⲥ, from Greek ἐπιφανής, "distinguished one."

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 623

131 ⲉⲣⲓⲙⲁⲭⲱ (erimakhô)

1. NHC II 18,9 = NHC IV 28,3 (*Ap. John*)
The one over dryness (ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ).

132 ⲉⲥⲑⲏⲛⲥⲓ ⲍⲟⲩⲭ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲧⲟⲏ (esthensi zoukh epiptoê) = ⲉⲥⲑⲏⲛⲥⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲭ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲧⲟⲏ (esthensis oukh epiptoê)^{V} = ⲍⲟⲩⲭ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲧⲟⲏ (zoukh epiptoê)^{V2}

1. NHC II 18,18—19^{V} = NHC IV 28,14—15 (*Ap. John*)
Mother of the four chief demons (ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ <ἀρχηγός> ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ <δαίμων>).

2. NHC II 19,1—2^{v2} (*Ap. John*)

If we take the sequence as a complex name of a personalized power, then the phrase ⲁⲛⲁⲣⲱ (...) ⲉⲥϫⲟⲟⲡ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲧⲉⲥⲑⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲍⲟⲩⲭ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲧⲟⲏ has to be understood as "Anarô (...) being together with Est^{h}esis zouk^{h} epiptoê," and not as "for it belongs with the seven senses, Ouch-Epi-Ptoe" (as Waldstein & Wisse 1995, in: NHS 33: 111).

The superlinear stroke is put only over ⲟⲩⲭ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲧⲟⲏ although the whole phrase ⲧⲉⲥⲑⲏⲛⲥⲓⲥ ⲍⲟⲩⲭ ⲉⲡⲓⲡⲧⲟⲏ is given.

Texts of ritual power

PGM IV, ll. 1982—1983 (PGM 1: 132; GMPT: 73); ζουχε πιπτοη; a part of the four-part (τετραμερές) name of Helios (in full χθεθω: νι λαϊλαμ· Ἰάω· ζουχε πιπτοη).

PGM XIXa, ll. 11—12 (PGM 2: 142; GMPT: 256); ζουχε πιππη; in a lengthy sequence of names and words of power.

Etymology, commentary and literature

The name renders the phrase αἴσθησις οὐχ ἐπὶ πτοῇ, which is the general normative rule of Stoic theory of passions. The immediate context of the name reveals direct dependence on the Stoic psychology. The form ζουχ instead of οὐχ is inspired probably by the *vox magica* ζουχ (there are a few explanations of its meaning: Brashear 1995) and may indicate some influence of the texts of ritual power.

Brashear 1995: 3585; Onuki 2010: 248—249

133 ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲭ (essôk^{h}) = ⲥⲱⲭ (sôk^{h})^{v}

1. NHC VII 32,3^{v} (*Paraph. Shem*)

Addressed in the 2nd masculine pl. form; together with →Moluok^{h}t^{h}a characterized as coming from every work (ⲉⲣⲫⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) and every impure effort of nature (ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲫⲭⲁϩⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ <φύσις>).

2. NHC VII 47,2—3 (*Paraph. Shem*)

With feminine sing. article followed by two separate divine entities. Later, however also plural article is applied to them; together with →Moluk^{h}t^{h}a as the root of evil (ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁⲕⲓⲁ <κακία>) and every work (ⲉⲣⲫⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ), and impure effort of nature (ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲫⲭⲁϩⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ <φύσις>).

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Roberge, from the Greek σώχω "to rub," which might be an euphemism of sexual intercourse or masturbation.

Roberge 2010: 135

134 ⲉⲧⲉⲣⲁϥⲱⲡⲉ ⲁⲃⲣⲱⲛ (eterap^{h}aôpe abrôn)

1. NHC II 15,30 = NHC IV 24,23 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the head.

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Quack, the first part of the name may contain the Egyptian month Paophi, while ⲁⲃⲣⲱⲛ may refer to "arfa" or "amarph," the 3rd dekan of Taurus constellation or, alternatively, to *voces* αβρα or αρβα (see →Abrana). Most probably, the power is rooted in the Egyptian astronomical speculation.

Quack 1995: 114

135 ⲉⲩⲁⲛⲑⲏⲛ (euant^{h}ên)

1. NHC II 16,7—8 = NHC II 25,8 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left underarm (ⲑⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

Commentary and literature

Quack refers this figure to *Test.Sol.* 18,30, where the 2nd decan of Sagittarius is called Ἐναυθα and places it within the Egyptian astronomical speculation. However, the exact form Euant^{h}ên is not attested in any ancient catalogue of decans.

Gundel 1936: 77—80; Quack 1995: 115.

136 ⲉⲩⲅⲛⲱⲥⲧⲟⲥ (eugnôstos)

1. NHC III 69, 10 (*Gos. Eg.*)

Beloved in the spirit (ⲡⲁⲅⲁⲡⲏⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ <ἀγαπητικός> ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ <πνεῦμα>). His name in the flesh (σάρξ) is Goggessos (ⲅⲟⲅⲅⲉⲥⲥⲟⲥ). This passage has no parallel in NHC IV.

2. NHC III 70,1 (*Eugnostos*)

In the incipit of the text: "Eugnostos, the Blessed, to those who are his" (ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲛⲉ).

Parrott 1991, in: NHS 27: 2

Etymology, commentary and literature

Greek εὔγνωστος means "well-known." What is evident from the incipit of the texts bearing his name, Eugnostos was an alleged author of the text. His status is, however, not explained, so we are not certain whether he is a spiritual power or only a visionary, which seems more probable.

Parrott 1991, in: NHS 27: 2

137 ⲉⲩⲕⲣⲉⲃⲱⲥ (eukrebôs)

1. NHC VIII 47,23 (*Zost.*)

On a list of many spiritual powers; one of the three judges (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲧ ϩⲁⲡ).

138 ⲉⲩⲣⲓⲟⲥ (eurios)

1. NHC VIII 47,15 (*Zost.*)

On a long list of various powers; one of the myriads (ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲧⲃⲁ <ⲡⲉⲧⲃⲁ>).

139 ⲉⲩⲣⲩⲙⲉⲛⲉⲩⲥ (eurumeneus) = ⲉⲩⲣⲩⲙⲉⲟⲩⲥ (eurumeous)^{v} = ⲩⲉⲩⲣⲩⲙⲁⲓⲟⲩⲥ (heurumaious)^{v2}

1. NHC III 65,3^{v2} = NHC IV 76,22^{v} (*Gos. Eg.*)

President over the rising of the sun (ⲡⲉⲧⲩⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲧⲉϥⲩⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ); he is mentioned together with other salvation-bringers.

2. NHC VIII 47,17 (*Zost.*)

On a long list of powers (ⲍⲟⲙ) and glories (ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩ); the guardian of the glory (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲣⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 561

Commentary and literature

Together with →T^{h}eopemptos, →Olsen and →Stêt^{h}eus, Eurumeneus forms a group of the guardians of glory, benevolent figures located in the aeon of →Barbêlô.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 561

140 ⲉⲫⲉⲙⲉⲙⲫⲓ (ep^{h}ememp^{h}i)

1. NHC II 18,15 = NHC IV 28,10 (*Ap. John*)

The chief demon (ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ <ἀρχηγός> ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ <δαίμων>) that belongs to the pleasure (ἡδονή).

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Quack, if emended to ⲉⲫⲑⲉⲙⲉⲙⲫⲓ it should be interpreted as *Nfr-tm-Mn-nfr* "Nefertem of Memphis," attested also in the magical material (in Greek as απτουμι and νιπτουμι), although such interpretation is not compelling.

Quack 1995: 119

141 ϵxaмωθ (ekʰamôtʰ)

1. NHC II 60,10 (*Gos. Phil.*)
Ekʰamôtʰ is not identical with →Ekʰmôtʰ.

2. NHC II 60,11 (*Gos. Phil.*)
A name of the general wisdom (тсофια <σοφία> ϩаплωс <ἁπλῶς>).

Etymology, commentary and literature
Perhaps from Aramaic "ḥekamātā," although the ending -ôtʰ may be formed as an analogy to the names like →Sabaôtʰ (Böhlig).
Böhlig 1989: 427

142 ϵxмωθ (ekʰmôtʰ)

1. NHC II 60,11 (*Gos. Phil.*)
Ekʰmôtʰ is not identical with →Ekʰamôtʰ.

2. NHC II 60,12 (*Gos. Phil.*)
The wisdom of death (тсофια <σοφία> ⲙ̄пмоу); called "little wisdom" (ткоуει ⲛ̄софια <σοφία>).

Etymology, commentary and literature
Perhaps from Aramaic "ḥekmātā," although the ending -ôtʰ may be formed as an analogy to the names like →Sabaôtʰ (Böhlig).
Böhlig 1989b: 427

143 zapϵy[---] (zareu[---])

1. NHC VIII 54,4 (*Zost.*)
Context almost completely lost; as a proper name recognized only for the superlinear stroke.

144 ⲍⲁⲭⲑⲟⲥ (zak^{h}t^{h}os)

1. NHC VIII 54,22 (*Zost.*)

Context partially destroyed; the second luminary (φωστήρ) of the perfect (τέλειος) mind (νοῦς), the first-appearer (Protophanes); part of a double figure of a god-revealer (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲛϩ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) paired with →Iak^{h}t^{h}os.

Conjecture ⲛ̄[ⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ] according to BCNH T 24; NHS 31 gives ⲛ[ⲛⲟⲩ].

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

2. NHC VIII 126,12 (*Zost.*)

Together with →Iak^{h}t^{h}os, he forms the second luminary (φωστήρ) in the second aeon (αἰών) →Akremôn.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

Commentary and literature

A luminary in the second subaeon of the first-appearer (Protophanes) aeon in the Sethian system.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

145 ⲍⲱⲅⲉⲛⲉⲑⲗⲟⲥ (zôgenet^{h}los)

1. NHC VIII 6,17 (*Zost.*)

The one over the powers (ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲟⲛ — literally "these powers," but we can hardly identify them); a seal-giver (σφραγίζειν).

Other texts

CB p. 264, l. 4 (Untitled Text); ⲍⲱⲅⲉⲛⲉⲑⲗⲏⲥ; power of an uncertain nature mentioned within the aeons, perhaps the aeon itself.

146 ⲍⲱⲥⲧⲣⲓⲁⲛⲉ (zôstriane) = ⲍⲟⲥⲧⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ (zôstrianos)^{v} = ⲍⲱⲥⲧⲣⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ (zôstrianos)^{v2}

1. NHC VIII 1,3—4^{v} (*Zost.*)

The context considerably destroyed; probably a part of the title or of the prologue.

2. NHC VIII 14,1 (*Zost.*)
Adressed by the → sêp^{h}êk^{h} who explains him the types of humanity. Zôstrianos is also called by → sêp^{h}êk^{h} (NHC VIII 13, 9—10) an angel (ἄγγελος) and a son of the father (ⲡⲱϫⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲱⲧ).

3. NHC VIII 64,11 (*Zost.*)
Addressed by the →Salamek^{s} who explains him the creation of the pleroma.

4. NHC VIII 128,15 (*Zost.*)
The receiver of the revelation unknown to gods and angels (ἄγγελος).

5. NHC VIII 132,6^{v2} (*Zost.*)
In a subscribed title, probably the first colophon.

6. NHC VIII 132,8^{v2} (*Zost.*)
A colophon written as a cryptogram. After solution it is written: "Words of the truth of Zostrianos. God of the Truth. Teachings of Zoroaster."

Wisse 1979: 105—116

Other texts

Porphyry, *Plot.* 16; Ζωστριανός; mentions books of Zostrianos read among some Christian heretics in the environs of the circle of Plotinus.

Arnobius, *Adv. nat.* 1,51,1; Zostrianus; an oriental sage from the lineage of Zoroaster.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Zostrianos is a supposed author of the text bearing his name. His epithet as a god of the truth suggests his superhuman status, although in the text he passes through the upper worlds as a passive receiver of the heavenly wisdom.

Layton & Sieber 1991, in: NHS 31: 7—8

147 ⲏⲗⲏⲗⲏⲑ (êlêlêtʰ) = ⲉⲗⲉⲗⲏⲑ (elelêtʰ)^{v} = ⲏⲩⲏⲗⲏⲑ (êuêlêtʰ)^{v2}

1. NHC II 8,18 = NHC IV 13,1 = BG 34,2—3 (*Ap. John*)
The fourth light (ϥⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ, ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) over the fourth aeon.
Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 229—230

2. NHC II 9,23 = NHC III 14,7 = BG 36,13—14 (*Ap. John*)
The fourth light (ϥⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ, ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) over the fourth aeon of the souls that know their perfection (NHC III and BG), or that does not know pleroma (NHC II); together with other luminaries, he glorifies the invisible (ἀόρατον) spirit (πνεῦμα).
Burns 2018: 143

3. NHC II 93,8^{v} (*Hyp. Arch.*)
A great angel (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ); wisdom (ⲧ̅ⲙ̅ⲛⲧⲥⲁⲃⲉ); he stands in the presence of the holy spirit (ⲡ̅ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ); sent to speak with →Norea, saved her from the lawless and taught about her root (ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ). His person is like fine gold (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲧⲡ); his garment like snow (χίων); the appearance of his face is unutterable.
Kaiser 2006: 287—293; Myszor 2008: 316; Burns 2018: 149

4. NHC II 93,18^{v} (*Hyp. Arch.*)
A great angel (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ); one of the four luminaries (ϥⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ) who stands in the presence of the great invisible spirit (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲙ̅ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ ⲛ̄ⲁϩⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ); he teaches →Norea that archons cannot defile her.
Kaiser 2006: 287—293; Myszor 2008: 316; Burns 2018: 149

5. NHC II 94,3^{v} (*Hyp. Arch.*)
A great angel (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ); the understanding (ⲧⲙ̄ⲛⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲛϩⲙⲧ); he teaches →Norea about the origin, nature and power of the archons.
Myszor 2008: 316

6. NHC III 51,19 = NHC IV 63,14 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The luminary (ϥⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ) begotten by the Manifestation, the great power (δύναμις, ϭⲟⲙ) of the great light (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

7. NHC III 52,14 = NHC IV 64,8 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Prudence (φρόνησις, ϲⲃⲱ) is a consort (σύζυγος) of Êlêlêt^{h} in the first ogdoad of the self-generated (αὐτογενής).

8. NHC III 53,1 = NHC IV 64,23 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The fourth great luminary (φωστήρ), →Abrasak^{s} is a servant (διάκονος) of him.

9. NHC III 56,24 = NHC IV 68,7 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The great Light (ⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ); after five thousand years, after great Seth placed his seed in the third great light →Daueit^{h}e, Elelêt^{h} spoke, "Let someone reign over the chaos (χάος) and Amente" (ⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ) (transl. NHC 4,118).

10. NHC III 65,21 = NHC IV 77,19 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Mentioned in a long list of divine beings revealed or revealing themselves to somebody; the fourth one (ⲡⲙⲉϩⲧⲟⲟⲩ), the place (ⲡⲙⲁ) where the souls (ψυχή) of the sons of the great Seth are resting.

11. NHC VIII 29,11 (*Zost.*)
The luminary (φωστήρ) over the fourth aeon (αἰών); an inclination and preparation for truth (ⲟⲩϩⲟⲣⲙⲏ ⲙ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲣⲟ̄ ϩⲁϯⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉ).
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 546; Burns 2018: 143—144

12. NHC VIII 31,16—17 (*Zost.*)
Context partially destroyed; the luminary (φωστήρ), probably also an angel (ἄγγελος); associated with contemplation of the divine (ⲉⲛⲛⲟⲓⲁ <ἔννοια> ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ).
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 547

13. NHC VIII 51,18 (*Zost.*)
In a doxology directed toward many spiritual beings; a luminary (φωστήρ).
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 565

14. NHC IX, 6,5^{v2} (*Melch.*)
In a hymn addressed to the twelve aeonic figures; the one of the four archistrategs (ἀρχιστρατεγός), luminaries (φωστήρ), and powers (ⲛ̄[ϭⲟⲙ]).
Funk, Mahé & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 30—31(esp. n.73) and 133—134; Burns 2018: 145

15. NHC XIII 39*,15 (*Trim. Prot.*)

The great light (ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ); the word (λόγος) came forth from it.

Burns 2018: 147

16. CT 51,1 (*Gos. Jud.*)

An angel (ἄγγελος) in the aeon of the first man.

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 355

Other texts

CB p. 264, l. 5 (Untitled Text); ⲏⲗⲏⲗⲏⲑ; the one of the four luminaries (φωστήρ) located with in the aeons of the Wisdom (σοφία).

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,29,2; Eleleth; In a so-called great notice mentioned as the fourth of the four luminaria coupled with its "emissio subministranta," Phronesis.

Investiture of Archangel Gabriel (CSCO 225, p. 66, l. 30); ⲗⲉⲗⲏⲑ; Burns (2018: 155) identifies this angel as Êlêlêt^{h}, which is probable but not certain. An angel with a thousand eyes, ruling over 280 thousand of angels. He declares before Christ to be ready to fulfill his orders.

Texts of ritual power

PGM XC, l. 5—6 (*Suppl.Mag.* II: 205; cf. previous reading by Traversa 1953: 57—58; GMPT: 302);᾽Ηληλυθ᾽; Invoked in the sequence of angelic names and words of power in an amulet.

Meyer & Smith 70, ll. 14, 46, 105 (Kropp I: 22—23, 26; Choat & Gardner 2013: 107—109; Meyer & Smith 1999: 131—132); ⲉⲗⲉⲗⲏⲑ, ⲉⲗⲉⲗⲩⲑ; on the lists of divine beings invoked by a practitioner against filthy spirits. He appears also in the sequences of names of power.

Meyer & Smith 129, l. 10 (Kropp I: 29; Meyer & Smith 1999: 279); ⲉⲗⲉⲗⲏⲑ; in a spell to obtain good singing voice; as a second part of the compound name: ⲗⲁⲩⲓⲑⲉⲁ ⲉⲗⲉⲗⲏⲑ.

BNF Suppl. Grec. 1340, l. 1 (Dosoo forthcoming); ⲏⲗ̅ ⁝ ⲍ̣ ⲏⲗ̅ ⲍ ⲏⲑ̅ ⲍ; In the beginning invocation of the spell; in a sequence ⲓⲥ̅ ⲍ · ⲭⲥ̅ ⲍ ⲏⲗ̅ ⁝ ⲍ̣ ⲏⲗ̅ ⲍ ⲏⲑ̅.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 8, l. 8 (Meyer 1996: 22); ⲉⲗⲉⲗⲉⲑ; one of the four imperishable mysteries (ⲡⲉⲃⲁ̅ ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲱⲛ <μυστήριον> ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲭⲉⲛ) spread out over the four directions of heaven (ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ⲉⲃⲁⲗ ⲅⲓⲭⲉⲛ ⲡⲉ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲧⲡⲉ).

P.Coptic Museum 4958 (no critical edition; Meyer 1996: 76); [ⲉ]ⲗⲉⲗⲉⲑ; one of the four great luminaries who are ineffable in their glory (ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ <φωστήριον> ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ), and who are spread over four corners of the heaven (ⲡⲉⲫⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲕⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲡⲉ).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 2, ll. 22, 23 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 46); ⲉⲗⲏⲑⲉ, ⲏⲗⲏⲗⲏⲑ; One of those within the great ineffable luminaries of light (ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ <φωστήρ> ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲧⲱⲁⲭⲉ).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 5, l. 13 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 52); ⲉⲗⲏⲗⲏⲑ; a servant (ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲛⲡⲟⲫⲛ); called together with other powers.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 12, l. 7 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 66); ⲏⲗⲏⲗⲏⲑ; together with other names usually associated with the four luminaries written inside the figura magica.

Kotansky 1980b, l. 30 (Kotansky 1980b: 181);Ἠληληθ; in the sequence of names of power, mainly associated with the Jewish God and angels, used in the spell against evil spirit and epilepsy (πτωματισμός).

Łajtar & Van der Vliet 2017: 94—95, No 9, l. 36;Ἐλεεη; one of the 24 immutable lights (there is no lacuna, but only three names are given).

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Michl, from Hebrew אלאל or אליאל "my God," the name of angel over the Hebrew month of Elul. Barc (1980, in BCNH T 5) and Turner (2001: 62 n. 8) proposes הילל "morning star" based on Isa 14:12—15. Turner also puts forth another etymology "God of the height" from Aramaic (Turner 2001: 229 n. 6) and links Êlêlêt^{h} to angelic watchers of 2Enoch 18. Tardieu (1984) derives the name from *'llīth*, "l'altiere."

Êlêlêt^{h} is an original Sethian creation and belongs as one of the four luminaries to the core of the Sethian myth. *Hyp. Arch.* shows that he can also act as an individual outside the group of the four. In this text, he is also portrayed as an important angel at the heavenly court. In the Nag Hammadi corpus, Êlêlêt^{h} is the only individualized luminary but in the Coptic texts of ritual power →Daueit^{h}e also appears as an individual. There is no hint that Êlêlêt^{h} was perceived as a female power, so an equation with →Norea or →Iouêl (Tardieu 1984) is unjustified.

Michl 1962: 211; Barc 1980, in: BCNH T 5: 114; Tardieu 1984: 273; Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 544—547; Turner 2001: 62, 229; Kaiser 2006: 289; Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 28; Burns 2018

148 ⲏⲗⲏⲗⲏⲑ ⲕⲟⲇⲏⲣⲏ ⲉⲡⲓⲫⲁⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲗⲗⲟⲅⲉⲛⲓⲟⲥ (êlêlêt^{h} kodêrê epip^{h}anios allogenios)

1. NHC VIII 128,6—7 (*Zost.*)

The fourth aeon (αἰών) of the fourth luminary (φωστήρ) in the self-begotten (αὐτογενής) aeon.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 649—650

Texts of ritual power

For the name →Élêlêt^{h} see no. 147 above. The name κοδηρε and similar forms have some attestation in the magical material.

PGM II, l. 34 (PGM 1: 22; GMPT: 13); κοδηρε; in the sequence of the twelve names (ὀνόματα) prescribed to be written on leaves of twelve laurel twigs.

PGM V, ll. 425, 427 (PGM 1: 196; GMPT: 109); <κ>οδηρε, κοδηρε; in the sequence of names and words of power prescribed to be written on papyrus to obtain dream oracle.

PGM VII, ll. 681, 683 (PGM 2: 31; GMPT: 137); κοδηρεθ, κοδηρε; in the sequence of names and words of power prescribed to be written on linen to obtain a dream oracle.

PGM VII, ll. 895, 897 (PGM 2: 39; GMPT: 142); κοδηρε; in the sequence of words and names of power associated with the lunar goddess.

PGM XII, l. 291 (PGM 2: 78; Daniel 1991: 18; GMPT: 164); κοδηρε; in a sequence of the names of power associated with the greatest god (ὁ θεός μέγιστος) over all the powers; with a masculine article.

Gager 1992: 64, No 11, l. 4 (Audollent 1904: 409); κοδηρε; in the sequence of the words of power introducing a curse.

Commentary and literature

This sequence of words of power does not reveal its character. It remains uncertain whether all the words in this chain are the other names of Êlêlêt^{h} or whether they refer to separate beings. The words Epiphanios and Allogenios correspondingly mean "revealed" and "of other race," but kodêrê remains enigmatic and may indeed be taken from the repertoire of the magical *voces*.

Jackson 1989: 77

149 ⲏⲗⲏⲗⲓⲟⲩⲫⲉⲩ (êlêlioup^{h}eu) = ⲏⲗⲓⲗⲓⲟⲩⲫⲉⲩ (êlilioup^{h}eu)^{v}

1. NHC VIII 88,12^{v} (*Zost.*)

Context partially destroyed; in a doxology directed to many spiritual beings.

2. NHC XI 54,19 (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage; mentioned together with other powers as a separate being or only a name of →Epip^{h}aneu.

Commentary and literature

It seems that Êlêliouphʰeu and all the other names in the doxology NHC VIII 88b—23a should be interpreted as a collective designation of Barbêlô as the first hidden-one (Kalyptos). They never appear independently and have no particular identity.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 624

150 ⲏⲗⲓⲉⲛ (êlien)

1. NHC XIII 48*,25 (*Trim. Prot.*)

One of the three glorifiers (ⲛⲉⲧϯⲥⲟⲟⲩ). Protennoia delivers an initiated (his exact identity remains uncertain) to them, and they glorified him with the glory of fatherhood (ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ).

Commentary and literature

The group of three glorifiers (→Ariôm, →Phariêl) is not attested, except for *Trim. Prot.*

Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 352

151 ⲏⲙⲏⲛⲩⲛ (êmênun)

1. NHC II 16,35 = NHC IV 26,10 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left leg (ⲡⲡⲉⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

152 ⲏⲛⲑⲟⲗⲗⲉⲓⲁ (ênthʰolleia)

1. NHC II 16,28 = NHC IV 26,2—3 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of all the flesh (σάρξ).

153 ϩριγεναωρ (êrigenaôr)

1. NHC XI 54,18 (*Allogenes*)
In a hymnic passage; mentioned together with the other powers as a separate being or only as a part of the complex name of →Epip^{h}aneu.

Commentary and literature
It seems that all the names in the doxology NHC VIII 88b—23a should be interpreted as a collective designation of Barbêlô as the first hidden-one (Kalyptos). They never appear independently and have no particular identity. The name in NHC VIII 88,11 (*Zost.*) is fully restored.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 624

154 ϩснфнх (êsêp^{h}êk$^{h)}$ = ϩфнснк (êp^{h}êsêk)^{v}

1. NHC III 50,2 = NHC IV 62,1 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The Splendidness (ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ, ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ), the child of the child (ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ), the crown of his (i.e. child) glory (ⲡⲉϥⲗⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲉⲟⲟⲩ); the cosmic man praises him and the other powers.

2. NHC III 53,25 = 65,19 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The Splendidness (ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ, ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ), the child of the child (ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ), the crown of his (i.e. child) glory (ⲡⲉϥⲗⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲉⲟⲟⲩ); the self-generated (Autogenes) praises him and the other powers.

3. NHC III 55, 22 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The Splendidness (ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ), the child of the child (ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ), the crown of his (i.e. child) glory (ⲡⲉϥⲗⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲉⲟⲟⲩ); The great Seth praises him and the other powers.

4. NHC III 62,6 = NHC IV 73,17 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The Splendidness (ⲡⲉⲧⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ, ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ), the crown of his (i.e. child) glory (ⲡⲉϥⲗⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉϥⲉⲟⲟⲩ); the great Seth praises him and the other powers.

5. NHC IV 59,24 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Context partially destroyed; the Splendidness (ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ), the child of the child (ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ), the crown of his (i.e. child) glory (ⲡⲓⲕⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲉϥⲉⲟⲟⲩ); the Providence (πρόνοια) probably praises him and the other powers.

6. NHC VIII 13,8^{v} (*Zost.*)
The child of the child (ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ); the perfect man (ⲡⲓⲧⲉⲗⲉⲓⲟⲥ <τέλειος> ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ); summoned by the initiated subject appears and talks with him. The context of his speech is lost.

7. NHC VIII 45,2^{v} (*Zost.*)
The child of the child (ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ); asked by the initiated subject about types of humans.

8. NHC VIII 45,11^{v} (*Zost.*)
The child of the child (ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ); he explains types of humans to the initiated subject.

Etymology, commentary and literature
Böhlig points at the Manichaean divine figure called in Aramaic "ṣāp̄ēt zīwā," the son of the living spirit, guiding the world from above, but he does not clarify the nature of this association with the figure known from the Nag Hammadi texts. As at least *Zost.* was created earlier than the Manichaean mission into Roman Empire, the Manichaean invention of this power has to be excluded. In *Zost.* Êp^{h}êsêk is first of all the typical angelus interpres, maybe equivalent with heavenly Seth (Sieber 1991, in: NHS 31: 8).

Böhlig 1989b: 416; Layton & Sieber 1991, in: NHS 31: 8

ⲑⲁⲃⲓⲛⲱⲑ → ⲃⲁⲑⲓⲛⲱⲑ

155 ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲛⲁⲑⲉⲩ (t^{h}alanat^{h}eu)

1. NHC VII 126,13 (*Steles Seth*)
In a hymnic passage sung by the 1st pl. subject; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲙⲓⲥⲉ).

156 ⲑⲁⲥⲡⲟⲙⲟⲭⲁ (t^{h}aspomok^{h}a) = ⲑⲁⲥⲡⲟⲙⲟⲭⲁⲙ (t^{h}aspomok^{h}am)^{v}

1. NHC II 15,33^{v} = NHC IV 24,27 (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left eye (ⲡⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

Etymology, commentary and literature
According to Quack, a deformation of ⲑⲁⲥ(ⲡ)ⲟⲗⲟⲭⲁ, the 1st decan of Gemini, rendered in Greek as ϑοσολκ. If so, the power would be rooted in the Egyptian astronomical speculation. Such a link remains, however, uncertain.
Gundel 1936: 77; Quack 1995: 115

157 ⲑⲉⲟⲡⲉⲙⲡⲧⲟⲥ (t^{h}eopemptos)

1. NHC III 64,13—14 = NHC IV 75,28 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Manifested together with other bringers of the salvation; the great commander (ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲅⲟⲥ <στρατηγός>).

2. NHC VIII 47,16—17 (*Zost.*)
On a long list of powers (ⲥⲟⲙ) and glories (ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩ); the guardian of the glory (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ).
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 561

Commentary and literature
In Greek ϑεόπεμπτος means "sent by god." Together with →Eurumeneus, →Olsen and →Stêt^{h}eus, T^{h}eopemptos forms a group of guardians of the glory, benevolent figures located in the aeon of →Barbêlô.
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 561

158 ⲑⲟⲩⲣⲱ (t^{h}ourô)

1. NHC VIII 47,27 (*Zost.*)
The angel guiding misty clouds (ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲛⲣⲉϥϫⲓ ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ ϩⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲓⲥⲉⲡⲉ ⲛⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ).

Texts of ritual power

The name T^{h}ouriêl appears few times (PGM IV, l. 1814; PGM XLVI, l. 6), but the very form t^{h}ourô is completely absent.

Meyer & Smith 133, p. 18, l. 6 (Worrell 1930: 253; Mirecki 1994: 451; Meyer & Smith 1999: 309); ⲑⲟⲩⲣ; on a long list of various names of power.

159 ⲑⲱⲡⲓⲑⲣⲱ (t^{h}ôpit^{h}rô)

1. NHC II 16,22—23 = NHC IV 25,26 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the intestines (ⲛ̄ⲏⲉⲩⲧ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Quack interprets this name as a conflation of two different decans, the 2nd of Virgo (or the first of Sagittarius) and the 1st of Aquarius constellation. If so, the figure is rooted in the Egyptian astronomical speculation, but this proposition remains very tentative.

Gundel 1936: 77—80; Quack 1995: 116

160 ⲓⲁⲃⲏⲗ (iabêl) = ⲓⲱⲃⲏⲗ (iôbêl)^{v}

1. NHC II 10,32 = NHC III 16,23^{v} = BG 40,8^{v} (*Ap. John*)

The fourth (of the total twelve) authority (ἐξουσία) begotten by the archon (ἄρχων).

Barc (2012, in: BCNH T 35: 252) corrects the lectio "Iôbêl" in NHC III and BG as "Iabêl" (as in NHC II), arguing that the appearance of the same name twice on the list is "est illogique." Since both the shorter witnesses of the Coptic text (NHC III and BG) are independent translations from Greek, we should assume that this form was present already in the Greek Vorlage.

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 252, 256

2. NHC II 10,37^{v} = NHC III 17,3^{v} = BG 40,15^{v} (*Ap. John*)

The ninth authority (ἐξουσία), the angel (only in NHC III and BG: ἄγγελος) begotten by the archon (ἄρχων). Note that the same name has the fourth authority.

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 252—253

3. NHC II 17,8 = NHC IV 26,19 (*Ap. John*)
One of the seven appointed over the creator angels of the body limbs.

4. NHC III 58,13^{v} (*Gos. Eg.*)
The fourth of the twelve assisting angels (ϩⲉⲛⲁⲅⲅⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲓ <παραστατεῖν>).

5. CT 52,10^{v} (*Gos. Jud.*)
The fourth of the five angels (ἄγγελος) over the chasm and the chaos.

Etymology, commentary and literature

From the Hebrew יובל "Jubilee year" (Michl 1962 based on Schwab 1897) or Hebrew "Ram" understood as a constellation Aries. Tardieu (1984), oversophisticated as usual, understands him as a representation of the Cancer constellation and interprets his name as "The ass is the Lord." Rendering of the name of the Jewish God into Greek as Ἰαβέ (Theodoretus, *Haer.* 5,3) may also be taken into account.

According to Barc (2012, in BCNH T 35: 251—252), Iabêl belongs to the hebdomade of Sabbath (BG 42,7—9) where he is identified with Elôaios. In another place, Barc (in: BCNH T 35: 256) adds that Iôbêl denotes precisely the period of time given for the Jews before the coming of Messiah.

Schwab 1897: 256; Michl 1962: 218; Tardieu 1984: 280; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 251—252, 256; Lewis 2013: 172

161 ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃ (iakôb) = ⲓⲁⲕⲱⲃⲟⲥ (iakôbos)^{v}

1. NHC III 64,13^{v} = NHC IV 75,28 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Manifested together with other bringers of salvation; the great commander (ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲅⲟⲥ <στρατηγός>).

Böhlig 1989a: 164—165

Texts of ritual power

PGM IV, l. 1736 (PGM 1: 126; GMPT: 69); Ἰακώβ; in the sequence of names of power mainly of Hebrew origin prescribed to be engraved on the stone below the figure of Eros, used in the spell of attraction.

PGM IV, l. 1803 (PGM 1: 128; GMPT: 70); Ἰακώβ; in the sequence of names of power mainly of Hebrew origin used in the spell of attraction.

PGM XII, l. 287 (PGM 2: 77; Daniel 1991: 18; GMPT: 164); Ἰακκωβι; in the sequence of names of power associated with the most powerful god ("Θεὲ μέγιστε"), in the chain of the names, τὸν Ἀβραάν, τὸν Ἰσάκ, τὸν Ἰακκωβι.

PGM XIII, l. 817 (PGM 2: 124; Daniel 1991: 66; GMPT: 191); Ἰακώβ; in the phrase: "I have received the power (δύναμιν) of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of the great god" (τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσακ καὶ τοῦ Ἰακὼβ καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ) (transl. GMPT: 191). Here the name is not understood as the name of deity.

PGM XIII, l. 976 (PGM 2: 128; Daniel 1991: 74; GMPT: 194); Ἰακώβ; in the sequence of names of three patriarchs and the permutations of vowels introduced: "as it is explained in Hebrew in The Law" (ὡς δ' ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ διαλύεται ἁβραϊστί) (transl. GMPT: 194).

PGM LVII, l. 11 (PGM 2: 185; GMPT: 284); [Ἰακ]ώβ; in the sequence of names and words of power and permutations of vowels, somehow associated with Isis.

Bonner 1950: 299, No 275; Ιακωβ; Obv. Ιακωβ ακουβτα Ἰάω βερω; Rev. Plain.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 172—173, No 228; Ἰακώβ; Obv. A crouching deity; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Ἰακώβ.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Jakob should be seen here as a reinterpretation of patriarch Jacob, son of Isaac, and in connection with the apostle of Jesus or Jacob the Elder known from the New Testament. Patriarch Jacob already in the Old Testament and in the Jewish extracanonical tradition is portrayed as a military leader. In the Jewish and Christian writings, the angelic nature of Jacob is not attested except only in "the Prayer of Joseph" dated to the 1st c. AD and preserved in three fragments only by the Christian authors. Fragment of interest here is A, preserved in Origen (*Jo.* 2,31,189), where we read: ἐγὼ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἄγγελος θεοῦ εἰμι. Spiritual Jakob of *Gos. Eg.* probably originated in similar milieu. An angelic nature of Jacob is frequently mentioned also in medieval Manichaica from Turfan, but Egyptian Manichaica does not confirm this concept. In the texts of ritual power, Jakob is invoked in the sequence of the three patriarchs or in association with the Jewish God. His military aspect is never mentioned, thus the mutual dependencies between Nag Hammadi texts and texts of ritual power have to be in this case excluded.

Youtie 1930; Bonner 1950: 171; Böhlig 1989a

162 ⲓⲁⲕⲟⲩⲓⲃ (iakouib)

1. NHC II 17,11 = NHC IV 26,23 (*Ap. John*)

One particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the right shoulder (ⲧⲛⲁϩⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM I, l. 159 (PGM 1: 10; GMPT: 7); Ια[κο]υβι; in the sequence of words of power in the spell addressed to Selene.

PGM IV, l. 2224 (PGM 1: 140; GMPT: 77); Ἰακούβ; in the sequence ιακουβ ιαι in the chain of words of power preceded by three Homeric verses in the spell of restrain (ἐπὶ δὲ κατόχων).

PGM VII, l. 649 (PGM 2: 29; GMPT: 136); Ἰακούβ; in the sequence of words, names of power and vowel permutations in the love-charm over a cup.

PGM XII, l. 370 (PGM 2: 82; GMPT: 166); Ἰακούβ; in the sequence ιακουβ ιαι in the sequence of words and names of power.

PGM XII, l. 461 (PGM 2: 85; GMPT: 170); Ἰακο[υβ....]; GMPT reconstruct the word as ιακο[υβιαι]; in the sequence of words of power constituting the "great name" (τὸ μέγα ὄνομα) of the power adjured in the spell.

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305, col. II, l. 20; Ἰακουβια; in a spell for attraction (ἀγώγιμον); in the sequence of names of power, partially of Semitic origin.

Gager 1992: 144, No 54, l. 1 (Moraux 1960: 12); Ἰακούβ; in the sequence ιακουβ ια ια αι in the sequence of *voces magicae* and names of power.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Moraux interprets Ἰακούβ in the magical material as a reference to the Biblical patriarch Jacob, and the sequence ιακουβιαι as garbled Ἰακουβ Ἰαω "le dieu Jacob" ultimately traced back to the biblical "God of Jacob" (ὁ θεός τοῦ Ἰακώβ). If the Iakouib of *Ap. John*. has anything in common with the ιακουβιαι, it is rather because of Egyptian (yet not specified), non-Biblical provenance of the letter phrase, for the majority of the powers enumerated in this passage of long recension of *Ap. John*. is rooted in the Egyptian tradition (see *Introduction*).

Moraux 1960: 28—29

163 ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ (ialdabaôt^{h}) = ⲓⲁⲗⲧⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ (ialtabaôt^{h})^{v} = ⲁⲗⲧⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ (altabaôt^{h})^{v2} = ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲱⲑ (ialdaôt^{h})^{v3}

1. NHC II 10,19^{v} = NHC III 15,22 = BG 38,14 (*Ap. John*)

The first ruler (ⲡⲱⲟⲣⲡ / ⲡⲉⲣⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ <ἄρχων>); the imperfect product (ⲡⲣⲱⲃ) of Wisdom (σοφία), begotten without her consort. She set up a throne (θρόνος) for him in the cloud and gave him his name. He took a great power and created angels (ἄγγελος) and authorities (ἐξουσία).

Scholem 1974: 414; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 246

2. NHC II 11,16^{v} = NHC IV 17,26^{v} (*Ap. John*)

The first name of the ruler (ἄρχων); weak (ⲱⲟⲛⲉ <ⲱⲱⲛⲉ>), impious (ⲱⲁⲭⲧⲉ), ignorant (ⲁⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) of the place of his origin; in his arrogance (ἀπόνοια), he said, "I am God and there is no other god beside me" (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲕⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃ̄ⲗⲗⲏⲓ) (transl. NHS 33: 71).

Fossum 1985: 219

3. NHC II 11,35^{v} = NHC III 18,9 = NHC IV 18,25^{v} = BG 42,10 (*Ap. John*)

He has multiple faces (NHC II and IV πρόσωπον) or forms (NHC III and BG: μορφή) which he can change according to his desire. He called himself God because of the power of his Mother, being disobedient to the place (NHC II and IV: ⲡⲙⲁ) / substance (NHC III and BG: ὑπόστασις). His other name is →Sakla.

Jackson 1985: 36—37; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 257—258

4. NHC II 14,16^{v} = NHC III 21,19 = NHC IV 22,22^{v} = BG 47,17—18 (*Ap. John*)

The chief ruler (πρωτάρχων, ⲡⲉⲣⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ <ἄρχων>); he heard the voice from above: "The Man exists and the son of Man" (ⲫⲱⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ) (transl. NHS 33: 85). Then, he exhorted the authorities (ἐξουσία) to create a man according to the image (ⲉⲓⲕⲱⲛ) of God (NHC II 15,1ff = NHC IV 23,14ff; in NHC III 22,1ff he is not mentioned).

Fossum 1985: 219

5. NHC II 19,23^{v} (*Ap. John*)

The luminaries (φώστηρ) sent by the Father advised Ialdabaôt^{h} to blow into the face of the man.

6. NHC II 19,29—30^{v2} (*Ap. John*)

He blew into the psychic body (ⲯⲩⲭⲓⲕⲟⲥ <ψυχικός> ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲙⲁ <σῶμα>) of the man giving him motion, strength and life.

Jackson 1985: 35

7. NHC II 23,36 = NHC III 30,22^{v} = NHC IV 37,5^{v} = BG 61,7—8 (*Ap. John*)

The chief ruler (NHC II and NHC IV: πρωτάρχων). He noticed that the first parents withdrew from him. Then he cursed the earth, subdued woman to her husband and cast both of them out of the paradise (παράδεισος). In BG, not Ialdabaôt^{h} himself but his angels (ἄγγελος) cast the first parents out.

8. NHC II 24,12 = NHC III 31,7 = NHC IV 37,22^{v} = BG 62,5 (*Ap. John*)

The chief ruler (NHC II and NHC IV: πρωτάρχων). He defiled Eve and begot two children with her →Elôim and →Iaue.

9. NHC II 95,8^{v} (*Hyp. Arch.*)

The name Ialdabaôt^{h} is an explanation (ⲡⲟⲩϩⲱⲙ) of the name of Saklas (→Sakla). Wisdom (σοφία) announced him his mistake, and her breath became fiery angel (ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱϩⲧ).

Alexander 1999: 1059; Kaiser 2006: 319; Choat & Gardner 2013: 15

10. NHC II 95,11—12 (*Hyp. Arch.*)

The fiery angel (ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱϩⲧ) bound Ialdabaôt^{h} and cast him into Tartar (τάρταρος).

Fossum 1985: 304; Kaiser 2006: 320—321

11. NHC II 96,3—4 (*Hyp. Arch.*)

Ialdabaôt^{h} saw the repentance and glory (ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ) of his son →Sabaôt^{h}. His envy materialized as an androgyne (ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲅⲟⲛ <ἔργον> ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧⲥϩⲓⲛⲉ) and begot death.

Kaiser 2006: 334—337; Myszor 2008: 318—319

12. NHC II 100,14 (*Orig. World*)

The words spoken by Faith Wisdom (ⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ <πίστις> ⲇⲉ ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ <σοφία>) to the androgynous (ϩⲟⲩⲧⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ), lion-like ruler (ἄρχων), who appeared the first time out of the waters, after she breathed into them. According to the author of the text, the words mean "Child, pass through to here" (ⲡⲛⲉⲁⲛⲓⲕⲥⲟⲥ <νεανίσκος> ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲡⲉⲣⲁ <διαπεράω> ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲙⲁ) (transl. NHS 21: 35), and they became the name of the archon. He was brought into existence to rule over the matter (ὕλη) and its powers (δύναμις; NHC II 100,4—5).

Scholem 1974: 412—413; Tardieu 1974: 61; Fossum 1985: 313 and 322; Painchaud 1995, in: BCNH T 21: 266; Myszor 2008: 341—342

13. NHC II 100,19^{v} (*Orig. World*)

The ruler (ἄρχων); he was ignorant (ⲁⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) of his origin from the faith (πίστις) and did not see her but only her likeness (ⲡⲉⲓⲙⲉ) in water. However, he heard the words spoken by her.

Painchaud 1995, in: BCNH T 21: 266; Myszor 2008: 341—342

14. NHC II 100,24^{v3} (*Orig. World*)

The archon took the name Ialdabaôt^{h} because of the words spoken by the Faith Wisdom. In this place, the text brings digression that the perfect (τέλειος) call him →Ariaêl (NHC II 100,14—26). In a course of further narration, the term ruler (ἄρχων) is used instead of the name Ialdabaôt^{h}. He takes power over the matter (ὕλη), creates his seat called "heaven" (ⲧⲡⲉ), brings his three sons (→Iaô, →Eloai, →Astap^{h}aios) into life (NHC II 100,29—101,32).

Scholem 1974: 412; Painchaud 1995, in: BCNH T 21: 268—269; Myszor 2008: 341—342

15. NHC II 102,11—12 (*Orig. World*)

The prime parent (ἀρχιγενέτωρ); he creates by the word (ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲡϣⲁⲭⲉ,) the heavens for his seven sons (ⲛⲉϥϣⲏⲣⲉ). Note that here, not three, but seven sons of Ialdabaôt^{h} are mentioned.

16. NHC II 103,1—2 (*Orig. World*)

Wisdom (σοφία) comes from or belongs to Ialdabaôt^{h} (ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁ̄ⲗ̄ⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ). She then restores the heaven and the earth destroyed by the war waged by the destroyer (ⲡⲉⲧϣⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ̄: NHC II 102,27—35).

Myszor 2008: 341

17. NHC II 103,33 (*Orig. World*)

The son (ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ) of Ialdabaôt^{h}, →Sabaôt^{h}, receives the authority (ἐξουσία) over all the powers (δύναμις) of the chaos (χάος) and begins to hate his father. The very name Ialdabaôt^{h} does not appear any further in *Orig. World*; however, he is represented as the prime parent (ἀρχιγενέτωρ) and plays an important role in the narrative. As such he created death, recognized that there are beings above him, and exhorted rulers (ἄρχων) to create Adam. Finally, he will destroy his rulers and himself.

Fossum 1985: 303

18. NHC VII 53,13—14 (*Treat. Seth*)

The archons (ἄρχων), identical with angels (ἄγγελος) belong to the palce of Ialdabaôt^{h}. Most probably, he is identical with the world ruler (κοσμοκράτωρ) in NHC VII 53,28—29, who said to the angels: "I am God and there is no other beside me" (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) (transl. NHS 30: 159 and 161).

19. NHC VII 68,29 (*Treat. Seth*)

The archons (ἄρχων) of Ialdabaôt^{h} are disobedient because of the thought (ἔννοια) who descended to him.

20. NHC XIII 39*,27—28^{v} (*Trim. Prot.*)

The great demon (ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ <δαιμόνιον>); probably also the prime parent of ignorance (ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲅⲉⲛⲏⲧⲱⲣ <ἀρχιγενέτωρ> ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛⲉ) in NHC XIII 40*,23; the ruler (ἄρχειν) over the lowest parts of the underworld (ⲡⲉⲙⲉⲛⲧⲉ <ⲁⲙⲉⲛⲧⲉ> and the chaos (χάος). His other names are →Sakla and →Samaêl. He has form (μορφή) of those of darkness (ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉ). He robbed the Wisdom (σοφία) of her power.

21. BG 119,16 (*Soph. Jes. Chr.*)

The first parent (ἀρχιγενέτωρ); the drop of light and spirit, which descended from the aeonic realm, is a judgement (ⲧⲁϫⲟ) on him.

Scholem 1974: 415 and 419; Barry 1995, in: BCNH T 20: 264—265

22. CT 51,15 (*Gos. Jud.*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); another name of →Nebrouêl.

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 356

Other texts

CB p. 128, ll. 10, 17 (2Jeu); ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in the third aeon; ascending one may defend himself against him by use of seal, secret name and cipher 3349; he is associated with name/being k^{h}ouk^{h}ô.

CA p. 46, l. 16 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the archon (ἀρχῶν) in the chaos (χάος); he has a lion face, one part of it is fire, another is darkness.

CA p. 258, l. 14 (Pistis Sophia III); ⲓⲁⲗⲧⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; he saves a sinner if he renounces violence.

CA p. 258, l. 19 (Pistis Sophia III); ⲓⲁⲗⲧⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; if the sinner renounces fighting and quarrels, he is saved from the bubbling rivers (ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲃ̅ⲣ̅ⲃ̅ⲣ̅) of Ialtabaôt^{h}.

CA p. 258, ll. 21—22 (Pistis Sophia III); ⲓⲁⲗⲧⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; if the sinner renounces ignorance, he is saved from ministers (λειτουργός) of Ialtabaôt^{h}.

CA p. 258, l. 25 (Pistis Sophia III); ⲓⲁⲗⲧⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; if the sinner renounces evildoing, he is saved from demons (δαιμόνιον) of Ialtabaôt^{h} and his punishment (κόλασις).

CA p. 259, l. 3 (Pistis Sophia III); ⲓⲁⲗⲧⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; associated with the seas (θάλασσα) of pitch.

CA p. 375, l. 13 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in the chaos (χάος); he has 49 demons (δαιμόνιον).

CA p. 376, l. 17 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; he has his paralemptai (παραλήμπτης) who are responsible for the souls of murderers.

CA p. 376, l. 23 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in the chaos (χάος); he has 49 demons (δαιμόνιον).

CA p. 378, l. 3 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in the chaos (χάος); he has 49 demons (δαιμόνιον).

CA p. 379, l. 5 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in the chaos (χάος); he has 49 demons and takes revenge on proud and scornful man for 20 days.

CA p. 380, ll. 2—3 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; he has his paralemptai (παραλήμπτης).

CA p. 380, l. 8 (Pistis Sophia IV) ; ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in the chaos (χάος); he has 49 demons (δαιμόνιον).

CA p. 380, l. 22 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; he has 49 demons and takes revange on the pederast and blasphemer.

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,30,5 and 11; Ialdabaoth; in the system of Ophites (Irenaeus introduces them as "alii"), the first power (called also heaven, angel and creator) of the hebdomade (Ebdomas) generated by the mother; he created the multitude of powers and usurped supremacy over the creation. He initiated the creation of the man and breathed life into him. In the subsequent narration, he is portrayed as a biblical God of the Jews. To him belong the prophets Moses, Joshua, Amos and Habakkuk.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 25,2,2;Ἰαλδαβαώθ; according to some Nicolaites, Ialdabaôt^{h} is a son of →Barbelô who ruled as a tyrant over the seventh heaven and called himself the only God.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 25,3,4—5; Ἰαλδαβαώθ; according to the others among Nicolaites, Ialdabaôt^{h} is the eldest son of →Barbelô who is regarded a giver of revelations included in the books under his name.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 26,8,1; Ἰαλδαβαώθ; Certain Gnostics produced books about him.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 26,10,2; Ἰαλδαβαώθ; Certain Gnostics consider him an archon in the sixth, the others in the seventh heaven.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 37,3—6; Ἰαλδαβαώθ; here, Epiphanius is not dependent on Irenaeus but relies on Syntagma by Hippolytus (which is corroborated by parallel passages in ps.-Tertulian). In the system of Ophites, Ialdabaôt^{h} was emited out of the ignorance of a divine female principle, Prunicus. He begot seven sons who created the man in his likeness. His son, the serpent, gave knowledge to the man and was thrown down from the heaven. Ophites identify him with the God of the Jews.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 45,1,4; Ἰαλδαβαώθ; In the system of Severians, Ialdabaôt^{h} called also Sabaôt^{h} is a chief archon and a father of the serpent-like devil.

Origen, *C.Cels.* 6,31; Ἰαλδαβαώθ; in the Ophites' ascension text, he is depicted in the form of a lion-faced serpent and is identified with the Phainon star (ἄστρον τὸν Φαίνοντα), i.e. the planet Saturn.

Origen, *C.Cels.* 6,32; Ἰαλδαβαώθ; Origen states also that his name, together with that of Astap^{h}aios and Ôraios, is taken from a magical tradition.

Berlin.Kopt.Buch No 128, ll. 5—6; ⲓⲁⲗⲇ]ⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the first of the seven archons in the system of the Sethians (ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲑⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM I, l. 203 (PGM 1: 12; GMPT: 8; the reading revised according to Faraone 1994: 82); ιαλδαζαω; in the sequence of words of power associated with the "lord, holy god, who rests among holy ones," etc. probably identical with the sun as "eternal ruler of the sun's rays" (PGM I, ll. 201—202: αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ) (transl. GMPT: 8).

PGM IV, l. 1195 (PGM 1: 112; GMPT: 61); ιαλδαζαω; in the sequence of names associated with "lord, god of gods"; who should be probably identified with the Sun (cf. IV 1181—1183 (Ἥλιε, πάτερ κόσμου· ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τῷ ὀνόματί σου).

PGM IV, l. 3263 (PGM 1: 178; GMPT: 101); Ἰαβαωθ; in the sequence of names of power used in the aggresive spell.

PGM XIII, l. 971 (PGM 2: 128; GMPT: 193); ἀλδαζαω; in the sequence of names and words of power introduced "as the Moses says in the Archangelic" (ὡς δὲ Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῇ Ἀρχαγγελικῇ) (transl. GMPT: 193).

Meyer & Smith 70, l. 35 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 108); ⲓⲁⲗ̣ⲇ̣ⲃⲁⲱⲑ; a father (ⲡⲓⲱⲧ); there is lacuna preceding the name, in comparison with *P.Macq.* I 1, it might be, however, reconstructed that it is Jesus who takes the head of him. Crum (1905: 419; after him also Kropp I: 23; Meyer & Smith 1999: 131) tried to reconstruct the name as ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ. Gardner (Choat & Gardner 2013) corrected also the line numbers.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 9, ll. 10, 16—18 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 60); ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; a father (of Jesus?; ⲡⲓⲱⲥ); Jesus found him and took him to the light aeons (ⲛⲉⲱⲛ <αἰων> ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ), probably identical with the heavenly earth (ⲡⲕⲁϩ ⲛⲉⲡⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛⲓⲟⲛ <οὐράνιον>).

Bonner 1950: 256, No 20; Ιαλδαβαιμ ?; Obv. Seated Sarapis with Cerber and a goddess, αθθαβαθ[θα below the figure; Rev. Probably a figure of Harpocrares seated on Sphinx,]αβαιμ below,]χωβωχ v. Bonner (1950: 256) reconstructs the name as ιαλδαβαιμ or ιαλδα]αβαιμ on the basis of PGM XIII, ll. 153, 462. However, PGM has Ἀλδαβιαειμ (PGM 2: 94) and Ἀλδαβαειμ (PGM 2: 110) which makes reconstruction ιαλδαβαιμ not very plausible. Morover, the deity in the spell of PGM cannot be with any serious certainty identified with a representation on a gem.

Bonner 1950: 284, No 188; Ἰαλδαβαώθ; Obv. A lion-headed figure holding a staff and a situla, nude except for an apron; Ἀαριήλ on the left, Ἰαλδαβαώθ on the right; Rev. Seven names: Ἰα Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ Ἐλωαὶ Ὡρεὸς Ἀσταφεός.

Philipp 1986: 66, No 78; αλδαβαιμ; Obv. Sarapis in a boat, αλδαβαιμ above the figure; Rev. A sequence of words of power.

Cavada & Paci 2002; Ἐϊαλδαξαωβ; the first-parent (Πρωτογενέτωρ); holy (ἅγειος); the name followed by the names of power.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Matter interpreted the name as "a child of chaos" (ילדא בהות) (Matter 1828: 198; also Quispel 1965: 75). Preuschen (1900: 60) "the son of the father of desire" (ילדא אב אוות), Giversen (1963: 200—201) as "the god of desires" (אל תאבות). These etymologies ("the son of the Firmament" of Michl 1962: 214 based on "fils des ténèbres" ילדא בהות by Schwab 1897: 403, may be added to them) were fiercely criticized from linguistic as well as contextual point of view by Scholem, who understood the ending -ωθ or even -αβαωθ as meaningless magical suffix taken from a Hebrew name Σαβαώθ, perhaps additionally associated with the Egyptian god Thoth (Scholem 1960: 71—72; Scholem 1974: 416).

Fossum (1985) and Böhlig (1989b) argue for the etymology (although it may be secondary folk etymology) found in NHC II 100,14, the only place in the ancient literature where the meaning of the name is explained, and it purportedly means "the youth pass through." The Greek νεανίσκε διαπέρα Fossum renders in Hebrew as ילדא בעוט. Then, Fossum points out that the figure of Ialdabaôth is modelled on the basis of the Jewish principal angel, who is also called the "youth" (Fossum 1985: 312—313). Mastrocinque, supporting the meaning "the young, the child," sees in him "the first manifestation of the unknowable, nameless, formless god,"

arguing that in Egypt he was identified with the Harpocrates, the child sun-god (Mastrocinque 2005: 777).

In Scholem's opinion the name Ialdabaôth represented the Sakla and Samael — well known in the Jewish circles — and was "secret name conveying no meaning" for its users. He proposes, however, his own etymology "begetter of Abaoth" (ילד אבאות), with Abaoth understood as a magical name derived form Sabaôth. The form Ialdabaôth was, according to him, coined consciously by a Jew who joined the Gnostic circles, as an esoteric explanation of the name Saklas (Scholem 1974: 420—421; cf. Alexander 1999: 1059). However, Scholem's proposition has also been put into doubt by Black (1983) who proposes "the son of shame."

There are also scholars who interpret Ialdabaôth as an acronym of the four main appellations of the Jewish God, "Iao-Elohim-Adonai-Sabaoth" (Dan 1998: 320—321; Rasimus 2013: 114—115; similar idea Grant 1957: 148—149).

The name might be, however, a result of a mere numerical speculation. The isopsephic value of the ιαλδαβα- is 49, that is 7×7, when the seven is a number of hebdomade. To this word, in the process of blurring its original meaning, the common magical ending -ωθ was attached (Choat & Gardner 2013: 11; Gardner 2016: 763). Isopsephic explanation is even more probable in the case of ιαλδαβαιμ that makes 99 (Philipp 1986: 66). Of course in the cases when one or more letters are missing or changed, the calculation fails, which is a proof of a separation between the original numerical meaning and later acknowledgement of the name as powerful per se.

According to Jackson (1989: 74) the name was coined by the magicians combining various theonyms of the Semitic origin (without any knowledge of their meaning) and from the magic material transferred into the Gnosticism. He points even at the passage in the PGM (IV, ll. 1200—1203), where ιαλδα-logos is connected with the invocation to the Demiurge — the main role of Ialdabaôth in the Gnostic systems. Indeed, the complex logos is associated with the Sun (Faraone 1994: 81—83), and further even with Iaô, prominent solar deity especially in the magical gems. The name Ialdabaôth indeed resembles the ιαλδα-logos phrase, however the exact forms present in the Gnostic texts are, until now, not attested in the magical material. Moreover, the logos itself is rather rare, and we are far from being certain if it stays in any relationship with Ialdabaôth itself. If there was any borrowing, much more probable is that the logos

itself was a reused name of the Gnostic deity, in some Gnostic texts also associated with Iaô.

Although etymology given by Sholem seems to be the most accepted in the current scholarship, the wide consensus is still lacking.

The figure of Ialdabaôth is an original Sethian creation and belongs to the core of the Sethian mythical narrative in which he plays a role of a chief ruler of the material world, contrasted with both upper aeons and, in some variants of the myth, with his repenting son, →Sabaôth. In the system of *Pistis Sophia*, Ialdabaôth becomes a minor power responsible for the punishment of various kinds of sinners, mainly through his 49 demons, on one occasion, however, he is mentioned as personally responsible for the punishment for a soul. Such characteristic is, however, absent in the Nag Hammadi texts and represents different, maybe later interpretation of this figure.

Ialdabaôth is commonly portrayed as lion-shaped or at least lion-headed. With this characteristic, the name Ariêl well corresponds with Ialdabaôth, although in the Nag Hammadi "library" such association appears only once (*Orig. World*, NHC II 100,24). Leontomorphic appearance leads back, however, to archangel Michael, who in the Rasimus's interpretation might be a model for the figure and a characteristic of Ialdabaôth (Fossum 1983: 323—324; Rasimus 2013: 117), while the serpent elements of his portrayal are taken from the traditions dealing with →Samaêl (Rasimus 2009: 114). In the scholarship, there were also other explanations of a lion-like shape of Ialdabaôth, tracing his appearance back to various deities characterized as lions, as Ball Hammon (Bousset 1907: 353; Quispel 1965: 75), Kronos (Bousset 1907: 351—355; Quispel 1965: 75), Phanes (Quispel 1978: esp. 15—16), Sekhmet (Davies 1981: 499), Ariman, Chnubis. Iadlabaôth is also described as one of many faces, which probably means that the shapes (and identities) of his seven authorities are also the shapes of himself (Barc 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 257).

Against such background, sober reasoning of Scholem sounds much more reasonable. He refers to the amulet published by Bonner (Bonner 1950: No 188). In the light of it, Ialdabaôth was a secondary name of the Hebrew angel Ariel, whose name means "the lion of God" (Scholem 1960: 71—72). Fossum (1985: 323) adds that Ariel was probably an appellation of Michael, who is sometimes presented as lion-shaped in magic as well as on the famous Ophite diagram.

Davies (1981) stresses the lion-shaped descriptions of Ialdabaôth and links them with the Jewish milieu of Onias's temple in Leontopolis. According

to him, some estranged Jews might represent their diverted God on the model of the warlike lion-shaped goddess Sekhmet, who was revered in Leontopolis and even had a temple of her. There is even known one representation of Sekhmet in the form of a lion-headed serpent exactly as in *Ap. John*.

Schwab 1897: 403; Preuschen 1900: 60; Bousset 1907: 351—355; Bonner 1949; Bonner 1950: 125—128; Grant 1957: 148—149; Scholem 1960: 71—2; Michl 1962: 214—216; Quispel 1965: 75; Tardieu 1974: 60—65; Quispel 1978; Davies 1980—1981; Dahl 1981; Black 1983; Fossum 1985: 219—220, 321—329; Jackson 1985; Philipp 1986: 66; Böhlig 1989b: 426; Jackson 1989: 71—74; Fischer-Mueller 1990; Witte 1993: 117—118; Faraone 1994: 81—83; Brashear 1995: 3587; Painchaud 1995, in: BCNH T 21: 266—269; Dan 1996; Alexander 1999: 1059; Mastrocinque 2005: 75—76; Rasimus 2009: 103—128; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 257—258; Rasimus 2013; Fauth 2014: 23; Evans 2015: 60—61, 150—151; Gardner 2016: 762—763

ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲱⲑ → ⲓⲁⲗⲇⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ

164 ⲓⲁⲙⲙⲉⲁϫ (iammeak^{s})

1. NHC II 17,10—11 = NHC IV 26,22 (*Ap. John*)

The one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the neck (ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲧ).

165 ⲓⲁⲙⲙⲱⲛ (iammôn)

1. NHC XIII 48*,16 (*Trim. Prot.*)

One of the three robe-givers (ⲛⲉϯⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ<στολή>); Protennoia delivers the initiated one (his exact identity remains uncertain) to them, and they gave him the robe of the light (ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ <στολή> ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Sevrin (1986: 65, 67) reads this name as Ammôn and identifies it with a figure known from the Hermetic revelatory treatise Asclepius. However,

the misreading makes this etymology improbable, and a meaning of the names remains unsolved.

The figure of Iammôn as well as of other robe-givers (→Amênai, →Elassô) is attested only in *Trim. Prot.* The very act of taking on a robe as an element of the ascent of the spirit also does not appear except for that text. All the three figures are clearly recognized as beneficial.

Sevrin 1986: 65—67; Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 350

166 ⲓⲁⲧⲟⲙⲉⲛⲉ (iatomene)

1. NHC VIII 52,2 (*Zost.*)

Context fragmentary preserved; only the first four letters are visible, thus the identification is not certain, although very plausible; nothing could be said about any characteristic of this particular power.

2. NHC XI 54,35 (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage; according to Turner praise might be given by →Iouêl. The name of the Unbegotten one (ⲁⲧⲭⲡⲟ). In Turner's opinion, the name Iatomene refers to the entire Triple Powered One.

Turner 1990, in: NHS 28: 257

167 ⲓⲁⲩⲉ (iaue) = ⲉⲓⲁⲟⲩⲁⲓ (eiaouai)^{V} = ⲓⲁⲉⲩⲉ (iaeue)^{V2}

1. NHC II 24,18 = NHC IV 38,1 (*Ap. John*)

Eve defiled by the chief ruler (πρωτάρχων) begot two sons; the second of them was Iaue.

2. NHC II 24,19 = NHC III 31,12^{V} = NHC IV 38,2 = BG 62,10 (*Ap. John*)

Iaue has a face of a cat (in NHC II and NHC IV: ⲟⲩϩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲉⲙⲟⲩ) / of bear (NHC III and BG: ⲡϩⲁ <ϩⲟ> ⲛⲁⲣⲍ <ἄρκος>).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 300

3. NHC III 31,15^{v} = NHC IV 38,4 = BG 62,14 (*Ap. John*)

Contradictive traditions in the two redactions. According to NHC IV (this passage is absent in NHC II), Iaue is righteous (δίκαιος), according to NHC II and BG is unrighteous (ἄδικος).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 300—301

4. NHC II 24,20—21^{v2} = NHC IV 39,6 (*Ap. John*)

Set by the chief ruler (πρωτάρχων) over the fire and the wind. Parallel passage is present also in NHC III 31,16—18 and BG 62,15—17 but without giving the names. In these manuscripts the righteous son is set over the fire and the spirit (πνεῦμα).

In NHC II, the supralinear stroke is given as ⲓⲁⲩⲉⲙⲉⲛ. In comparison with NHC IV it is, however, clear that the last three letters represent the Greek particle μέν.

Other texts

Test.Sol. 18,16; Ἰαέ; son of →Sabaôt^{h}, together with Ieô; A formula with his name, if written and worn on the neck, removes the spirit and the element Sap^{h}t^{h}oraêl.

Texts of ritual power

Iaeue appears in the long words of power (in: PGM I, l. 140; PGM IV, ll. 409—415; PGM XIXa, ll. 16—42; PGM LIX, l. 9), but never as a separate entity.

Etymology, commentary and literature

It represents the Greek vocalization of the name of the Jewish God. Clement of Alexandria (*Str.* 5,6,34) renders it as well as Ἰαουε.

According to Davies (1981: 497), a cat-like shape might be based on the appearance of the goddess Bast, whose bronze statue was excavated in the cultic site of Bubastis in Leontopolis.

Davies 1981: 495—500

168 ⲓⲁⲭⲑⲟⲥ (iak^{h}t^{h}os)

1. NHC VIII 54,23 (*Zost.*)

Context partially destroyed; editors do not agree on how to restore the lacuna: BCNH T 24 has: ⲛ̄[ⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ] but NHS 31: ⲛ[ⲛⲟⲩ]; the second light

(φωστήρ) of the perfect (τέλειος) mind (νοῦς), the first-appearer (Protophanes), a double figure of a god-revealer (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲛϩ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) paired with →Zak^{h}t^{h}os.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

2. NHC VIII 126,12 (*Zost.*)

Together with →Zak^{h}t^{h}os, Iak^{h}t^{h}os forms the second luminary (φωστήρ) in the second aeon (αἰών) →Akremôn.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

Texts of ritual power

PGM I, l. 204 (PGM 1: 12; GMPT: 8); ϊαχθω; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the celestial god.

PGM IV, l. 1197 (PGM 1: 112; GMPT: 61); ϊαχθω; in the sequence of names, words of power and permutations of vowels associated with the lord, god of gods (κύριος θεός θεῶν).

Commentary and literature

In the Sethian system, Iak^{h}t^{h}os is a light in the second subaeon of the Protophanes aeon.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

169 ⲓⲁⲱ (iaô) = ⲓⲁⲍⲱ (iazô)^{v}

1. NHC II 11,30 = NHC III 18,1^{v} = BG 42,2 (*Ap. John*)

The fourth body (NHC II and NHC IV: σῶμα) or the commander (NHC III: ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲣⲓϫⲛ̄ / BG: ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲓϫⲛ) over the fourth heaven.

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 225—257

2. NHC II 12,20 = NHC IV 19,21 = BG 43,19 (*Ap. John*)

The fourth authority (ἐξουσία), i.e. the lordship (ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ); in the fourth power (ⲧⲥⲟⲙ).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 259—261

3. NHC II 101,15 (*Orig. World*)

The son of the ruler (ἄρχων); when he opened his eyes, he said to his father "I." Then, the archon called him Iaô.

4. NHC II 101,29 (*Orig. World*)

The second androgynous force (δύναμις) of the seven heavens of the chaos (ⲧⲥⲟⲱⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲟⲥ <χάος>); the son of →Ialdabaôt^{h}; his feminine name (ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲓⲙⲉ) is the lordship (ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧϫⲁⲓⲉⲥ).

Other texts

CB p. 119, l. 17 (2Jeu); ⲓⲁⲱ; the great (ⲡⲛⲟϭ) and good one (ἀγαθός), connected with a treasury of light (ⲡⲁⲡⲉⲑⲏⲥⲁⲟⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ), probably as its guardian; he defines his own rank (τάξις) and gives one seal of his to the ascending mystery and a secret name.

CA p. 12, l. 11, 22 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲓⲁⲱ; as little iaô (ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲱ); the good one (ἀγαθός); the one in the midst (ⲡⲉⲧⲉ̄ⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲥ); the power of little Iaô enables John the Baptist to preach in the presence of Jesus and baptize (βαπτίζω) him.

CA p. 196, l. 5 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲓⲁⲱ; great Iaô (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲱ); great hegumen of the midst (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲙⲉⲥⲟⲥ).

CA p. 353, l. 9 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲓⲁⲱ; among other *voces magicae* pronounced by Jesus.

CA p. 353, l. 22 (×3; Pistis Sophia IV); ⲓⲁⲱ; Jesus cried this word out to the four corners of the world; the interpretation (ἑρμηνεία) of the word is given: "iota, because the All came forth; alpha, because it will return again; omega, because the completion of all completions will happen" (ⲓ̈ⲱⲧⲁ· ϫⲉ ⲁⲓⲡⲧⲏⲣⲉ̄ⲓ̀ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ· ⲁⲗⲫⲁ ϫⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲕⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ· ⲱ̀ⲱ̀ ϫⲉ ⲭⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲡϫⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲕ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ·) (transl. NHS 9: 353).

CA p. 366, l. 7 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲓⲁⲱ; great iaô (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲱ); the good one (ἀγαθός), of the midst (ⲡⲁⲧⲙⲉⲥⲟⲥ); his sight destroys places (τόπος) of Iak^{h}t^{h}anaba.

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,4,1; Iao; the name exclaimed by the limit (Horos) when stopping →Akhamôth from entering back into the Pleroma.

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,30,5 and 11; Iao; in the system of Ophites (Irenaeus's "alii"), the second power (called also a heaven, angel and creator) of hebdomade (Ebdomas); descendent directly from →Ialdabaôt^{h}; the prophets Samuel, Nathan, Jonah and Micah belong to him.

Origen, *C.Cels.* 6,31;'Ιάω; the second ruler according to the ascension text related by Origen; the ruler of the hidden secrets of the son and father; lord of death; the one who shines in the night (which points at his planetary association).

Texts of ritual power

PGM I, l. 300 (PGM 1: 16; GMPT: 11);'Ιαώ; identified with Apollo; invoked as the first angel of the god; identified with the great Zeus (ἄγγελε πρῶτε <θε>οῦ, Ζηνὸς μεγάλοιο,'Ιάω).

PGM II, l. 16 (PGM 1: 20; GMPT: 12); ιαω; as a mere *vox magica* among other permutations of vowels.

PGM III, l. 76 (PGM 1: 36; GMPT: 20);'Ιάω; associated with figura magica; in the sequence ὁρκίζω σε'Ιάω, Σαβαώθ, Ἀδωναί, Ἀβρασὰξ.

PGM III, l. 148 (PGM 1: 38; GMPT: 22);'Ιάω; the god (θεός); his name invoked to conjure a divine power.

PGM III, l. 211 (PGM 1: 40; GMPT: 24);'Ιάω; divine (θεῖος); the fiery angel of Zeus (πύριν[ο]ν Διὸς ἄγγελον).

PGM III, l. 266 (twice) (PGM 1: 44; GMPT: 26);'Ιάω; in the sequence of names of power.

PGM III, l. 447 (PGM 1: 52; GMPT: 30); ιαω; context partially destroyed; a name (or merely a word) of power spoken as a part of the formula for memory.

PGM III, ll. 573 (PGM 1: 56; GMPT: 33); ιαω; in the sequence of *voces magicae* constituting the holy name.

PGM III, l. 574 (PGM 1: 56; GMPT: 33); ιαω; in the sequence of *voces magicae* constituting the holy name.

PGM III, l. 582 (PGM 1: 56; GMPT: 33); ιαω; in the sequence of *voces magicae* and vowel permutations; probably a mere *vox magica.*

PGM IV, ll. 204, 208 (twice) (PGM 1: 78; GMPT: 41); ιαω; in a long list of *voces magicae* and names of power; probably a mere *vox magica.*

PGM IV, l. 305 (PGM 1: 82; GMPT: 44; Gager 1992:94); ιαω; one of the words of power written on the head of figura magica representing women to be attracted.

PGM IV, l. 593 (PGM 1: 92; GMPT: 49); ιαω; fiery-spirited (πυρίθυμος); praised with other names of power connected with the fire and the light.

PGM IV, l. 962 (PGM 1: 106; GMPT: 57); ιαω; in the sequence of *voces magicae* and vowel permutations associated with "the living god" (τὸν θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα).

PGM IV. l. 981 (PGM 1: 106; Betz 2003,42; GMPT: 57);'Ιάω; in the sequence of names of power associated with "the holy light" (ἱερὸν φῶς).

PGM IV, l. 992 (PGM 1: 106; GMPT: 57); ιαω; in the sequence of *voces magicae* associated with "the greatest god" (τὸν μέγιστον θεόν).

PGM IV, l. 1000 (PGM 1: 106; GMPT: 58);'Ιάω; one of the names of power associated with "god of gods" (θεὲ θεῶν).

PGM IV, l. 1010 (PGM 1: 106; GMPT: 58);'Ιάω; one of the greatest names (τὰ μέγιστα ὀνόματα) of the lord.

PGM IV, l. 1035 (PGM 1: 108; GMPT: 58); ιαω; in the sequence of *voces magicae* and permutations of vowels.

PGM IV, ll. 1040, 1043 (PGM 1: 108; GMPT: 58); ιαω; in the sequence of vowel permutation associated with "the great living god" (ὁ μέγας ζῶν θεός).

PGM IV, l. 1049 (PGM 1: 108; GMPT: 58);'Ιάω; in the sequence of names of power associated with "the lord, god of gods, benefactor" (εὐεργέτης).

PGM IV, l. 1076 (PGM 1: 108; GMPT: 59);'Ιάω; in the sequence of names written in the phylactery.

PGM IV, l. 1201 (PGM 1: 112; GMPT: 61);'Ιάω; as Μαρμαριώ'Ιάω: "the creator of the world, creator of the universe, lord, god of gods" (κόσμου κτίστα, τὰ πάντα κτίστα, κύριε, θεὲ θεῶν) (transl. GMPT: 61).

PGM IV, ll. 1222, 1225, 1225a (PGM 1: 114; GMPT: 61); ιαω; after the sequence of words of power and before another sequence of permutations of vowels; Invoked as: "The one on the golden leaf, before whom the unquenchable lamp continually burns, the great God, the one who shone on the whole world, who is radiant at Jerusalem (ὁ μέγας θεός, ὁ φανεὶς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, κατὰ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μαρμαίρων), lord" (transl. GMPT: 61).

PGM IV, l. 1235 (PGM 1: 114; GMPT: 62); ιαω; as ιαω cαβαωθ invoked together with the God of Abraham, God of Isaac and Jesus Chrestos against the unclear demon.

PGM IV, l. 1377 (PGM 1: 114; GMPT: 64); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names of power associated with "holy, very powerful," etc. powers.

PGM IV, l. 1484 (PGM 1: 122; GMPT: 66); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names of power by which "the gods, the phantoms of these dead" (θεοί, τὰ εἴδωλα τῶν νεκύων) (transl. GMPT: 66) are adjured.

PGM IV, l. 1538 (PGM 1: 122; GMPT: 67); Ἰάω; one of the more coercive and stronger names (τῶν ἐπακολουθοτέρων καὶ τῶν Ἰσχυροτέρων) by which the myrrh is adjured.

PGM IV l. 1555 (PGM 1: 122; GMPT: 67); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names of power adjured after burning myrrh in the fire.

PGM IV, ll. 1562, 1564, 1568 (PGM 1: 122; GMPT: 67); ιαω; in the sequence of names of power and *voces magicae* associated with the self-generated, eternal god (αὐτογενέτωρ, ἀείζων θεός).

PGM IV, l. 1737 (PGM 1: 126; GMPT: 69); Ἰάω; one of the names to be written above the head of the engraved figure of Eros on a gemstone.

PGM IV, l. 1804 (PGM 1: 128; GMPT: 70); Ἰάω; in the sequence of the great names of the highest deity invoked as "hidden and the most prominent" (κρύφιε καὶ πρεσβύτατε) (transl. GMPT: 50).

PGM IV, l. 1896 (PGM 1: 130; GMPT: 71); Ἰάω; one of the three names (Ἰάω αστω ιωφη) written on a strip of papyrus as a part of the attraction spell procedure.

PGM IV, l. 1983 (PGM 1: 132; GMPT: 73); Ἰάω; a part of the four-part (τετραμερές) name of Helios.

PGM IV, l. 1987 (PGM 1: 132; GMPT: 73); Ἰάω; a part of the 36-letter name of Helios-Horus.

PGM V, l. 23 (PGM 1: 182; GMPT: 101); ιαω; in the sequence of words of power and permutations of vowels associated with Sarapis.

PGM V, l. 26 (PGM 1: 182; GMPT: 101); ιαω; the word to be pronounced to the earth, air and heaven (γῇ, ἀέρι, οὐρανῷ).

PGM V, l. 90 (PGM 1: 184; GMPT: 102); ιαω; a mere permutation of vowels.

PGM V, l. 120 (PGM 1: 184; GMPT: 103); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names forming the true name (τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀληθινὸν).

PGM V, l. 135 (PGM 1: 186; GMPT: 103); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names of power associated with "the mighty headless one" (ἀκέφαλος).

PGM V, l. 341 (PGM 1: 192; GMPT: 106); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names and words of power to be written in the circle on a magical papyrus.

PGM V, ll. 352, 354 (PGM 1: 192; GMPT: 106); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names associated with the greatest demon (ὁ μέγιστος δαίμων), intended to be written on magical papyrus.

PGM V, ll. 441, 442 (PGM 1: 196; GMPT: 109); Ἰάω; in the sequence of words of power forming the spell of compulsion (ἐπάναγκος).

PGM V, l. 468 (PGM 1: 196; GMPT: 110); Ἰάω; one of the names of power associated with the eternal eye, demon of demons, god of gods (αἰωνόφθα[λ]μος, δαίμων δαιμόνων, θεὸς θ[ε]ῶν) etc.

PGM V, l. 472 (PGM 1: 196; GMPT: 110); Ἰάω; the lord; identified with Zeus.

PGM V, l. 478 (PGM 1: 196; GMPT: 110); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names used to invoke the power identified with Zeus.

PGM VI, l. 29 (twice) (PGM 1: 200; GMPT: 111); ιαω; one of the vowel permutations spoken at sunrise.

PGM VII, l. 220 (PGM 2: 10; GMPT: 122); Ἰάω; together with other names of power to be written on a phylactery against fever.

PGM VII, ll. 308, 309 (PGM 2: 14; GMPT: 125); ιαω; in the sequence of vowel permutations in the love charm.

PGM VII, l. 311 (PGM 2: 14; GMPT: 125); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names of power to be written on a phylacterion.

PGM VII, l. 521 (PGM 2: 24; GMPT: 132); ιαω; in the sequence of words and names of power associated with the holy scarab (ἅγιος κάνθαρος).

PGM VII, l. 545 (PGM 2: 25; GMPT: 133); ιαω; in the sequence of words of power opening the formula for lamp divination.

PGM VII, l. 564 (PGM 2: 25; GMPT: 134); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with "the spirit that flies in the air (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀεροπετές)" (transl. GMPT).

PGM VII, l. 584 (twice) (PGM 2: 26; GMPT: 134); Ἰάω; in the sequence of "the name of power of the great god and seal (δυνάμεως ὄνομα τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σφραγίς)."

PGM VII, l. 596 (PGM 2: 27; GMPT: 135); Ἰάω; prescribed to be written on the wick of the lamp used in the attraction (ἀγωγή) spell.

PGM VII, l. 605 (PGM 2: 27; GMPT: 135); Ἰάω; the one who "has no ribs" (πλευρὰς οὐκ ἔχει); as an example of blasphemy (?).

PGM VII, l. 626 (PGM 2: 28; GMPT: 135); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names and words of power in the love charm.

PGM VII, l. 646 (PGM 2: 29; GMPT: 136); Ἰάω; in the sequence of words, names of power and vowel permutations in the love charm over the cup.

PGM VII, l. 649 (PGM 2: 29; GMPT: 136); Ἰάω; in the sequence of words, names of power and vowel permutations in the love charm over the cup.

PGM VII, l. 750 (PGM 2: 33; GMPT: 139); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names and words of power and vowel permutations in the formula used in a request for a dream oracle.

PGM VII, l. 760 (PGM 2: 34; GMPT: 139); Ἰάω; identified with the creator goddess Mene (Μήνη), i.e. the Moon.

PGM VII, l. 820 (PGM 2: 36; GMPT: 140); Ἰάω; in the sequence of words of power associated with the sign Aquarius (ὑδρήχοος).

PGM VII, l. 970 (PGM 2: 42; GMPT: 144); ιαω; in the sequence of words of power prescribed to be written on the love charm papyrus.

PGM VII, l. 1015 (PGM 2: 44; GMPT: 145); ιαω; in the sequence of words written to obtain the divination by a dream.

PGM VIII, l. 60 (PGM 2: 48; GMPT: 146); Ἰάω; in the sequence of "the great names" (τὰ μεγάλα ὀνόματα) written in the business favor spell.

PGM X, l. 46 (PGM 2: 53; GMPT: 150); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names (ὀνόματα) prescribed to be written in a lamella used for the subjection spell.

PGM XII, l. 63 (PGM 2: 61; Daniel 1991: 4; GMPT: 155); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the highest god (ὁ ὕψιστος θεός).

PGM XII, l. 74 (PGM 2: 62; Daniel 1991: 6; GMPT: 155); Ἰάων; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the "god of all gods" (θεὸς θεῶν ἁπάντων).

PGM XII, l. 103 (PGM 2: 64; Daniel 1991: 6; GMPT: 156); ιαω; in the sequence of names and words of power, and permutations of vowels; maybe permutation itself; associated with "a sacred egg" (τὸ ὠὸν τὸ ἅγιον).

PGM XII, l. 207 (PGM 2: 72; Daniel 1991: 12; GMPT: 161; Ἰάω; as Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ; the great, holy and omnipotent name (ἐπιγράψεις τὸ μέγα καὶ ἅγιον καὶ κατὰ πάντων, τὸ ὄνομα); prescribed to be written on an engraved jasper.

PGM XII, l. 268 (PGM 2: 76; Daniel 1991: 16; GMPT: 163); Ἰάω; one of the names of power prescribed to be inscribed on the back side of the stone (i.e. jasper).

PGM XII, l. 285 (PGM 2: 77; Daniel 1991: 18; GMPT: 164); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names (some of Hebrew origin), words of power, and vowel permutations associated with "the greatest god, who surpasses all the power" (Θεὲ μέγιστε, ὃς ὑπερβάλλεις τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν) (transl. GMPT: 164).

PGM XII, l. 463 (PGM 2: 85; GMPT: 170); Ἰάω; context partially destroyed; in the phrase "at the gate of Iaô (ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης τοῦ Ἰάω)."

PDM xii l. 115 [8] (Johnson 1975: 42; GMPT: 170); *y*ʿ-ʾ-; one of the true names invoked in the spell to cause a woman to hate a man; the interpretation of the demotic as referring to Ἰάω is not certain, Johnson in her translation gives "yaō(?)."

PGM XIII, l. 75 (PGM 2: 91; Daniel 1991: 34; GMPT: 174); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names associated with the fear (φόβος) of the lord; Daniel joins the word with the preceeding one as βαλβιθιαω.

PGM XIII, l. 147 (PGM 2: 94; Daniel 1991: 38; GMPT: 176); Ἰάω; one of the first angels (ὁ οἱ πρῶτοι φανέντες ἄγγελοι); Daniel joints the word with the preceding one as βασημμιαω.

PGM XIII, l. 201 (PGM 2: 97; Daniel 1991: 40; GMPT: 178); ιαω; the word uttered by the god, while looking down; from the echo the god (θεὸς), lord of all, has been created (πάντων κύριος).

PGM XIII, l. 206 (PGM 2: 97; Daniel 1991: 40; GMPT: 178) Ἰάω; a part of the compound name of the pair of two gods created by the first god form a popping noise and the echo of the word ιαω.

PGM XIII, l. 209 (PGM 2: 97; Daniel 1991: 40; GMPT: 178); ιαω; in the sequence of vowel permutations spoken to imitate the god.

PGM XIII, l. 454 (PGM 2: 109; Daniel 1991: 52; GMPT: 184); Ἰάω; one of the first appeared angels (οἱ πρῶτοι φανέντες ἄγγελοι); Daniel joins the word with the preceding one as βασημμιαω.

PGM XIII, l. 539 (PGM 2: 113; Daniel 1991: 54; GMPT: 186); ιαω; the word said by the god to fix cosmos in its place; this god created in the act of articulation is to be identified with Ἰάω itself.

PGM XIII, l. 550 (PGM 2: 113; Daniel 1991: 56; GMPT: 186); Ἰάω; an element of the compound "great and marvelous name" (τὸ ὄνομα μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν) of the god.

PGM XIII, l. 563 (PGM 2: 114; Daniel 1991: 56; GMPT: 186); Ἰάω; an element of the compound great and holy (μέγα καὶ ἅγιον) name of the god.

PGM XIII, l. 564 (PGM 2: 114; Daniel 1991: 56; GMPT: 186); Ἰάω; an element of another version of the compound great and holy (μέγα καὶ ἅγιον) name of the god.

PGM XIII, l. 586 (PGM 2: 115; Daniel 1991: 56; GMPT: 187); ιαω; in the sequence of words of power associated with the fear (φόβος) of the god.

PGM XIII, l. 593 (PGM 2: 115; Daniel 1991: 56; GMPT: 187); ιαω; in the sequence of words of power associated with the god; Daniel joins the word to the preceding one as βασσυμιαω.

PGM XIII, l. 623 (PGM 2: 116; Daniel 1991: 58; GMPT: 187); ιαω; in the sequence of words of power and permutations of vowels given as a compound "true and original name" (τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὄνομα καὶ αὐθεντικὸν ὄνομα) of the lord (κύριος), ruler of the cosmos (κοσμοκράτωρ).

PGM XIII, ll. 779 (twice), 780 (PGM 2: 122; Daniel 1991: 64; GMPT: 190); ιαω; in the sequence of words of power and vowel permutations associated with the twenty-eight light (light stages) of the moon (τὰ κη΄ φῶτα τῆς σελήνης).

PGM XIII, l. 818 (PGM 2: 124; Daniel 1991: 66; GMPT: 191); Ἰάω; in a compound name of the great god (ὁ μέγας θεός), demon (δαίμων) associated with the "power of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob."

PGM XIII, ll. 821 (twice), 822 (PGM 2: 124; Daniel 1991: 66; GMPT: 191); ιαω; in the sequence of words of power and permutations of vowels associated with the lord (κύριος).

PGM XIII, l. 853 (PGM 2: 125; Daniel 1991: 68; GMPT: 192); ιαω; in the sequence of vowel permutations associated with the voice of the gods (θεοί).

PGM XIII, ll. 877, 880 (PGM 2: 126; Daniel 1991: 70; GMPT: 192); ιαω; in the sequence of vowel permutations forming the great name (τὸ μέγα ὄνομα).

PGM XIII, ll. 882, 883 (PGM 2: 126; Daniel 1991: 70; GMPT: 192); ιαω; in the sequence of vowel permutations.

PGM XIII, l. 925 (PGM 2: 127; Daniel 1991: 72; GMPT: 193); Ἰάω; in a lengthy sequence of words and names of power and permutations of vowels associated with the great heaven (ὁ οὐρανός μέγας).

PGM XIII, l. 934 (PGM 2: 127; Daniel 1991: 72; GMPT: 193); ιαω; in the sequence of words of power given by Orpheus.

PGM XIII, ll. 961, 962 (PGM 2: 128; Daniel 1991: 74; GMPT: 193); ιαω; in the sequence of words of power pronounced by a character called Thphe in his "sacred name" (ἅγιον ὄνομα).

PGM XIII, l. 977 (PGM 2: 128; Daniel 1991: 74; GMPT: 195); ιαω; in the sequence of the words of power explained in Hebrew (ἁβραϊστί) Law (ὁ νόμος,) and associated with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

PGM XIII, l. 1020 (PGM 2: 129; Daniel 1991: 78; GMPT: 194); ιαω; in the sequence of the vowel permutations associated with "the greatest god in heaven" (τῷ οὐρανῷ μέγιστος θεός).

PGM XIII, l. 1047 (PGM 2: 130; Daniel 1991: 80; GMPT: 195); ιαω; in the sequence of vowel permutations associated with "the great god in heaven" (ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ μέγας θεός); Prescribed to be written on a laurel's leaf and shown to the Sun.

PGM XV, l. 14 (PGM 2: 134; GMPT: 251); Ἰάω; in a compound name of the greatest demon (ὁ μέγιστος δαίμων).

PGM XIXa, ll. 4, 8 (PGM 2: 141—142; GMPT: 256); ιαω; in a lengthy sequence of names and words of power prescribed to be inscribed and inserted into the mouth of the dead.

PGM XIXa, ll. 21—22, 47 (PGM 2: 143; GMPT: 257); ιαω; in a very lengthy and graphically elaborated sequence of names and words of power addressed to the demon of the dead (νεκυδαίμων).

PGM XXIIa, l. 24 (PGM 2: 148; GMPT: 260); Ἰάω; a paradigm of beauty in a prayer of favor addressed to Helios, god over the heavens.

PGM XXIIb, l. 13 (PGM 2; 148; GMPT: 261); Ἰάω; the god sitting upon the Sun (ὁ [θεὸς ὁ καθήμε]ν[ο]σ[ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡ]λίου).

PGM XXVIIIb, l. 3 (PGM 2: 155; GMPT: 265); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names of power mainly of Hebrew origin used in the binding spell.

PGM XXXV, l. 20 (PGM 2: 161; GMPT: 268); Ἰάω; the divine is invoked in this spell among others by the power (δύναμις) of Iaô.

PGM XXXV, l. 27 (PGM 2: 162; GMPT: 268); Ἰάω; the element of the compound name of power conjured in the sequence of names, enumerations, and variations of the name →Sabaôth.

PGM XXXXVI, l. 42 (PGM 2: 164; GMPT: 270); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names of power identified as the lord angels (κύριοι ἄγγελοι).

PGM XXXVI, l. 197 (PGM 2: 169; GMPT: 274);’Ιάω; as’Ιάω Σαβαώθ associated with the victory and prescribed to be written on an ostracon with the love spell.

PGM XXXVI, l. 308 (PGM 2: 173; GMPT: 276);’Ιάω; one of the words and names of power prescribed to be adjured in the love spell.

PGM XXXVI, l. 349 (PGM 2: 175; GMPT: 277);’Ιάω; one of the “strong and great names” (τῶν κραταιῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὀνομάτων) used in the love spell.

PGM LXI, l. 68 (PGM 2: 192; GMPT: 292); ιαω; in the sequence of words of power and permutations of vowels used in the love spell.

PGM LXVII, ll. 15, 17 (PGM 2: 200; GMPT: 296);’Ιά[ω],’Ιάω; in the sequence of names of power, probably in the compound holy name of the demon (ἅγιον ὄνομα τοῦ δαίμονος).

PGM LXXI, l. 3 (PGM 2: 203; GMPT: 298);’Ιάω; great, true god, the god in heaven, the lord; ruler of the all (παντοκράτωρ).

PGM XC, l. 11 (*Suppl.Mag.* II: 205; cf. previous reading by Traversa 1953: 58; GMPT: 302);’Ιάω; Invoked as Σαβαώθ to deliver a horse from evil.

PGM CVI, ll. 2 (twice) and 6 (Brashear 1975: 28; *Suppl.Mag.* I: 27; GMPT: 310—311);’Ιάω, ιαω; in the sequence of names and words of power used in the protection spell.

PGM CI, l. 4 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 163; GMPT: 307; Gager 1992: 103);’Ιάω; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the invincible god (ἀνίκητος θέος).

PGM CI, l. 16 (twice) (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 164; GMPT: 308; Gager 1992: 104); ιαω; in the sequence of vowel permutations associated with the demons “who lie here” (δέμονες, οἱ ἐνθάδε κίμενοι).

PGM CV, l. 7 (*Suppl.Mag.* II: 187; GMPT: 310);’Ιάω; addressed for mercy in syncretistic sequence of names Ζ[ε]ῦ’Ιάω Ζὴν’Ηλιε.

PGM CV, l. 13 (*Suppl.Mag.* II: 188; GMPT: 310); ιαω; in the sequence of vowel permutations associated with the primal god (προπάτωρ θέος).

PGM CXVI, l. 7 (Pintaudi 1977: 246; GMPT: 314); ιαω; in a long sequence of names and words of power.

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305, col. II, l. 12;’Ιάω; in a spell for attraction (ἀγώγιμον); as’Ιάω Σαβαόθ in the sequence of names of power, partially of Semitic origin.

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305, col. II, l. 18;’Ιάω; in a spell for attraction (ἀγώγιμον); in the sequence of names of power, partially of Semitic origin.

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5306, l. 28;’Ιάω; invoked in a protection spell called “prayer of Adam.”

PDM xiv, ll. 277 (twice). 278 [col. X, ll. 4, 5] (DMP I: 74; GMPT: 212); *yʿ-ʿo*; in the sequence of names of power understood as names of gods.

PDM xiv, l. 463 [col. XVI 5] (DMP I: 110; GMPT: 221); *yʿ-ʿo*; in the sequence of names of power invoked in the divination spell.

Meyer & Smith 43, ll. 104, 120 (Worrell 1935: 22—23; Meyer & Smith 1999: 87); ⲓⲁⲱ; as ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ (l. 104) and in the formula: “give me the power of Yao” (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 87).

Meyer & Smith 50, l. 7 (Stegemann 1934: 38; Kropp II: 222; Meyer & Smith 1999: 98); ⲓⲁⲱ; in the phrase: "healing through the power of the lordship (ⲧⲥⲟⲙ ⲛⲧⲙⲏⲧⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ) of Yao Sabaoth" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 59, l. 17r (Römer & Thissen 1990: 176; Meyer & Smith 1999: 110); ⲓⲁⲱ; invocation to the deity called, among other names, "god Iaô" (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⲛⲓⲁⲱ).

Meyer & Smith 60, p. 2, l. 7 (Worrell 1923: 325; Kropp II: 118; Meyer & Smith 1999: 113); ⲓⲁⲱ; in the phrase ⲓⲁⲱ ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲓ.

Meyer & Smith 64, ll. 34, 38, 131 (Crum 1905: 254—255; Kropp I: 16, 20; Kropp II: 201, 204; Meyer & Smith 1999: 122, 124); ⲓⲁⲱ; in l. 131 Crum and Kropp read ⲉⲓⲁⲱ; in translations, however, Kropp as well as Smith give "Jao" or "Yao"; in ll. 34.38 ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲃⲱⲑ and other names of Hebrew origin.

Meyer & Smith 66, l. 12v (Worrell 1935: 10; Meyer & Smith 1999: 127); ⲓⲁⲱ; ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲱⲑ sits in the seventh heaven.

Meyer & Smith 70, ll. 22, 24, 56, 62, 64, 81, 95, 113, 122, 124, 127, 130 (Crum 1905: 419—420; Kropp I: 22—27; Kropp II: 150—154; Meyer & Smith 1999: 131—133); ⲓⲁⲱ; Lake Acherousia (ⲧⲁⲭⲉⲗⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲗⲓⲙⲛⲏ <ἀχερουσία λίμνη>) flows from under the throne (θρόνος) of Iaô →Sabaôth^{h}. The name of that area is Salomites (ⲥⲁⲗⲱⲙⲓⲧⲏⲥ), "the faith of Yao Sabaoth" (Meyer & Smith 1999: 131); in compound names of mainly Hebrew origin, among them "almighty (παντοκράτωρ) Yao Sabaoth," etc. (l. 62); invocation ⲓⲁⲱ ⲓⲁⲱ ⲡⲉ$\overline{\text{χρ}}$ ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ (παντοκράτωρ; l. 81); in the last sentence of crucified Jesus given in garbled Aramaic; treated also as a common *vox magica* and prescribed to repeat many times.

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 4, l. 1; p. 5,l. 10; p. 9, ll. 2, 4, 21; p. 11, l. 11; p. 17, l. 7; p. 20, l. 15 (Kropp I: 65—66, 69—71, 75, 78; Kropp II: 178—179, 182—183, 188, 191; Meyer & Smith 1999: 136, 138—139, 143, 145); ⲓⲁⲱ; his holiness (ἅγιος) is glorified (p. 4, l. 1); invoked as ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲇⲟⲕⲣⲁⲇⲱⲣ (παντοκράτωρ; p. 11, l. 11) or in compound sequences of *nomina barbara*; in p. 20, ll. 13—15 mentioned "twenty four archangels (ἀρχάγγελος) of the body of Yao Yecha."

Meyer & Smith 80, recto (Crum 1934b: 199; Meyer & Smith 1999: 170); ⲓⲁⲱ; the name "Iaô Sabaô" around animal figures.

Meyer & Smith 82, l. 2 (Worrell 1935: 184; Meyer & Smith 1999: 175); ⲓⲁⲱ; invoked "oil that flows from under the throne (ⲡⲛⲉϩ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲉⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ <θρόνος>) of Yao Sabaoth" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 175).

Meyer & Smith 84, l. 2 (Smither 1939: 173; Meyer & Smith 1999: 177); ⲓ̣ⲁ̣ⲱ; the power of ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁϥⲁⲱⲑ invoked.

Meyer & Smith 91, l. 28r (Crum 1896: 87; Kropp II: 236; Meyer & Smith 1999: 194); ⲓⲁⲱ; invocation consisting of many Semitic names of the god, including Iaô repeated four times.

Meyer & Smith 92, col. I, ll. 15, 30 (Beltz 1983: 80; Kropp II: 238—239; Meyer & Smith 1999: 195—196); ⲓⲁⲱ; "great power of the heaven" (ⲧⲛⲟⲩ

ⲛ̄ⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ <δύναμις> ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ; transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 195); in both lines repeated twice.

Meyer & Smith 95, l. 39 (Beltz 1984: 96; Meyer & Smith 1999: 201); ⲓⲁⲱ; "the word of the lord Yao" (ⲡϣⲁϫⲉ ⲛⲓ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲓⲁⲱ)'" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 201).

Meyer & Smith 105, l. 1 (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 400; Meyer & Smith 1999: 212); ⲓⲁⲱ; ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ on the right side of figura magica.

Meyer & Smith 113, l. 6 (Girard 1927: 63; Müller 1959: 311; Meyer & Smith 1999: 228); ⲓⲁⲱ; at the end of the introducing sequence of hailed powers, Mizraêl is mentioned, the one who sees the face of the father "in the power of Iaô" (ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲓⲁⲱ).

Meyer & Smith 117, flesh side (Satzinger & Sijpesteijn 1988: 61; Meyer & Smith 1999: 237); ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ associated with Ouroboros and *nomina barbara*.

Meyer & Smith 125, l. 1 (No edition of the Coptic text; Meyer & Smith 1999: 251); "Yao"; a sequence of divine and angelic names of the Semitic origin "Yao Sabaoth Adonai Eloai," etc.

Meyer & Smith 128, l. 9 (Kropp I: 50; Kropp II: 31; Meyer & Smith 1999: 270); ⲓⲁⲟⲩ; in the sequence of *nomina barbara*.

Meyer & Smith 131, ll. 12r, 39r, 58r, 98r, 32v, 62v (Kropp I: 36—37, 39, 42—43; Kropp II: 90—91, 135, 137, 139; Meyer & Smith 1999: 283—287); ⲓⲁⲱ; invoked in the sequence of divine names of Hebrew origin, but in l. ,32v an invocation: "send to me from heaven the prayer of Koutha Yao god of the Hebrews" (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲛϩⲉⲃⲣⲉⲟⲥ <ἑβραῖος>) (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 286).

Meyer & Smith 132, ll. 15, 22, 55 (Kropp I: 47—49; Kropp II: 58.60; Meyer & Smith 1999: 290—291); ⲓⲁⲱ; in all the cases in the phrase: ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; before him, there is a cloud of light (ⲧⲉⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ).

Meyer & Smith 133, p. 15, l. 15, p. 19, ll. 9, 12 (Worrell 1930: 252, 254; Mirecki 1994: 451—452; Meyer & Smith 1999: 309—310); ⲓⲁⲱ; in a very long sequence of names and words of power.

Meyer & Smith 134, p. 10r, l. 21 (Pleyte & Boeser 1897: 459; Kropp II: 174; Meyer & Smith 1999: 319); ⲓⲁⲱ; in the sequence of various divine names mainly of Hebrew origin.

Meyer & Smith 135, l. 76 (Kropp 1966: 23; Meyer & Smith 1999: 329); ⲓⲁⲱ; one of the seven angels "who stand over the seven baths of the church of the firstborn that is in the heavens" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 2, l. 10 (Meyer 1996: 10); ⲓⲁⲱ; praised as the one coming up on the clouds of heaven (ⲛⲉⲥⲏⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲡⲉ); equated with →Sabaôth.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 4, l. 1 (Meyer 1996: 14); ⲓⲁⲱ; as ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲁⲧⲱⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲉⲗⲱⲉⲓ praised as the destroyer of all evil and magic (μαγεία).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 5, l. 19 (Meyer 1996: 16); ⲓⲁⲱ; one of the 24 bodiless elders (ⲙⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲩⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ <πρεσβύτερος> ⲉⲛⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲱⲥ <ἀσώματος>);

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 7, l. 14 (Meyer 1996: 20); ⲓⲁⲱ; the name ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ invoked to adjure angelic powers.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 7, l. 16 (Meyer 1996: 20); ⲓⲁⲱ; as ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲏⲗ invoked to grant safety.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 12 (Meyer 1996: 30); ⲓⲁⲱ; as ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ on a figura magica.

P.Iand. inv. 9 A,B, p. 3, l. 9 (Kropp 1965: 8); ⲓⲁⲱ; in a sequence of names of power mainly of Jewish origin associated with the God as liberator.

P.Iand. inv. 9 A,B, p. 7, l. 10 (Kropp 1965: 12); ⲓⲁⲱ; in a sequence ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲁⲗⲱⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲗⲱⲉⲓ associated with the seven angels and expected to be repeated in front of practitioner.

Sarrazin 2017b: 120, l. 11; ⲓⲁⲱ; the name ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ invoked in a curse on an ostracon.

Gager 1992: 63, No 10, ll. 13, 22, 38 (Audollent 1904: 325—326, No 242; Wünsch 1907: 15—17); ιαω; god appointed over giving soul to men; as ⲓⲁⲱ ⲓⲃⲟⲏⲁ presides over heavenly firmaments; as ⲱⲏ ⲓⲁⲱ ⲉⲉⲏⲁⲫ is a god of air and the sea.

Gager 1992: 64, No 11 (Audollent 1904: 409); ιαω; in the sequence of words of power.

Gager 1992: 67, No 12, l. 26 (Wünsch 1907: 12); ’Ιάω; one of the names of the god above the heaven, seated upon the cherubim, who divided earth and sea.

Gager 1992: 100, No 28, l. 16 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 181); ’Ιάω; one of the names of power by which the spirit of the dead man is adjured.

Gager 1992: 101, No 29, l. 4 (twice) (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 211, No 51); ’Ιάω; one of the names of power used to adjure a nekydaimon.

Gager 1992: 113, No 36, ll. 38—39 (Wünsch 1907: 24); ’Ιάω (twice); in the phrase, “Iaô, the god of Jacob”; in the phrase “Iaô Aôt^{h} Abaôt^{h}, the god of Israma.”

Gager 1992: 137, No 47, ll. 11, 14 (twice) (Cormack 1951: 26); ’Ιάω; in the sequence of names of power and *voces magicae* referred to “lords gods” and angels.

Gager 1992: 144, No 54, l. 2 (Moraux 1960: 12); ’Ιάω; in the sequence of names of power and *voces magicae*.

Gager 1992: 216, No 118, l. 1 (Wünsch 1907: 7); ’Ιάω; in the sequence of names of power: ’Ιάω’Ηλ Μιχαὴλ Νεφθώ.

Gager 1992: 226, l. 6, No 121 (Robinson 1938: 246); ’Ιάω; in the sequence of names of power, maybe one of the lord angels.

Gager 1992: 240, No 133, l. 10 (Faraone & Kotansky 1988: 258); ’Ιάω; as Βαρουχ ’Ιάω and in the sequence of *voces magicae*, characters and names of power.

Kropp 2008, No 11.1.1/26, l. 9 (Audollent 1904: 346); [’Ι]άω; in the sequence of names of the spirits of this place (animae huius loci); the only one written in Greek characters.

Kropp 2008, No 11.2.1/2, l. 8 (Audollent 1904: 362); ’Ιάω; as ’Ιάω Σαβαώθ in the sequence of names and words of power.

Kropp 2008, No 11.2.1/22, l. 13 (Audollent 1904: 396); Ἰάω; at the beginning of a sequence of words of power; associated with a pelagic and aerial god (deum pelagicum, aerium).

Kropp 2008, No 11.2.1/27, l. 11 (Audollent 1904: 405); Ἰάω; at the beginning of a sequence of permutations of vowels; associated with a pelagic, aerial, and the highest god (*deum pelagicum*, *aerium*, *altissimum*).

Kropp 2008, No 11.2.1/29, ll. A12, B10 (Audollent 1904: 407); Ἰάω; twice at the beginning of a sequence of permutations of vowels; associated with pelagic, aerial, and the highest god (deum pelagicum, aerium, altissimum).

Kotansky 1994: 17, No 5, l. 7; ιαω; in the sequence of *voces magicae*.

Kotansky 1994: 47, No 11, text B, l. 10; ιαω; *vox magica* or name of power invoked against unweather.

Kotansky 1994: 55, No 12, l. 14; Ἰάω; in the sequence of *voces magicae* and names of power mainly of Semitic origin.

Kotansky 1994: 76, No 16, l. 1; Ἰάω; context partially destroyed; in the sequence of names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 95, No 23, l. 3; Ἰάω; in the sequence of *voces magicae* and names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 119, No 29, l. 1; Ἰάω; written above the head of *figura magica*.

Kotansky 1994: 129, No 32, l. 14; Ἰάω; in a phylactery of Moses (Φυλακτήριον Μωσέως); in the sequence of names of power mainly of Semitic origin in the phrase Ἰάω Σαβαώθ Ἀδωναῖε.

Kotansky 1994: 212, No 39, l. 6; ιαω; in the sequence of names of power, one of the "lord angels" (κύριοι ἄγγελοι).

Kotansky 1994: 235, No 44, l. 2; Ἰάω; context partially destroyed; an isolated name.

Kotansky 1994: 249, No 48, l. 1 (three times); Ἰάω; in the sequence of names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 302, No 53, l. 9; Ἰάω; in a prayer addressed to the great name of Iaô (τὸ μέγα ὄνομα Ἰάω).

Kotansky 1994: 307, No 54, l. 9; ιαω (twice); context partially destroyed; probably as a mere vowel permutation.

Kotansky 1994: 326, No 57, l. 1; Ἰάω; in a long sequence of names of power invoked against epilepsy and headache.

Kotansky 1994: 332, No 58, ll. 1, 6; Ἰάω; in the sequence of *voces magicae* and names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 370, No 62, ll. 2, 10; Ἰάω; in the sequence of *voces magicae*, names of power and characters.

Kotansky 1980b, ll. 8, 26—27, 29 (Kotansky 1980b: 181); Ἰάω; invoked as a lord (κύριε), clearly identified as a name of the Jewish God; in a sequence of names of power, mainly associated with the Jewish God and angels, used in the spell against an evil spirit and epilepsy (πτωματισμός).

Bonner 1950: 254, No 6; Ἰάω; Obv. A mummy of Osiris, a crowned hawk on each elbow, a flying scarab under feet; Ἰάω in the field on the scarab.

Bonner 1950: 262, No 53; ιαω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, with a shield on the left arm, inscribed: ιαω; Rev. Athena, Ἀβρασάξ on bevel.

Bonner 1950: 264, No 65; Ἰάω; Obv. A head of Gorgon; Rev. Triple Hecate, an inscription Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ χω[---] around the margin.

Bonner 1950: 264, No 66; ιαω; Obv. Triple Hecate; Rev. A demon with a body formed from various animal elements, below Ouroboros, within it: ιαω.

Bonner 1950: 266, No 75; ιαω; Obv. Harpocrates, Ἀβραεαξ above, ιαω below; Rev. A lion and stars.

Bonner 1950: 268, No 94; ιαω; Obv. A snake; Rev. the Chnubis symbol, ιαω below.

Bonner 1950: 269, No 98; [Ἰά]ω; Obv. lion-headed snake, ιαω over head; Rev. [Ἰά]ω Σαβ[αὼθ] Μιχαήρ.

Bonner 1950: 274, No 136; ιαω; Obv. Ouroboros and Egyptian gods, ιαω below; Rev. αεηιουω ορωριουθ ιαω.

Bonner 1950: 275, No 140; ιαω; Obv. Ouroboros and Egyptian gods, ιαω σα on margin; Rev. A flying scarab.

Bonner 1950: 276, No 143; Ἰάω; Obv. A ram-headed deity and a female figure; Rev. ιαιαιαηιηι Ἰάω Σαβαὼ Ἀ[δ]ωναί and other words of power.

Bonner 1950: 276, No 144; Ἰάω; Obv. An inscription in a pterygoma form and a figure of warrior; Rev. An altar, μεαθαδωα on the left, νοει Σαβαώθ on the right, Ἰάω on the base of altar.

Bonner 1950: 278, No 152; ιαω; Obv. A headless and handless man, an inscription αβλαναθα[να]λβα Ἀβρα[σά]ξ, ιαω below, Obv. A cock-headed anguipede.

Bonner 1950: 278, No 153; Ἰάω; Obv. Ouroboros with a bonded figure under its head, an inscription: Μιχαὴλ Ραφαὴλ Ἀδωναὶ Ἰάω; Rev. Characters.

Bonner 1950: 279, No 160; ιαω; Obv. Eros; Rev. ιαω, a palm leaf and garlands.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 162; ιαω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, letters of ιαω separate in field; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 163; ιαω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, ιαω below; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ, stars and crescent.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 164; ιαω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, holding a shield on the left arm with ιαω engraved; Rev. Ouroboros enclosing Σαβαώ.

Bonner 1960, 280, No 166; ιαω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, holding a shield on the left arm with ιαω engraved; Rev. Ἀβραεαξ and characters.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 167; ιαω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, letters of ιαω separated in field, Rev. Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαώ.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 168; ιαω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, ιαω at the bottom; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ Γαβριήλ.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 169; ιαω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede with a shield on the left arm, ιαω on the shield; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ and minor signs.

Bonner 1950: 281, No 173; ιαω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede with a shield on the left arm, ιαω on the shield; Rev. A sequence of words of power.

Bonner 1950: 282, No 175; ιαω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, ιαω at the bottom, ιαω νουβαζ αονουκογαωια ιαω υφονβαν on the margin; Rev. Characters and ιαω.

Bonner 1950: 282, No 176; ιαω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede; Rev. A solar deity, ιαω in the field.

Bonner 1950: 283, No 180; ιαω; Obv. human-headed anguipede, below Ἀβρασάξ; Rev. A solar deity, ιαω in the field.

Bonner 1950: 283, No 181; ιαω; Obv. lion-headed anguipede, letters of ιαω separated in field; Rev. λεοντορῆκτα

Bonner 1950: 284, No 188; Ἰάω; Obv. A lion-headed figure holding a staff and a situla, nude except for an apron; Ἀαριήλ on the left, Ἰαλδαβαώθ on the right; Rev. the seven names: Ἰα Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ Ἑλωαὶ Ὡρεὸς Ἀσταφεός.

Bonner 1950: 286, No 198; ιαω; Obv. Harpocrates seated on a lotus, ιαω below; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ ιαεω.

Bonner 1950: 288, No 208; ιαω; Obv. Harpocrates and minor symbols, ιαω in the vertical column; Rev. Γαβριήλ.

Bonner 1950: 291, No 226; ιαω; Obv. A solar deity with a female worshipper, ιαω above, Ἀβρασάξ on exergue; Rev. A cock-headed anguipede with a shield on the left arm, ιαω on the shield.

Bonner 1950: 292, No 231; Ἰάω; Obv. A lion-headed god; Rev. Σαβαὼ φρην Ἰάω.

Bonner 1950: 293, No 241; Ἰάω; Obv. A child riding a lion and nude figures; Rev. Ἰάω Σαβαὼ δομνος.

Bonner 1950: 295, No 254; ιαω; Obv. Pantheos, Ouroboros below; Rev. ιαω ευλαμω and the chain of vowels.

Bonner 1950: 299, No 275; ιαω; Obv. Ιακωβ ακουβτα ιαω βερω; Rev. Plain.

Bonner 1950: 300, No 279; Ἰάω; Obv. ouroboros, "Iaô the master of all" (Ἰάω πάντων δέσποτα) above; Rev. Plain.

Bonner 1950: 300, No 284; ιαω; Obv. A long sequence of names, words of power and permutations of vowels; Rev. Ouroboros and characters.

Bonner 1950: 301, No 291; ιαω; Obv. Ouroboros; Rev. Letters, syllables and characters, ιαω among them.

Bonner 1950: 302, No 298; Ἰάω; Obv. A rider and a lion, an inscription: "One god, the victor over the evil" (εἷς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά); Rev. Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Μιχαὴλ βοήθι and a motif of suffering eye.

Bonner 1950: 304, No 307; ιαω; Obv. A stork standing with a lizard in the bill; Rev. αωνεαι ιαηα ιαω αβρβασαχξ and εαβαωθ.

Bonner 1950: 304, No 310; Ἰάω; Obv. A rider spearing a lying figure; Rev. Ἰάω Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴλ Γαβριήλ and a lion below.

Bonner 1950: 304, No 311; Ἰάω; Obv. A rider spearing a lying female figure; Rev. Ἰάω Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴλ Γαβριὴλ Οὐριὴλ χερουβιν σεραπι and a lion below.

Bonner 1950: 305, No 313; Ἰάω; Obv. A rider; Rev. Ἰάω Σαβαὼ Γαβριὴλ ουσασχα ουαδω Γαβριήλ and a lion below.

Bonner 1950: 310, No 341; ’Ιάω; Obv. A man holding a situla and a cross; Rev. ’Ιάω Σαβαὼ Ἀβρασά.

Bonner 1950: 314, No 361; ’Ιάω; four names: ’Ιάω, Σαβαώ, Μιχαήλ and Θωθ, one on each side of a rectangular prism.

Bonner 1950: 316, No 368; ιαω; Obv. An animal-headed deity and Aphrodite, αβρασξ on the left, ιαω ιω on the right; Rev. A fully-dressed woman.

Bonner 1950: 318, No 383; ιαω; Obv. A demon riding an ox or a bull and minor elements; Rev. ιαω αεωο υφθαχ αωηιθ ωχαω εηα.

Bonner 1950: 321, No 395; ’Ιάω; Obv. Pantheos riding the lions flanked by two snakes and minor elements, an inscription “Protect from all the evil the one who wears it” below, ιαω and other names and words of power in the field; Rev. A kneeling man flanked by two Anubises, anguipede above, an inscription in a tabula ansata.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 26, No 3; ’Ιάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede; Rev. ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 26, No 4; ’Ιάω; One-sided. A cock-headed anguipede; ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 26—27, No 5; ’Ιάω; One-sided. A cock-headed anguipede; ’Ιάω on the margin.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 27, No 6; ’Ιάω; One-sided. A cock-headed anguipede holding a shield; ’Ιάω Σαβαώθ on the shield.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 27, No 7; ’Ιάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede holding a shield; ’Ιάω on the shield; Rev. Σεμεσιλάμψ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 27, No 8; ’Ιάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, ’Ιάω; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ on the shield.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 28, No 9; ’Ιάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, ’Ιάω on the shield; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 28, No 11; ’Ιάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, ’Ιάω on the shield; Rev. αβλαναθαναλβα.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 29, No 12; ’Ιάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, ’Ιάω on the shield; Rev. γιγαντορήκτα.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 29, No 13; ’Ιάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, ’Ιάω on the shield; Rev. Seven vowels and σεισεωθ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 29, No 14; ’Ιάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, ’Ιάω on the margin; Rev. Ἀδωνὲ Α’Ιλωὲ Μιχαήλ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 30, No 15; ’Ιάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, ’Ιάω around the shield; Rev. Ἀδωνὲ Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼ Εἰάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 31—32, No 20; ’Ιάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, ’Ιάω on the shield; Rev. [αβλαναθα]ναλβα Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 32, No 21; ’Ιάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, ’Ιάω on the shield, φαραω in the field; Rev. Characters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 32—33, No 22; ’Ιάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, ’Ιάω Σαβαώθ under the shield; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 33, No 24; Ἰάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼ Ἰάω around the figure; Rev. Ἰάω Σαβαὼ Ἀδωναὶ Μιχαὴλ and seven vowels.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 33—34, No 25; Ιάω, Ἰάωε; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Ἰάω under the shield; Rev. Ἰάωε Ἀβρασὰξ Μιχαὴλ Ἀδωνέ and characters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 35, No 27; Ἰάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Ἰάω below the figure, Ἀβρασάξ around the figure; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Οὐριὴρ Σαβαώ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 35, No 28; Ἰάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Ἰάω on the shield and below the figure; Rev. "Protect and save" (διαφύλαξον σῶσον).

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 35, No 29; Ἰάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Ἰάω and six vowels on the shield, Ἀβρασάξ behind the figure; Rev. A sequence of letters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 35—36, No 30; Ἰάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Σαβ Ἀβρα Ἰάω in the field; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Οὐριὴρ Γαβριὴρ Σαβαὼ Ἰάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 36—37, No 32; Ἰάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Ἰάω ια αθαρρα above the figure; Rev. Words of power and characters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 37, No 33; Ἰάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Ἰάω in the field; Rev. An unidentified figure holding a staff and Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 38, No 35; Ἰάω; Obv. A lion-headed anguipede, Ἰάω in the field; Rev. αβρωβρι.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 38, No 36; Ἰάω; Obv. A dog-headed anguipede and Ἰάω Σαβαώθ; Rev. Names and words of power.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 39, No 37; Ἰάω; An ass-headed anguipede holding a shield; Ἰάω on the shield; Rev. A snake.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 39, No 38; Ἰάω; Almost the same as the precedent one.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 41, No 41; Ἰάω; Obv. A figure with a head of a bird of prey, Ἰάω below; Ἀβρασάξ on the left. Rev. Three figures in long robes.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 54, No 50; Ἰάω; Obv. A scarab; Rev. A sequence of vowels and words of power, Ἰάω and Ἀβρασάξ among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 61, No 64; Ἰάω; Obv. Characters and Ἰάω; Rev. A serpent and ρεμρημ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 68, No 82; Ἰάω; Obv. A lion-headed serpent, Χνουβις on the right, Ἰάω at the bottom; Rev. A long sequence of words of power concluded with the name of Χνουβις.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 78, No 92; Ἰάω; Obv. A mummy of Osiris, Σαβαώθ around the figure; Rev. Ἰάη Ἀβρασὰξ Ἰάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 86, No 107; Ἰάω; Obv. Isis; Rev. A cock-headed anguipede, Ἰάω in the field.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 88, No 111; Ἰάω; Obv. A priestess of Isis; Rev. Ἰάω Σολομὸν Σαβαώ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 95, No 114; Ἰάω; Obv. Anubis, Αβλαναθαλ Ἰάω and triple iota around the figure; Rev. A person in a long robe, Ἀδωναὶ Ἀβρασάξ around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 95, No 115; Ἰάω; Obv. Anubis between two persons, Ἰακώ in the field; Rev. Ἰάω and two stars.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 96, No 118; Ἰάω; Obv. Anubis; Rev. A sequence of words of power, including Ἰάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 102, No 127; Ἰάω; One-sided; Anubis between two persons, Μιχαήλ and Ἀβρασὰξ Ἰάω in the field.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 102—103, No 128; Ἰάω; Obv. Anubis; Rev. bird-headed figure holding a situla, Ἰάω Ἀβρασὰξ Ἀδωνιέ around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 110, No 133; Ἰάω; One-sided; A child on a bud of a lotus, Ἰάω below.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 110, No 134; Ἰάω; Obv. A child on a bud of a lotus; Rev. A cock-headed anguipede; Ἰάω Ἀδωναὶ Ταβαν on the margin.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 115, No 144; Ἰάω; One-sided; A child on a lotus flower; Ἰέουωε Ἰάω above.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 115, No 145; Ἰάω; One-sided; A man on a lotus flower; in Ἰέου, αβριν ε̣ιμαρθω and Ἰάω ευ the field.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 117, No 149; Ἰάω; Obv. A child on a lotus flower surrounded by animals, Ἰάω on the bottom; Rev. A scorpion, Μιχαὴλ Ἀδωναὶ Αβρασάξ around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 134—135, No 172; Ἰάω; Obv. A Bes-headed winged deity standing on Ouroboros; Ἀβρα[σάξ] within the coil of Ouroboros; words of power in the field; Rev. A figures of a mummy (in the centre), a lion-headed deity (on the right) and a headless man (on the left); the group sequence of words and names of power below; the letters of the name Ἰάω around mummy.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 136, No 174; Ἰάω; Obv. A Bes-headed winged deity standing on Ouroboros; Ἰάω inside the coil of Ouroboros; Rev. Triple Hecate.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 136, No 175; Ἰάω; One-sided; a Bes-headed winged deity; Ἰάω and σεμεσιλαν χνι in the field.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 140, No 181; Ἰάω; Obv. An ityphallic deity; many words of power, including Ἰάω and Σαβαώθο in the field; Rev. A long sequence of words and names of power, including Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ and Ἀδωναί.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 146, No 186; Ἰάω; One-sided. An ibis; Ἰάω in the field.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 146, No 188; Ἰάω; Obv. An ibis and an altar; Ἰάω at the bottom; Rev. A ring, teeth, and a womb in the circle; a sequence of vowels around.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 147, No 190; Ἰάω; very similar to the precedent one.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 148, No 191; Ἰάω; Obv. A lion-headed serpent; Rev. An ostrich-like bird, Ἰάω in the field.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 160, No 208; Ἰάω; Obv. A bearded deity standing on a crocodile; Εἷς θεὸς Ἰάω in the field; Rev. Ἰάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 162, No 211; ’Ιάω; Obv. A dog-headed deity and an invocation to →Mikʰaêl; Rev. Names and words of power, including ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 175, No 229; ’Ιάω; Obv. Hermes and seven vowels; Rev. words of power, including ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 177, No 232; ’Ιάω; Obv. Three figures: an eagle (in the centre), an old man (on the left) and Hermes (on the right); Rev. A string of vowels and ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 187—188, No 248; ’Ιάω; Obv. Nude Aphrodite; Βαινχωωωχ around the figure; Rev. A crab; the letters of ’Ιάω around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 188, No 250; ’Ι]άω; Obv. Nude Aphrodite and words of power; Rev. An invocation to ’Ι]άω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδονηίη.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 191, No 253; ’Ιάω; One-sided; Triple Hecate; ’Ιάω χοχμαι around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 194, No 257; ’Ιάω; Obv. Nemesis holding a balance; Rev. A cock-headed anguipede, ’Ιάω on the shield, Ἀβρασάξ in the bottom, Σαβαώθ on the right.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 205—206, No 280; ’Ιάω; Obv. Heracles fighting with a lion; Rev. Triple Hecate, ’Ιάω above the figure; Ἀβρασάξ below the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 208, No 283; ’Ιάω; Obv. A trophy, ’Ιάω ουη above; Rev. words of power and Μιχαήλ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 210, No 286; ’Ιάω; Obv. A trophy and words of power; Rev. A cock-headed anguipede holding a shield; ’Ιάω on the shield.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 213, No 291; ’Ιάω; Obv. An unidentified female deity; Rev. ’Ιάω Σαβαὼ Καρναξι.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 218, No 296; ’Ι[ά]ω; Obv. Chariot of the Sun, ’Ι[ά]ω Ἀβρασάξ below the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 220—221, No 301; ’Ιάω; Obv. Solar deity; Rev. Ἀβρασὰς ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 223, No 303; ’Ιάω; Obv. A lion-headed figure holding a cane with a snake twisted around it, ’Ιάω on the right; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 227, No 312; ’Ιάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede holding a shield, ’Ιάω Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴ ἀβλαναθα around the figure; Rev. A nude man holding a whip, standing on a lion.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 227—228, No 313; ’Ιάω; Obv. A man mounted on a lion; Rev. ’Ιάω αιω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 247, No 339; ’Ιάω; Obv. A womb and a key; Rev. Words and names of power, including ’Ιάω Σαβαώθ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 247, No 340; ’Ιάω; Obv. A womb and a key; Rev. Single letters, words and names of power, including ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 247, No 341; ’Ιάω; Obv. A womb and a key; Rev. Single letters, words and names of power, including ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 253, No 355; ’Ιάω; Obv. A key and four figures of deities; ’Ιάω around; Rev. ορωριουθ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 257, No 362; ’Ιάω; Obv. A serpent, a bud of lotus, a key and other artifacts; Ἀβραξὰς Ἀδωναὶ ’Ιάω Σαβαώθ around the figures; Rev. A mummy with the head of an ass; sequences of words and names of power in the field and around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 258—259, No 364; ’Ιάω; Obv. A figure of Tantal and an inscription addressing him; Rev. An altar, serpents and other elements with characters and names of power; ’Ιάω below the altar.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 259—260, No 365; ’Ιάω; Obv. A lizard and ’Ιάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωνὲ ’Ελεουέ; Rev. Names and words of power.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 265, No 378; ’Ιάω; One-sided. Three stars and ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 265, No 379; ’Ιάω; Obv. Characters, βαρκαβα and ’Ιάω; Rev. Ἀδωνή, Ἀβρασάς and characters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 270, No 386; ’Ιά[ω]; Obv. A crabe and ’Ιά[ω?]; Rev. A scarab and words of power.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 281, No 403; ’Ιάω; Obv. A snake mounting a horse; Rev. Names of power, including ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 295, No 420; ’Ιάω; Obv. A bearded man (Salomon?) and θεονεμντους; Rev. Characters and ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 306, No 442bis; [’Ι]άω; Obv. A deity mounted on a bull; Rev. A sequence of characters, words, and names of power, including [’Ι]άω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 317, No 462; ’Ιάω; One-sided; An inscription: “That in the middle, I attribute the name of the twelve tribes to the entourage of Iaô.”

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 320, No 469; ’Ιάω; One-sided; Characters and the names of power, including ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 324, No 478; ’Ιάω; Obv. Names of power; Rev. Names of power, including ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 324—325, No 480; ’Ιάω; One sided; names of power, including ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 325, No 482; ’Ιάω; Obv. ’Ιάω Σαβαὼ ’Ελβραμ[..]; Rev. Words of power.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 325, No 483; ’Ιάω; One sided; only the name of ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 325, No 484; ’Ιάω; Obv. ’Ιάω Ἀδωναὶ Εἰαω ’Ιδημαη, words of power and characters; Rev. characters.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 326, No 486; ’Ιάω; One sided; Only αβλαναθαναλβα ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 328, No 493; ’Ι]άω; One-sided; a sequence of names of power, including ’Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 330, No 500; ’Ιάω; Obv. Words of power, letters and syllables; Rev. Ouroboros, ’Ιάω within.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 330—331, No 501; ’Ιάω; Obv. Very similar to the precedent one.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 331, No 503; Ἰάω; One-sided. Ouroboros and Ἰάω within.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 333—334, No 510; Ἰ]άω; Obv. Ouroboros with characters, seven vowels and Σεσενβαριαρανγης within; Rev. A sequence of words and names of power, including Ἰάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 335, No 513; Ἰάω; Obv. Ouroboros with characters and Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀβραάμ within; Rev. Seven vowels.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 337—338, No 516; Ἰάω; Obv. A long sequence of words of power, including Ἰάω; Rev. A long sequence of words of power.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 341, No 522; Ἰάω; Obv. Ἰάω, Ἀβρασ[άξ] and traces of other words, Rev. Words of power.

Delatte & Derchain 1960: 340, No 521; Ἰάω; No figures; the sequences of names and words of power on both sides, Ἰάω among them.

Daniel & Sijpesteijn 1988: l. 1 (inscription on a gem); Ἰάω; On the protective amulet; in the sequence Ἰάω Ἀβρασὰξ Ἀδωναί.

Gesztelyi 2000: 80, No 255; Ἰάω; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede; Rev. Ἰάω Σαβαώ Ἀβράξ Ἰάω.

Henig *et al.* 1994: 222, No 493; Ἰάω; On-sided; a mummified Anubis and Osiris; an obelisk with Ἰάω between them.

Kotansky 1980; Obv. Cronos; Rev. An inscription: Ἰάω Σαβαώθ Ἀδωναί οἱ τρεῖς μεγάλοι.

Philipp 1986: 50—51, No 47; Ἰάω; One-sided; a group of four in a boat; the outer two, identified by the editor as Nikes, crown two in the middle; Σαβαὼ Ἀβρασὰξ Ἰάω above.

Philipp 1986: 53, No 51; Ἰάω; Obv. Triple Hecate; Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ φύλαξον around the figure; Rev. Ἰάω τλρ Σαβαὼθ Γαβριήλ.

Philipp 1986: 114, No 187; Ἰάω; Obv. A figure of a man; names of power, including Ἰάω, on his body and in the field; Rev. A sequence of words of power, including Ἰάω.

Śliwa 2014: 83, No 52; Ἰάω; Obv. Pantheos; Rev. Animals in five rows; Ἰάω in a narrow edge.

Zazoff *et al.* 1970: 249—250, No 201; Ἰάω; Obv. An invocation with characters and names of power; Rev. Characters and invocation: Ἰάω θεός Σαβαὼ Ἰάω (ὑποσην?) θεό(ς) διαφυλαξον.

Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 154—155, No 2187; Ἰάω; Obv. A "Frygian" rider and Ἀδωναί Ἰάω Σαβαώ; Rev. Nemesis standing on a lion.

Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 165, No 2217; Ἰάω; Pantheos, Ἰάω below the figure; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Γαβριὴλ Κουστιὴλ Ραφαήλ.

Zwierlein-Diehl 2002: 96, No 116; Ἰάω; Obv. Amor pulling a thorn out of a lion's paw; Ἰάω above; Rev. Words of power.

Iaô appears also on many other gems; in association with Athena: Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 163, No 2210; with Bes and an uterus: Philipp 1986: 113, No 186; with Chnubis: Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 169, No 2225; Zwierlein-Diehl 1993: 74,

No 15; with a cock-headed anguipede: Brandt *et al.* 1972: 121, No 2910; Henig *et al.* 1994: 232, No 510; Philipp 1986: 101—105, Nos 158—166; Śliwa 2014: 79, No 50; Weiss 2007: 321, No 672; Zazoff *et al.* 1970: 53, No 186; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 172—173, Nos 2233—2234, 2237—2238; Zwierlein-Diehl 1993: 65, 68, 70—71, Nos 9, 10, 11, 12; with a cock-headed deity: Philipp 1986: 97, No 146; with a crab: Henig *et al.* 1994: 230—231, No 507; with a dog-headed deity: Philipp 1986: 97—98, No 147; with Hecate: Philipp 1986: 51, No 48; Zazoff *et al.* 1975: 310, No 1708; Zazoff *et al.* 1970: 53, No 186; with Harpocrates on a flower: Brandt *et al.* 1972: 120, No 2906; Philipp 1986: 75, No 96; with an ibis and an altar: Henig *et al.* 1994: 228—228, No 503; with Isis: Brandt *et al.* 1972: 119, No 2902; with Pantheos: Philipp 1986: 111, No 180; with Sarapis-Zeus: Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 162, Nos 2206—2207; with Ouroboros: Zazoff *et al.* 1970: 250, No 202; Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 179, No 2257; with a wild boar: Brandt *et al.* 1972: 118, No 2896; in other contexts Zwierlein-Diehl 1993: 25, No 25; on the non-figurative gems: Philipp 1986: 118—119, 121, Nos 192, 194, 198.

In Jewish magical texts written in Hebrew and Aramaic, see Bohak 2003: 81.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Iaô as a Greek equivalent of the shortened form of the name of Jewish God is attested in the 5th c. BC in the Jewish papyri written in Aramaic from Elephantine in Egypt where it was vocalized probably as Iahô. The name entered the texts of ritual power written in Egyptian, at first, probably directly through the Aramaic, since in the Demotic texts of ritual power, in the sequence of names of Jewish God (PDM xiv, col. XIX, l. 39; col. XXI, l. 6), it is rendered as yʿh-ʿo which could not be deduced from the Greek transliteration Ιαω (Bohak 2000: 5). In the same papyrus, however, the form yʿ-ʿo, rendering Greek, which is unable to express the sound "h" in the middle of the word, also appears.

In the non-Christian Greek literary texts, the name Iaô appears only three times, always given as the proper name of the Jewish God: Diod. Sic. 1,94,2 (1st c. B.C.); Herrenius Philo (1st/2nd c. A.D.) referring to Varro, apud: Lydus, *Mens.* 4,53 (1st c. B.C.); Labeo, apud: Macr. *Sat.* 1,18,18—21 (3rd c. B.C.). Among the Christian authors, only Theodoret (*Qu. In 1 Par.*, PG 80,805C) acknowledges Iaô as the Jewish name of God (other authors give different vocalizations). It was known also to Origen (*Jo.* 2,1,7) and appears in some Biblical onomastica (Aune 1996: 11).

The form Iaô does not appear in the main manuscripts of the Septuagint but it was occasionally applied by some scribes (Aune 1966: 3). The Hebrew transliteration of Ιαω (יאו) or rarely even the name given in the

Greek characters is sometimes inserted into the Jewish texts of ritual power. However, when it happens, we do not see any trace of awareness of its original meaning in Greek (Bohak 2000: 7—8; Bohak 2003: 81). It is taken as one of many other words of power. This very fact should warn us against easy counting this word as a Hebrew or Jewish contribution into the late ancient magic.

Very rarely may we notice that the magical papyri link the name Iaô to unambiguos Jewish context. Unique is an invocation in PGM IV, ll. 1217—1222, where some notion of the Jerusalem Temple is clearly visible. In some cases, Iaô is associated with other names of the Jewish God, especially with Sabaôt^{h} or the names of angels. In PGM, there is, though, no trace of monotheistic worldview. Iaô is treated as one among many powerful figures. It is not always certain if a sequence of vowels i, a and ô represents the name or is simply a permutation of vowels. A common sequence ιαωια might be interpreted as a compound of two Jewish divine names, as Ia might also represent a name of Jewish God (Hieronymus, *Ep.* 25, ed. Hilberg, p. 219, l. 11; *in Ps.* CXLVI, CCSL 78, p. 329, ll. 10—16), but without any precise religious context it is safer to understand it as a mere word of power, especially as there appears also the ιαωαι sequence (for an example Philipp 1986: 66, No 78).

A particulary popular figure on magical gems with an image of a cock-headed and snake-legged deity holds a shield in its left hand that very often bears the name Iaô which might be connected with biblical passages describing God as the shield (Gen 15:1). The word itself was undoubtedly used as an apotropaic but was not necessarily the name of the shield's holder. It might be understood even as a mere word of power and not as a proper name. On other "magical gems," we can see that Iaô is represented also in other forms. Even if the gemcutters were aware of the aniconic nature of the Jewish cult (which is far from being obvious), they did not follow its prescriptions, fitting it to the patterns of religiosity based on a visual representations of the divine (Bohak 2000: 8—9).

In the Nag Hammadi texts the name Iaô is scarcely represented, and when it appears, it denotes one of the seven planetary archons or, in one case (*Orig. World*, NHC II 101,15), one of the archon's sons, nevertheless, always a dependent power of a lower rank. It seems that ubiquity of Iaô in the texts of ritual power produced in various languages had no impact on the authors of the Nag Hammadi texts. In all four instances when Iaô is mentioned, he is connected with other figures rooted in the Jewish tradition — also contrary to the majority of the texts of ritual power.

Texts of this kind were then certainly not a vehicle of appropriation of the name by the "Gnostics." Much more probable sources are some Biblical manuscripts and the exegetical Christian debate over the spelling of the ineffable name of the Jewish God that was taking place between the 2nd and the 4th c. — in this context, the passage *Orig. World*, NHC II 101,15, is of a special relevance as it gives a form of etymology.

Ganschinietz 1914; Dornseiff 1925: 35—36; Bonner 1950: 134—135; Barb 1957: 79; Moraux 1960: 23—27; Eissfeldt 1962; Stern 1974: 172; Witte 1993: 118—119; Aune 1996; Bohak 2000: 5—11; Betz 2003: 159; Bohak 2003: 81; Evans 2015: 203—205

ⲓⲁⲱⲑ → ⲁⲑⲱⲑ

ⲓⲁⲍⲱ → ⲓⲁⲱ

170 ⲓⲃⲓⲕⲁⲛ (ibikan)

1. NHC II 16,2 = NHC IV 24,32 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of molars (ⲛⲁⲭⲣⲉ).

171 ⲓⲉⲑⲉⲩ (iet^{h}eu)

1. NHC XI 54,20 (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage mentioned together with the other powers as a separate being or only another name of →Epip^{h}aneu.

172 ⲓⲉⲣⲱⲛⲩⲙⲟⲥ (ierônumos)

1. NHC II 15,33—34 = NHC IV 24,28 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right ear (ⲡⲙⲁⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

173 ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲁ ⲙⲁⲥⲁⲣⲉⲁ ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲇⲉⲕⲉⲁ
(iesea masarea iessedekea) =
ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲁ ⲙⲁⲍⲁⲣⲉⲁ ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲇⲉⲕⲉⲁ
(iessea mazarea iessedekea)[V] =
ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲩ ⲙⲁⲍⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲇⲉⲕⲉⲩ
(iesseu mazareu iessedekeu)[V2] =
ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲟⲥ ⲙⲁⲥⲁⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲇⲉⲕⲉⲟⲥ
(iesseos masareos iessedekeos)[V3] =
ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲩⲥ ⲙⲁⲍⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲇⲉⲕⲉⲩⲥ
(iesseus mazareus iessedekeus)[V4]

1. NHC III 64,10—11[V] = NHC IV 75,25—26 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Listed in a description of the divine revelation among the other powers; the living water (ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ); the great attendant (NHC III: ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲥⲧⲁⲧⲏⲥ <παραστάτης>). The plural form in NHC IV "the great attendants" (ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ) is probably a corruption because of the lack of other occurrences of his name in plural.

2. NHC III 66,10[V2] = NHC IV 78,12—13[V3] (*Gos. Eg.*)
In a hymnic passage; the living water (ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ), the child of the child (ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ), "the existing one who sees the aeons" (NHC III only: ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ <αἰών>); "the eternally eternal" (NHC III: ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁ ⲁⲛϩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲉⲛⲉϩ) (transl. NHS 4: 156); his true name is given as "the existing aeon" (NHC III only: αἰὼν ὁ ὤν), and the seven vowels and their permutations. The permutation of the name →Ιαῶ as ⲁⲓⲱ (NHC III only) is also given.

3. NHC V 85,30—31[V4] (*Apoc. Adam*)
The living water (ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ̄); the name concluding the whole text, perhaps understood as nomen barbarum rather than proper name. There is, however, superlinear stroke typical to the divine names.

4. NHC VIII 47,5—6[V4] (*Zost.*)
Context partially destroyed; in the list of the glories enabling salvation; the immortal spirit (ⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄ <πνεῦμα> ⲛⲛ ⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ). Possibly called

a commander (ⲡⲓ]ⲥⲁϯⲣⲟⲩ[ⲥ <στρατηγός>; such a restoration in BCNH T 24) and somehow associated with the child (ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲟⲩ).

Barry *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 24: 561

5. NHC VIII 57,5—6$^{v4?}$ (*Zost.*)

Context almost completely destroyed; the name in a major part restored on the basis of NHC VIII 47,5—6 as ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲩⲥ] ⲙⲁⲍⲁ[ⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲇⲉ]ⲕⲉⲩⲥ.

Texts of ritual power

P.Macq. I 1, p. 6, ll. 15—16 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 54; additional, much more persuasive argument Gardner 2016: 758—761); According to M. Choat and I. Gardner (Choat & Gardner 2013: 90—91), the dismembered form of this name could be traced behind the list of syllables prescribed to be repeated: ⲥⲓⲇ ⲏ ⲯⲁⲯ ⲏ ⲉⲓⲉⲥⲁⲥ ⲏ ⲓⲥⲁⲏⲗ ⲏ.

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Turner (in: BCNH T 24: 561) "a barbarization of Jesus of Nazareth."

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 561

174 ⲓⲉⲥⲥⲉⲟⲥ (iesseos)

1. NHC IV 78,10 (*Gos. Eg.*)

An opening word in the hymnic section; the parallel passage in NHC III gives only a sequence of *voces magicae* with superlinear stroke, among them ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ ⲓ̅ⲉ̅ⲥ̅. Probably the *voces* in the opening section have been adapted by the scribe of NHC IV to the familiar name found in NHC III 78,12, in the compound name, iesseos mazareos iessedekeos (→iesea masarea iessedekea).

175 ⲓⲙⲁⲏ (imaê)

1. NHC II 17,16 = NHC IV 26,29 (*Ap. John*)

The one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the left breast (ⲧⲟⲓⲃⲉ ⲛⲟⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

176 ⲓⲟⲗⲁⲟⲥ (iolaos)

1. NHC VIII 1,4 (*Zost.*)
Context almost completely lost; somehow connected with the revelation given to →Zôstrianos.

2. NHC VIII 4,10 (*Zost.*)
In the revelation given by the angel of knowledge (ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ <γνῶσις>) to →Zôstrianos; an alleged father of →Zôstrianos. Such supposition is given by the angel as one of false opinions →Zôstrianos may have about himself. It is not clear if Iolaos may be regarded as a natural father or as a spiritual power.

177 ⲓⲟⲣⲙⲁⲱⲑ (iormaôt^{h}) = ⲟⲣⲙⲁⲱⲑ (ormaôt^{h})^{v}

1. NHC II 16,34^{v} = NHC IV 26,9 (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right leg (ⲡⲡⲉⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

Etymology, commentary and literature
The first part of the name certainly refers to the Egyptian god Horus, present also on the decan lists as the 3rd decan of Pisces constellation (Greek ωρος). Quack does not consider the ending to be Semitic but renders the whole name as a phrase *ḥr.w-m³ ʿ.t i* "Horus der gerechtfertigte," rooting the figure deep into the Egyptian religious tradition, present, however, also in the magical material (in the forms such as αριμωθ, ιαρμιωθ, αριμιουθ, αρμιωουθ or αρμιοουθ).
Quack 1995: 117

178 ⲓⲟⲩⲃⲏⲗ (ioubêl)

1. NHC IV 70,4 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The name in NHC III reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC IV; the ninth angel (ἄγγελος) rulling over his world (ⲡⲉⲕⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ <κόσμος>).

179 ⲓⲟⲩⲏⲗ (iouêl)

1. NHC III 50,2 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The name in NHC IV reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC III; a male virgin (ⲧⲁⲣⲥⲉⲛⲓⲕⲏ <ἀρσενική> ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθένος>; ϯϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθένος>); the cosmic man praises him and the other powers.

2. NHC III 53,25 = NHC IV 65,19 (*Gos. Eg.*)
A male virgin (ⲧⲁⲣⲥⲉⲛⲓⲕⲏ <ἀρσενική> ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθένος>; ϯϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθένος>); the self-generated (Autogenes) praises him and the other powers.

3. NHC III 55,22 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The name in NHC IV reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC III; a male virgin (ⲧⲁⲣⲥⲉⲛⲓⲕⲏ <ἀρσενική> ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθένος>; ϯϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθένος>); the great Seth praises him and the other powers.

4. NHC III 62,6 = NHC IV 73,16 (*Gos. Eg.*)
A male virgin (ⲧⲁⲣⲥⲉⲛⲓⲕⲏ <ἀρσενική> ⲛ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθένος>; ϯϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθένος>); the great Seth praises her and the other powers.

5. NHC IV 59,23 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Context partially destroyed; a male virgin (ϯϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθένος>) who is with Seth; the Providence (πρόνοια) praises her and other divine beings.

6. NHC VIII 53,14 (*Zost.*)
Context considerably destroyed; in the part formulated in the 1st sing.; the one belonging to glories (ⲛⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ).

7. NHC VIII 54,17 (*Zost.*)
Context partially destroyed; probably in the hymnic passage formulated in the 1st sing.; somehow connected with glories (ⲛⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ), probably as belonging to them.

8. NHC VIII 63,10 (*Zost.*)

In a function of a revealer, although the content of the revelation is not preserved; a feminine article applied to the name; She belongs to glories (ⲛⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ). She put the initiated subject down and stood before the first appeared (πρωτοφανής).

9. NHC VIII 125,14 (*Zost.*)

A feminine article applied to the name; a male virgin glory (ⲡⲓⲉⲉⲟⲩ ⲛϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθένος>); located in the hidden one (καλυπτός); she belongs to all the glories (ⲛⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ); through her, all the perfect (παντέλειον) ones standing before her are visible.

10. NHC XI 50,20 (*Allogenes*)

A feminine article applied to the name; she gives to Allogenes a revelation about the structure of the creation.

Turner & Wintermute 1990, in: NHS 28: 253; Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 13; Scopello 2007: 883, 885

11. NHC XI 52,14 (*Allogenes*)

The feminine article applied to the name; the all-glorious one (ⲧⲁⲛⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ); she anoints, gives power and teaches Allogenes about the Triple Powered One.

Turner & Wintermute 1990, in: NHS 28: 255; Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 17—18; Scopello 2007: 884—885

12. NHC XI 55,34 (*Allogenes*)

The feminine article applied to the name; the all-glorious one (ⲧⲁⲛⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ); she teaches Allogenes about the triple male.

Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 20—21; Scopello 2007: 884—885

13. NHC XI 57,25 (*Allogenes*)

The feminine article applied to the name; the all-glorious one (ⲧⲁⲛⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ); she left Allogenes after giving him the last instruction.

Turner & Wintermute 1990, in: NHS 28: 258; Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 21; Scopello 2007: 884—885

Other texts

CB p. 232, l. 13 (Untitled Text); ⲓⲟⲩⲏⲗ; the ninth name of the ennead manifested in the Mother of All (πανμητήρ).

CB p. 253, l. 20 (Untitled Text); ⲓⲟⲩⲏⲗ; the ninth name of the power (ϭⲟⲙ) given to the forefather; it means "God for ever" (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ).

In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, there is an angel Iaoel sent by God to comfort and lead the patriarch. The text is preserved only in old Slavic, but originally it was written in the Semitic language. In the *Third Henoch*, the angel Metatron mentions Iahoel as the first of his names (3Hen 48d,1).

Texts of ritual power

PGM V, ll. 55—56 (PGM 1: 182; GMPT: 102); Ἰουήλ; in the sequence of words of power used in a spell of direct vision (αὔτοπτος λογός).

PGM XXVI, l. 173 (PGM 2: 168; GMPT: 273); Ἰουήλ; in the sequence of angelic names prescribed to be written on papyrus in the charm for success.

Reitzenstein 1904: 296 (amulet Parisinus 2316); Ἰουήλ; in the sequence of angelic names.

Etymology, commentary and literature

From the Hebrew יואל "the God is eternal" (Schwab, Michl; although they give an etymology of Ioel). Scopello equates Iouêl with Ia(h)oel known from the Old Testament pseudepigrapha. According to Scopello (2007: 890), the Hebrew name written without vocalization has been transcribed in Greek and then Coptic in a slightly different form. The lecture of the Hebrew texts by the author of Greek original of *Allogenes* seems, however, very improbable. The name Iouêl is not confirmed by any Jewish text preserved in Greek, though it remains possible that there were such texts which are now lost. For Scopello, Iouêl shares with Iaoel and Metatron two distinct functions: she leads the inititated through heavens and reveals him divine secrets. These two characterictics are, however, common for many intermediary figures in the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic, thus the connection between Iouêl and Iaoel cannot be taken as proven. Especialy the female nature of Iouêl does not correspond with the intermediaries of the Jewish apocalyptic. The presidency over the divine name in NHC III 65,23—26 (connection with the name of God is crucial for Iaoel and Metatron, who are presented as angels of the name) pointed by Scopello (2007: 890), refers not to Iouêl but to →Iôêl (and it is the only attestation of this name in *Gos. Eg.*).

The female figure of Iouêl appears only in the Sethian texts. In all of them, she is a figure of the revealer, teaching about the structure of the aeonic world and guiding the spiritual through it. Scopello, in her earlier paper (Scopello 1981), equates Iouêl with →Barbêlô taking into account

their common female and virgin nature, alleged associations with the tetragrammaton and some minor textual similarities in the functions of both characters. Intermediary function of Iouêl stays, however, in sharp contrast to the transcendent nature of Barbêlô. Then, Scopello finds Iouêl identical with an angel Metatron known from rabbinic speculation. Conversely, Michl (1962: 218) equates Iouêl with →Iôêl on the ground of the common etymology. In the narrative, those two figures are, however, not identical. As in *Allogenes* Iouēl is consequently characterized as the all glorious-one, she might be associated with the angels of glory or glories, a category of prominent angels in the Jewish apocalyptic, New Testament, *Codex Brucianus*, and texts of ritual power (evidence: Scopello 2007: 885—886), mentioned once also in *Allogenes* itself. (NHC XI 49,24).

Schwab 1897: 256; Peterson 1926: 403; Michl 1962: 218; Scopello 1981; Tardieu 1984: 280; Jackson 1989: 77; Layton & Sieber 1991, in: NHS 31: 8; Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 8; Scopello 2007; Scopello 2008: 123—125.

180 ⲓⲡⲟⲩⲥⲡⲟⲃⲱⲃⲁ (ipouspobôba)

1. NHC II 16,25 = NHC IV 25,29 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the veins (φλέψ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

In the first part of the name, Quack sees the 3rd decan of Virgo constellation (Greek αφοσο or αφουϑ). However, the equation of the decan name with Ipouspobôba is not convincing.

Gundel 1936: 77—78; Quack 1995: 117

181 ⲓⲥⲁⲟⲩⲏⲗ (isaouêl)

1. NHC III 64,14 = NHC IV 76,1 (*Gos. Eg.*)

Manifested together with other bringers of the salvation; the great commander (ⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲉⲅⲟⲥ <στρατηγός>).

ⲓⲱⲃⲏⲗ → ⲓⲁⲃⲏⲗ

182 ⲓⲱⲏⲗ (iôêl)

1. NHC III 65,23 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The fifth great light (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) over the name of the Baptist.

2. NHC VIII 57,15 (*Zost.*)

Characterized as a female, but also as a male and virginal (παρθενικόν).

3. NHC VIII 62,12 (*Zost.*)

She belongs to all the glories (ⲛ[ⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ] ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ); she serves as an *angelus interpres* to the initiated one.

Texts of ritual power

PGM IV, l. 3010 (PGM 1: 170; GMPT: 96); Ἰωήλ; in the sequence of words of power prescribed to be said over the magic potion used in the charm for the possessed by demons (δαιμονιαζόμενος).

PGM V, l. 132 (PGM 1: 186; GMPT: 103); Ἰωήλ; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the "headless one" (ἀκέφαλος), used for driving out the demon (δαίμων).

PGM XXXVI, l. 173 (PGM 2: 168; GMPT: 273); Ἰωήλ; in the sequence of angelic names prescribed to be written on a papyrus in the spell for success.

Meyer & Smith 54, l. 8 (Quecke 1963: 249; Meyer & Smith 1999: 101); ⲩⲱⲏⲗ; in a long sequence of angelic names of power.

Meyer & Smith 70, l. 45 (Crum 1905: 419; Kropp I: 23; Kropp II: 150; Choat & Gardner 2013: 108; Meyer & Smith 1999: 131); ⲓⲱⲏⲗ; in the sequence of names of power associated with "the invisible one within seven veils" (ⲡⲁϩⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲛ <ἀόρατος> ⲡⲧⲛ̄ϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲱϥ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲙⲁ <καταπέτασμα>) (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999), perhaps Jesus himself (his name opens the sequence).

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 19, l. 9 (Kropp I: 77; Kropp II: 190; Meyer & Smith 1999: 145); ⲓⲱⲏⲗ; in a long sequence of angelic names of power.

Meyer & Smith 131, l. 15v (Kropp I: 41; Kropp II: 89; Meyer & Smith 1999: 286); ⲓⲱⲏⲗ; as "Yotael Yoel who is seated over the cherubim of light" (ⲛⲉϫⲉⲣⲟⲃⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 133, p. 2, l. 8 (Worrell 1930: 243; Mirecki 1994: 441; Meyer & Smith 1999: 304); ⲓⲱⲏⲗ; in a long sequence of angelic authorities (ἐξουσία).

Other texts

Theodoretus, *Haer.* 1,26 (PG 83, col. 380); Ιωήλ; According to Theodoretus, in the doctrine of Mani, Iôél is the male virgin (ἀρρενικὴν παρθένον), called "daughter of light" (φωτὸς θυγατέρα) who gave life and light to the first woman Eve.

Priscillian, *Lib.ap.* 35 (CSCL 18, p. 29, l. 14); Ioel; given among others as an example of a power who is not God. It is not specified who acknowledges the divine nature of Ioel.

Etymology, commentary and literature

From the Hebrew יואל "the God is eternal." By MICHL (also SCOPELLO 1981: 376) equated with →Iouêl on the basis of common etymology. In the narrative those two figures are, however, not identical, although in some contexts they share a similar intermediary function.

SCHWAB 1897: 256; PETERSON 1926: 404—405; MICHL 1962: 218; SCOPELLO 1981; JACKSON 1989: 75

183 ⲓⲱⲕⲱ (iôkô)

1. NHC II 18,16 = NHC IV 28,11 (*Ap. John*)

The chief demon (ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ <ἀρχηγός> ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ <δαίμων>); he belongs to desire (ἐπιθυμία).

184 ⲕⲁⲏ (kaê)

1. BG 40,12 (*Ap. John*)

Together with →Kainan, the seventh (of total twelve) authority (ἐξουσία) begotten by the archon (ἄρχων). His other name is →Kain. He is the sun (ⲡⲣⲏ). In a parallel passage in NHC III, there is single authority →Kainan kasin. On the parallel list in the NHC II 10, 34—36, the seventh authority is →Abel, and Kain identified with the sun is the sixth one. In NHC II, the name Kaê does not appear.

BARC & FUNK 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 252—253

Texts of ritual power

P.Macq. I 1, p. 5, l. 8 (CHOAT & GARDNER 2013: 52); ⲕⲁⲉⲕ; prescribed to be invoked five times as a part of a great and hidden name (ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲏⲡ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Derived from the name Kain (Michl 1962) or Kasin (Tardieu 1984).

Michl 1962: 219; Tardieu 1984: 281—282; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 252—253

185 ⲕⲁⲓⲛ (kain) = ⲕⲁⲉⲓⲛ (kaein)^{v}

1. NHC II 10,34 (*Ap. John*)

The sixth authority (ἐξουσία) begotten by the ruler (ἄρχων). The men call him the sun (ⲡⲣⲏ). In the parallel passage in NHC III, there is →Kainan kasin, in BG →Kainan and →Kaê called Kain as well.

2. NHC II 24,25 = NHC III 31,20—21^{v} = BG 63,1 (*Ap. John*)

The name in NHC IV fully reconstructed on the basis of NHC II; the name of one of two sons of the chief ruler (πρωτάρχων) used among the generations of men (NHC III and BG only: γενεά). It is, however, not certain which of them, →Iaue or →Elôim, bears it. In NHC II, we have a sequence →Iaue and →Elôim and, then Kain and →Abel; in NHC III →Elôim and →Iaue and then →Abel and Kain; in BG →Elôim and →Iaue and then Kain and →Abel.

3. NHC IV 26,19 (*Ap. John*)

One of the seven appointed over the creator angels of the body limbs; Only the two first letters of his name are preserved. The reconstruction is dependent on the following name: ⲁⲃ]ⲏⲗ, which is, however, also only partially preserved.

4. BG 40,13 (*Ap. John*)

Another name of →Kainan and →Kaê, the seventh authority (ἐξουσία) begotten by the archon (ἄρχων).

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Michl (1962), the name refers directly to the biblical Kain (Gen 4:1). Tardieu (1984) proposes that the figure represents Pisces constellation and the name was only secondary associated with the biblical Kain but originally referred to a female Mandean deity. However, such an etymology seems to be oversophisticated. Noteworthy, Kain belongs not

only to the group of the twelve but also to the group of the seven, which does not match the zodiac hypothesis.

Michl 1962: 219; Tardieu 1984: 281

186 ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲁⲛ (kainan)

1. BG 40,11 (*Ap. John*)

Together with →Kaê, he constitutes the seventh authority (ἐξουσία); an angel (ἄγγελος) begotten by the ruler (ἄρχων). His other name is →Kain. He is the sun (ⲡⲣⲏ). In a parallel passage in NHC III, there is a single authority →Kainan kasin.

Other texts

Testatmentum Isaac, Sahidic version, M 577, 16r; ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲁⲛ; one in the line of the descendants of Sem and the ancestors of Isaac.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Michl links this form with a biblical personal name Καιναν (Gen 5:9, ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲁⲛ also in the Coptic Bible, the name in *Testamentum Isaac* is provided by the Biblical text), but there is no support in the text of *Ap. John* for such an equation. It seems much more reasonable to see here a corrupted form of the name Kain. Barc (in: BCNH T 35: 252—253) does not comment on this particular form, focusing on its identification with the biblical →Kain.

Michl 1962: 219; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 252—253

187 ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲁⲛ ⲕⲁⲥⲓⲛ (kainan kasin)

1. NHC III 16,25 (*Ap. John*)

The seventh authority (ἐξουσία) begotten by the ruler (ἄρχων), called the sun (ⲡⲣⲏ); in a parallel passage in BG, there appears double name of this authority: →Kainan and →Kaê.

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Tardieu (1984: 281) the name derived form Semitic qaṣṣ with the meaning "the one who cuts," but this proposition seems overrefined. The list in NHC III is the only one in which Kain is absent, either as independent authority or as supplementary name of other power. Barc does not comment on this fact.

Tardieu 1984: 281—282; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 252—253

ⲕⲁⲗⲓⲗⲁ ⲟⲩⲙⲃⲣⲓ → ⲅⲁⲗⲓⲗⲁ

188 ⲕⲁⲙ[..]ⲏⲗ (kam[..]êl)

1. NHC VIII 47,11 (*Zost.*)

A spirit-giver (ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲧ ⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ <πνεῦμα>).

ⲕⲁⲙⲁⲗⲓⲏⲗ → ⲅⲁⲙⲁⲗⲓⲏⲗ

189 ⲕⲁⲛⲇⲏⲫⲟⲣⲉ (kandep^{h}ore)

1. NHC VII 126,10 (*Steles Seth*)

In a hymnic passage sung by the 1st pl. subject; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲡⲁⲧⲙⲓⲥⲉ).

190 ⲕⲉⲓⲗⲁⲣ (keilar)

1. NHC VIII 47,23 (*Zost.*)

In a long list of various powers; one of the judges (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲧ ϩⲁⲡ).

191 ⲕⲛⲩⲍ (knuk^{s})

1. NHC II 16,35 = NHC IV 26,11 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right shin-bone (ⲧⲥⲏⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

192 ⲕⲟⲁⲇⲏ (koadê)

1. NHC II 17,17 (*Ap. John*)

The name in NHC IV, fully reconstructed on the basis of NHC II; the one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the right shoulder joint (ⲡⲭⲱ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

193 ⲕⲣⲓⲙⲁ (krima) = ⲕⲣⲓⲙⲁⲛ (kriman)^{v}

1. NHC II 16,11 = NHC IV 25,12^{v} (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of nails of the hands (ⲛ̄ⲉⲓⲉⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲭ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Quack refers him to the 1st decan of Leo or the 2nd decan of Scorpio constellations. If so, the figure would be rooted in the Egyptian astronomical speculation; however, the similarity of the names is not striking.

Gundel 1936: 77—80; Quack 1995: 115

194 ⲕⲣⲩⲥ (krus)

1. NHC II 16,8 = NHC IV 25,9 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right hand (ⲧⲥⲓⲭ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Quack refers this figure to Ῥυάξ, the 1st decan of Aries constellation in *Test.Sol.* 18,4. If so, he is rooted in the Egyptian astronomical speculation; however, it remains only tentative.

Gundel 1936: 79; Quack 1995: 115

195 ⲗⲁⲃⲏⲣⲛⲓⲟⲩⲙ (labêrnioum)

1. NHC II 17,6 = NHC IV 26,16 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the last angel on the list of the creators of the body limbs. The text after his name is, however, lost, thus there is no way to reconstruct which limb he is responsible for.

196 ⲗⲁⲗⲁⲙⲉⲩ (lalameu) = ⲗⲁⲗⲁⲙⲉⲩⲥ (lalameus)[v]

1. NHC VIII 47,20[v] (*Zost.*)

The assistant (βοηθός) of the guardians of the glory (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ).

2. NHC VIII 88,13 (*Zost.*)

Context partially destroyed; in a doxology directed to many powers.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 624

3. NHC XI 54,20 (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage, mentioned with other powers as a separate being or only a name of →Epiphaneu; according to Turner, the name refers to the third aeon of →Barbelo, i.e. to the self-generated one (Autogenes).

Turner & Wintermute 1990, in: NHS 28: 257

4. NHC XI 54,28 (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲁⲧⲭⲡⲟ). According to Turner, praise might be given by →Iouêl, and the name Lalameu refers to the entire Triple Powered One.

Turner & Wintermute 1990, in: NHS 28: 257

Commentary and literature

Among the names included into doxologies in NHC VIII 88b—23a and NHC XI, Lalameu is the only one that also appears in another context.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 624

197 ⲗⲁⲙⲡⲛⲱ (lampnô)

1. NHC II 17,14 = NHC IV 26,26 (*Ap. John*)
One particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the fingers of the right hand (ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲓⲍ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

198 ⲗⲏⲉⲕⲁⲫⲁⲣ (lêekap^{h}ar)

1. NHC II 17,15 = NHC IV 26,27 (*Ap. John*)
One particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the fingers of the left hand (ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲓⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

199 ⲗⲓⲑⲁⲣⲅⲟⲏⲗ (lit^{h}argoêl)

1. NHC VI 5,16 (*Acts Pet. 12 Apost.*)
In a dialogue with Peter; a pearl-merchant (ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲉⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ <μαργαρίτης>); the man vested in a piece of clothing around his waist, a gold belt around it, and a scarf (σουδάριον) over his chest, covering his head and hands. He had a bookcase in one hand and a styrax staff in the other. He reveals and interprets his name as "the light gazelle-like stone" (ⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁϩⲥⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩ) and, then, shows the road to the city to the apostles.
Parrot 1979, in: NHS 11: 214

2. NHC VI 7,23 (*Acts Pet. 12 Apost.*)
The apostles enter the city (πόλις) which is appointed to them by Lit^{h}argoêl.

3. NHC VI 8,14 (*Acts Pet. 12 Apost.*)
Lit^{h}argoêl met the apostles in the shape of a physician (ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲉⲓⲛ), with an unguent box (νάρθηξ) under his arm and a young disciple carrying medicines with him.

4. NHC VI 8,24—25 (*Acts Pet. 12 Apost.*)
Perter asks unrecognized Lit^{h}argoêl about his house.

5. NHC VI 9,8 (*Acts Pet. 12 Apost.*)

In a dialogue with Peter, Lit^{h}argoêl reveals himself as Jesus Christ.

Other texts

Investiture of Archangel Gabriel (CSCO 225, p. 71, l. 3); ⲗⲓⲑⲁⲣⲕⲟⲩⲏⲗ; the fifth of the five angels (ἄγγελος) who upon the order of the Saviour reveal their names before the disciples; he has a medicine chest (νάρθηξ) in his hands to heal every soul.

Kubińska 1979 (inscription); Λιταξκουῆλ or Λιταρκουῆλ (emendation Schenke 1992: 419); protective inscription addresses Jesus Christ and then immediately Litak^{s}kouêl. It is not certain whether Litak^{s}kouêl is identified with Jesus or we have here an asyndeton. The image associated with the inscription clearly depicts an angel.

Ghica 2017, in: BCNH T 37: 76—77; ⲗⲓⲑⲁⲣⲕⲟⲩⲏⲗ; Ghica discusses four unpublished literary attestations of ⲗⲓⲑⲁⲣⲕⲟⲩⲏⲗ from Qasr Ibrim; the first on a protective amulet, three others are references to the churches dedicated to this figure.

Etymology, commentary and literature

The simpliest way to understand the name is to treat it as a compound of the Greek words λίθος (stone) and ἀργός (glistening) and the Hebrew אל. The name may be, then, understood simply as "a glistening stone" (Ghica 2017: 63: "pierre brillante"), which refers to the pearl and indicates the role of the Lit^{h}argoêl as a pearl dealer, and, next, it hints at Jesus Christ — himself the pearl (as in Just., *Dial.* 34). The meaning of the name is given in the text itself "the light stone of gazella." Noteworthy, the equivalent of the element אל is not represented in this etymology. According to Parrot (1979: 215), it might be a deliberate choice of the author not to unveil the divine nature of Lit^{h}argoêl in this part of narration. The source of this etymology was a subject of a few inconclusive interpretations. Among the most prominent (the complete survey in Ghica 2017: 63—71), Guillamont understood the name as an acronym of the Greek λίθος ὄρυγος ἐλαφρός. The most reliable reconstruction of Ghica is based on the concept of distortion of the original λίθος ἐλαφρὸς δεδορκώς ("the light glistening stone") to λίθος ἐλαφρὸς δορκάδος (the light stone of gazelle).

The name Lit^{h}argoêl is the most probably an invention of the author of *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.*, because its meaning suits perfectly the narration of the text (Parrot 1979: 214). In the original context, it represents Jesus himself. Ghica (2006: 104) adds that, more precisely, the name was coined by the

author of the parable of a pearl-dealer, a major source of the text. The episode with Lit^{h}argoêl portrayed as physician gave birth to the association with healing power, which is visible in later Coptic tradition, witnessed by *Investiture of Archangel Gabriel* and one Nubian inscription. Investiture originated at least in the 9th c. (colophon of the manuscript bears the date 892—893). The inscription published by Kubińska comes from the fresco on the wall of the Faras cathedral and is dated to the 11th c. In *Investiture*, Lit^{h}argoêl is merely an angel, in Faras, however, the identification with Christ is still prevalent.

Kubińska 1979; 451—455; Parrot 1979, in: NHS 11: 201—201, 214—215; Schenke 1992; Guillaumont 1979: 146; Ghica 2017, in: BCNH T 37: 62—78; Stifel 2019: 130—132

200 ⲗⲱⲏⲗ (lôêl)

1. NHC VIII 47,4 (*Zost.*)

In the list of glories enabling salvation; one of the (five in total) guardians of the immortal soul (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲯⲩⲭⲏ <ψυχή> ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ).

Other texts

Test.Sol. 18,18; Λερωήλ; the fourteen of thirty-six spirits (πνεῦμα) and elements (στοιχεῖον), causes shivers and stomach ache; the formula with the name Iaz removes him.

Texts of ritual power

There are some names of power with the ending ⲗⲱⲏⲗ, but the exact form of this name is absent.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Perhaps a contraction of the name Ἐλωήλ (PGM XXII, l. 18) but more probably an original invention of a Sethian imagination. Attested only once in the whole Nag Hammadi corpus. As a beneficial figure seems to have nothing in common with the malevolent spirit of *Test.Sol.*

201 ⲙⲁⲗⲥⲉⲇⲱⲛ (malsedôn)

1. NHC VIII 119,9 (*Zost.*)

Only the last two letters are preserved in NHC VIII but the name is confirmed by *P.Bodmer* LXIII (Kasser & Luisier 2007: 258).

The third luminary (φωστήρ); he has a consort (ⲉⲧⲛⲙⲙⲁⲩ), but the name is completely lost in NHC VIII. Kasser & Luisier 2007: 258 read in *P.Bodmer* LXIII ⲧ̣ⲣ̣ⲡ̣ⲉ̣ⲛ̣ⲓ̣ⲁ̣ with all the letters uncertain.

2. NHC VIII 120,17 (*Zost.*)

The one in the all-perfect (παντέλειος); perhaps a luminary (φωστήρ).

202 ⲙⲁⲛⲁⲏⲗ (manaêl)

1. CT 23,25 (*1 Apoc. Jas.*)

The keeper of the revelation given to Jacob. The revelation was given to him by Levi who wrote it down. Then Manaêl passes the revelation down to his child, also called Levi. The name is considered holy (ⲡⲁⲓ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲉⲉⲃ <ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ> ⲡⲉ).

Brashear & Bethge 2007: 230

Texts of ritual power

Meyer & Smith 117, l. 20 (Satzinger & Sijpesteijn 1988: 53; Meyer & Smith 1999: 234); ⲙⲁⲛⲁⲏⲗ; on a long list of angelic names of power derived from →Mik^{h}aêl.

Müller 1959: 302, No 210; ⲙⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁⲏⲗ; in the long lacunous list of names and words of power; the list begins with the name of →Mik^{h}aêl.

Commentary and literature

The identiy of Manaêl is not certain but if he is an angel, as Meyer & Smith 117 indicate, the epithet "holy" applied to him would be more understandable. In the light of two texts of ritual power given above, it is even probable that Manaêl is identical with →Mik^{h}aêl.

Brashear & Bethge 2007: 230

203 ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲛⲟⲩⲛϑ (marep^{h}nount^{h})

1. NHC II 17,28 = 2. NHC IV 27,12 (*Ap. John*)

The one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the left foot (ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϭⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Quack, the name includes the Egyptian *p³ nčr* (Coptic ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ), but as a whole, the name is hardly understandable.

Quack 1995: 119

204 ⲙⲁⲣⲍⲏⲇⲱⲛ (mark^{s}edôn)

1. NHC VIII 122,11 (*Zost.*)

In the plural form; the glory revealers (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲛⲍ ⲉⲟⲟⲩ); the twice-revealed (ⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲟⲛⲍ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲩⲕⲏⲃ).

2. NHC VIII 122,16—17 (*Zost.*)

In the plural form; on a long list of various powers; the glory (ⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ); the apellation "the blessers (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲥⲙⲟⲩ)" likely refers to them. The name is reconstructed by editors ⲙ[ⲁⲣⲥⲏ]ⲇⲱⲛ not [ⲁⲣⲍⲏ]ⲇⲱⲛ. Since it is a second mention of this name on the same list, and because of the lack of any parallel material, such a reconstruction may be called into question.

205 ⲙⲁⲣⲥⲁⲛⲏⲥ (marsanês)

1. NHC X *68,18 (*Marsanes*)

In the colophon as a title of the work.

Other texts

CB p. 235, l. 15 (Untitled Text); ⲙⲁⲣⲥⲁⲛⲏⲥ; One of two — together with Nicotheus — great ones (ⲉⲛⲛⲟϭⲁ), who surpassed the powers (δύναμις). He saw and heard the mysteries of aeons.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 40,7,6; Μαρσιανός; Epiphanius states that archontics believe that "there are other prophets too, Martiades and a Marsianus, who were

snatched up into the heavens and came down three days later" (transl. F. Williams, in: NHMS 63: 290).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Perhaps from Aramaic/Syriac *mar* "master" (Pearson 1981, in: NHS 11: 233); Elsas (1975: 36—37) suggested a rather fanciful derivation from Aramaic phrase *maredha* (*a*)*na* ("I am rebellious"). Scholars generally agree to locate the name is the Aramaic environment.

Although the identity of Marsanês in our texts is far from being obvious, he is commonly characterized as a prophet or a seer, who through personal revelation got knowledge of the intelligible world. According to such an interpretation, his name is given as a title of a treaty in NHC X and should be interpreted as the name of the real or purported author of the text.

Pearson 1981, in: NHS 15: 230—233; Funk, Poirier & Turner 2000, in: BCNH T 27: 2—4

206 ⲙⲁⲥⲫⲏⲗ (masp^{h}êl)

1. CT 24,1 (*1 Apoc. Jas.*)

The name →Manaêl has the same meaning as Masp^{h}êl (ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉⲕⲧⲟⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲙⲁ̅ⲥ̅ⲫ̅ⲏ̅ⲗ̅).

Commentary and literature

The name is unparalleled in the Greek and Coptic literature. If we accept that →Manaêl is an angel, Masp^{h}êl could also be understood as an angelic name of the very same or a different figure.

Brashear & Bethge 2007: 230

207 ⲙⲉⲓⲣⲟⲭⲉⲓⲣⲟⲑⲉⲧⲟⲩ (meirok^{h}eirot^{h}etou) = ⲙⲓⲣⲟⲭⲉⲓⲣⲟⲑⲉⲧⲟⲩ (mirôk^{h}eirot^{h}etou)^{v}

1. NHC IX 6,8—9^{v} (*Melch.*)

In a hymn addressed to twelve aeonic figures; the good god of the beneficient worlds (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ <κόσμος>); associated but not identical with Jesus Christ. Perhaps, God the father himself, which might be deduced from the phrase directly following the name "through Jesus Christ, the son of God whom I preach" (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲓⲥ ⲡⲉϫⲥ ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲣⲁϣϫⲉ ⲡⲉⲓϣ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ).

S. Giversen, B.A. Pearson 1981, in: NHS 15: 52—53; Funk, Mahé & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 135

2. NHC IX 18,2 (*Melch.*)

The context seriously damaged; in the hymnic, liturgical passage; the name is partially a reconstruction of ⲙⲉⲓⲣⲟⲭⲉⲓ[ⲣⲟⲑⲉⲧⲟⲩ made on the basis of NHC IX 6,8—9. It is not certain if Meirok^{h}eirot^{h}etou should be identified with Jesus Christ, the commander of the all (ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲏⲅⲟⲥ <ἀρχιστρατηγός> ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ̄) mentioned in the next unit of the hymn.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Pearson (1981: 37—38), believes the name to be in genitive and explains its etymology as "the one, who allots, or directs, destiny" on the basis of the supposed sequence of the Greek words: μοῖρα ("destiny"), χεῖρ ("'hand") and τίθημι ("put, place"). Mahé (in: BCNH T 28: 36—37) coins the noun μυροχειροθετός in which the first part represents the word μύρον "parfum," "ointment," thus the whole names should be understood as "sois consacré d'une onction de saint chrême." Turner (2001: 11) proposes the meaning "anointed one" from postulated verb <* μυροχειροθετέω.

Pearson (1981, in: NHS 15: 52—53) identifies him with Mirot^{h}eos (→Meirot^{h}ea). According to Mahé (2001, in: BCNH T 28: 37) and Gianotto (2001, in: BCNH T 28: 135, n. 40), Meirok^{h}eirot^{h}etou is a mystic name of Seth, who in the whole text is mentioned by name only once (NHC IX 5,19).

Pearson 1981, in NHS 15: 37—38.52—53; BCNH T 28: 35—37.135; Turner 2001: 101; Van den Kerchove 2013: 280—281

208 ⲙⲉⲓⲣⲟⲑⲉⲁ (meirot^{h}ea) = ⲙⲓⲣⲟⲑⲉⲁ (mirot^{h}ea)^{v} = ⲙⲓⲣⲟⲑⲉⲟⲥ (mirot^{h}eos)^{v2} = ⲙⲓⲣⲟⲑⲟⲏ (mirot^{h}oê)^{v3} = ⲙⲓⲣⲱⲑⲉⲟⲥ (mirôt^{h}eos)^{v3} = ⲙⲓⲣⲱⲑⲉⲁⲥ (mirôt^{h}eas)^{v4}

1. NHC III 49,4^{v3} (*Gos. Eg.*)
The name is lacking in the parallel passage in NHC IV; the mother of the holy, incorruptible ones (ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲫⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲥ <ἄφθαρτος> ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ), the great power (ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ <δύναμις>).

2. NHC VII 119,12^{v4} (*Steles Seth*)
The name of the father of →Emmak^{h}a Seth.

3. NHC VII 119, 12—13^{v3} (*Steles Seth*)
The name of the father of →Emmak^{h}a Seth, adressed by him as "my Miro-t^{h}eos" (ⲡⲁⲙⲓⲣⲱⲑⲉⲟⲥ).

4. NHC VII 120,15^{v2} (*Steles Seth*)
The name of the father of →Emmak^{h}a Seth.

5. NHC VIII 6,30^{v} (*Zost.*)
Context partially destroyed; on a list of various powers; the mother of Adam (ⲧⲙⲙⲁ[ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ).
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 505

6. NHC VIII 30,14^{v} (*Zost.*)
The thought of the perfect mind (ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ <νοῦς> ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ <τέλειος>), i.e. →Barbêlô; the self-generated (Autogenes) and →Pigeradama manifest in her.
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 547

7. NHC XIII 38*,15 (*Trim. Prot.*)
Incomprehensible womb (ⲁⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲣⲣⲟⲟⲩ); incomprehensible and immeasurable voice — all characteristics refer to Barbelô.

8. NHC XIII 45*,9—10 (*Trim. Prot.*)
In the passage formulated in the 1st person sing.; the name partially reconstructed: ⲙⲉ[ⲓⲣⲟⲑ]ⲉⲁ; androgynous father and mother (NHC 45*,2—3: ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲉ[ⲟⲟ]ⲩⲧⲥⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲁ[ⲛⲟⲕ ⲟⲩⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲛⲟ]ⲕ ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲱⲧ); the aeon (αἰών) to come; the fulfillment of all (ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧⲧⲏⲣⲩ); the glory of the mother (ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲩ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

There are a few propositions of etymology. Böhlig (1989b: 425; Böhlig & Wisse 1975, in NHS 4: 176) suggests μοιροθεά "Schickslasgöttin," "the goddess μοῖρα." Claude (1981: 68) a derivation from μείρομαι and θεός; Layton (1987: 53) μοῖρος θεῖος; Turner (2001: 101) μύρου θεά (anointing goddess; similarly Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 239—241). Thomassen (2013b: 71—75) proposes to read מרוטוש in an Aramaic spell as Mirot^{h}eos, and interpret her as a goodness of a womb (referring to NHC XIII 38*,15), but his argument does not seem compelling, especially since the spell does not contain any other, specifically Sethian, elements. Tempting is, however, to look at the hint given by Hieronymus (*Comm. in Amos*, PL 25,1018D) that the name Μείθραν is given by pagans (ethnici) as an isosephic equivalent for the number of days in the year in the same way as Ἀβράξας. Regardless of etymology, the figure of Meirot^{h}ea belongs to the core of Sethain tradition and is probably not attested outside the Sethian corpus.

Dornseiff 1925: 105; Claude 1981: 68; Layton 1987: 153; Böhlig 1989b: 425; Böhlig & Wisse 1975, in: NHS 4: 176; Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 505—506; Turner 2001: 101; Poirier 2006, Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 32: 239—241; Thomassen 2013b: 71—75; Van den Kerchove 2013: 280—281

209 ⲙⲉⲗⲭⲉⲓⲣⲁⲇⲱⲛⲉⲓⲛ (melk^{h}eiradônein)

1. NHC II 11,2 (*Ap. John*)
The eleventh authority (ἐξουσία). In parallel passage in NHC III and BG appears →Adônin.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Tardieu was the only scholar who tried to explain this name, but, as usual, his ideas have to be treated with proper caution. According to him, Melk^{h}eiradônein is the same figure as Malkira (or similarly) known from *Asc. Is.* and identified with →Samaêl. As Samaêl occurs in the Nag Hammadi texts, an identity between these two figures and names cannot be excluded. The second part of the name Tardieu refers to Greek Adonis, which remains, however, improbable in the light of almost complete lack of Greek mythological material in the Nag Hammadi texts.

Tardieu 1984: 283—284

210 ⲙⲉⲗⲗⲉⲫⲁⲛⲉⲁ ⲗⲱⲓⲟⲛ ⲇⲁⲩⲉⲓⲑⲁⲓ (mellep^{h}anea lôion daueit^{h}ai)

1. NHC XIII 39*,2—3 (*Trim. Prot.*)

The one over the third aeon (αἰών).

211 ⲙⲉⲗⲗⲉⲫⲁⲛⲉⲩ (mellep^{h}aneu)

1. NHC XI 54,30 (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage. According to Turner praise might be given by →Iouêl. The name of the unbegotten (ⲁⲧⲭⲡⲟ). According to Turner the name here refers to the entire Triple-Powered One.

Turner 1990, in: NHS 28: 257

212 ⲙⲉⲛⲓⲅⲅⲉⲥⲥⲧⲣⲱⲏⲑ (meniggesstrôêth)

1. NHC II 15,31 (*Ap. John*) = NHC IV 24,24 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the brain (ἐνκέφαλος).

213 ⲙⲉⲥⲥⲟⲥ (messos)

1. NHC XI 50,19 (*Allogenes*)
The son of Allogenes, to whom the revelation was passed down.

2. NHC XI 68,28 (*Allogenes*)
The son of Allogenes; introduced by his father as the only receiver of the account of his revelation.
BCNH T 30: 25

3. NHC XI 69,16 (*Allogenes*)
In the concluding part. Context seriously destroyed. The son of Allogenes. Probably invoked to proclaim the revelation of his father.
BCNH T 30: 25

Etymology, commentary and literature
From Greek "the middle one"; Messos is always invoked and introduced by Allogenes as his son. He is the only disciple of Allogenes, chosen to listen and proclaim the revelation of his father. The nature of Messos is not clear, but he is probably a human, not a spiritual being, though he used to live in a distant past. Schenke (1990: 422) supposed that Messos might be a Sethian adaptation of biblical Moses who also received the divine revelation on the mountain. W.-P. Funk (BCNH T 30) restores his name also in NHC XI 50,1 and NHC XI 69,1.
Schenke 1990: 420—422; BCNH T 30: 7

214 ⲙⲉⲫⲛⲉⲩ (mep^{h}neu)

1. NHC VII 126,7—8 (*Steles Seth*)
In a hymnic passage sung by the 1st pl. subject; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲡⲁⲧⲙⲓⲥⲉ).

215 ⲙⲏⲡ[...]ⲏⲗ (mêp[...]êl)

1. NHC IV 76,2 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Mentioned together with other bringers of salvation; president over the grace (ⲉⲧⲕⲏ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲛ̄ ⲡⲛⲁ); this power is not mentioned in a parallel text in NHC III.

216 ⲙⲓⲁⲙⲁⲓ (miamai)

1. NHC II 17,6 = NHC IV 26,15 (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the nail of the feet (ⲛ̄ⲑⲓⲉⲓⲃ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ).

217 ⲙⲓϫⲁⲛⲑⲏⲣ (mik^{s}ant^{h}êr) = ⲙⲓⲕϫⲁⲛⲑⲏⲣⲁ (mikk^{s}ant^{h}êra)^{v}

1. NHC III 65,5 = NHC IV 76,25—26^{v} (*Gos. Eg.*)
Mentioned together with other bringers of salvation; the ruler (πρύτανις); the president over the entrance into the rest of eternal life (ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲓⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲣⲓⲏ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲡⲁⲩⲥⲓⲥ <ἀνάπαυσις> ⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲛⲣ ⲛ̄ⲑⲁ ⲉⲛⲉⲣ).

ⲙⲓⲥⲉⲩⲥ → ⲙⲓⲭⲉⲩⲥ

218 ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ (mik^{h}aêl)

1. NHC II 17,30 = NHC IV 27,15 (*Ap. John*)
One of the seven having power over the limbs of the body.
DuQuesne 1991: 31—32; Rasimus 2013: 120

2. CT 53,20 (*Gos. Jud.*)
The one on a command of a great spirit; he was expected to give spirits (πνεῦμα) to humans as a gift, however, it was done by →Gabriêl.
Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 362—363; Scopello 2011: 608—609

Other texts

CA p. 129, l. 18 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; together with →Gabriêl, he was summoned by the first mystery (ⲡⲙⲩⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲉⲣⲓⲟⲛ), equipped with outpouring of light (ⲧⲁⲡⲟϩⲣⲟⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ) and sent to chaos (χάος) to help Pistis Sophia.

CA p. 130, ll. 12, 20 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; together with →Gabriêl, he will give the mysteries of the light to the powers.

CA p. 131, l. 1 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; he and →Gabriêl do not take for themselves from the light of Pistis Sophia.

CA p. 133, l. 20 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; together with →Gabriêl, he poured the light over the body (σῶμα) of Pistis Sophia.

CA p. 134, ll. 14—15 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; a servant of drink (ⲡⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱ), i.e. outpouring of light; together with →Gabriêl, he brought the drink into the chaos (χάος) and brought Pistis Sophia up.

CA p. 134, ll. 20—21 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; together with →Gabriêl, he did not take the lights of Pistis Sophia for themselves, but they cast them onto her.

CA p. 139, ll. 10, 12—13 (Pistis Sophia II) ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; together with →Gabriêl, he guided Pistis Sophia through the places (τόπος) of the chaos (χάος) and brought her up.

CA p. 141, l. 15 (Pistis Sophia II) ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; together with →Gabriêl, he sat on the left side of Pistis Sophia.

CA p. 148, l. 16 (Pistis Sophia II) ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; together with →Gabriêl, he guided Pistis Sophia through the places (τόπος) of the chaos (χάος) and brought her up.

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,30,9; Michahel; in the system of Ophites, one of the names (the other is →Samael) of the serpent, the son of Ialdabaôth who revealed knowledge to Eve and Adam.

Ps.-Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5,26,3; Μιχαήλ; in the system of Justin (the Gnostic), one of the 12 father's angels generated by the first principles, Father and Edem.

Origen, *C.Cels.* 6,30; Μιχαήλ; the first of the ruling demons according to the system of Ophites; in the shape of a lion, probably identical with the first ruler, →Iadabaôth, from the other list of archons in *C.Cels.* 6,31.

Test.Sol. 1,6; Μιχαήλ; an archangel (ἀρχάγγελος); through him, God gives to Salomon a ring with a seal engraved in a precious stone (δακτυλίδον ἔχον σφραγῖδα γλυφῆς γλίθου τιμίου) having power to bind all the demons.

Test.Sol. 18,5; Μιχαήλ; his name causes the spirit (πνεῦμα) and the element (στοιχεῖον) Ruak^{s} to withdraw; the one of thirty-six.

Texts of ritual power

PGM I, l. 301 (PGM 1: 16: GMPT: 11); Μιχαήλ; identified with Apollo; a holder of the heavenly world (τὸν οὐράνιον κόσμον κατέχοντα).

PGM II, l. 158 (PGM 1: 28; GMPT: 17); Μιχαήλ; the name written on the upper part of the door together with *voces magicae* and characters.

PGM III, l. 148 (PGM 1: 38; GMPT: 22); Μιχαήλ; the god (θεός); By his name, a divine power is conjured.

PGM III, l. 214 (PGM 1: 42; GMPT: 24); Μ[ιχαήλ]; invoked along other divine figures in a hymn addressed to Helios, accompanying the oracular rite; the name almost fully restored; the helper (ἀρωγός); the saviour (σώζων); the perfect eye of Zeus (ὄμμα τέλ[ειον]). The text understood in line with emendations accepted in GMPT.

PGM III, l. 406 (PGM 1: 48; GMPT: 28); Μιχαήλ; in the sequence of words and names of power.

PGM IV, l. 16 (PGM 1: 66; GMPT: 36; DuQuesne 1991: 28; Meyer & Smith 1999: 23); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; the mighty angel (ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος>) who is with the God; Alt^{h}ônai is invoked to bring Mik^{h}aêl to the practitioner.

PGM IV, l. 1815 (PGM 1: 128; GMPT: 71); Μιχαήλ; one of the seven angelic names inscribed as "a sword" (τὸ ξίφος) on a golden leaf.

PGM IV, l. 2356 (PGM 1: 146; GMPT: 81); Μιχαήλ; the archangel of archangels (ἀγγέλων ἀρχάγγελος)"; associated with Osiris.

PGM IV, l. 2769 (PGM 1: 160; GMPT: 90); Μιχαήλ; together with Orion sits on high; holds the seven waters, the earth and the so-called great serpent (ὃν καλέουσι δράκοντα μέγαν).

PGM VII, l. 598 (PGM 2: 27; GMPT: 135); Μιχαήλ; the name prescribed to be written on a wick of the lamp used in an attraction (ἀγωγή) spell.

PGM VII, l. 609 (PGM 2: 28; GMPT: 135); Μιχαήλ; Mik^{h}aêl "is by nature a hermaphrodite" (ἀρσενόθηλυς ἔφυ); given as an example of blasphemy (?).

PGM VII, l. 1012 (PGM 2: 44; GMPT: 145); Μιχαήλ; he is invoked in the purpose of divination by a dream.

PGM X, l. 42 (PGM 2: 53; GMPT: 150); Μιχαήλ; in the sequence of names (ὀνόματα) prescribed to be written in a lamella with the subjection spell.

PGM XIII, l. 928 (PGM 2: 127; Daniel 1991: 72; GMPT: 193); Μιχαήλ; the great archangel (ὁ μέγας ἀρχάγγελος), the great commander-in-chief (ὁ μέγας ἀρχιστράτηγος).

PGM XXIIa, l. 26 (PGM 2: 148; GMPT: 260); Μιχαήλ; a paradigm of honor in a prayer of favour addressed to Helios, the god over the heavens.

PGM XXIIb, l. 29 (PGM 2: 149; GMPT: 261); Μιχαήλ; identified with Osiris in a request for a dream oracle.

PGM XXVI, l. 171 (PGM 2: 168; GMPT: 273); Μιχαήλ; on the list of angelic names prescribed to be written on papyrus with the protection spell.

PGM XXXVI, l. 309 (PGM 2: 173; GMPT: 276); Μιχαήλ; one of names of power prescribed to be adjured in the love spell.

PGM XLIII, l. 17 (PGM 2: 179; GMPT: 281); Μιχαήλ; in the sequence of names and words of power used in the protection spell.

PGM XLIV, ll. 9, 15 (PGM 2: 180; GMPT: 281); Μιχαήλ; context partially destroyed; in the context of vowel permutations; the name itself permuted.

PGM LXXIX, l. 3 (PGM 2: 207; GMPT: 299); Μιχαήλ; Perhaps, he is referred to as the eternal one (εϊ[λα]μ).

PGM LXXX, l. 2 (PGM 2: 208; GMPT: 299); [Μιχα]ήλ; maybe is referred as the eternal one (ἰλαμ). The text is identical with PGM LXXIX.

PGM LXXXIII, l. 3 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 79; GMPT: 300); Μιχαήλ; the archangel of the earth (ἀρχάγγελος γῆς); conjured against the fever.

PGM LXXXIII, l. 18 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 79; GMPT: 300); Μιγαήλ; in the sequence of names of power associated with the God of the Old Testament.

PGM CVI, l. 5 (Brashear 1975: 28; *Suppl.Mag.* I: 27; GMPT: 311); Μιχαήλ; in the sequence of the five angelic names in the protection spell.

PGM XC, ll. 3—4 (three times) (*Suppl.Mag.* II: 205; Traversa 1953: 57; GMPT: 302); Μιχαήλ; in the sequence of names and words of power, many of which with Jewish connotations.

P.Kell.G. 86, left margin; Μιχαήλ; together with three other angels in a fever amulet.

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5306, l. 7; Μιχαήλ; one of the saint archangels (τῶν ἁγίων ἀρχαγγέλων) of "the great power of our Lord God almighty."

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5312, ll. 2 and 5; Μιχαήλ; on a list of angelic powers; the one over the sun.

Meyer & Smith 29, l. 1 (Barry 1908: 61—62; Meyer & Smith 1999: 52) ⲙⲏⲭⲁⲏⲗ, Barry emendates to Μιχαήλ.

Meyer & Smith 36, ll. 14, [33] (PGM 2: 229—230.; Meyer & Smith 1999: 56); Μιχαήλ; one of the seven archangels.

Meyer & Smith 43, l. 118 (Worrell 1935: 23; Meyer & Smith 1999: 87); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; in the sequence of greetings towards the Sun and spiritual powers, among them Mik^{h}aêl.

Meyer & Smith 49, l. 13 (Beltz 1983: 66; Kropp II: 64; Meyer & Smith 1999: 96); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; an archangel (ἀρχάγγελος); invoked to come "with his [wand] in his hands and receive an offering (ἀρχή) of wine" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 96).

Meyer & Smith 54, l. 6 (Quecke 1963: 249; Meyer & Smith 1999: 101); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; in the sequence of words and names of power invoked in the protection spell.

Meyer & Smith 63, ll. 33r, 20v (Beltz 1985: 33; Meyer & Smith 1999: 118—119); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; one of the seven holy archangels (ἀρχάγγελος); expected to come and seal the practitioner's oil (ⲡⲓⲛⲉϩ ⲉⲧϩⲛ ⲛⲁⲥⲓⲍ); the one who intercedes with the God.

Meyer & Smith 64, ll. 34, 39, 98, 116 (Crum 1905: 254; Kropp I: 16, 19—20; Kropp II: 201.203; Meyer & Smith 1999: 122—124); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; archangel (ἀρχάγγελος); he came from heaven and offered salvation (l. 98 ⲁⲩⲛⲁϩⲉⲙ).

Meyer & Smith 66, col. IIr, l. 34; ll. 2v, 5v, 13v (Worrell 1935: 8, 10; Meyer & Smith 1999: 126—127); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; one of the seven archangels (ἀρχάγγελος); the angel who stands on the right side of the father (ⲉⲧϩⲁⲣⲉⲩ ⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ ⲙⲡⲱⲧ); especially invoked to fulfil the will of the user of the spell.

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 2, l. 3; p. 12, l. 2 (Kropp I: 64.71; Meyer & Smith 1999: 135, 140); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; "one over the all strong powers" (ⲡⲉⲑⲓ$\overline{\text{ⲭⲛ}}$ ⲛⲉⲥⲟⲙ ⲧⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲧⲁϫⲣⲏⲩ) (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 135).

Meyer & Smith 77, ll. 4, 44 (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 375, 377; Meyer & Smith 162—163); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; an archangel; the power of →Mik^{h}aêl and Gabriêl invoked to bind a desired woman; then Mik^{h}aêl alone is adjured as the one seating over the light (ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

Meyer & Smith 80, ll. 2v—3v (Crum 1934b: 199; Meyer & Smith 1999: 170); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; invoked to give favour (χάρις).

Meyer & Smith 81, verso (twice) (Crum 1934b: 198; Meyer & Smith 1999: 174); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; in the sequence of names of power, especially the angelic ones, under a figura magica of the three standing persons with crosses.

Meyer & Smith 88 (Crum 1905: 506, No 1224; Meyer & Smith 1999: 187); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; called "my father" (ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ); mentioned together with →Gabriêl and three other spiritual powers.

Meyer & Smith 90, l. 5 (Ernštedt 1959: 153, No 70; Kropp II: 232; Meyer & Smith 1999: 191); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; together with →Gabriêl and three other spiritual powers.

Meyer & Smith 91, ll. 25r, 29r (Crum 1896: 87; Kropp II: 236; Meyer & Smith 1999: 193, 194); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; together with →Gabriêl and three other spiritual powers invoked to strike target of the spell with a fiery sword (ⲧⲥⲛϥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲉ).

Meyer & Smith 93, l. 10 (Crum 1905: 506; Kropp II: 241; Meyer & Smith 1999: 197); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; invoked together with →Gabriêl and three other spiritual powers.

Meyer & Smith 95, l. 33 (Beltz 1984: 95; Kropp II: 245; Meyer & Smith 1999: 201); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; invoked together with seven other (sic!) great archangels (ἀρχάγγελος).

Meyer & Smith 100, l. 2 (Crum 1922: 539; Kropp II: 227; Meyer & Smith 1999: 207); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; invoked together with →Gabriêl and one another spiritual power.

Meyer & Smith 101, l. 2 (Rémondon 1953: 158; Meyer & Smith 1999: 208); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; invoked together with →Gabriêl and one another spiritual power.

Meyer & Smith 102, d5 (Brunsch 1978: 152; Meyer & Smith 1999: 209); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; invoked together with →Gabriêl and other spiritual powers.

Meyer & Smith 105, l. 20 (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 401; Meyer & Smith 1999: 213); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; his favour (χάρις) is requested by a practitioner.

Meyer & Smith 116, ll. 14, 16 (Beltz 1983: 73; Kropp II: 17; Meyer & Smith 1999: 232); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; main spiritual power invoked in this spell; apprehended by a practitioner and requested for power.

Meyer & Smith 117, ll. 6, 16—18 (Satzinger & Sijpesteijn 1988: 51, 53; Meyer & Smith 1999: 233—234); ⲙⲓϩⲁⲏⲗ, ⲙⲓⲕⲁⲏⲗ; an archangel (ἀρχάγγελος); invoked to be sent from God to secure prosperity of the local workshop (ἐργαστήριον).

Meyer & Smith 125, l. 3 (No edition of the Coptic text; Meyer & Smith 1999: 251), "Michael"; in a sequence of divine and angelic names.

Meyer & Smith 127, ll. 103, 107 (Kropp I: 61; Meyer & Smith 1999: 269); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ, ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲏⲗ; a saint (ἅγιος).

Meyer & Smith 129, ll. 2, 11 (Kropp I: 29; Meyer & Smith 1999: 279); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; invoked together with →Ouriêl; one of the seven archangels.

Meyer & Smith 131, ll. 84r, 89r, 35v, 43v (Kropp I: 38—39, 42; Kropp II: 90—91.138—139; Kropp 1965: 16, 18, but only 84r and 89r contained; Meyer & Smith 1999: 284, 286—287); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; one of the seven; invoked to stand on the right side (ⲙⲁⲣⲉ ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲓ; ⲁⲣⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ ⲥⲁ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲓ) of a practitioner.

Meyer & Smith 132, ll. 44, 56 (Kropp I: 49; Kropp II: 59—60; Kropp 1965: 14, but only l. 44 contained; Meyer & Smith 1999: 291); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; one of the seven archangels (ἀρχάγγελος).

Meyer & Smith 133, p. 2, l. 3; p. 19, l. 8 (Worrell 1930: 242, 254; Mirecki 1994: 441, 451; Meyer & Smith 1999: 304, 310); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; one of the seven angels.

Meyer & Smith 134, p. 3r, l. 16; p. 4v, ll. 14—15; p. 9v, ll. 13—14 (Pleyte & Boeser 1897: 447, 449, 458; Kropp II: 164—165, but p. 9 not included; Meyer & Smith 1999: 315—316, 319); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; an angel (ἄγγελος), an archangel (ἀρχάγγελος); one of the four holy angels standing before the one who dwells in the heaven; one of the seven powers (ⲛⲟⲩⲙ) of god and one of the names of God (ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) and archangelic names (ⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἀρχάγγελος>) with the meaning "the peace which means the god of light" (ϯⲣⲏⲛⲏ <εἰρήνη>) ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲁⲓ̄ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) — manuscript notes that it is a traditional translation of his names (ϣⲁⲟⲩⲁϩⲙⲉϥ); then one of the eight (in fact, the context requires only seven names, so one of them seems to be superfluous, perhaps interpolated in the tradition) creatures of the archangels (ⲛⲓⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἀρχάγγελος>) who stay in front of God's presence and one of the seven names worthy to be heard (ⲡϩⲁϣϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲩ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ).

Meyer & Smith 135, ll. 1, 30, 32, 34, 61, 242, under the figura magica (Kropp 1966: 13, 15, 17, 21, 49; Meyer & Smith 1999: 327—328, 339, 341); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; an archangel; the one over the seven mysteries hidden in the heart of the Father; he has to bless and consecrate water and oil; the whole text is conceived as an invocation to Mik^{h}aêl in front of the God.

BKU I 24, l. 3 (Müller 1959: 293, No 199; Kropp II: 218); ⲙⲏⲭⲁⲏⲗ; an amulet with the names of the nine guardians of paradise and seven angelic names (without any closer specification).

London Or. 4721(2) (Crum 1905: 174); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; an amulet consisting of a sequence of divine and angelic names, and of characters.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 7, l. 1 (Meyer 1996: 20); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; adjured together with other archangels (ἀρχάγγελος) to protect the body of a practitioner.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 7, l. 5 (Meyer 1996: 20); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; adjured to be on the right side of a practitioner until he is saved.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 10, l. 24 (Meyer 1996: 26); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; in the sequence of the seven angelic names invoked for protection.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 11, l. 3 (Meyer 1996: 28); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; in the sequence of names of power invoked to release the blood (ⲃⲱⲗ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟⲃ <ⲥⲛⲟϥ>).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 15, l. 26 (Meyer 1996: 36); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; in the sequence of the angelic names associated with Jesus Christ.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 16, l. 20 (Meyer 1996: 38); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; in the sequence of names of power invoked to stop the blood to flow (ⲕⲉⲱⲗ ⲡⲉⲥⲛⲟⲃ <ⲥⲛⲟⲩ>).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 18, l. 7 (Meyer 1996: 42); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; an archangel (ἀρχάγγελος); the power (ϭⲁⲙ) through which →Sabaôth quenched the fire in the furnaces of Nebuchadnezzar.

P.Iand. inv. 9 A,B, p. 6, l. 7 (Kropp 1965: 10); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; one of the seven archangels (ἀρχάγγελος) who were beside God in the moment of the creation of man; God is invoked to sent Mikhaêl to protect the body (σῶμα) of a practitioner.

P.Iand. inv. 9 A,B, p. 6, l. 12 (Kropp 1965: 10); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; invoked to go on the right side of a practitioner.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 7, l. 17 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 56); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; in the group of four with →Gabriêl, →Ouriêl and Raphaêl, within them, there is the great one Abriôth Abrithinôth.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 8, l. 17 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 58); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; a practitioner identifies himself as "I am Mikhaêl."

P.Ifao copte 451, l. 6 (Louis 2013: 26); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; Invoked together with →Gabriêl and Souriê to deliver a judgment against the adversaries of the practitioner.

P.Stras.Copt. 6, l. 8; ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; invoked to help in the twin healing amulets.

P.Stras.Copt. 7, left margin; ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; in a long list of angels to be sent by God upon the practitioner's command.

P.Stras.Copt. 9, l. 4r; ⲙⲓⲭ[ⲁ]ⲏⲗ; in the sequence of names and words of power, some of Hebrew origin, in the spell for revelation.

London Ms. Or. 4714, part 9—10 (Crum 1897: 213; Kropp II: 131); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ; "The greatest among angels" (ⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲛⲕⲉⲗⲕⲉ <ἀγγελική> ⲧⲏⲣⲥ <ἄγγελος>); on the right side of Maria, with a golden stab (ῥάβδος); introduced by →Gabriêl; then, Maria adjured him and threats not to release until he fulfils her will and consecrates water and oil against sickness and all the unclean spirits (ⲡⲛ̅ⲁ̅ <πνεῦμα> ⲛⲓⲙ ⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ <ἀκάθαρτος>).

Gager 1992: 216, No 118, l. 4 (Audollent 1904: 277); Μιχαήλ; in the sequence Ἰάω Ηλ Μιχαὴλ Νεφθω.

Kotansky 1994: 105, No 26, l. 1; Μιχαήλ; one of the four angelic names written on a lamella.

Kotansky 1994: 156, No 33, ll. 2, 18, 29; Μιχαήλ; on an amulet including a long list of angelic names.

Kotansky 1994: 221, No 41, l. 29; Μιχαήλ; on a long list of divine and angelic names invoked to protect the house.

Kotansky 1994: 249, No 48, l. 10; Μιχαήλ; in the sequence of names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 326, No 57, ll. 1—2; Μιχαήλ; in a long sequence of names of power invoked against epilepsy and headache.

Kotansky 1994: 375, No 64, l. 3; Mikael; on an amulet with angelic names.

Kotansky 1980b, l. 10 (Kotansky 1980b,181); Μειχαήλ; in a sequences of names of power, mainly associated with the Jewish God and angels, used in the spell against evil spirit and epilepsy (πτωματισμός).

LB, l. 27 (Gelzer *et al.* 1999: 41); Μιχαήλ; the one who sits over the mountains (ἐπί τοῖς ὄρεσι).

Bonner 1950: 265, No 73; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A lion, Μιχαὴλ βισνουθ above, Βριμω Χαβριήλ below; Rev. A sequence of words of power and characters.

Bonner 1950: 269, No 98; Μιχαήρ; Obv. A lion-headed snake, ιαω over head; Rev. [Ἰά]ω Σαβ[αὼθ] Μιχαήρ.

Bonner 1950: 278, No 153; Μιχαήλ; Obv. Ouroboros with a bonded figure under its head; an inscription: Μιχαὴλ Ραφαὴλ Ἀδωναὶ Ἰάω; Rev. Characters.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 168; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ Γαβριήλ.

Bonner 1950: 281, No 172; Μιχαήλ; Obv. Ouroboros enclosing a cock-headed anguipede holding a shield, Μιχαὴλ Ρεφαὴλ Γαβριὴλ Οὐριήλ above the shield; various words of power and permutations of vowels in field; Rev. An eagle-headed deity.

Bonner 1950: 283, No 179; Μειχαήλ; Obv. A male figure, a snake and an anguipede; Rev. Μειχαὴλ Οὐρειὴλ Γαβριήλ.

Bonner 1950: 291, No 227; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A solar deity, names Μιχαὴλ Σαβαὼ[θ Ρ]αφαήλ on the margin; Rev. Winged victory, Ραχαηλ Ἀβρασάξ on the margin.

Bonner 1950: 302, No 298; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A rider, a lion, an inscription: "One god, the victor over the evil" (εἷς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά); Rev.'Ιάω Σαβαὼθ Μιχαὴλ βοήθι and the suffering eye motif.

Bonner 1950: 304, No 309; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A rider with a spear; Rev.'Ιάωθ Σαβαὼθ Μιχαήλ, a lion, a snake and a crescent below.

Bonner 1950: 304, No 310; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A rider spearing a lying figure; Rev.'Ιάω Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴλ Γαβριήλ and lion below.

Bonner 1950: 304, No 311; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A rider spearing a lying female figure; Rev.'Ιάω Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴλ Γαβριὴλ Οὐριὴλ χερουβιν σεραπι and a lion below.

Bonner 1950: 309, No 336; Μιχαήλ; Obv. An angel; Rev. ὁ ἅγιος Μιχαήλ.

Bonner 1950: 310, No 338; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A male figure in a military outfit, Οὐριὴλ Σουριὴλ Γαβιρὴλ εω on the margin; Rev. Μιχαήλ and two stars.

Bonner 1950: 314, No 361; Μιχαήλ; four names:'Ιάω, Σαβαώ, Μιχαήλ and Θωθ, one on each side of a rectangular prism.

Bonner 1950: 321, No 395; Μιχαήλ; Obv. Pantheos riding lions flanked by two snakes and a minor element, an inscription "Protect from all the evil the one who wears it" below; Μιχαήλ and other names and words of power in the field; Rev. A kneeling man flanked by two Anubises; anguipede below, an inscription in the tabula ansata.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 29, No 14; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, 'Ιάω; Rev. Ἀδωνὲ Αἰλωὲ Μιχαήλ on the margin.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 33, No 24; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼ'Ιάω; around the figure Rev.'Ιάω Σαβαὼ Ἀδωναὶ Μιχαήλ and seven vowels.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 33—34, No 25; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede,'Ιάω below; Rev.'Ιάωε Ἀβρασὰξ Μιχαὴλ Ἀδωνέ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 34, No 27; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, ʾΙάω and Ἀβρασάξ on the margin; Obv. Μιχαὴλ Ουριὴρ Σαβαώ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 35—36, No 30; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Σαβ Ἀβρα'Ιάω in the field; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Οὐριὴρ Γαβριὴρ Σαβαὼ'Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 51—52, No 44; Μιχαή; Obv. An acephalic deity; Rev. A scene with a lion and human figures, the sun, the moon, and a sequence of names of power, with Μιχαή (three times) among them.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 59, No 58; Μιχ(αήλ?); Obv. A lion-headed snake; Rev. Χνοῦμις Μιχ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 95—96, No 116; Μιχαήλ; Obv. Anubis, Οὐριὴλ Σουριὴλ Γαβριὴλ ϕω (maybe Θώθ?) around the figure; Rev. Μιχαήλ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 102, No 127; Μιχαήλ; One-side only; a scene with Anubis and names Μιχαήλ and Ἀβρασὰξ'Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 117, No 149; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A child on a lotus and'Ιάω; Rev. A scorpion and a sequence Μιχαὴλ Ἀδωναὶ Ἀβρασάξ round the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 162, No 211; Μικαήλ; Obv. Dog-headed figure holding a sceptre; an invocation to Mik^{h}aêl as a great name (μέγα το ὄνομα), called also a saint (ἁγίος) around the figure; Rev. a sequence of names of power with the names of Jewish God and angels.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 172—173, No 228; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A crouching deity; Rev. Μιχαὴλ'Ιακώβ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 208, No 283; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A trophy, above'Ιάω ουη; Rev. Words of power and Μιχαήλ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 227, No 312; Μιχαὴ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede holding a shield,'Ιάω Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴ ἀβλαναθα around the fgure; Rev. A nude man holding a whip, standing on a lion.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 257, No 362; Μικαήλ; Obv. A serpent, a bud of lotus, a key and other artifacts; Ἀβραξὰς Ἀδωναὶ'Ιάω Σαβαώθ around the figures; Rev. A mummy with the head of an ass; sequences of words and names of power in the field and around the figure, mainly of angels, including Μικαήλ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 306—307, No 442bis; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A deity riding a bull; Rev. Names and words of power, including Μιχαήλ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 325, No 481; Μιχαήλ; Obv. Μιχαήλ Γαβριήλ and the sequence κυπσετ; Rev. Αἰλωαί.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 327, No 489; Μιχαήλ; Rev. Νιχαροπληξ Σφίνγξ; Obv. Μιχαήλ and Σεμεσιλάμψ around the margin.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 328, No 493; Μιχαήλ; One-sided; a sequence of names and words of power of diverse origin, including Μιχαήλ.

Neverov 1976, no page number, No 144; Μιχαήλ; Obv. Harpocrates, Μιχαὴλ Ραφαὴλ Ἀναήλ around the figure; Rev. Hippopotamus, Ἀδωναί above.

Philipp 1986: 93 No 138; Μιχαήλ; Obv. Heliorus, vox above, an inscription: "the highest Michael, the most powerful Gabriel" below the figure; Rev. Anubis and Hekate, *voces* below.

Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 165, No 2217; Μιχαήλ; Pantheos,'Ιάω below; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Γαβριὴλ Κουστιὴλ Ραφαήλ.

Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 172—173, No 2236; Μιχαήρ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Ἀβρασάξ around the figure; Rev. Μιχαὴρ Οὐριὴρ Γαβριήρ.

Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 65, No 9; Μιχαήλ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede,'Ιάω above; names of powers around the figure, including Μιχαήλ; Rev. Harpocrates on a lotus flower and names of power.

Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 71, No 13; Μιχαήλ; Obv. Chnubis, ευλαμω Ἀδωναί and seven vowels; Rev. Μιχαήλ and Οὐριήλ.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Mik^{h}aêl is well attested in the Jewish literature, both canonical and extracanonical. He appears for the first time in the *Book of Watchers*. In the *Book of Daniel*, he is called "the great prince who stands over the sons of your people" (Dn 12:1). He also plays a prominent role in the Qumran literature. His lion shape in the diagram of Ophites (as Origen relates it) originated probably from his identification with one of the living creatures from the vision of Ezekiel (Ezek 1:10).

In Nag Hammadi, he plays a minor role and is never characterized as an archangle, which stands in a sharp contrast to the whole Coptic Christian tradition in which Mik^{h}aêl is one of the most important figures. His prominence is manifested by his omnipresence in the texts of ritual power and magical gems. Coptic tradition about his raise to power after Satan's fall (Dochorn 2013) is not even alluded in the Nag Hammadi texts that clearly predate his raise to prominence in the Egyptian Christianity. Also the passage in *Ap. John* belongs to the later stratum of the text, present only in the later, longer recension. Even there, he is by no means highlighted but belongs to the group of seven angels of the body, which might be linked to his cultic aspect as a physician (Rohland 1977: 75—104), hence, in the context of the entire group, such an interpretation does not withstand. In *Gos. Jud.*, Mik^{h}aêl is a beneficial power, contrary to the tradition about Ophites attested by Irenaeus and Origen, where he is a negative character (Rasimus 2013). Also in *Gos. Jud.*, Mik^{h}aêl is linked to →Gabriêl and characterized as one of the important agents of the great spirit, however, barely as the chief one. All of this suggests a form of Sethianism much more in line with mainstream Christian angelology and allows to place this text on a later stage of development of the Sethian tradition, although provides no foothold for fixed chronology.

Michl 1962: 243—251; Rohland 1977; DuQuesne 1991: 31—33; Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 362—263; Arnold 2013; Dochorn 2013; Rasimus 2013

219 ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲛⲟⲣⲁ (mik^{h}anora)

1. NHC III 65,6 = NHC IV 76,26 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Mentioned together with other salvation-bringers; the ruler (πρύτανις); the president over the entrance into the rest of eternal life (ⲡⲉⲧϩⲓⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϩⲓⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁϥⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲁⲛⲁⲡⲁⲩⲥⲓⲥ <ἀνάπαυσις> ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲁϥⲁ ⲉⲛⲉϩ).

220 ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲣ (mik^{h}ar)

1. NHC III 64,15 = NHC IV 76,4 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Mentioned together with other salvation-givers; the one presiding over the spring (NHC IV has pl.: springs) (ⲡⲉⲧϩⲓϩⲉⲛ ⲧⲡⲏⲅⲏ / ⲛⲓⲡⲏⲅⲏ <πηγή>) of truth.

2. NHC III 64,20 = NHC IV 76,10 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Mentioned together with other salvation-givers; the one presiding over gates of water (ⲡⲉⲧϩⲓⲭⲛⲛ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲗⲏ <πύλη> ⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲉⲓⲟ).

3. NHC V 84,6 (*Apoc. Adam*)
The one over the holy baptism and the living water (ⲉⲧϩⲓⲭⲛ̄ ⲡⲓⲭⲱⲕⲙ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ̄), together with Mik^{h}eu (→Mik^{h}eus) and →Mnêsinous.

4. NHC VIII 6,10 (*Zost.*)
In the description of the first baptism in the name of the self-generated (Autogenes); mentioned, together with →Mik^{h}eus, as powers upon living waters (ⲛⲓⲟⲟⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧϣⲟⲟⲡ [ϩⲓⲭⲛ ϩⲉⲛ]ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲛϩ).
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 503

5. NHC XIII 48*,19 (*Trim. Prot.*)
One of the three bapstists (βαπτιστής), together with →Mik^{h}eus and →Mnêsinous. Protennoia delivers an initiated (his exact identity remains uncertain) to them, and they immerse him in the spring of the water of life (ⲧⲡⲏⲅⲏ <πηγή> ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ).
Sevrin 1986: 68—69; Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 351—352

Other texts

CB p. 263, l. 26 (Untitled Text); ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲣ; the power (ⲥⲟⲙ) over the living water.

Commentary and literature

In the Sethian texts, Mik^{h}ar belongs to a relatively stable group together with →Mik^{h}eus and →Mnêsinous; the group is involved in rituals of the heavenly baptism connected with the living water.

Sevrin 1986: 68—69, 102.165—169, 262, 266—267; Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 351—352

221 ⲙⲓⲭⲉⲁ (mik^{h}ea)

1. NHC III 64,15 = NHC IV 76,4 (*Gos. Eg.*)

Mentioned together with other salvation-givers; the one presiding over the spring (NHC IV has pl.: springs) (ⲡⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲡⲏⲅⲏ / ⲛⲓⲡⲏⲅⲏ <πηγή>) of truth.

222 ⲙⲓⲭⲉⲩ (mik^{h}eu) = ⲙⲓⲭⲉⲩⲥ (mik^{h}eus)^{v}= ⲙⲓⲥⲉⲩⲥ (mik^{h}eus)^{v2} =

1. NHC III 64,20^{v} = NHC IV 76,9^{v2} (*Gos. Eg.*)

Mentioned together with other salvation-givers; the one presiding over gates of water (ⲡⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲡⲩⲗⲏ <πύλη> ⲛⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲉⲓⲟ).

2. NHC V 84,5 (*Apoc. Adam*)

The one over the holy baptism and the living water (ⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲡⲓϫⲱⲕⲙ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ̄), together with →Mik^{h}ar and →Mnêsinous.

3. NHC VIII 6,10^{v} (*Zost.*)

Only the first two letters preserved, so the form ⲙⲓⲥⲉⲩⲥ is possible as well; in the description of the first baptism in the name of the self-generated (Autogenes); powers upon living waters (ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲙ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲟⲟⲡ [ϩⲓϫⲛ ϩⲉⲛ] ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩⲟⲛϩ̄), together with →Mik^{h}ar.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 503

4. NHC VIII 6,16^{v} (*Zost.*)

One over the powers (ⲛⲉⲓⲟⲟⲙ — literally "these powers," but we can hardly identify them); a seal-giver (σφραγίζειν); only the first two letters preserved in the phrase reconstructed by Sieber (1991, in: NHC 31,40 and 42) as [ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲣ <ⲙⲛ>] ⲙ̄ⲡ̣[ⲭ̄ⲉⲩⲥ so not only is the variant ⲙⲓⲭⲉⲩⲥ conceivable but also the identification of the power is far from certainty.

5. NHC XIII 48*,19^{v} (*Trim. Prot.*)

The one of the three baptists (βαπτιστής), together with →Mik^{h}ar and →Mnêsinous. Protennoia delivers an initiated (his exact identity is uncertain) to them, and they immerse him in a spring of the water of life (ⲧⲓⲡⲏⲅⲏ <πηγή> ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ).

Other texts

CB p. 263, l. 27 (Untitled Text); ⲙⲓⲭⲉⲩ; the power (ⲟⲟⲙ) over the living water.

Commentary and literature

In the Sethian texts, he belongs to the relatively stable group together with →Mik^{h}ar and →Mnêsinous; the group is involved in rituals of the heavenly baptism connected with the living water.

Sevrin 1986: 68—69, 102, 165—169, 262 and 266—267; Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 351—352

223 ⲘⲚⲎⲤⲒⲚⲞⲨ (mnêsinou) = ⲘⲚⲎⲤⲒⲚⲞⲨⲤ (mnêsinous)^{v}

1. NHC III 64,16^{v} = NHC IV 76,4 (*Gos. Eg.*)

Mentioned together with other salvation-givers; the one presiding over the spring (NHC IV has plural: springs) (ⲡⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲉⲛ ⲧⲡⲏⲅⲏ / ⲛⲓⲡⲏⲅⲏ <πηγή>) of truth.

Sevrin 1986: 102

2. NHC V 84,6v (*Apoc. Adam*)

The one over the holy baptism and the living water (ⲉⲧϩⲓϫⲛ̄ ⲡⲓϫⲱⲕⲙ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ̄), together with Mikheu (→Mik^{h}eus) and →Mik^{h}ar.

3. NHC VIII 47,4^{v} (*Zost.*)
In the list of glories enabling salvation; one of the (five in total) guardians of the immortal soul (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ <ψυχή> ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 559—561

4. NHC XIII 48*,19—20^{v} (*Trim. Prot.*)
The one of the three baptists (βαπτιστής), together with →Mik^{h}ar and →Mik^{h}eus. Protennoia delivers an initiated (his exact identity is uncertain) to them, and they immerse him in a spring of the water of life (ⲧⲡⲏⲅⲏ <πηγή> ⲛ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ).

Sevrin 1986: 68—69; Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 351—352

Commentary and literature
In the Sethian texts, he belongs to the relatively stable group together with →Mik^{h}eus and →Mik^{h}ar; the group is involved in rituals of the heavenly baptism connected with the living water.

Sevrin 1986: 68—69, 102, 165—169, 262, 266—267; Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 351—352

224 ⲙⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ (mniark^{h}ôn) = ⲙⲛⲓⲁⲭⲱⲣ (mniak^{h}ôr)^{v}

1. NHC III 16,6 = NHC IV 25,5^{v} (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right elbow (ⲡⲕⲉⲗⲉⲛⲕⲉϩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

225 ⲙⲟⲗⲩⲭⲑⲁ (moluk^{h}t^{h}a) = ⲙⲟⲗⲩⲭⲑⲁⲥ (moluk^{h}t^{h}as)^{v}

1. NHC VII 32,2 (*Paraph. Shem*)
Addressed in 2nd masculine pl. form; together with Sok^{h} (→essok^{h}), characterized as coming from every work (ⲉⲣⲅⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ) and every impure effort of the nature (ϩⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲛⲭⲁϩⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ <φύσις>).

2. NHC VII 34,9^{v} (*Paraph. Shem*)
A wind (ⲧⲏⲟⲩ <ⲧⲏⲩ>) with the likeness of a serpent and a unicorn (ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲡⲁ ⲡⲧⲁⲡ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ), with many wings.

3. NHC VII 47,2 (*Paraph. Shem*)
With feminine sing. article followed by two separate divine entities; later, however, also plural article is applied to the name; together with →Essok^{h}, characterized as the root of evil (ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲕⲁⲥⲓⲁ <κακία>), every work (ⲉⲣⲅⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ), and impure effort of the nature (ⲣⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲁⲣⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲫⲩⲥⲓⲥ <φύσις>).

Etymology, commentary and literature

It might be derived from the name of Carthaginian god Moloch. Such etymology was proposed for *vox magica* μουλοχ by Brashear (1995). Roberge (2010) proposed, however, a more complicated explanation, interpreting the name as a compound of the Greek μολύνω "to stain," "to defile," and χθών "earth," which gives the meaning "the one who defiles the earth," corresponding with a negative picture in *Paraph. Shem*, although only on a relatively general level. The form Moluk^{h}t^{h}a, according to our knowledge, has no parallel.

Brashear 1995: 3593; Roberge 2010: 135

226 ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲁⲓⲁ (morp^{h}aia)

1. NHC VII 48,1 (*Paraph. Shem*)
The context is not clear; according to Wisse (in: Pearson 2006), the name of the righteous one visiting heaven from NHC VII 48,3.

Wisse 1996, in: NHMS 30: 124

227 ⲙ[ⲟⲩⲥⲁ]ⲛⲓⲟⲥ (m[ousa]nios)

1. NHC VIII 120,17—18 (*Zost.*)
The one in the all-perfect one (παντέλειος); perhaps a luminary (φωστήρ); somehow associated with →Malsedôn; the extant name is preserved in *P.Bodmer* LXIII (Kasser & Luisier 2007: 260).

Other texts

CB p. 246 l. 3 (Untitled Text); ⲙⲟⲩⲥⲁⲛⲓⲟⲥ; placed over the immeasurable depth (βάθος); there are some unknown dependent beings with him.

CB p. 269, ll. 19—20 (Untitled Text); ⲙⲟⲩ[ⲥ]ⲁⲛⲓⲟⲥ; the context fragmentary preserved; together with →Ap^{h}rêdôn, responsible for the creation of some body members in his type (τύπος).

228 ⲙⲟⲩⲥⲁⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲙⲉⲑⲏⲛ ⲏⲗⲏⲗⲏⲑ (mousanion amet^{h}ên êlêlêt^{h})

1. NHC XIII 39*,4—5 (*Trim. Prot.*)

The one over the fourth aeon (αἰών).

229 ⲛ [...] (ⲛ[...])

1. NHC IV 25,4 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left arm (ⲧⲛⲁϩⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ); the first letter of the name preserved only in NHC IV, however, the "left arm" is preserved in NHC IV as well as in NHC II.

230 ⲛⲉⲃⲣⲓⲑ (nebrit^{h})

1. NHC II 16,31 (*Ap. John*)

The name in NHC IV 26,7 is fully restored on the basis of NHC II; an angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left thigh (ⲡⲙⲏⲣⲟⲥ <μηρός> ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Quack tentatively interprets the name as the Egyptian *nb rč.w* "Herr des Ausflusses," linking it to the Egyptian religious tradition.

Quack 1995: 117

231 ⲛⲉⲃⲣⲟⲩⲏⲗ (nebrouêl) = ⲛⲉⲃⲣⲱ (nebrô)^{v}

1. NHC III 57,18 = NHC IV 69,2 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The great demon (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ <δαίμων>); together with →Sakla, he begets the spirit of earth (ⲡⲛⲁ <πνεῦμα> ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲕⲁϩ) and assisting angels (ϩⲉⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲓ <παραστατεῖν>).

2. NHC III 57,22 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The great demon (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ <δαίμων>); →Sakla informs him about the creation of the twelve aeons (αἰών). In the light of the sentence ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲓ ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟϭ [ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲃ]ⲣⲟⲩⲏⲗ ϫⲉ, it is not clear whether Nebrouêl is an active co-creator of the aeons or is only a passive observer of the creation performed by →Sakla.

3. CT 51,12—13^{v} (*Gos. Jud.*)

An angel (ἄγγελος) that appeared from the cloud; he has fiery and blood spotted face; his name means "seceder" (ἀποστάτης) and is another name of →Ialdabaôth.

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 356

3. CT 51,17^{v} (*Gos. Jud.*)

Nebrô creates six angels (ἄγγελος) that belong to the twelve over chaos (χάος) and underworld (ⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ); other six are created by →Sakla.

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 356

Etymology, commentary and literature

The name Nebrouêl is not attested in haeresiological texts but the fact that he is coupled with →Sakla as a co-creator makes it certain that we have to do with the pair known also from the anti-Manichaean sources where Nebrôd (Νεβρώδ, Nebrod) is a female consort of Saklas (Theodoretus, *Haer.* 1,26, PG 83,377; *Formula for the Renunciation of Manichaeism*, ed. Lieu 1999: 241).

Lieu 1999: 280—281; Barc 2008

232 ⲛⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲱⲫⲛⲓ (nenetôp^{h}ni)

1. NHC II 18,17 (*Ap. John*)

The name in NHC IV reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC II; the chief demon (ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲏⲅⲟⲥ <ἀρχηγός> ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ <δαίμων>); he belongs to grief (λύπη).

233 ⲛⲉⲫ[...] (nep^{h}[...])

1. NHC VIII 86,14 (*Zost.*)

In a doxology directed probably by →Iouêl towards many powers; the perfect one (τέλειος). Neither Layton (1991, in: NHS 31) nor Barry & Funk (2000, in: BCNH T 24) restore this name in the edition. Turner (2000, in: BCNH T 24: 622), however, restores it as "Nep^{h}[redon]," taking other names in the passage, such as →Ap^{h}rêdôn and →Armêdôn, as a parallel.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 622

234 ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲩ (nibareu)

1. NHC VII 126,10 (*Steles Seth*)

In a hymnic passage sung by the 1st pl. subject; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲙⲓⲥⲉ).

235 ⲛⲟⲏⲑⲉⲩ (noêt^{h}eu)

1. NHC VIII 88,13 (*Zost.*)

Context partially destroyed; in a doxology directed to various powers.

2. NHC XI 54,20 (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage, mentioned with other powers as a separate being or only a name of →Epip^{h}aneu.

3. NHC XI 54,28 (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲁⲧⲭⲡⲟ); according to Turner, the praise might be given by →Iouêl, and the name might refer to the entire Triple-Powered One.

Turner & Wintermute 1990, in: NHS 28: 257

Commentary and literature

It seems that almost all the names in the doxology NHC VIII 88b—23a should be interpreted as a collective designation of Barbêlô as the first hidden aeon (Kalyptos). They never appear independently and have no particular identity.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 624

236 ⲛⲟⲣⲉⲁ (norea) = ⲛⲱⲣⲉⲁ (nôrea)^{v}

1. NHC IX 27,21^{v} (*Norea*)

In a prayer-like passage given in the 1st person sing.; Norea cries out to the divine triad who gives her their support and redemption.

2. NHC IX 29,3 (*Norea*)

Adamas possesses the thought (νόησις) of Norea. The thought has to be understood as knowledge indispensable for salvation.

Pearson 1981, in: NHS 15: 89; Stroumsa 1984: 55

Other texts

NHC II 92, 14, 21, 32 (*Hyp. Arch.*); to that NHC II 91,35 can be added, where the name is restored by editors; ⲛⲱⲣⲉⲁ, ⲱⲣⲉⲁ; in *Hyp. Arch.*, Norea plays an important part in the narrative as an undefiled virgin born by Eva, to whom the angel →Elêlêth^{h} gave the revelation.

NHC II 102,10—11 (*Orig. World*); there is a mention about "the First Book of Noraia" (ⲧⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲃⲓⲃⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱⲣⲁⲓⲁⲥ).

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,30,9; Norea; in the system of "the other" (alii) Gnostics, usually identified as Ophites, Norea is a daughter of Adam and Eve. Coupled with her brother Seth, she generated the multitude of man.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 26,1,3—9; Νωρία; wife of Noah, according to Nicolaites.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 39,5,2—3; Ὡραία; wife of Seth according to Sethians, although — as Epiphanius remarks — some others regard her as power (δύναμις).

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Fauth (1973: 85), from the Hebrew: נערה (“maiden”), but Pearson (1981, in: NHS 15: 90) derives the name from the Greek ὡραία (“pleasing,” “lovely”) understood as translation of the Hebrew נעמה.

The most probable is that in Norea the title figure belongs to the parabiblical narrative developed on a historical level and should not be understood as a spiritual power, although it cannot be completely excluded in the light of Epiphanius’s remark in *Haer.* 39,5,3.

Fauth 1973; Pearson 1977; Stroumsa 1984: 53—61

237 ⲛⲟⲩⲑⲁⲛ (nouthan)

1. NHC XIII 48*,22 (*Trim. Prot.*)

One of the three enthroning ones (ⲛⲉⲧϯⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ <θρόνος>), together with →Bariêl and →Sabênai. Protennoia delivers an initiated (his exact identity is uncertain) to them, and they enthrone him on the throne of glory (ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ <θρόνος> ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ).

Commentary and literature

The figure of Nouthan as well as the other two enthroning ones, are known only from *Trim. Prot.*

Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 352

ⲛⲱⲣⲉⲁ → ⲛⲟⲣⲉⲁ

238 ⲟⲇⲉⲱⲣ (odeôr)

1. NHC II 17,17 = NHC IV 26,31 (*Ap. John*)

The one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the left shoulder joint (ⲡϫⲱ ⲛⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

239 ⲟⲗⲙⲓⲥ (olmis)

1. NHC VIII 119,11 (*Zost.*)
The consort (ⲉⲧⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ) of →Solmis as the fourth luminary (φωστήρ) of the hidden-one (Kalyptos) aeon.
Barry *et al.* 2000, in : BCNH T 24: 639

2. NHC VIII 120,24 (*Zost.*)
Context partially destroyed; the fourth luminary of the Kalyptos aeon (αἰών); the name of his counterpart is not preserved.
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 639

Commentary and literature
Together with →Solmis, Olmis forms the fourth light of the Kalyptos subaeon of the Barbêlô aeon.
BCNH T 24: 639

240 ⲟⲗⲥⲏⲛ (olsên)

1. NHC VIII 47,18 (*Zost.*)
The guardian of the glory (ⲣⲉϥϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ).

Commentary and literature
Together with →Eurumeneus, →Stêtheus, and →T^{h}eopemptos, Olsen forms a group of guardians of the glory, benevolent figures located in the aeon of →Barbêlô.

241 ⲟⲗⲥⲏⲥ (olsês)

1. NHC III 65,2 = NHC IV 76,21 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Mentioned together with other salvation-bringers; the one presiding over the rising of the sun (ⲡⲉⲧϩⲓⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲧⲉϥϩⲓⲏ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ).

242 ⲟⲛⲟⲣⲑⲟⲭⲣⲁⲥ (onorthokhras) = ⲟⲛⲟⲣⲑⲟⲭⲣⲁⲥⲁⲉⲓ (onorthokhrasaei)^{v}

1. NHC II 18,11—12^{v} = NHC IV 28,6 (*Ap. John*)

The matter (ὕλη); the illimitable one (ⲁⲧⲧⲟⲱ); the mother (ⲧⲙⲁⲁⲩ) of those over the humours; She stands in the midst of them, mixes with them and nourishes them.

243 ⲟⲡⲧⲁⲱⲛ (optaôn) = [ⲡⲟ]ⲡⲧ[ⲁⲉⲓⲱ] ([po]pt[aeiô])^{v}

1. NHC VII 126,8 (*Steles Seth*)

In a hymnic passage sung by the 1st pl. subject; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲙⲓⲥⲉ).

2. NHC VIII 19,24^{v} (*Zost.*)

He has his own luminaries (φωστήρ), first of which is the mind (νοῦς) who knows him. Only the letters]ⲡⲧ[are preserved, but *P.Bodmer* LXIII (Kasser & Luisier 2007: 258) has the name completely extant.

Kasser & Luisier 2007: 263

2. NHC XI 54,31 (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲁⲧⲭⲡⲟ); according to Turner praise might be given by →Iouêl, and the name here refers to the entire Triple-Powered One.

Turner & Wintermute 1990, in: NHS 28: 257

ⲟⲣⲙⲁⲱⲑ → ⲓⲟⲣⲙⲁⲱⲑ

244 ⲟⲣⲙⲟⲥ (ormos)

1. NHC VIII 47,9 (*Zost.*)

Context partially destroyed; the one over the living seed (ⲉⲭⲛ ϯⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ <σπορά> ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ).

245 ⲟⲣⲟⲓⲁⲏⲗ (oroiaêl) = ⲟⲣⲱⲓⲁⲏⲗ (orôiaêl)^{v} = ⲱⲣⲓⲁⲏⲗ (ôriaêl)^{v2} = ⲱⲣⲟⲓⲁⲏⲗ (ôroiaêl)^{v3} = ⲱⲣⲱⲓⲏⲗ (ôrôiêl)^{v4}

1. NHC II 8,9^{v2} = NHC III 12,4^{v3} = NHC IV 12,19^{v2} = BG 33, 13^{v3} (*Ap. John*)

The second light (φωστήρ, ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) placed over the second aeon (αἰών); three aeons are associated with him: providence (πρόνοια), perception (αἴσθησις), and memory.

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 228

2. NHC II 9,14^{v4} = NHC III 13,19 = BG 36,1—2^{v3} (*Ap. John*)

The perfect man places his son Seth over the second aeon and Oroiaêl. The exact relation of Seth to Oroiaêl differs due to preposition used in each manuscripts (ⲛⲁϩⲣⲏ, ϩⲁⲧⲏ, ⲉϫⲏ).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 228

3. NHC III 51,18 = NHC IV 63,13 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The luminary (φωστήρ) begotten by the Manifestation, the great power (δύναμις, ⲥⲟⲙ) of the great light (ⲡⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

4. NHC III 52,11 = NHC IV 64,4 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The second light; perception (αἴσθεσις) is a consort (σύζυγος) of Oroiaêl in the first ogdoad of the self-generated (Autogenes).

5. NHC III 52,24 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The great second light (φωστήρ, ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ); →Gabriêl is a servant (διάκονος) of him. In NHC IV 64,18, only the first letters of the word φωστήρ are preserved.

6. NHC III 57,8 (*Gos. Eg.*)

→Gabriêl is a servant (διάκονος) of Oroiaêl.

7. NHC III 65,16 = NHC IV 77,12 (*Gos. Eg.*)

Mentioned in a long list of powers revealed or revealing themselves to somebody; the second one (ⲡⲙⲉϩⲥⲛⲁϫ); the place (ⲡⲙⲁ) of the great Seth and Jesus who came and crucified what is under the law (minor differences in manuscripts).

8. NHC VIII 29,6—7^{v3} (*Zost.*)

The luminary (φωστήρ) over the second aeon (αἰών); the power of true contemplation (ⲟⲩⲥⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲉⲓⲱⲣϩ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉ).

Barry *et al.* (2000), in: BCNH T 24: 546

9. NHC VIII 51,18^{v3} (*Zost.*)

In a badly preserved doxology directed toward various powers; a luminary (φωστήρ).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 565

10. NHC IX 6,4^{v} (*Melch.*)

In a hymn addressed to twelve aeonic figures; one of the four archistrategs (ἀρχιστρατεγός), luminaries (φωστήρ) and powers (ⲛ̄[ⲥⲟⲙ]).

Funk, Mahé & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 30—31 (esp. n.73) and 133—134

11. NHC IX 17,12^{v2} (*Melch.*)

The context is partially destroyed (in this passage the names of the luminaries except for Oroiaêl are not preserved); in the hymn addressed to the twelve aeons, with a repetitive trisagion and amen formulas, parallel to NHC IX 5,23—6,10; commander (στρατηγός); the luminary of the aeons (ϥⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ <φωστήρ> ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛ <αἰών>).

Funk, Mahé & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 30—32.

Other texts

CB p. 264, l. 6; ⲱⲣⲟⲓⲁⲏⲗ; the one of the four luminaries (φωστήρ) located in the aeons of the Wisdom (σοφία).

In Irenaeus's "great notice" *Adv. haer.* 1,29,2 in contrast to other three "luminaria" the name known from the Nag Hammadi texts does not appear, instead luminarium "Raguhel" is given, coupled with its "emissio subministranta" Thelesis: "Thelesin autem secundo, quem et nominant Raguhel."

Texts of ritual power

P.Coptic Museum inv. 4958 (Meyer 1996: 76); ⲱⲣⲓⲏⲗ; one of the four great luminaries who are ineffable in their glory (ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲉⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ <φωστήριον> ⲉⲛⲁⲧⲱⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ), and who are spread over four corners of heaven (ⲡⲉⲩⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲕⲟⲟϩ ⲉⲧⲡⲉ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

In NHC VIII 29,6—7, the name is associated with the Greek verb ὁρᾶν "to see" (Turner 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 546). Some scholars regard his name as a variation of common angelic name →Ouriêl (Van der Kerchove 2013: 279). Since other luminaries do not resemble any known angelic figures, and since the group of four luminaries is a coherent body in almost all the texts of Nag Hammadi, the introduction of an external angel Ouriêl into it is not very probable. Nevertheless, in the later Coptic literature Oroiaêl was indeed sometimes misinterpreted as widely known Ouriêl. Only Tardieu (1984) traces his origin in Zoroastrian speculation which seems unjustified. Oroiaêl in the Nag Hammadi texts is deprived of any personality and it might be identified with the second aeon itself.

Oroiaê is an original Sethian creation and belongs to the fixed group of the four luminaries. As such, he belongs to the core of the Sethian myth.

Tardieu 1984: 273; Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 544—546; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 228; Van der Kerchove 2013: 279

246 ⲟⲣⲟⲟⲣⲣⲟⲑⲟⲥ (oroorrot^{h}os)

1. NHC II 18,8 = NHC IV 28,1 (*Ap. John*)

The one over the cold (ⲡⲁⲣⲟⲱ).

247 ⲟⲥⲉⲓ (osei)

1. NHC VII 31,24 (*Paraph. Shem*)

The name of the spark (σπινθήρ); the unquenchable one (ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲙⲁϥ ⲱⲱⲙ̄); the chosen one of the light (ⲡⲉⲧⲥⲟⲧⲙ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ), the eye of the heaven (ⲡⲃⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ).

248 ⲟⲩⲇⲉⲓⲇⲓ (oudeidi) = ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲇⲓ (oudidi)[v]

1. NHC II 17,12—13[v] = NHC IV 26,25 (*Ap. John*)

The one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the right hand (ⲧⲥⲓⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

249 ⲟⲩⲉⲣⲧⲱⲛ (ouertôn)

1. NHC II 17,12 = NHC IV 26,24 (*Ap. John*)

One particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the left shoulder (ⲧⲛⲁϩⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM XII, l. 265 (PGM 2: 76; GMPT: 163); Οὐερτω; the name of god according to Parthians (κατὰ δὲ Πάρθους) with the meaning "master of all" (παντοδυνάστης).

Etymology, commentary and literature

The Egyptian *wr-t*^{3} "the great one of Earth." The author of the longer recension of *Ap. John* does not seem to be aware of this meaning, which suggests that it has not been derived from material similar to PGM XII.

Ritner 1986, in: GMPT: 163 n. 79; Quack 1995: 118

250 ⲟⲩⲙⲙⲁⲁ (oummaa)

1. NHC II 17,35 = NHC IV 27,20 (*Ap. John*)

The one in charge over imagination (φαντασία).

251 ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲏⲗ (ouriêl)

1. NHC II 17,30 (*Ap. John*)

NHC IV 27,15 fully restored on the basis of NHC II; one of the seven having the power over the limbs of the body.

Other texts

Test.Sol. 2,4 and 2,7; Οὐριήλ; an archangel (ἀρχάγγελος); he hinders the actions of the demon (δαίμων) Ornias. He helps Solomon to prevail the demon causing the sea monters to emerge from the sea and then throwing their bodies onto the demon.

Test.Sol. 8,9; Οὐριήλ; he causes the fifth spirit (πνεῦμα) and element (στοιχεῖον) called the Error (πλάνη) idle.

Test.Sol. 18,27; Οὐριήλ; his name written together with the name of Iaôt^{h} (→at^{h}ôt^{h}) causes the spirit (πνεῦμα) and element (στοιχεῖον) Ruk^{s} Mant^{h}adô to withdraw.

The angel Ouriêl is not attested in the Bible, but widespread in the texts of the Second Temple judaism.

Texts of ritual power

PGM IV, l. 1815 (PGM 1: 128; GMPT: 71); Οὐριήλ; one of the seven angelic names inscribed as "a sword" (τὸ ξίφος) on a golden leaf.

PGM XLII, l. 8 (PGM 2: 179; GMPT: 280); [Ο]ὐριήλ; reconstruction tentative; in the sequence of names of power, permutations of vowels and characters.

PGM XLIII, l. 5 (PGM 2: 179; GMPT: 281); Οὐριήλ; in the sequence of names and words of power used in the protection spell.

PGM CVI, l. 4 (Brashear 1975: 28; *Suppl.Mag.* I: 27; GMPT: 311); Οὐριήλ; in the sequence of the five angelic names in the protection spell.

PGM XC, l. 5 (*Suppl.Mag.* II: 205; Traversa 1953: 57; GMPT: 302); Οὐριήλ; in the sequence of names and words of power, many of which with Jewish connotations.

P.Kell.G. 86, right margin; Οὐριήλ; together with three other archangels in the spell against fever.

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5306, l. 10; Οὐριήλ; one of the servants of prayer (τούς διάκονας τῆς προσε[υ]χῆς) invoked in a protection spell.

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5312, l. 9; Οὐριήλ; on a list of angelic powers; the one over the fire (ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρός).

Meyer & Smith 57 (Crum 1905: 418; Meyer & Smith 1999: 104); ογριηλ; one of those "who rise with the great stars that shine upon the earth" (ετνηγ ερραι ηννοϭ ενσιογ ετροτοιν ερραι εχνπκαϩ) (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 104).

Meyer & Smith 66, l. 3v (Worrell 1935: 10; Meyer & Smith 1999: 127); ογριηλ; one of the seven archangels (ἀρχάγγελος).

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 2, l. 7 (Kropp I: 64; Meyer & Smith 1999: 135); ογριηλ; the one over the crowns (πεθιχ̄ν νεκλοη).

Meyer & Smith 92, col. I, l. 16 (Beltz 1983: 80; Meyer & Smith 1999: 195); ογριηλ; expected to take revenge over perjurers (νιρεϥωρ̄κ̄).

Meyer & Smith 117, the flesh side, l. 7 (Satzinger & Sijpesteijn 1988: 58; Meyer & Smith 1999: 236); ογριηλ; in a sequence with five other names of power (or one compound name) associated with the power Eleat^{h}.

Meyer & Smith 125, l. 3 (no edition of the Coptic text; Meyer & Smith 1999: 251); "Uriel"; one of the seven.

Meyer & Smith 129, ll. 1—2 (Kropp I: 29; Kropp II: 104; Meyer & Smith 1999: 279); ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲏⲗ; invoked together with →Mikʰaêl.

Meyer & Smith 131, ll. 7v, 45v, 47v (Kropp I: 41, 43; Kropp II: 89, 91; Meyer & Smith 1999: 287); ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲏⲗ; invoked together with other divine powers; on the list of the seven (archangels), in the phrases "sound the trumpet [before] me" (ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥⲥⲁⲗⲡⲓⲍⲉ <σαλπίζειν> ϩⲁⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙⲟⲓ) and "grant favor to my face" (ⲙⲁⲣⲉϥϯⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ <χάρις> ⲉⲡⲁϩⲟ) (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 133, p. 2, l. 3 (Worrell 1930: 242; Mirecki 1994: 441; Meyer & Smith 1999: 304); ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲏⲗ; one of the seven angels.

Meyer & Smith 134, p. 3r, l. 17; p. 4v, l. 20; p. 8v, l. 5; p. 9v, l. 15 (Pleyte & Boeser 1897: 447, 450, 456, 458; Kropp II: 164—165, but passages from pp. 8 and 9 not included; Meyer & Smith 1999: 315—316, 318—319); ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲏⲗ; an angel (ἄγγελος), an archangel (ἀρχάγγελος); one of the four holy angels standing before the one who dwells in the heaven; one of the seven powers (ⲛⲥⲟⲙ) of God and one of the names of God (ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) and archangelic names (ⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἀρχάγγελος>) with the meaning "power" (ⲧⲥⲟⲙ); then, the one of the creatures who rise with the stars of heaven on the east (ϩⲙ̄ ⲟⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲗⲏ <ἀνατολή>) — the angels associated with Ouriêl on three other instances, as →Mikʰaêl and →Gabriêl, are not mentioned here; then, one of the eight (in fact, the context requires only seven names, so one of them seems to be superfluous, perhaps interpolated in the course of the tradition) creatures of archangels (ⲛⲓⲥⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲁⲣⲭⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἀρχάγγελος>); the one who stays in front of God's presence; the one of the seven names worthy to be heard (ⲡϩⲁⲱ̄ϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲱϫⲟⲩ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 7, l. 17 (Meyer 1996: 20); ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲏⲗ; as ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲏⲗ invoked to grant safety.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 17, l. 22 (Meyer 1996: 40); ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲏⲗ; invoked in the sequence of angelic names and vowels associated with Jesus Christ.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 3, l. 14 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 48); ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲏⲗ; one of the "great names in the heights" (ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲉⲧϩⲛ ⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 7, l. 17 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 56); ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲏⲗ; in a group of four with →Gabriêl, →Mikʰaêl and Rapʰaêl; within them, there is the great one Abriôtʰ Abritʰinôth.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 8, l. 18 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 58); ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲏⲗ; the performer of the spell identifies himself as "I am Ouriêl."

P.Macq. I 1, p. 12, l. 6 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 66); ⲟⲩⲣⲓⲏⲗ; written inside the figura magica together with the three names usually associated with the luminaries. In this place Ouriêl clearly stands for →Oroiaêl.

Kotansky 1994: 105, No 26, l.,4; Οὐριήλ; one of the four angelic names written on lamella.

Kotansky 1994: 156, No 33, ll. 3, 7; Οὐριήλ; on an amulet, including long list of angelic names.

Kotansky 1994: 206, No 38, l. 1; Οὐριήλ; on a long list of names of power invoked against male and female demons.

Kotansky 1994: 222, No 41, l. 37; Οὐριήλ; on a long list of divine and angelic names invoked to protect the house.

Kotansky 1994: 249, No 48, l. 9; Οὐρειήλ; in the sequence of names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 277, No 52, l. 20 (Jordan 1991: 63; Gager 1992: 233, No 125; Gelzer *et al.* 1999: 52); Οὐριήλ; seats upon the second heaven.

Kotansky 1994: 326, No 57, ll. 2—3; Οὐ[ρ]ιήλ; in a long sequence of names of power invoked against epilepsy and headache.

Kotansky 1980b, ll. 9—10 (Kotansky 1980b: 181); Οὐ <υ>ριήλ; in a sequence of names of power, mainly associated with the Jewish God and angels, used in the spell against evil spirit and epilepsy (πτωματισμός).

Bonner 1950: 281, No 172; Οὐριήλ; Obv. Ouroboros enclosing a cock-headed anguipede holding a shield, Μιχαὴλ Ρεφαὴλ Γαβριὴλ Ουριήλ above the shield.

Bonner 1950: 283, No 179; Οὐρειήλ; Obv. A male figure, a snake and an anguipede; Rev. Μειχαὴλ Οὐρειὴλ Γαβριήλ.

Bonner 1950: 304, No 311; Οὐριήλ; Obv. A rider spearing a lying female figure; Rev.'Ιάω Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴλ Γαβριὴλ Ουριὴλ χερουβιν σεραπι and a lion below.

Bonner 1950: 310, No 338; Οὐριήλ; A male figure in a military outfit, Οὐριὴλ Σουριὴλ Γαβιρὴλ εω on the margin; Rev. Μιχαήλ and two stars.

Bonner 1950: 310, No 339; Οὐριήλ; Obv. A man in a tunic and a snake standing on its tail; inscriptions τιυξι and βοήθι; Rev. Characters and Οὐριὴλ Σαβαὼ βοήθι.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 34, No 27; Οὐριήρ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, 'Ιάω and Ἀβρασάξ on the margin; Obv. Μιχαὴλ Οὐριὴρ Σαβαώ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 35—36, No 30; Οὐριήρ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede Σαβ Ἀβρα'Ιάω; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Οὐριὴρ Γαβριὴρ Σαβαὼ'Ιάω, in the field.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 95—96, No 116; Οὐριήλ; Obv. Anubis, Οὐριὴλ Σουριὴλ Γαβριὴλ ϧω (maby Θώθ) around the figure; Rev. Μιχαήλ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 162, No 211; Οὐριήλ; Obv. A dog-headed figure holding a sceptre; an invocation to →Mik^{h}aêl around the figure; Rev. sequence of names of power with the names of Jewish God and angels, including Οὐριήλ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 251, No 350; Οὐριήλ; Obv. A lion-headed snake, Γαβριὴλ Οὐριὴλ Σουριήλ around the figure; Rev. Ἀδωναί.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 257, No 362; Οὐριήλ; Obv. A serpent, a bud of lotus, a key and other artifacts; Ἀβραξὰς Ἀδωναὶ'Ιάω Σαβαώθ around the figures; Rev. A mummy with a head of an ass; sequences of words and names of power, mainly of angels, including Οὐριήλ in the field and around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 259—260, No 365; Οὐριήλ; Obv. A lizard with'Ιάω Σαβαώθ Ἀδωνὲ'Ελεουέ; Rev. Names and words of power, including Οὐριήλ (twice).

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 321, No 471; [Οὐ]ριήλ; Obv. Characters; Rev. Vowels; Rim: [Οὐ]ριὴλ Σουριήλ.

Zazoff *et al.* 1970: 160, No 610; Οὐριήλ; Obv. A lizard; Rev. Οὐριήλ (twice).
Zazoff *et al.* 1970: 246, No 192; Οὐριήλ; Obv. A lizard; Rev. Οὐριήλ.
Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 172—173, No 2236; Οὐριήρ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Ἀβρασάξ around the figure; Rev. Μιχαὴρ Οὐριὴρ Γαβριήρ.
Zwierlein-Diehl 1993: 71, No 13; Οὐριήλ; Obv. Chnubis, ευλαμω Ἀδωναί and seven vowels; Rev. Μιχαήλ and Οὐριήλ.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Hebr. אוריאל "God is light" or "God's light" (Michl 1962); in the Coptic tradition, Ouriêl is fully acknowledged as one of the four main archangels. His name is abundant in the literature, there are churches bearing his name, and his day in the liturgical calendar (Müller 1959: 56). Sometimes, the name Souriêl also appears, but rarely those two are mentioned together, which points at their essential identity. In the Nag Hammadi corpus, Ouriêl appears only once as a minor figure in the group of the seven responsible for the limbs. In this group, except for Ouriêl, only →Mik^{h}aêl is an otherwise known angelic power. As the list of seven is present only in the longer recension of *Ap. John* that was developed in a later stage of the redaction of the text, Ouriêl should be treated as a figure from outside the core of the Sethian myth.

Müller 1959: 54—61; Michl 1962: 254—258

252 ⲡⲓⲅⲉⲣⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁ (pigeradama) = ⲡⲓⲅⲉⲣⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲛ (pigeradaman)^{v} = ⲡⲓⲅⲉⲣⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁ[ⲥ]ⲁ (pigeradama[s]a)^{v2}

1. NHC II 8,34—35^{v} (*Ap. John*)

The perfect Man (ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲗⲉⲓⲟⲥ <τέλειος>); generated by the invisible (ἀόρατος) spirit (πνεῦμα) and the self-begotten (αὐτογενής); in the parallel passage of NHC III,1, he is called Adamas, and in BG, simply, Adam.

2. NHC VII 118, 26 (*Steles Seth*)

Blessed by →Emmak^{h}a set^{h} in the 1st person sing. doxology; the father (ⲡⲓⲱⲧ) of →Emmak^{h}a set^{h}.

Jackson 1981: 389

3. NHC VIII 6,23 (*Zost.*)

In a list of powers blessed by →Zostrianos; the Forefather (ⲡⲓⲱϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉⲓⲱⲧ).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 505—506

4. NHC VIII 13,6 (*Zost.*)

The perfect child (ⲡⲓⲧⲉⲗⲓⲟⲥ <τέλειος> ⲛⲁⲗⲟⲩ); higher than God and his eye (ⲉⲧϫⲟⲥⲉ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲓⲃⲁⲗ ⲛⲧⲁϥ).

5. NHC IX 6,6^{v2} (*Melch.*)

In the hymnic passage; man of light (ⲡⲣⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ), an immortal aeon (ⲡⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓⲱⲛ <αἰών>); Funk (2001, in: BCNH T 28: 74) proposes reading ⲡⲓⲅⲉⲣⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁ[ⲛ]ⲁ.

Funk, Mahé & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 134—135; Van den Kerchove 2013: 280

Etymology, commentary and literature

All the scholars agree that the name Pigeradamas contains the name of the Biblical first man. The ⲡ (ⲡⲓ) was originally an article of an emphatic function. The rest of the name was explained in various ways and no explanation is accepted unanimously. Giversen (1963: 186—187) proposed "the name indeed (γέ) is Adamas"; Schenke (1974: 170) "the holy Adamas" (ὁ Ἱεραδαμᾶς). According to Jackson (1981) and Goehring (1996, in: NHS 30: 388), the name is a compound of the Hebrew גר ("stranger") and the name of the forefather Adam. However, according to Mahé (in: BCNH T 28: 35 n. 89) who repeats older interpretations, it should rather be associated with Greek words such as γέρων, γέρας, or γεραρός.

Pigeradamas is understood in the Sethian tradition, as the true name of the spiritual Adam, the first primordial man. The epithet ⲡⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ may be understood as "a luminous man" or "a man, inhabitant of the light."

Giversen 1963: 186—187; Schenke 1974: 170; Jackson 1981; Pearson 1981, in: NHS 15: 37; Böhlig 1989b: 424; Goehring 1996, in: NHS 30: 388; Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 505—506; Funk, Mahé & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 35.134—135; Van den Kerchove 2013: 280

253 ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲛⲇⲣⲁⲡⲧⲏⲥ (pisandraptês)

1. NHC II 17,16—17 = NHC IV 26,29—30 (*Ap. John*)
One particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the chest (ⲧⲙⲉⲥⲧϩⲏⲧ).

254 ⲡⲗⲏⲥⲓⲑⲉⲁ (plêsit^{h}ea)

1. NHC III 56,6 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The great power of the great light (ⲧⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ <δύναμις> ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ); the mother of angels (ⲧⲙⲉⲉⲩ <ⲙⲁⲁⲩ> ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος>), the mother of lights (ⲧⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ <ⲙⲁⲁⲩ> ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ), the great mother (ⲧⲙⲉⲩⲉ <ⲙⲁⲁⲩ> ⲉⲑⲁⲉⲟⲟⲩ), the virgin with four breasts (ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ <παρθένος> ⲧⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲭⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲓⲃⲉ); she came forth from Seth; she brings the fruits of Gomorrah and Sodom.
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 506

2. NHC VIII 6,32 (*Zost.*)
In a list of powers blessed by →Zostrianos; recognized as a proper name because of the superlinear stroke; identification and restoration by Barry & Turner (2000, in: BCNH T 24); Layton (1991, in: NHS 31: 42) reads ⲡ̅ⲇ̅ⲏ[.
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 505—506

3. NHC VIII 51,12 (*Zost.*)
In a list of spiritual beings blessed by →Zostrianos; the mother of angels (ϯⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος>).
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 565

Commentary and literature
One of the maternal figures in the Sethian mythological narrative. She begets the seed of Seth.
Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 506; Turner 2001: 172

255 ⲡⲓⲙⲁϩⲗ (pimaêl) = ⲡⲟⲓⲙⲁϩⲗ (poimaêl)[v]

1. NHC III 66,1—2[v] = NHC IV 78,2 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The incorruptible man (NHC III: ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲫⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲥ <ἄφθαρτος>) or holy and incorruptible one (NHC IV: ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧϫⲱϩⲙ̄); he assures the eternal life of the initiated.

256 ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲁⲛⲓⲁ (prop[h]ania)

1. NHC VIII 6,31 (*Zost.*)

The context fragmentarily preserved; probably blessed by the 1st person sing. subject together with other powers (NHC VIII 6,21).

257 ⲣⲉⲃⲟⲩϩⲗ (rebouêl)

1. NHC VII 40,13 (*Paraph. Shem*)

In a revelation directed towards Shem; a woman; the voice from the high blesses her as the only one possessing perception (ἄισθησις).

2. NHC VII 40,31 (*Paraph. Shem*)

In a revelation directed towards Shem; a woman (ⲟⲩⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ) begotten by demon (δαίμων) and the support of his power; her beheading is foretold in the revelation.

Commentary and literature

According to Roberge, Rebouêl symbolizes the false church, in which the impure baptism is practicized. As such, she is only an allegory and does not play any role in the theological system of *Paraph. Shem*.

Roberge (2000) In: BCNH T 25: 70

258 ⲣⲓⲁⲣⲁⲙⲛⲁⲕⲱ (riaramnakʰô)

1. NHC II 18,2 (*Ap. John*)

The name in NHC IV reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC II; the one in charge over the impulse (ὁρμή).

259 ⲣⲓⲭⲣⲁⲙ (rikʰram)

1. NHC II 17,32 (*Ap. John*) = NHC IV 27,16 (*Ap. John*)

One of the seven having power over the limbs of the body.

260 ⲣⲟⲉⲣⲱⲣ (roerôr)

1. NHC II 16,24 = NHC IV 25,27 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the sinews (ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲧ).

261 ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲗⲱ (sabalô)

1. NHC II 17,20 = NHC IV 27,3 (*Ap. John*)

One particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the womb (ⲡⲉⲕⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲍ̄).

262 ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ (sabaôtʰ) = ⲥⲁⲛⲃⲁⲱⲑ (sanbaôtʰ)ᵛ

1. NHC II 10,34 = NHC III 16,24—25 = BG 40,10 (*Ap. John*)

The sixth of total twelve authorities (ἐξουσία) begotten by the archon (ἄρχων); in NHC II, another name of →Adonaios who in NHC III and BG is a separate authority.

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 252—253

2. NHC II 11,31 (*Ap. John*)
The name in NHC IV reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC II; the fifth body (σῶμα) with a face of a serpent (δράκων); the parallel passages in NHC III and BG mention →Adônaios.

3. NHC II 12,22^{v} = NHC IV 19,23 = BG 43,20 (*Ap. John*)
The authority (ἐξουσία) joined with the fourth power (ⲧⲥⲟⲩ), i.e. the Lordship (NHC II and IV: ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ) or the Kingdom (BG: ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ).
Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 259—261

4. NHC II 95,13—14 (*Hyp. Arch.*)
The son (ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ) of →Ialdabaôt^{h}; astonished by the power of the fiery angel (ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲩⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱϩⲧ) created by Faith (πίστις) Wisdom (σοφία), he condemns his father and his mother-matter (ⲧⲉⲫⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲑⲩⲗⲏ <ὕυλη>).
Fallon 1978: 26—37; Fossum 1985: 304; Alexander 1999: 1061; Kaiser 2006: 323—324; Myszor 2008: 317

5. NHC II 95,23—24 (*Hyp. Arch.*)
Called "God of the powers" (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ <δύναμις>) for he is above the powers of the chaos (ⲛ̄ⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ <δύναμις> ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲟⲥ <χάος>). He praises the wisdom and the life (ζωή) who take him up and give him charge over the seventh heaven, below the veil, between, above and below (ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲁⲡⲉⲧⲁⲥⲙⲁ <καταπέτασμα> ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲡⲥⲁ ⲙⲡⲓⲧⲛ̄); the life is placed on his right and the angel of wrath (ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲟⲣⲅⲏ <ὀργή>) on his left.
Fallon 1978: 38—57; Fossum 1985: 304; Kaiser 2006: 324—325

6. NHC II 101,30 (*Orig. World*)
The third androgynous force (δύναμις) of the seven heavens of the chaos (ⲧⲥⲟⲩϥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲟⲥ <χάος>); his feminine name (πρόνοια) is a deity (ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ).

7. NHC II 103,32 (*Orig. World*)
The son (ⲡϣⲏⲣⲉ) of Ialdabaôt^{h}; when he hears the word of the faith (πίστις), he receives the authority (ἐξουσία) over all the powers of the chaos (χάος) and burns with hate for his father. Faith Wisdom pours her light (ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) down upon him.
Fallon 1978: 90—95; Fossum 1985: 303; Myszor 2008: 342; Choat & Gardner 2013: 13—14

8. NHC II 104,6 (*Orig. World*)
Illuminated by the light of Faith (πίστις) Wisdom (σοφία); he receives authority over all the powers of the chaos (ⲛⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ <δύναμις> ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲟⲥ <χάος>) and since then, he is called "Lord of the powers" (ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲙ).

Fallon 1978: 95—101; Myszor 2008: 342

9. NHC II 104,18 (*Orig. World*)
Authorities (ἐξουσία) of the chaos (χάος) wage war against him; Faith Wisdom sends archangels (ἀρχάγγελος) to assist him and establishes a kingdom (ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲟ) for him above the twelve gods of the chaos (ⲡⲙⲛⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲟⲥ <χάος>).

10. NHC II 104,26 (*Orig. World*)
Faith Wisdom gives him great authority (ἐξουσία) and her daughter, the Life (ζωή), as a consort. He makes a great place (ⲡⲙⲁ) and a throne (θρόνος) for himself. Then, he creates the church of angels (ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ <ἐκκλησία> ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος>: NHC II 105,20—106,19).

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11. NHC II 106,20 (*Orig. World*)
The prime parent of the chaos (ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲅⲉⲛⲉⲧⲱⲣ <ἀρχιγενέτωρ> ⲙⲡⲭⲁⲟⲥ <χάος>, i.e. →Ialdabaôt^{h} envies the glory and greatness of Sabaôt^{h}.

12. NHC II 106,25 (*Orig. World*)
The prime parent of the chaos (ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲅⲉⲛⲉⲧⲱⲣ <ἀρχιγενέτωρ> ⲙⲡⲭⲁⲟⲥ <χάος>, i.e. →Ialdabaôt^{h}) establishes the death (ⲡⲙⲟⲩ) over the six heavens to snatch up Sabaôt^{h} from the sixth heaven.

13. NHC II 107,5 (*Orig. World*)
The Life, consort of Sabaôt^{h}, creates seven good androgynous powers (ⲛⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ <δύναμις> ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲧⲥⲣⲓⲙⲉ) against demons (δαίμων) created by the death.

14. NHC II 113,13 (*Orig. World*)
The Life is with (ⲧⲁⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲧⲛ̄) Sabaôt^{h} as his consort.

15. NHC II 114,16 (*Orig. World*)
The souls (ψυχή) are manifested before Sabaôt^{h} and his Christ (χριστός) before entering their forms (πλάσμα).

16. NHC III 58,14—15 (*Gos. Eg.*)

Another name of →Adônaios, the fifth of the twelve assisting angels (ⲡⲉⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲓ <παραστατεῖν>).

17. NHC IV 26,19 (*Ap. John*)

There is no parallel in other manuscripts of *Ap. John*; one of the seven appointed over the creator angels of the body limbs.

Other texts

CB p. 100, l. 26 (2Jeu); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the father of Tarik^{h}eas.

CB p. 115, l. 20 (2Jeu); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; also called Adamas (ⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ) by Jesus; the rulers (ἀρχηγός) depend on him. His evil is over the disciples of Jesus, however Jesus's Father may compel him to take this evil away.

CB p. 119, l. 13 (2Jeu); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the great (ⲡⲛⲟϭ). He is connected somehow with the thesaurus of light (ⲡⲁⲡⲉ⊡ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ), probably as its guardian. He defines his own rank (τάξις) and also gives his seal, mystery and secret name to the ascending one.

CA p. 14, l. 1 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the great one (ⲛⲟϭ); the good one (ἀγαθός); of the place in the right (ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ); his power is cast by Jesus into Mary.

CA p. 28, l. 1 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the lord (ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ); his role is explained in the paraphrase of Isa 19:12; understood as a spiritual interpretation (παραβολή) of Egypt.

CA p. 28, ll. 7—8 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the lord (ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ); in a paraphrase of Isa 19:12.

CA p. 28, l. 13 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the lord (ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ); in a paraphrase of Isa 19:12.

CA p. 28, l. 14 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the good one (ἀγαθός); in the place of the right side (ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ); his light is in the material (ὑλικός) body (σῶμα) of Jesus.

CA p. 123, ll. 16—17 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the good one (ἀγαθός); his power (ⲧϭⲟⲙ) is in Jesus.

CA p. 123, l. 24 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the peace (εἰρήνη) is his power (ⲧϭⲟⲙ) in Jesus.

CA p. 124, l. 4 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the good one (ἀγαθός); his power (ⲧϭⲟⲙ) sprouted from the earth, i.e. from Mary, mother of Jesus.

CA p. 124, l. 21 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the mercy (ⲡⲛⲁ) is his power (ⲧϭⲟⲙ) in Mary, mother of Jesus.

CA p. 125, l. 11 (Pistis Sophia I); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the good one (ἀγαθός); the truth (ⲧⲙⲉ) is his power (ⲧϭⲟⲙ) in the material (ὑλικός) body (σῶμα) of Jesus.

CA p. 127, l. 15 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the good one (ἀγαθός). Jesus enters into him.

CA p. 128, l. 1 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the good one (ἀγαθός); the truth (ⲧⲙⲉ) is his power (ⲧⲥⲟⲙ).

CA p. 128, l. 3 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the little one (ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ); the good one (ἀγαθός); he casts the truth into the matter (ὕλη) of →Barbêlô.

CA p. 128, l. 11 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the good one (ἀγαθός); Jesus baptizes (βαπτίζω) his power (ⲧⲥⲟⲙ).

CA p. 128, l. 14 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the peace (εἰρήνη) is his power (ⲧⲥⲟⲙ), i.e. the soul (ψύχη) of Jesus which entered into the matter (ὕλη) of →Barbêlô.

CA p. 128, l. 19 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the good one (ἀγαθός); the peace (εἰρήνη) is his power (ⲧⲥⲟⲙ) that comes out from the right s (ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ), comes into places (τόπος) of the left (ϩⲃⲟⲩⲣ), and is outside the treasury (θησαυρός).

CA p. 129, l. 15 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; Jesus's soul (ψύχη) is given by him.

CA p. 194, l. 19 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the great one (ⲡⲛⲟⲥ); the good one (ἀγαθός); together with other spiritual powers, he will be the king in the first saviour of the first voice in the treasury of the light (ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡϫⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧϫⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ).

CA p. 195, l. 12 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the great one (ⲡⲛⲟⲥ); the good one (ἀγαθός); Jesus calls him his father; he came forth from →Ieou.

CA p. 217, l. 8 (Pistis Sophia II); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the good (ἀγαθός).

CA p. 291, ll. 6, 10 (Pistis Sophia III); the great one (ⲡⲛⲟⲥ); the good one (ἀγαθός); called the Father; the one above the gate od life in the place of the right (ⲧⲡⲩⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ̄ ϩⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ); the souls give glory to him.

CA p. 355, ll. 17, 21 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; Adamas; the ruler over six aeons; he practices sexual relations with his archons.

CA p. 356, l. 4 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; Jesus' Father bounds Sabaôth and his archons in the sphere (σφαῖρα).

CA p. 357, l. 3 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the little (ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ); the good (ἀγαθός); of the midst (ⲡⲁⲧⲙⲉⲥⲟⲥ); →Ieou takes out his power and bounds it to →Zeus.

CA p. 361, l. 18 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the little one (ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ); perhaps another name of →Zeus; when he comes to the first aeon of the sphere (σφαῖρα), i.e. Aries (κρίος), the veils (καταπέτασμα) between the right and the left are drawn aside.

CA p. 361, l. 25 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the great one (ⲡⲛⲟⲥ); the good one (ἀγαθός); his look dissolves the places (τόπος) of →Paraplekˢ.

CA p. 362, l. 18 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the little one (ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ); the good one (ἀγαθός); in this world (κόσμος) called →Zeus; when he comes to the fourth aeon of the sphere (σφαῖρα), i. e. Cancer (καρκίνος), the veils (καταπέτασμα) between the right and the left are drawn aside.

CA p. 363, l. 21 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the little one (ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ); the good one (ἀγαθός); of the midst (ⲡⲁⲧⲙⲉⲥⲟⲥ); in this world (κόσμος) called →Zeus; when he comes to the eighth aeon of the sphere (σφαῖρα), i.e. Scorpio (σκορπίος), veils (καταπέτασμα) between the right and the left are drawn aside.

CA p. 364, l. 18 (Pistis Sophia IV); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the little one (ⲡⲕⲟⲩⲓ); the good (ἀγαθός); of the midst (ⲡⲁⲧⲙⲉⲥⲟⲥ); in this world (κόσμος) called →Zeus;

when he comes to the ninth aeon of the sphere (σφαῖρα), i.e. Sagittarius (τοξότης), the veils (καταπέτασμα) between the right and the left are drawn aside.

CA p. 366, l. 1 (Pistis Sophia IV); ϲαβαωθ; the little one (πκογι); the good one (ἀγαθός); in this world (κόσμος) called →Zeus; when he comes to the eleventh aeon of the sphere (σφαῖρα), i.e. Aquarius (ὑδρηχόος), the veils (καταπέτασμα) between the right and the left are drawn aside.

CA p. 374, l. 19 (Pistis Sophia IV); ϲαβαωθ; Ialouham is his paralemptes.

CA p. 376, l. 5 (Pistis Sophia IV); ϲαβαωθ; Ialouham is his paralemptes.

CA p. 378, l. 17 (Pistis Sophia IV); ϲαβαωθ; Ialouham is his paralemptes.

CA p. 379, l. 17 (Pistis Sophia IV); ϲαβαωθ; Ialouham is his paralemptes.

CA p. 382, l. 13 (Pistis Sophia IV); ϲαβαωθ; the little one (πκογι); the good one (ἀγαθός); the one of the midst (πατμεϲοϲ); the virgin (παρθένος) of the light put the rightenous soul in his presence till the sphere turns.

CA p. 382, l. 22 (Pistis Sophia IV); ϲαβαωθ; Ialouham is his paralemptes.

CA p. 383, l. 3 (Pistis Sophia IV); ϲαβαωθ; the little one (πκογι); the good one (ἀγαθός); of the midst (πατμεϲοϲ); he has his paralemptai (παραλήμπτης) who treat the soul with cup of wisdom.

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,30,5 and 11; Sabaoth; in the system of Ophites (Irenaeus's "alii"), the third power (called also a heaven, an angel and a creator) of hebdomade (Ebdomas); to him belong the prophets Elijah, Joel and Zechariah.

Origen, *C.Cels.* 6,31; Σαβαώθ; the third archon in the ascension text ascribed to the Ophite; associated with the planet Mars.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 26,10,3—12; Σαβαώθ; in the system of the "Gnostics," he is the creator of the earth, and heavens inhabited by his own angels; he has the shape of a dragon and hair of a woman; according to some, he has the face of an ass, according to others, of a pig. Sabaôt^{h} swallows the souls of the men without gnosis and has them incarnated into animals, but the Gnostics pass him by and go up to →Barbelô.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 40,2,6; Σαβαώθ; in the system of Archontics, the one over the archons residing in the eight heaven; he instituted baptism.

Epiphanius, *Haer.* 45,1,4; Σαβαώθ; in the system of Severians, Sabaôt^{h} called also Ialdabaôt^{h} is a chief archon and a father of the serpent-like devil.

Berlin.Kopt.Buch No 128, l. 6; [c]ⲁ̣ⲃⲁⲱⲑ̣; the second of the seven archons in the system of the Sethians (ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲑⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ).

Test.Sol. 18,16: Σαβαώθ; he has two sons: Iae (→Iaue) and Ieô. A formula with their names, if written and worn on the neck, causes the spirit and the element Sap^{h}t^{h}oraêl to withdraw.

Texts of ritual power

PGM II, l. 116 (PGM 1: 28; GMPT: 16); Σαβαώθ; among other *voces magicae* and names of power associated with a supreme deity.

PGM II, figura magica (PGM 1: 30; GMPT: 18);

PGM III, l. 76 (PGM 1: 36; GMPT: 20); Σαβαώθ; written in the figura magica of a headless one; between the arms of the figure.

PGM III, l. 76 (PGM 1: 36; GMPT: 20); Σαβαώθ; associated with figura magica; in the sequence ὁρκίζω σε Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ, Ἀδωναί, Ἀβρασὰξ.

PGM III, l. 219 (PGM 1: 42; GMPT: 24); Σα[βαώθ]; lord of the world (ἄναξ κόσμοιο); who veils sunset from dawn (ὃς δύσιν ἀντολίῃσιν ἐπισκεπάζε<ι>ς).

PGM III, l. 266, (PGM 1: 44; GMPT: 26); Σ]αβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power.

PGM III, l. 268, (PGM 1: 44; GMPT: 26); Σαβαώθ; context partially destroyed; in the sequence of names of power.

PGM III, l. 275 (PGM 1: 44; GMPT: 26); Σαβαώθ; context partially destroyed; probably a name of power.

PGM III, l. 447 (PGM 1: 52; GMPT: 30); Σαβαώ[θ; context partially destroyed; a name of power spoken as a part of the formula for memory.

PGM III, l. 653 (PGM 1: 60; GMPT: 35); ϲαβαω[θ; in the sequence of names of power mainly of the Semitic origin.

PGM IV, l. 14 (PGM 1: 66; DuQuesne 1991: 28; GMPT: 36); ϲαβαωθ; Altabaôt^{h} is invoked to bring Sabaôt^{h} to a practitioner.

PGM IV, l. 20 (PGM 1: 66; DuQuesne 1991: 37; GMPT: 37); ϲαβαωθ; in the sequence of words and names of power αχνογι αχαη αβρα αβρα ϲαβαωθ. In the analysis of the text given by the DuQuesne (1991: 37—38), the sequence does not correspond with the "male gods" mentioned in the precedent verse.

PGM IV, l. 92 (PGM 1: 70; GMPT: 39); ϲαβαωθ in the sequence of names of power, mainly of Hebrew origin.

PGM IV, l. 390 (PGM 1: 84; GMPT: 45; Gager 1992: 95, No 27); Σαβαώθ; one of the names of the ruler of the world (ὁ κύριος κόσμου).

PGM IV, l. 981 (PGM 1: 106; GMPT: 57); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power associated with "the holy light" (ἱερὸν φῶς).

PGM IV, l. 1235—1236 (PGM 1: 114; GMPT: 62); ϲαβαωθ; as ιαω ϲαβαωθ invoked together with God of Abraham, God of Isaac and Jesus Chrestos against an impure demon.

PGM IV, l. 1377 (PGM 1: 118; GMPT: 64); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power associated with "holy, very powerful," etc. powers.

PGM IV, l. 1485 (PGM 1: 122; GMPT: 66); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power by which "the gods, the phantoms of these dead" (θεοί, τὰ εἴδωλα τῶν νεκύων) (transl. GMPT: 66) are adjured.

PGM IV, l. 1538 (PGM 1: 122; GMPT: 67); Σαβαώθ; one of the very forcing and strong names (τῶν ἐπακολουθοτέρων καὶ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων) by which the myrrh is adjured.

PGM IV, l. 1569 (PGM 1: 124; GMPT: 67); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power and *voces magicae* associated with the self-generated, ever-lasting god (αὐτογενέτωρ, ἀείζων θεός).

PGM IV, l. 1628 (PGM 1: 124; GMPT: 69); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names associated with "the greatest in heaven" (τὸν μέγαν ἐν οὐρανῷ).

PGM IV, ll. 3052—3053 (PGM 1: 170; GMPT: 97); Σαβαώθ; the great god (μέγας θεός); the historiolae about drawing back Jordan and the Red Sea, and about the division and distribution of languages are given.

PGM IV, l. 3259 (PGM 1: 178; GMPT: 101); Σαβαώθ; the name to be written on the breast of an ass drawn on an unbaked brick in the curse spell.

PGM V, l. 134 (PGM 1: 186; GMPT: 103); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power associated with "the mighty headless one" (ἀκέφαλος).

PGM V, l. 352 (PGM 1: 192; GMPT: 106); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names associated with the greatest demon (ὁ μέγιστος δαίμων), intended to be written on a magical papyrus.

PGM VI, l. 33 (PGM 1: 200; GMPT: 111); Σ[αβ]αώθ; one of the names of power associated with Apollo as the son of Leto.

PGM VI, l. 42 (PGM 1: 200; GMPT: 112); Σαβαώθ; one of the names of power associated with Apollo.

PGM VII, l. 211 (PGM 2: 9; GMPT: 121); Σαβαώθ; invoked against fever to be repeated seven times.

PGM VII, ll. 220, 220a—b (PGM 2: 10; GMPT: 122); Σαβαώθ; together with other names of power to be written on phylactery against fever.

PGM VII, l. 311 (PGM 2: 14; GMPT: 125); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power to be written on a phylacterion.

PGM VII, l. 318 (PGM 2: 14; GMPT: 126); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names and words of power to be written on a phylacterion.

PGM VII, l. 597 (PGM 2: 27; GMPT: 135); [Σα]βαώθ; prescribed to be written on the wick of the lamp used in the attraction spell.

PGM VII, l. 605 (PGM 2: 27; GMPT: 135); Σαβαώθ; he "emitted three cries" (ἔβαλεν τὰς τρεῖς κραυγάς), given as an example of blasphemy (?).

PGM VII, l. 626 (PGM 2: 28; GMPT: 135); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names and words of power in the love-charm.

PGM VII, l. 649 (PGM 2: 29; GMPT: 136); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of words, names of power, and vowel permutations in the love-charm over the cup.

PGM VII, l. 1005—1006 (PGM 2: 44; GMPT: 144); Σα]βα[ώθ; invoked in the conjuration of the demon of the dead (νεκύδαιμον).

PGM VII, l. 1012 (PGM 2: 44; GMPT: 145); Σαβ]αώθ; invoked in the purpose of divination by a dream.

PGM VIII, l. 60 (PGM 2: 48; GMPT: 146); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of "the great names" (τὰ μεγάλα ὀνόματα) written in the business favour spell.

PGM VIII, l. 96 (PGM 2: 50; GMPT: 147); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power associated with the "the god placed over necessity" (τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀνάγκης τεταγμένον θεόν).

PGM X, l. 6 (PGM 2: 52; GMPT: 149); Σαβαώθ; the context partially destroyed; in the sequence of names of power in the love-spell.

PGM XII, l. 74 (PGM 2: 62; Daniel 1991: 6; GMPT: 155); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the "god of all gods" (θεὸς θεῶν ἁπάντων).

PGM XII, l. 80 (PGM 2: 62; Daniel 1991: 6; GMPT: 156); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with "the child, the living-god, the one of beautiful shape" (ὁ νήπιος, ὁ ζῶν θεός, ὁ ἔχων μορφὴν), (transl. GMPT: 156); all of the epithets refer to the Egyptian deity Onnophris (GMPT: 156, n. 19).

PGM XII, l. 207 (PGM 2: 72; Daniel 1991: 12; GMPT: 161; Σαβαώθ; as Ἰάω Σαβαώθ; the great, holy and omnipotent name (ἐπιγράψεις τὸ μέγα καὶ ἅγιον καὶ κατὰ πάντων, τὸ ὄνομα); prescribed to be written on an engraved jasper.

PGM XII, l. 264 (PGM 2: 76; Daniel 1991: 16; GMPT: 163); Σαβαώθ; as Ἀδωναῖε Σαβαώθ given as the name of the lord (κύριος) according to the Jews (κατὰ δ'Ἰουδαίους).

PGM XII, l. 268 (PGM 2: 76; Daniel 1991: 16; GMPT: 163); Σαβαώθ; one of the names of power prescribed to be inscribed on the back side of the stone (i.e. jasper).

PGM XII, l. 285 (PGM 2: 77; Daniel 1991: 18; GMPT: 164); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names and words of power, and vowel permutations associated with "the greatest god, who surpasses all the power" (Θεὲ μέγιστε, ὃς ὑπερβάλλεις τὴν πᾶσαν δύναμιν).

PGM XIII, l. 79 (PGM 2: 91; Daniel 1991: 34; GMPT: 174); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names and words of power, and permutations of vowels associated with the glory (ἡ δόξα) of Helios.

PGM XIII, l. 146 (PGM 2: 94; Daniel 1991: 38; GMPT: 176); Σαβαώθ; one of the first angels (ὁ οἱ πρῶτοι φανέντες ἄγγελοι).

PGM XIII, l. 451 (PGM 2: 109; Daniel 1991: 52; GMPT: 184); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of words of power and permutations of vowels associated with the creator. If the next sentence refers to the preceding set of words, Sabaôt^{h} might be rather understood as one of the first appeared angels (οἱ πρῶτοι φανέντες ἄγγελοι).

PGM XIII, l. 925 (PGM 2: 127; Daniel 1991: 72; GMPT: 193); Σαβαώθ; as Ἰάω Σαβαώθ in a lengthy sequence of words, and names of power, and permutations of vowels associated with the great heaven (ὁ οὐρανός μέγας).

PDM xiv, l. 278 [col. X, l. 4] (Griffith & Thompson 1904: 74; GMPT: 212); *s'b^{j}'-o-th*; in the sequence of names of power referring to the Jewish God used by a practitioner to invoke Abubis.

PGM XV, l. 14 (PGM 2: 134; GMPT: 251); Σαβαώ; in a compound name of the greatest demon (ὁ μέγιστος δαίμων).

PGM XVI, l. 9 (PGM 2: 135; GMPT: 252); Σαβ[αώθ]; in the sequence of names and words of power used to conjure the demon of the dead (νεκυδαίμων).

PGM XVIIIa, l. 1 (PGM 2: 140; GMPT: 255); Σαβαώθ; the lord (κύριος); invoked to repel the pain.

PGM XXIIa, l. 24 (PGM 2: 148; GMPT: 260); Σαβαώθ; a paradigm of richness in a prayer of favor addressed to Helios; the god over the heavens.

PGM XXIIb, l. 15 (PGM 2: 149; GMPT: 261); [Σα]βα[ώθ; context partially destroyed, in the sequence of names of power.

PGM XXIIb, l. 20 (PGM 2: 149; GMPT: 261); Σαβαώθ; context partially destroyed; in the sequence of names of power; god of gods (θεός θεῶν) who has a secret name (ὁ ἔχων τὸ κρυπτὸν ὄνομα)

PGM XXVc (PGM 2: 153; GMPT: 264); Ζαβαώτ; the text contains only the invocation "Holy Lord Zabaôt."

PGM XXVIIIa, l. 1 (PGM 2: 154; GMPT: 265); Σαβ[α]ώθ; in the sequence of names of power mainly of Hebrew origin used in the binding spell.

PGM XXVIIIb, l. 5 (PGM 2: 155; GMPT: 265); Σαβ[α]ώθ; in the sequence of names of power mainly of Hebrew origin, used as a binding spell.

PGM XXXV, l. 20 (PGM 2: 161; GMPT: 268); Σαβαώθ; the divine is invoked in this spell among others by the strength (ἰσχύς) of Sabaôth^{h}.

PGM XXXV, ll. 27—28 (three times) (PGM 2: 162; GMPT: 268); Σαβαώθ; the element of the compound name of power conjured in the sequence of names and the enumerations and variations of the name Sabaôth^{h} itself.

PGM XXXXVI, l. 42 (PGM 2: 164; GMPT: 270); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power identified as the lord angels (κύριοι ἄγγελοι).

PGM XXXVI, l. 197 (PGM 2: 169; GMPT: 274); Σαβαώθ; as'Ιάω Σαβαώθ associated with the victory and prescribed to be written on an ostracon with the love spell.

PGM XXXVI, l. 308 (PGM 2: 173; GMPT: 276); Σαβαώθ; one of the words and names of power prescribed to be adjured in the love spell.

PGM XXXVI, l. 349 (PGM 2: 175; GMPT: 277); Σαβαώθ; one of the "strong and great names" (τῶν κραταιῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὀνομάτων) used in the love spell.

PGM XLII, l. 7 (PGM 2: 179; GMPT: 280); Σαβ[αώθ; in the sequence of names of power, permutations of vowels and characters.

PGM XLIII, ll. 11, 18 (PGM 2: 179; GMPT: 281); Σαβαώθ, Σα[βαώ]θ; in the sequence of names and words of power used in the protection spell.

PGM XLVII, l. 15 (PGM 2: 181; GMPT: 282); Σαβα[ώ]θ; context partially destroyed; adjured in the protection spell.

PGM LIX, l. 4 (PGM 2: 187; GMPT: 286); Σ]αβαώ; in the sequence of four names of power, probably given as a compound name of the god.

PGM LXVII, l. 10 (PGM 2: 200; GMPT: 296); Σ]αβαώ[θ; in the sequence of names of power, probably in the compound holy name of a demon (ἅγιον ὄνομα τοῦ δαίμονος).

PGM LXXXIII, l. 6 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 79; GMPT: 300); Σαβαώθ; conjured against fever.

PGM LXXXIII, l. 16 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 79; GMPT: 300); Σαβαώθ; in the trisagion formula; conjured against fever.

PGM LXXXIII, ll. 19—20 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 79; GMPT: 300); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power associated with the God of the Old Testament.

PGM CVI, 1. 6 (Brashear 1975: 28; *Suppl.Mag.* I: 27; GMPT: 310—311); Σα]βαώθ, Σαβαωθ; in the sequence of names and words of power used in the protection spell.

PGM XC, l. 12 (*Suppl.Mag.* II: 205; cf. previous reading by Traversa 1953: 58; GMPT: 302); Σ[α]βαώθ; Invoked as Ιάω Σαβαώθ to deliver the horse from evil.

PGM CXII, l. 7 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 44; GMPT: 313); Σβαώθ; in the sequence of words and names of power.

PGM CXXIIIf, fr. B, l. 4 (Maltomini 1980: 69; GMPT: 320); Σαβαώθ; together with other words and names of power on the margin of a figura magica.

PGM CXXVb (Maltomini 1980: 116; GMPT: 320); Σαβαώθ; context almost completely destroyed; in the sequence of names of power.

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305, col. II, l. 13; Σαβαόθ; in a spell for attraction (ἀγώγιμον); as Ἰάω Σαβαόθ in the sequence of names of power, partially of Semitic origin.

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5305, col. III, l. 7; Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of words and names of power prescribed to be written on papyrus in a spell for favor (χαριτήσιον).

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5306, l. 26; Σαβαώθ; as Χαρχααικ Σαβαώθ invoked in a protection spell called "prayer of Adam."

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5306, l. 27; Σαβαώθ; the unnamed power above Σαβαώθ invoked in a protection spell called "prayer of Adam."

PDM xiv, l. 277 [col. X, l. 4] (DMP I: 74; GMPT: 212); *sʿbʿ-ʿo-th*; in the sequence of names of power understood as names of gods.

PDM xiv, ll. 523—524 [col. XVIII, ll. 2—3] (DMP I: 118; GMPT: 214); *sʿbʿ-ʿo-th*; the great god.

PDM xiv, l. 1119 [col. XXIIv, l. 10] (DMP I: 194; GMPT: 248); *sʿbʿ-ʿo-th*; in the sequence of names of power; one of the great gods, who appears with the sun.

Meyer & Smith 43, ll. 104, 121 (Worrell 1935: 22—23; Meyer & Smith 1999: 87); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; as ⲓⲁⲱ ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in an invocation "give me the grace (χάρις) of Sabaoth" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 87).

Meyer & Smith 50, l. 7 (Stegemann 1934: 38; Kropp II: 222; Meyer & Smith 1999: 98); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; "healing through the power of the lordship (ⲧⲥⲟⲙ ⲛⲧⲏⲏⲧϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ) of Yao Sabaoth" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 59, l. 18r (Römer & Thissen 1990: 176; Meyer & Smith 1999: 110); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; invoked as "god."

Meyer & Smith 62, l. 1 (Drescher 1950: 266; Meyer & Smith 116); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in a fragmentarily preserved context; in the sequence ⲁⲓⲱ ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲁⲗⲱⲛⲁⲓ.

Meyer & Smith 63, l. 12v (Beltz 1985: 33; Kropp II: 115; Meyer & Smith 1999: 119); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; among other names of power of mainly Hebrew origin.

Meyer & Smith 64, ll. 34, 38, 40, 111 (Crum 1905: 254—255; Kropp I: 16.19; Kropp II: 201, 203; Meyer & Smith 1999: 122, 124); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱ, ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ, ϲⲁⲃⲃⲁⲱⲑ. Crum's readings are not always proper. Kropp's text is much better in given places; Sabaôt^{h} invoked together with other names of power, mainly of Hebrew origin.

Meyer & Smith 66, l. 12v (Worrell 1935: 10; Meyer & Smith 1999: 127); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; mentioned the seventh heaven where sits ⲓⲁⲱ ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ.

Meyer & Smith 67 (Crum 1909: 54; Kropp II: 68; Meyer & Smith 1999: 128); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in the protection spell against reptiles; the phrase: "the mouth of the lord Sabaoth said" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999) appears twice.

Meyer & Smith 70, ll. 11, 23, 25, 57, 63, 123 (Crum 1905: 418—420; Kropp I: 22—24, 26; Kropp II: 149—151, 153; Choat & Gardner 2013: 107—108, 110; Meyer & Smith 130—132); caβaωθ; "Lake Acherousia (ταχελογcια λιμνη <ἀχερουσία λίμνη>), which flows from under the throne (θρόνος) of Yao Sabaoth. The name of that area is called Salamites (cαλαμιτηc), the faith of Yao Sabaoth" (ll. 21—24; transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 131); the phrase: "He carried the head of the father Sabaoth. He went up in a form of light and peace" (ll. 34—26; transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 131); also in compound names of power, mainly of Hebrew origin, "almighty (παντοκράτωρ) Yao Sabaoth" etc. (l. 62) among them.

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 1, l. 18; p. 3, l. 19; p. 4, l. 2; p. 5, l. 8; p. 9, ll. 2, 4, 20—21; p. 11, l. 11; p. 13, l. 21; p. 14, l. 8; p. 17, ll. 7, 10; p. 18, l. 17; p. 19, l. 1 (Kropp I: 64—66, 69, 71—73, 75—77; Kropp II: 176, 178—179, 182—183, 185—186, 188—190; Meyer & Smith 1999: 135—136, 138—139, 141, 143—144); caβaωθ; divine power invoked by the will (ⲡⲟⲩⲱϣ) of Sabaôt^{h} (p. 1, l. 18); glorified together with all the stars (ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲥⲓⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ; p. 5, ll. 8—9); invoked by the trisagion as the lord (κύριος; p. 3, l. 19); as the holy one (ἅγιος); as ιαω caβaωθ αδωναι ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲇⲟⲕⲣⲁⲇⲱⲣ (παντοκράτωρ; p. 11, l. 11), or in compound sequences of *nomina barbara*.

Meyer & Smith 77, l. 1 (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 375; Meyer & Smith 1999: 162); ca]βaωθ; in the reconstructed phrase referring to the throne of ιαω ca]βaωθ.

Meyer & Smith 80, recto (Crum 1934b: 199; Meyer & Smith 1999: 170); caβaω; the compound name ιαω caβaω as a frame around the figure resembling the cat's mummy.

Meyer & Smith 82, l. 3 (Worrell 1935: 184; Meyer & Smith 1999: 175); caβaωθ; invoked "oil that flows from under the throne (ⲡⲛⲉϩ ⲉⲧϩⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲁ ⲡⲉⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ <θρόνος>) of Yao Sabaoth" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 175).

Meyer & Smith 83, l. 14 (MacCoull 1979—1982: 11; Meyer & Smith 1999: 176); χaβaωθ; in the sequence of the divine names of Jewish origin, "god of gods, lord of lords" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999).

Meyer & Smith 84, l. 2 (Smither 1939: 173; Meyer & Smith 1999: 177); caϥaωθ; the power of ιαω caϥaωθ invoked.

Meyer & Smith 88 (twice) (Crum 1905: 506; Kropp II: 225—226; Meyer & Smith 1999: 187—188); caβaωθ; the power of the lord (πιχαεις) Sabaôt^{h} invoked.

Meyer & Smith 90, ll. 22, 26, (Ernštedt 1959: 153; Kropp II: 232—233; Meyer & Smith 1999: 191); caβaωθ; the lord; invoked against the enemies.

Meyer & Smith 91, ll. 2r, 13r, 16r, 28r (Crum 1896: 85—86; Kropp II: 236; Meyer & Smith 1999: 192—194); caβaωθ; in a curse; invocation laid before the throne (θρόνος) of the "god the almighty (παντοκράτωρ) Sabaoth" (l. 2; transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 192); invoked by the trisagion (l. 13r); a sequence of divine names mainly of Hebrew origin (l. 16r).

Meyer & Smith 104, ll. 3, 16 (Worrell 1935: 14—15; Meyer & Smith 1999: 211—212); caβaωτ; in a curse; adjured as caωτ caβaωτ (l. 3).

Meyer & Smith 105, l. 1 (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 400; Meyer & Smith 1999: 212); caβaωθ; as ιαω caβaωθ in the sequence of adjured names of power.

Meyer & Smith 117, flesh side (Satzinger & Sijpesteijn 1988: 61; Meyer & Smith 1999: 237); ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ associated with Ouroboros and *nomina barbara*.

Meyer & Smith 121, ll. 2, 7 (Beltz 1983: 69; Kropp II: 109; Meyer-Smith 1999: 245); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; invoked by the trisagion (l. 7).

Meyer & Smith 123, l. 24 (Erman 1895: 133; Kropp II: 15; Meyer & Smith 1999: 250); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the true name of Sabaoth is Apabat^{h}ouêl.

Meyer & Smith 125, 1. 5 (No edition of the Coptic text; Meyer & Smith 1999: 251); "Sabaoth"; a sequence of divine and angelic names of Semitic origin: '"Yao Sabaoth Adonai Eloai," etc.

Meyer & Smith 127, ll. 45, 102 (Kropp I: 58.61; Kropp II: 44, but only l. 45 contained; Meyer & Smith 1999: 266, 269); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the true name of the father is ⲁⲓⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ (l. 45); in the sequence of names of power mainly of Hebrew origin (l. 102).

Meyer & Smith 128, l. 6 (Kropp I: 50; Kropp II: 32; Meyer & Smith 1999: 270); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in a long sequence of different *nomina barbara*.

Meyer & Smith 131, ll. 12r, 39r, 39v, 59r, 62v, 98r (Kropp I: 36—37, 39, 42—43; Kropp II: 91, 135, 137, 139; Kropp 1965: 14, 16, but only 39r and 59r contained; Meyer & Smith 1999: 283—285); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; usually invoked in the sequence of divine names of Hebrew origin; invoked with a variation of trisagion (l. 39v).

Meyer & Smith 132, ll. 15, 22, 55 (Kropp I: 47—49; Kropp II: 58.60; Meyer & Smith 1999: 290—291); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in all cases in the phrase ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; Before him, there is a cloud of light (ll. 14—16: ⲧⲉⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

Meyer & Smith 133, p. 17, l. 16 (Worrell 1930: 253; Mirecki 1994: 451; Meyer & Smith 1999: 309); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in a very long sequence of *nomina barbara*.

Meyer & Smith 134, p. 1r, l. 10; p. 2v, l. 6; p. 9r, l. 15; p. 10r, ll. 19—20, 22 (Pleyte & Boeser 1897: 442, 445, 457, 459; Kropp II: 162—163, 172, 174; Meyer & Smith 1999: 314—315, 318—319); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; one of the names (or part of a compound name) of the God almighty, the father of the whole world, etc.; always in the sequence of names of power, mainly of Hebrew origin, typically (except for p. 10): ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲗⲱⲉⲓ ⲉⲗⲉⲙⲁⲥ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; more unusual epithet is "the morning star" (ⲥⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲣⲧⲟⲩⲉ, p. 1, ll. 7r—8r).

Meyer & Smith 135, ll. 52, 113, 118, 201, 239 (Kropp 1966: 19, 31, 43, 47; Meyer & Smith 1999: 328, 332, 336, 338); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; once as Jesus Christ Sabaoth (l. 239); invoked by the trisagion or in the distorted last sentence of Jesus on the cross; Methemon is "the great name of the lord Sabaoth" (l. 52; transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 328).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 2, l. 11 (Meyer 1996: 10); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; praised as the strongest one, who exists before all aeons (αἰών), whom the throne (θρόνος) is heaven and the footstool (ὑποπόδιον) is earth; equated with →Iaô.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 3, l. 14 (Meyer 1996: 12); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; one of the names associated with god, who seats upon exalted the throne (θρόνος), who rules all the spirits (πνεῦμα).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 4, l. 1 (Meyer 1996: 14); ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; as ⲓⲁⲱ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ ⲁⲧⲱⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲉⲗⲱⲉⲓ praised as the destroyer of all evil and magic (μαγεία).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 5, l. 10 (Meyer 1996: 16); сабаѡθ; the lord, the great one in the heavens and upon the earth, adjured by 24 bodiless elders (мпересвутерос <πρεσβύτερος> енасѡматѡс <ἀσώματος>). Sabaôt^{h} is, however, also the one over 24 elders.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 5, l. 17 (Meyer 1996: 16); сабаѡθ; one of the 24 bodiless elders (мпересвутерос <πρεσβύτερος> енасѡматѡс <ἀσώματος>).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 6, ll. 7—8 (Meyer 1996: 18); сабаѡθ; in the trisagion formula; the lord (κύριος).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 7, l. 14 (Meyer 1996: 20); сабаѡθ; the name ιαѡ сабаѡθ invoked to adjure angelic powers.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 7, l. 17 (Meyer 1996: 20); сабаѡθ; as ιαѡ сабаѡθ оуріηλ invoked to grant safety.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 11, ll. 5, 9 (Meyer 1996: 28); сабаѡθ; in the sequence of names of power invoked to release the blood (вѡλ пєснов <снοч>).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 12 (Meyer 1996: 30); сабаѡθ; as ιαѡ сабаѡθ on a figura magica.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 15, l. 6 (Meyer 1996: 36); сабаѡθ; in the sequence of blessed names (нєірαн єтсмααат) of the right side of the altar (θυσιαστήριον) of the father, by which nine guardians (пϩоγрıт) are adjured.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 15, l. 9 (Meyer 1996: 36); сабаѡθ; in the trisagion formula; the lord (κύριος).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 15, l. 22 (Meyer 1996: 38); сабаѡθ; the ruler of all (παντοκράτωρ), in the sequence of divine and angelic names associated with Jesus Christ.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 16, ll. 22, 26 (Meyer 1996: 38); сабаѡθ; in the sequence of names of power invoked to stop the blood flow (кєѡλ пєснов <снοч>).

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 18, l. 1 (Meyer 1996: 42); сабаѡθ; the ruler of all (παντοκράτωρ); adjured by his names (нραн), powers (нϭαм), amulets (φυλακτήριον) and places where he dwells (ⲛ̄тѡⲡ̄ⲟ̄с <τόπος> єтєнϣооⲡ̄ єнϩнтоу) to quench fever as he quenched the fire of the furnaces of Nebuchadnezzar by the power (ϭαм) of →Mik^{h}aêl.

P.Iand. inv. 9 A,B, p. 3, l. 9 (Kropp 1965: 8); сабаѡ[θ; in the sequence of names of power mainly of Jewish origin associated with the God as liberator.

P.Iand. inv. 9 A,B, p. 7, l. 10 (Kropp 1965: 12); сабаѡθ; in the sequence ιαѡ сабаѡθ αδѡναι єλѡєι associated with the seven angels and expected to be repeated in front of practitioner.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 2, l. 6 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 46); сабаѡθ; the lord (пχοєις), the god, the ruler of all (παντοκράτωρ), the king of aeons (пєро нєѡн <αἰών> тнроу), the one who lives eternally (єтонϩ ϣαєнєϩ); the one who has the keys (пϣоϣт) of Tauit^{h}e (→Dauit^{h}e).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 2, l. 12 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 46); сабаѡθ; the lord (пχοєις), the god, the ruler of all (παντοκράτωρ), the holy one; the one who lives forever in the holy aeons (єтонϩ ϣαєнєϩ ϩєнєѡн <αἰών> єтоγаав); "if he closes,

no one is able to open. If he opens, no one is able to close" (transl. M. Choat, I. Gardner).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 3, l. 5 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 48); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; context partially destroyed; the king of unclean spirits (? ⲛⲉⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲛ <ἀκάθαρτος>).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 5, l. 20 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 52); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the living God (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲉϩ).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 6, l. 3 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 54); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the living God (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲟⲛⲉϩ).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 8, l. 12 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 58); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; a lion-faced (ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲣⲉⲡⲉϥϩⲟ ⲟⲛϩⲟⲙⲟⲩⲓ) with the feet of brass (ⲡⲃⲁⲣⲱⲧ), in possession of every thing of light (ⲡϩⲟⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲛⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ); the performer of the spell gives thanks to him and introduces himself as of Sabaôt^{h}'s essence (οὐσία).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 8, l. 20 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 58); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the performer of the spell identifies himself as "I am Sabaôt^{h}."

P.Macq. I 1, p. 10, l. 14 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 62); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in an invocation (containing many names and words of power) to those on the right side, the left side and beside the divinity (ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ).

P.Macq. I 1, p. 16, l. 7 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 74); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in the sequence of the three names ⲁⲇⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲗⲱⲉ ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ prescribed to be written on a phylactery against sickness.

P.Stras. K 204v fr. C, J., M, l. 19 (Hevesi 2018: 59); ϲⲁⲃⲁⲟⲑ; context partially destroyed; in the phrase "Sabaot^{h}'s mouth says."

P.Stras.Copt. 8, l. 6; ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; restoration far from certainty; in a long list of names and words of power in the spell concerning somehow a face and eyes.

P.Stras.Copt. 9, ll. 21v, 25v, 3r; ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; in a sequences of names and words of power in the spell for revelation.

Sarrazin 2017b: 120, l. 11; ϲⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the name ⲓⲁⲱ invoked in a curse on an ostracon.

Gager 1992: 63, No 10, l. 15 (Wünsch 1907: 16); Σαβαώθ; "The god who brings the knowledge of all the magical arts" (transl. Gager 1992: 63).

Gager 1992: 67, No 12, l. 27 (Wünsch 1907: 12); Σαβαώ; in the sequence of names of power of Hebrew origin; the god who seats over the cherubim (→ⲭⲉⲣⲟⲩⲃⲓⲙ) and separates earth and sea.

Gager 1992: 101, No 29 (*Suppl.Mag.* I: 213, No 51); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power of Hebrew origin.

Gager 1992: 111, No 35, l. 6 (PGM 2: 233); Σαβαιώθ; in the sequence of *voces magicae* and names of power.

Gager 1992: 214, No 115, l. 38 (Collart 1930: 250); Σαβαώθ; one of the names of the "great bodylike bodiless one, who draws down the light, lord of the first creation" (transl. Gager 1992: 214).

Gager 1992: 216, No 118, l. 15 (Wünsch 1907: 7); Σαβαώθ; next to a figura magica of an altar; invoked twice.

Gager 1992: 231, No 123, l. 8 (Naveh & Shaked 1985: 160); צבאות; in the sequence of names of power of Hebrew origin.

Kropp 2008, No 11.1.1/25, l. B1 (Audollent 1904: 342); [Σα]βαώθ; in the sequence of words of power.

Kropp 2008, No 11.2.1/2, ll. 7 and 9 (Audollent 1904: 362; in Kropp 2008 names of power are not fully represented); Σαβαώθ; twice in the sequences of names and words of power, once as Ἰάω Σαβαώθ.

Kropp 2008, No 11/2/1/8, l. 14 (Audollent 1904: 370); Σαβαόθ; in the sequence of names of power, partially of Jewish origin; associated with a great god (magnum deum).

Kotansky 1994: 4, No 2, ll. 2—3; Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power Ἀδωναῖε Ἐλωαῖε Σαβαωθ.

Kotansky 1994: 26, No 7, l. 2; Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 55, No 12, l. 14; Σαβαώ; in the sequence of *voces magicae* and names of power mainly of Semitic origin.

Kotansky 1994: 72, No 14, l. 3; Σαβαώθ; editors emendate to Σαβαώθ; lamella contains only the name and characters.

Kotansky 1994: 78, No 17, l. 1; Sabohot; in the sequence of names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 129, No 32, ll. 6, 14, 29—30; Σαβαώθ; in the phylactery of Moses. (Φυλακτήριον Μωσέως); the practitioner is instructed to write the name on a gold leaf (πετάλῳ χρυσῷ; 32,6); then in the sequence of the names of power mainly of Semitic origin; in 32,29—30 as Ἰάω Σαβαώθ

Kotansky 1994: 156, No 33, l. 25; Σαβαώθ; on an amulet including a long list of angelic names in the phrase "Sabaoth seal upon Adonea" (Σαβαὼθ σφραγεὶς ἐπὶ Ἀδωνεα).

Kotansky 1994: 221—222, No 41, ll. 23, 39; Σαβαώθ, Σαβαώ; on a long list of divine and angelic names invoked to protect the house.

Kotansky 1994: 249, No 48, l. 1; Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 276, No 52, l. 3 (Jordan 1991: 62; Gager 1992: 233, No 125; Gelzer *et al.* 1999: 52); Σαβαώθ; the one above heaven (τόν ἐπανω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν ἐλθόν).

Kotansky 1994: 326, No 57, l. 5; [Σ]αβαώθ; in a long sequence of names of power invoked against epilepsy and headache.

Kotansky 1994: 332, No 58, ll. 3, 10; Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of *voces magicae* and names of power.

Kotansky 1994: 354, No 60, l. 2; Σαβ[αώθ]; invoked for a favour as Ἀδωναῖε Σαβαώθ.

Kotansky 1994: 370, No 62, ll. 4—5; Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of *voces magicae*, names of power and characters.

Kotansky 1994: 375, No 64, ll. 2—3; SABAOTEL on an amulet with angelic names. Reading SABAOT EL is also possible (Kotansky 1994: 377).

Kotansky 1980b, ll. 9, 30 (Kotansky 1980b: 181); Σαβαώθ; in the sequence of names of power, mainly associated with the Jewish God and angels, used in the spell against evil spirit and epilepsy (πτωματισμός).

LB, l. 4 (Gelzer *et al.* 1999: 41); Σαβαώθ; the one over the heavens.

LB, l. 28 (Gelzer *et al.* 1999: 42); Σαβαώθ; as a compound name Σαβαὼθ Οὐαωθ Ἀδωναί; the one who sits over the Sinai.

Bonner 1950: 264, No 65; Σαβαώθ; Obv. gorgoneion; Rev. A triple hecate, an inscription: Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ χω[---] encircling the figure.

Bonner 1950: 269, No 98; Σαβ[αώθ]; Obv. A lion-headed snake, ιαω over the head of the figure; Rev. [Ἰά]ω Σαβ[αὼθ] Μιχαηρ.

Bonner 1950: 272, No 119; Σαβαώ; Obv. A reaper; Rev. Σαβαώ.

Bonner 1950: 275, No 140; Σα(βαώθ); Obv. Ouroboros and Egyptian gods, ιαω σα (here. σα is the abbreviation of Σαβαώθ used to spare the space) on the margin; Rev. A flying scarab.

Bonner 1950: 276, No 143; Σαβαώ; Obv. A ram-headed god and a female figure; Rev. ιαιαιαηιηι Ἰάω Σαβαὼ Ἀ[δ]ωναί and other words of power.

Bonner 1950: 276, No 144; Σαβαώθ; Obv. An inscription in a pterygoma form and a figure of a warrior; Rev. Altar, μεαθαδωα on the left, νοει Σαβαωθ on the right, ιαω on the base of altar.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 164; Σαβαώ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, a shield with ιαω on left arm; Rev. Ouroboros enclosing Σαβαω.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 167; Σαβαώ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, letters of ιαω separately in a field, Rev. Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαώ.

Bonner 1950: 280, No 168; Σαβαώθ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede; Rev. Μιχαήλ Σαβαώθ Ἀδωναὶ Γαβριήλ.

Bonner 1950: 284, No 188; Σαβαώθ; Obv. A lion-headed figure holding a staff and a situla, nude except for an apron; Ἀαριήλ on the left, Ἰαλδαβαώθ on the right; Rev. seven names: Ἰα Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ Ἐλωαὶ Ὡρεὸς Ἀσταφεός.

Bonner 1950: 291, No 227; Σαβαώ[θ]; Obv. A solar deity and names Μιχαήλ Σαβαὼ[θ Ρ]αφαήλ on the margin; Rev. A winged Victory, Ραχαὴλ Ἀβρασάξ on the margin.

Bonner 1950: 292, No 231; Σαβαώ; Obv. A lion-headed deity; Rev. Σαβαὼ φρην Ἰάω.

Bonner 1950: 293, No 241; Σαβαώ; Obv. A child riding a lion, and the nude figures; Rev.Ἰάω Σαβαὼ δομνος.

Bonner 1950: 300, No 281; Σαβαώθ; Obv. Ouroboros with minor signs and characters; an inscription βαρουι εσιλα Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωνὲ μαρμαραωθ εθωυθ; Rev. Plain.

Bonner 1950: 302, No 298; Σαβαώθ; Obv. A rider and a lion; an inscription: "One god, the victor over the evil" (εἷς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά); Rev.Ἰάω Σαβαώθ Μιχαὴλ βοήθι and a motif of a suffering eye.

Bonner 1950: 304, No 309; Σαβαώθ; Obv. A rider with a spear; Rev.Ἰαώθ Σαβαώθ Μιχαήλ, below a lion, a snake and a crescent.

Bonner 1950: 304, No 310; Σαβαώ; Obv. A rider spearing a lying figure; Rev.Ἰάω Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴλ Γαβριήλ and a lion below.

Bonner 1950: 304, No 311; Σαβαώ; Obv. A rider spearing a lying female figure; Rev.'Ιάω Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴλ Γαβριὴλ Οὐριὴλ χερουβιν σεραπι and a lion below.

Bonner 1950: 305, No 313; Σαβαώ; Obv. A rider; Rev.'Ιάω Σαβαὼ Γαβριὴλ ουσαϙχα ουαδω Γαβριήλ and a lion below.

Bonner 1950: 307, No 324; Σαβαώϑ; Obv. A rider with a nimbus spearing a lioness, an angel and a quotation from psalm 91; Rev. Enthroned Christ, symbols of four evangelists, minor symbols and characters, a trisagion ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κς Σαβαώϑ and a longer inscription: σφραγὶς ϑυ ζοντος etc.

Bonner 1950: 310, No 339; Σαβαώ; Obv. A man in a tunic and a snake standing on its tail; inscriptions τιυξι and βοήϑι; Rev. Characters and Οὐριὴλ Σαβαὼ βοήϑι.

Bonner 1950: 310, No 341; Σαβαώ; Obv. A man holding a situla and a cross; Rev.'Ιάω Σαβαὼ Ἀβρασά.

Bonner 1950: 310, No 342; Σαβαώ; Obv. Σαβαώ; Rev. Ρηφαήλ.

Bonner 1950: 314, No 361; Σαβαώ; four names'Ιάω, Σαβαώ, Μιχαήλ and ΘωΘ, one on each side of a rectangular prism.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 27, No 6; Σαβαώϑ; One-sided. A cock-headed anguipede holding a shield;'Ιάω Σαβαώϑ on the shield.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 30, No 15; Σαβαώ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, 'Ιάω around the shield; Rev. Ἀδωνὲ Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼ Εἰάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 32—33, No 22; Σαβαώϑ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede,'Ιάω Σαβαώϑ under the shield; Rev. Ἀβρασάξ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 33, No 24; Σαβαώ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼ'Ιάω around the figure; Rev.'Ιάω Σαβαὼ Ἀδωναὶ Μιχαήλ and seven vowels.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 34, No 27; Σαβαώ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, 'Ιάω and Ἀβρασάξ on the margin; Obv. Μιχαὴλ Ουριὴρ Σαβαώ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 35—36, No 30; Σαβαώ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede, Σαβ Ἀβρα'Ιάω in the field; Rev. Μιχαὴλ Οὐριὴρ Γαβριὴρ Σαβαὼ'Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 38, No 36; Σαβαώϑ; Obv. A snake-legged deity and 'Ιάω Σαβαώϑ; Rev. Names and words of power.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 78, No 92; Σαβαώϑ; Obv. A mummy of Osiris; Σαβαώϑ around the figure; Rev.'Ιάη Ἀβρασὰξ'Ιάω.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 88, No 111; Σαβαώ; Obv. A priestess of Isis; Rev.'Ιάω Σολομὸν Σαβαώ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 114, No 142; Σαβαώϑ; Obv. A child on a lotus flower; Φρη on the margin; Rev. Γαβριὴλ Σουριὴλ Σαβαώϑ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 140, No 181; Σαβαώϑ, Σαβαώϑο; Obv. An ityphallic deity; many words of power in the field, including'Ιάω and Σαβαώϑο; Rev. A long sequence of words and names of power, including'Ιάω, Σαβαώϑ and Ἀδωναί.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 162, No 211; Σαβαώ; Obv. A dog-headed deity and an invocation to →Mik^{h}aêl; Rev. Names and words of power, including Σαβαώ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 188, No 250; Σαβαώθ; Obv. Nude Aphrodite and words of power; Rev. An invocation to'Ι]άω Σαβαώθ Ἀδονηίη.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 194, No 257; Σαβαώθ; Obv. Nemesis holding a balance; Rev. A cock-headed anguipede;'Ιάω on the shield, Ἀβρασάξ at the bottom, Σαβαώθ on the right.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 213, No 291; Σαβαώ; Obv. An unidentified female deity; Rev.'Ιάω Σαβαώ Καρναξι.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 227, No 312; Σαβαώ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede holding a shield,'Ιάω Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴ ἀβλαναθα around the figure; Rev. A nude man holding a whip, standing on a lion.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 247, No 339; Σαβαώθ; Obv. A womb and a key; Rev. Words and names of power, including'Ιάω Σαβαώθ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 247, No 340; Σαβαώθ; Obv. A womb and a key; Rev. Single letters, words and names of power, including Σαβαώθ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 247, No 341; Σαβαώθ; Obv. A womb and a key; Rev. Single letters, words and names of power, including Σαβαώθ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 257, No 362; Σαβαώθ; Obv. A serpent, a bud of lotus, a key, and other artifacts; Ἀβραξὰς Ἀδωναὶ'Ιάω Σαβαώθ around the figures; Rev. A mummy with the head of an ass; sequences of words and names of power in the field and around the figure.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 258—259, No 364; Σαβαώ; Obv. A figure of Tantal and inscription addressing him; Rev. An altar, serpents, and other elements with characters and names of power, including Σαβαώ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 259—260, No 365; Σαβαώθ; Obv. A lizard and'Ιάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωνὲ 'Ελεουέ; Rev. Names and words of power.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 281, No 403; Σαβαώ; Obv. A snake mounting a horse; Rev. Names of power, including Σαβαώ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 292, No 416; Σαβαώθ; Obv. A figure of a man holding wreath and a snake in his hands; many words and names of power on his body, including Σαβαώθ; Rev. A sequences of vowels.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 298, No 424; Σαβαώ; Obv. A warrior described as Καλλωναρχος; Rev. A sitting human figure, Σαβαώ below.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 306, No 442bis; Σαβαώθ; Obv. A deity mounted on a bull; Rev. A sequence of characters, words, and names of power, including Σαβαώθ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 311—312, No 454bis; Σαβαώ[θ]; Obv. A human-like figure with big eyes and hands stretched up; Rev. An inscription in Aramaic with concluding Σαβαὼ[θ] βοήθι in Greek.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 316—317, No 460 (Gager 1992: 235, No 126); Σαβαώθ; On both sides a continuous invocation to the great god Βαρβαθιαὼθτὸν Σαβαώθ, Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναί, the creator, the god of Israel, the god over the →k^{h}eroubin.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 318, No 463; Σαβαώθ; Obv. Σαβαώθ; Rev. Words of power and the name of Ἀδωναί.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 325, No 482; Σαβαώ; Obv. Ἰάω Σαβαὼ Ἐλβραμ[..]; Rev. Words of power.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 328, No 493; Σαβαώ; One-sided; a sequence of names of power, including Σαβαώ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 333—334, No 510; Σαβαώθ; Obv. Ouroboros with characters, seven vowels and Σεσενβαριαρανγης within; Rev. A sequence of words and names of power, including Σαβαώθ.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 335, No 513; Σαβαώθ; Obv. Ouroboros with characters and Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀβραάμ within; Rev. Seven vowels.

Delatte & Derchain 1964: 337—338, No 516; Σαβαώθ; Obv. A long sequence of words of power; Rev. A long sequence of words of power, including Σαβαώθ.

Gesztelyi 2000, 80, No 255; Σαβαώ; Obv. A cock-headed anguipede; Rev. Ἰάω Σαβαώ Ἀβράξ Ἰάω.

Kotansky 1980; Σαβαώθ; Obv. Cronos; Rev. An inscription: Ἰάω Σαβαώθ Ἀδωναί οἱ τρεῖς μεγάλοι.

Philipp 1986: 50—51, No 47; Σαβαώ; One-sided; group of four in the boat; the outer two (identified by the editor as Nikes) crown two in the middle; Σαβαὼ Ἀβρασὰξ Ἰάω above.

Philipp 1986: 53, No 51; Σαβαώθ; Obv. Triple Hecate; Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ φύλαξον around the figure; Rev. Ἰάω τλρ Σαβαὼθ Γαβριήλ.

Philipp 1986: 54, No 54; Σαβαώθ; One-sided; an eagle with a wreath in his beak; an inscription restored as Σαβαώθ ὁ ἀθλίαν μ' ἀνοχος <εἰ> around the figure.

Philipp 1986: 81—82, No 111; Ἀβαώθ; Obv. A dog-headed deity adoring Osiris; Rev. ιαως Ἀβαὼθ Ἀβασάζ.

Philipp 1986: 96—97, No 145; Σαβαώ; Obv. A standing male deity, Γαβριὴρ Σαβαώ in the field; Rev. Anubis and characters.

Philipp 1986: 103, No 159; Σαβαώθ; Rev. A cock-headed anguipede; Ἰάω Ἀβρασὰξ Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωνɜος below; Rev. An obelisk.

Zazoff *et al.* 1970: 249—250, No 201; Σαβαώ; Obv. An invocation with characters and names of power; Rev. Characters and invocation Ἰάω θεός Σαβαὼ Ἰάω (ὑποσην?) θεό(ς) διαφυλαξον.

Zwierlein-Diehl 1991: 154—155, No 2187; Σαβαώ; A "Frygian" rider and Ἀδωναί Ἰάω Σαβαώ; Rev. Nemesis standing on a lion.

Zwierlein-Diehl 1993, 73, No 14; Σαβαώ; Obv. A lion-headed Helioros with a crescent and the Sun; Rev. Σαβαώ.

Sabaoth is attested also on gems from other collections in association with: a cock-headed anguipede: Zazoff *et al.* 1970: 53, No 186; with Hecate: Zazoff *et al.* 1970: 53, No 186.

Etymology, commentary and literature

An unusual etymology is given by Pedrizet 1928: 79. He proposed that Σαβαώθ may also be understood as Hebrew "Seba oth" = ἑπτὰ γράμματα "seven letters," which may indicate seven planets and seven heavens. Such an understanding cannot be, however, proven on the basis of the extant source evidence.

Sabaôt^{h} holds a prominent place in the protological narration of *Hyp. Arch.* (and dependent *Orig. World*). As a rebellious son of the Chief Ruler, he is portrayed as a lower but beneficial power over the world.

In the system of *Ap. John*., Sabaôt^{h} is one of the twelve authorities and within this group belongs to the seven rulers of heavens (Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 250—253, similar position in *Gos. Eg.*). His name has been replaced by the name of glory →Sabbadaios, imposed by →Saklas. When joined with the Kingdom, he represents the domination of the Chief Ruler over the created world, from which the spirituals, generation without the King, are, however, exempted (Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 260).

Pedrizet 1928: 79; Michl 1962: 229—230; DuQuesne 1991: 29; Witte 1993: 119—120; Brashear 1995: 3597; Alexander 1999: 1060—1062; Brankaer 2008: 281; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 250—261; Evans 2015: 48—49, 98—100

263 ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲇⲁⲓⲟⲥ (sabbadaios) = ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲁⲓⲟⲥ (sabbataios)^{V} = ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲉⲱⲛ (sabbateôn)^{V2} = ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲉⲇⲉ (sabbede)^{V3}

1. NHC II 11,33^{V3} = NHC III 18,6 = BG 42,6^{V} (*Ap. John*)

The name in NHC IV reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC II. One of the seven over the heaven (NHC III and BG: ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲯⲣⲁⲓ ⲯⲓⲭⲛ̄ ⲧⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉ); the seventh body (σῶμα) in the sevenness (ἑβδομάς; ⲧⲙⲉⲯⲥⲁⲱⲩⲉ) of the week (σάββατον); he has a shining fire-face (NHC II: ⲟⲩⲯⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱⲯⲧ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲧ ⲡⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 255—257

2. NHC II 12,25^{v2} = BG 44,4 (*Ap. John*)
The name in NHC IV reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC II; the seventh authority (ἐξουσία) associated with the power (ⲧⲥⲟⲙ) called Wisdom (σοφία, ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙⲛ̄ⲭⲏⲧ).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 259—261

Etymology, commentary and literature

From the name of Shabat or the Hebrew שבתאי, name of the planet Saturn (Michl 1962 based on Schwab 1897). Suggestion that it may refer to the common Jewish name Sabbatai (Michl 1962) seems improbable.

Sabbadaios expresses precisely the sevenness of the Jewish week, and Sabbath (σάββατον) as such. In the group of the twelve authorities (seven over the heavens and five over the chaos), he may be identified with Sabaôt^{h}, as his name of glory given by →Saklas.

Schwab 1897: 363; Michl 1962: 230; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 255—257

264 ⲥⲁⲃⲏⲛⲁⲓ (sabênai)

1. NHC XIII 48*,22 (*Trim. Prot.*)
One of the three enthroning ones (ⲛⲉⲧⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ <θρόνος>), together with →Bariêl and →Nout^{h}an; Protennoia delivers an initiated (his exact identity remains uncertain) to them, and they enthrone him on the throne of glory (ⲑⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ <θρόνος> ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ).

Commentary and literature

The figure of Sabênai as well as the other two enthroning ones, are known only from *Trim. Prot.*

Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 352

265 ⲥⲁⲃⲗⲱ (sablô) = ⲥⲁⲙⲃⲗⲱ (samblô)^{v} = ⲥⲁⲙⲗⲱ (samlô)^{v2}

1. NHC III 52,25^{v2} = NHC IV 64,19^{v} (*Gos. Eg.*)
Servant (διάκονος, διακών) of →Daueit^{h}e.

2. NHC III 53,8^{v} (*Gos. Eg.*)
In NHC IV 64,29, the name fully restored on the basis of NHC III; the great one (ⲡⲛⲟϭ); Peace (εἰρήνη) is his consort (σύζυγος).

3. NHC III 64,27^{v} = NHC IV 76,18^{v} (*Gos. Eg.*)
Servant (διάκονος, διακών) of one out of the four lights (φώστηρ, ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

4. NHC V 75,22 (*Apoc. Adam*)
Together with →Abrasak^{s} and →Gamaliêl, Sablô rescues men from fire and wrath and takes them above the aeons and rulers (ἀρχή).

5. NHC VIII 47,24^{v} (*Zost.*)
The inheritor (παραλήμπτωρ); in this case not connected with the servants of four lights.

6. NHC XIII 48*,28^{v} (*Trim. Prot.*)
One of the three seizing ones (ⲛⲉⲧⲧⲱⲣⲡ), together with Kamaliêl (→Gamaliêl) and →[...]anên, servants (ὑπηρέτης) of the great saint luminaries (φώστηρ); they carried away the initiated one (his exact identity remains uncertain) and took him into the light-place of his (i.e. of initiate?) fatherhood (ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ <τόπος> ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲫⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 32: 352—353

Texts of ritual power

Bonner 1950: 255, No 10; σαβλω; Obv. The funeral of Osiris; Rev. ιαωαι σαβλω.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Bonner (1950: 255) recognizes σαβλω in a magical gem above as a distorted form of Σαβαω, which seems possible, but in the case of the Nag Hammadi texts, the original form of the name is certainly a longer one, much more popular in the Sethian literature.

Attested only in the Sethian texts. In all of them, Sablô is characterized as one of the subsidiary figures in the aeonic world. In some contexts, he acts on behalf of the chosen in the process of the heavenly ascent. With other powers, in various combinations, he forms specialized groups. The identity of Sablô on a magical gem and in *Apoc. Adam* seems unsupported by the main lines of his characteristics.

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 32: 352—353

266 ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁ (sakla) = ⲁⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁⲥ (asaklas)^{v} = ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁⲥ (saklas)^{v2}

1. NHC II 11,17^{v2} = NHC IV 18,1^{v2} (*Ap. John*)

The second name of the ruler (ἄρχων), besides →Ialdabaôt^{h} and →Samaêl.

Scholem 1974: 411; Fossum 1985: 219; Choat & Gardner 2013: 15

2. NHC II 95,7 (*Hyp. Arch.*)

Another name of →Ialdabaôt^{h}. Life, daughter of Faith (πίστις) Wisdom (σοφία), breathes into his face creating a fiery angel (ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉϥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱϩⲧ), who bonds him and casts into Tartaros (τάρταρος).

Scholem 1974: 411; Alexander 1999: 1059; Kaiser 2006: 319; Choat & Gardner 2013: 15

3. NHC III 17,12—13^{v2} = BG 41,7—8^{v} (*Ap. John*)

Saklas gives the names to the authorities (ἐξουσία) according to his imagination (φαντασία) and their power (ⲧⲉⲩⲟⲟⲙ).

Scholem 1974: 411; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 254

4. NHC III 18,10 = BG 42,10—11^{v2} (*Ap. John*)

Another name of →Ialdabaôt^{h} (or a part of the compound name Ialdabaôt^{h} -Saklas). He has multiple faces (NHC II and IV: πρόσωπον) or forms (NHC III and BG: μορφή), and can change them according to his desire. He called himself God because of the power of his mother, being disobedient to the place (NHC II and IV: ⲡⲙⲁ) or to the substance (NHC III and BG: ὑπόστασις). The identification with →Ialdabaôt^{h} is absent in NHC II and IV. As the authorities over the sevenness of the Sabbath have two sets of names, also the chief ruler is called by his double name.

Jackson 1985: 37; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 257—258.

5. NHC III 57,16 = NHC IV 69,1 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The great angel (ⲡⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος>); together with →Nebrouêl, he begets the spirit of the earth (ⲡⲛⲁ <πνεῦμα> ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲕⲁϩ) and assisting angels (ϩⲉⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲓ <παραστατεῖν>).

6. NHC III 57,21 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Context partially destroyed; the parallel text in NHC IV completely lost; he speaks to →Nebrouêl and creates the twelve aeons (αἰών), then sends twelve great angels (ἄγγελος) to their realm.

7. NHC III 58,24 (*Gos. Eg.*)
He says to his angels (ἄγγελος), "I am a jealous god, and apart from me nothing has come into being" (transl. NHS 4: 126). The sentence is partially reconstructed but general intention is clear and certain.

8. NHC V 74,3 (*Apoc. Adam*)
Context partially destroyed; there are people for whom Sakla is "their god" (ⲡⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) and who accuse the great man (ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ) before him.

9. NHC V 74,7 (*Apoc. Adam*)
The people accuse the chosen seed (σπέρμα) of four hundred (editors insert thousand to conform the text with NHC V 73,15: ϥⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲑⲱϩ ⲛ̄ⲑϩⲟ) men before Sakla.

10. NHC XIII 39*,27 (*Trim. Prot.*)
The great demon (ⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ <δαιμόνιον>) over the lowest part of the underworld (ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ <ⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ>) and the chaos (χάος). He has a form of those begotten in the darkness. His other names are →Ialdabaôth[h] and →Samaêl.

11. CT 51,17[v2] (*Gos. Jud.*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); he came out from the cloud.
Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 356

12. CT 51,19[v2] (*Gos. Jud.*)
He created six servant (παράστασις) angels (ἄγγελος).
Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 356—357

13. CT 52,15[v2] (*Gos. Jud.*)
Together with his angels (ἄγγελος), he creates Adam and Eve.
Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 359

14. CT 52,25 (*Gos. Jud.*)

Context seriously damaged and not clear; Sakla ordered something to somebody but the matter is lost.

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 360

15. CT 54,21^{v2} (*Gos. Jud.*)

Sakla established the astral cycles and their ends.

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 365

16. CT 55,6^{v2} (*Gos. Jud.*)

At the end of times, the aeons will bring the generations to Saklas.

17. CT 55,10^{v2} (*Gos. Jud.*)

All the generation will serve Saklas sinning in the name of Jesus.

18. CT 56,14^{v2} (*Gos. Jud.*)

In a partially destroyed context; Jesus mentions those who offer sacrifices to Saklas.

Other texts

Kephalaia LVI (p. 137, ll. 13, 15); ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁⲥ; Kephalaion is entitled "About Saklas and his powers" ([ⲉⲧⲃ]ⲉ ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁⲥ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉϥⲥⲁⲙ); Saklas, his unnamed consort, and his servants are presented as creators of Adam and Eve.

Theodoretus, *Haer.* 1,26 (PG 83, 377); Σακλᾶ; According to Theodoretus, in the system of Manichaeans, Sakla is a "ruler of the matter" (ὕλης ἄρχοντος) and the creator of Adam and (together with Nebrōd) Eve.

Priscillian, *Lib.apol.* 20 (CSCL 18, p. 17, l. 29); Sacla; enumerated among demons (daemones) worshipped by some unspecified people.

Augustine, *De haer.* 46,14; Saclas; According to Augustine, Sakla is an archon responsible for the creation of the man in the system of Manichaeans.

(ps) John Chrysostom, *Encomium to the four bodiless living creatures*, ed. Wansink, p. 35, l. 36; ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁⲧⲁⲃⲱⲑ; the name of the angel cast out from heaven by the God.

Martyrium S. Theodori, ed. Hyvernat, p. 44, ll. 17—18; ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; the one who shakes the earth and the heaven; one of the names of the devil.

Texts of ritual power

Meyer & Smith 95, ll. 23, 26 (Beltz 1984: 95; Kropp II: 244; Meyer & Smith 1999: 200—201); ⲥⲁⲕⲗⲁⲧⲁⲃⲱⲑ; "lord of the heaven and ruler of the earth" (ⲡⲉⲭⲉⲛⲥ ⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ <ἄρχων> ⲉⲡⲕⲁϩ) (transl. Meyer & Smith, 200).

P.Stras. K 205 fr. A, I, K and K 204v fr. G, l. 20 (Hevesi 2018: 70); ⲧⲁⲕⲗⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ; context almost completely destroyed.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Unanimously derived by the scholars from the Aramaic סכלא ("the fool"). In the Nag Hammadi "library," attested only in the Sethian texts as a synonym or an equivalent of →Ialdabaôth^{h}. At least some strings of the Sethian tradition pair him with →Nebruêl and make responsible for the creation of Adam and Eve (*Gos. Eg.*, *Gos. Jud.*), which is a parallel to the Manichaean myth of Saklas and Nebrod. The direction of that influence is unfortunately not certain. As a synonym of →Ialdabaôth^{h}, Sakla might be introduced to the Sethian system already after an encounter with Manichaeans. His prominence in *Gos. Jud.* might be a result of the late date of this particular text.

Michl 1962: 215—216; Fauth 1973: 91; Scholem 1974: 411; Fossum 1985: 266 n. 30; Böhlig 1989b: 425—426; Lindt 1992: 205—206; Lieu 1999: 280—281; Kaiser 2006: 319—320

267 ⲥⲁⲗⲁⲙⲉϫ (salamek^{s})

1.NHC VIII 62,18 (*Zost.*)

The luminary (φωστήρ) of the aeon (αἰών) of →Barbêlô.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 577

2. NHC VIII 63,18 (*Zost.*)

In the invocation directed by Zostrianos towards the luminaries of →Barbêlô; one of the great luminaries (ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ <φωστήρ>).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 578.

3. NHC VIII 64,8 (*Zost.*)

Together with →Semen, Salamek^{s} reveals to Zostrianos the truth about the single one (ⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) and aeons below him down to Autogenes.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 579

Etymology, commentary and literature

The name Σαλαμα or Σαλαμαν appears a few times in the texts of ritual power (PGM XII, l. 80; PGM XXVIIIa, l. 2; PGM XXVIIIb, l. 6; PGM XXVIIIc,

l. 5), but it has probably nothing in common with Salamek^{s}. The same should be said about Σαλαμαζα, attested in the sequence of names of power on a "magical" gem (Zazoff *et al.* 1970, 249, No 200).

Salamek^{s} is one of the three luminaries of →Barbêlô (together with →Armê and →Semen). In *Zost.*, they reveal the structure of the aeonic world. The triad of the luminaries appear also in NHC XI 56,24—25, but the name →Salamek^{s} is placed in lacuna and fully restored by the editors.

Layton & Sieber 1991, in: NHS 31: 8; Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 577—579; Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 8—9

268 ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲏⲗ (samaêl)

1. NHC II 11,18 = NHC IV 18,2 (*Ap. John*)

The third name of the ruler (ἄρχων), besides →Ialdabaôt^{h} and →Sakla.

Fossum 1985: 219

2. NHC II 87,3 (*Hyp. Arch.*)

The great among the archons; the great archon (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ <ἄρχων>); blind (ⲃⲗ̄ⲗⲉ), ignorant (ⲁⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ) and arrogant (ϫⲁⲥⲓϩⲏⲧ). His name means "The god of the blind" (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲃⲗ̄ⲗⲉ). He said: "It is I who am god, there is none apart from me" (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲧ) (transl. In: NHS 20: 235). Then, the voice from the high declares that he is mistaken. He breathed into the face of a man created by archons (ἄρχων), gave him soul (NHC II 88,3—5) and looked for Adam in the paradise (NHC II 90,19—27).

Scholem 1974: 410—411.414; Kaiser 2006: 147—154; Myszor 2008: 307—308

3. NHC II 94,25—26 (*Hyp. Arch.*)

Material product of a solitary creation of Faith (πίστις) Wisdom (σοφία), compared to aborted fetus (ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϩⲟⲩϩⲉ); a lion-like arrogant beast (ⲟⲩⲑⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ <θηρίον> ⲛ̄ⲁⲩⲑⲁⲇⲏⲥ <ἀυθάδης> ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩⲉⲓ); androgynous (ⲟⲩϩⲟⲩⲧⲥϩⲓⲙⲉ); his name means "the god of the blind" (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃ̄ⲃⲗ̄ⲗⲉ). He said: "It is I who am god, there is none apart from me" (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲟⲉ ⲁϫⲛ̄ⲧ) (transl. NHS 20: 253). Then, the voice from the high declared he is mistaken.

Alexander 1999: 1059; Myszor 2008: 317

4. NHC II 103,18 (*Orig. World*)

The chief ruler (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ <ἄρχων>). He said: "It is I who am God, and there is no other aeon that exists apart from me" (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲫⲟⲟⲡ ⲁ̀ⲭⲛⲧ) (transl. NHS 21: 41). The voice of the Faith (πίστις) declares his mistake. His name means "a blind god" (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲃ̄ⲃ̄ⲗⲗⲉ).

Scholem 1974: 412

5. NHC XIII 39*,27 (*Trim. Prot.*)

The great demon (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ <δαιμόνιον>) over the lowest part of the underworld (ⲉⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ <ⲁⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ>) and the chaos (χάος). He has a form of those begotten in the darkness. His other names are Ialtabaôth^{h} (→Ialdabaôth^{h}) and →Sakla.

Other texts

CB p. 128, l. 22 (2Jeu); ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲏⲗⲱ; the name of the fourth aeon (αἰών).

CB p. 129, l. 1 (2Jeu); ⲥⲁⲙⲁⲏⲗⲱ; an archon in the fourth aeon (αἰών); the ascending one may defend himself against him by use of the seal, a secret name and the number 4555; he is associated with name/power K^{h}ô k^{h}ô k^{h}ouk^{h}a.

Sammaêl appears many times in the *Ascens.Is.* (in Ethiopic text: 1, ll. 8, 11; 2, l. 1; 3, l. 13; 5, ll. 15—16; only 3, l. 13 preserved in Greek) as the head of evil angels identified with →Satanas.

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,30,9; Samahel; in the system of Ophites, one of the names (the other is →Michahel) of the serpent, the son of Ialdabaôth who revealed knowledge to Eve and Adam.

Priscillian, *Lib.apol.* 20 (CSCL 18, p. 17, l. 29); Samael; enumerated among demons (daemones) worshipped by some unspecified people.

It plays prominent role in the 3Hen and in the later extra-canonical texts. In Apocalypsis Baruchi (Greek) 4,8, Samaêl is introduced as an angel who planted the vinestock identified with the tree of knowledge of good and evil and after that (*Ap. Bar.* 9) he took a skin of a snake onto him and deceived Adam. Peterson (1926: 413) identifies him with Samiêl, one of the fallen angels of 1Hen (Greek) 6,7. Taking into account the characteristics of Samaêl, such equation sounds reasonable, although it is worth noting that in 1Hen Samiēl belongs to the group of angels and is not portrayed as the head of them.

Test.Sol. 7,2; Σαμάηλ; a ruler of other demons (ἄρχων δὲ τοῦ τῶν δαιμόνων συστήματος).

Texts of ritual power

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5312, l. 8; Σαμάηλ; on a list of angelic powers; the one over the hearers (ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπακουόντων).

Reitzenstein 1904: 297 (amulet Parisinus 2316); Σαμάηλ; an angel over the river (ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ).

In Talmudic Judaism and in Zohar, Samaêl is a name of Satan. However, in some Jewish texts of ritual power, his rank is more modest as in TS K1.18/30, l. 30 (Schiffmann & Swartz 1992: 66), where he is one of the angels over the days of the week, or in TS K1.143 (Naveh & Shaked 1993: 194, Geniza No 18, p. 14, l. 13) and TS NS 246.32 (Naveh & Shaked 1993: 235, Geniza No 28, p. 3, l. 5), in which Samaêl is invoked along with other angelic powers.

Etymology, commentary and literature

The Hebrew etymology "poison superiéur" has been proposed (Schwab 1897), but in the current scholarship, the meaning "blind God," derived from Hebrew/Aramaic סמא "to be blind," and אל "God," prevails. The figure of Samaêl originated already in the Jewish tradition roughly contemporarily to the Gnostic texts of the 2nd c., and was adopted by Gnostic Christians who might (but not had to) be of Jewish descent. In the context of the narration of *Orig. World*, it is obviously another name of →Ialdabaôth^{h}. Although in the Jewish circles Samaêl functions as another name for Satan, in the Nag Hammadi texts he is only an ignorant ruler of the lower world, identified with the Jewish God.

Schwab 1897: 311; Peterson 1926: 413—414; Michl 1962: 231; Böhlig 1989b: 425; Schiffman & Swartz 1992: 79; Alexander 1999: 1059; Kaiser 2006: 148—150; Dochorn 2013: 41—42

269 ⲥⲁⲙⲃⲁⲑⲁⲥ (sambat^{h}as)

1. NHC II 101,27 (*Orig. World*)

The second part of the compound name "Providence (πρόνοια) Sambat^{h}as"; the feminine name of Ialdabaôth^{h}; the first androgynous force (δύναμις) of the seven heavens of the chaos (ⲧⲥⲟⲫⲓⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲟⲥ <χάος>); the name means "week" (ἑβδομάς).

Etymology, commentary and literature

An abstract of Sabbath (Scholem 1974) or, perhaps more precisely, of the female name Σαββαθίς (often spelled Σαμβαθίς) derived from Sabbath. It may, however, refer also to the goddess of Jewish origin, the cult of whom seems to be testified indirectly in the papyri and inscriptions from Egypt

(Tcherikover 1954; Painchaud 1995, in: BCNH T 21: 276). Böhlig (1989b) proposed also an Aramaic form "šabbatā" (sevenness) as the closest to the form in the Coptic text but the name can be explained solely on the ground of the Greek language.

Sambat^{h}as, as a synecdoche of a week, might represent the archontic rule over time, esp. taking into account the identification of the archon with the Jewish God. In Irenaeus's account, *Haer.* 1,30,10, the seven powers of the seven days of the week are collectively called "the holy hebdomade" ("septem Deos, quos et sanctam Ebdomadem uocant") which is also attested by *Ap. John*. (see NHC II 11,34—35 and parallels).

Tcherikover 1954; Scholem 1974: 413; Böhlig 1989b: 425; Painchaud 1995, in: BCNH T 21: 276; Lewis 2013: 41

ⲥⲁⲙⲃⲗⲱ → ⲥⲁⲃⲗⲱ

270 ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲫⲉⲓⲛ (sarap^{h}ein) = ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲫⲓⲛ (sarap^{h}in)^{v}

1. NHC II 105,19^{v} (*Orig. World*)

Serpent-like angels (ϩⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ <μορφή> ⲛ̄ⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ <δράκων>) created by →Sabaôt^{h} by his throne (θρόνος) to praise him all the time.

Rasimus 2013: 112

2. NHC VII 54,34 (*Treat. Seth*)

There are fights around sarap^{h}in and →k^{h}eroubin because their glory is to perish due to disturbances in the realm of →Adonaios.

3. NHC IX 10,4 (*Melch.*)

They have a flaming sword (ⲧⲥⲛϥⲉ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱϩⲧ). Adam and Eve trample them after eating from the tree of knowledge (γνῶσις).

Funk, Mahé & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 142

Other texts

Test.Sol. 18,34; σεραφίμ; together with →k^{h}eroubim invoked to remove the spirit (πνεῦμα) and the element (στοιχεῖον) Ruk^{s} P^{h}usikoret^{h}.

PGM XXXV, l. 12 (PGM 2: 161; GMPT: 268); Σαραφίν; the power invoked in the spell is located between sarap^{h}im and two →k^{h}eroubim.

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 4, l. 6; p. 13, ll. 14—15; p. 15, l. 5 (Kropp I: 66, 72, 74; Kropp II: 178, 185, 187; Meyer & Smith 1999: 136, 141—142); ϲⲉⲣⲁⲫⲓⲛ, ϲⲁⲣⲁⲫⲓⲛ; →Gabriêl is invoked by the two great seraphim; they have six wings; the first pair covers their face, the second pair covers their feet, the third pair they use to fly (p. 13,13—19); the light of the father enlights seraphim and cherubim (→k^{h}eroubin); Adonai (→Adônein) eloei (→Elôein) is the first of seraphim and cherubim.

Meyer & Smith 73, l. 40 (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 306; Meyer & Smith 1999: 154); ϲⲉⲣⲁⲫⲓⲛ; sarap^{h}in and other angelic powers are not able to fulfil the command of a practitioner (in the narrative frame Cyprian the Magician himself).

Meyer & Smith 88, (Crum 1905: 506; Kropp II: 226; Meyer & Smith 1999: 188); ϲⲁⲣⲁⲫⲓⲛ; seraphim and other angels should appeal to God against the enemies of a practitioner.

Meyer & Smith 89, l. 17 (Hengstenberg 1915: 9*; Kropp II: 230; Meyer & Smith 1999: 189); ϲⲁⲣⲁⲫⲉⲓⲛ; they stand before God.

Meyer & Smith 90, ll. 3, 6 (Ernštedt 1959: 153; Kropp II: 232; Meyer & Smith 1999: 190—191); ϲⲁⲣⲁⲫⲓⲛ; they stand around God.

Meyer & Smith 91, ll. 10r, 31r (Crum 1897: 86; Kropp II: 235; Meyer & Smith 1999: 193—194); ϲⲉⲣⲁⲫⲓⲛ; surround God.

Meyer & Smith 93, l. 9 (Crum 1905: 505—506; Kropp II: 241; Meyer & Smith 1999: 197); ϲⲁⲣⲁⲫⲓⲛ; invoked to act against the object of the spell.

Meyer & Smith 121, l. 5 (Beltz 1983: 69; Kropp II: 109; Meyer & Smith 1999: 245); ϲⲉⲣⲁⲫⲓⲛ; together with cherubin (→k^{h}eroubin) they stand before God.

Meyer & Smith 122, ll. 36—37 (Meyer & Smith 1999: 349; Meyer & Smith 1999: 248); ϲⲩⲣⲁⲡⲫⲉⲛ; they are greeted by a practitioner.

Meyer & Smith 131, l. 25v (Kropp I: 42; Kropp II: 90; Meyer & Smith 1999: 286); [ϲⲉⲣ]ⲁ̣ⲫ̣[ⲓⲛ] context partially destroyed; probably they surround At^{h}anaêl.

Meyer & Smith 134, p. 1v, l. 22; p. 9v, ll. 8—9; p. 14v, l. 2—3 (Pleyte & Boeser 1897: 444, 458, 471; Kropp II: 82, 163, 173; Meyer & Smith 1999: 315, 318, 321); ϲⲉⲣⲁⲫⲓ̈ⲛ; in the number of two, they are guardians of paradise and the tree of life (p. 14, ll. 25r—2v); the God sits over sarap^{h}im and →k^{h}erubin (p. 1, ll. 20v—22v); together with →k^{h}erubin, they stay below the face of Christ (ⲉⲧⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ϩⲁ ⲡϩⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄, p. 9, ll. 7v—10v).

Meyer & Smith 135, ll. 15, 115 (Kropp 1966: 13; Meyer & Smith 1999: 226, 332); ϲⲉⲣⲁⲫⲓⲛ; created by God; they have six wings; they are six in total, two cover their faces, two cover their feet, two cover their bodies (ll. 115—119).

P.Ifao copte 451, l. 8 (Louis 2013: 26); ϲⲁⲣⲁⲫⲓ[ⲛ]; the one who sits over sarap^{h}in and →k^{h}eroubin invoked to deliver a judgment against the adversaries of the practitioner.

P.Stras. K 205 fr. A, I, K and K 204v fr. G, l. 9 (Hevesi 2018: 70); ϲⲉⲣⲁⲫⲓⲛ; context partially destroyed, in a phrase "beginning of the hymn of Seraphin" (ⲡϩⲩⲙⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲛⲉⲛϲⲉⲣⲁⲫⲓⲛ).

London Ms. Or. 4714, part 3 (Crum 1897: 212; Kropp II: 128); ⲍⲉ[ⲣⲁⲫⲓ]ⲛ; on the list of heavenly powers; Maria asks God to send them to her. The text is a version of "oratio Mariae ad Bartos."

Kotansky 1994: 156, No 33, l. 10; Σεραφίμ; in a long list of angelic names.

Bonner 1950: 304, No 311; σεραπι; Obv. A rider spearing a lying female figure; Rev. Ἰάω Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴλ Γαβριὴλ Οὐριὴλ χερουβιν σεραπι and a lion below.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Isa 6:2—3, says that seraphim hover over the throne of God. In *Orig. World* they serve similarily in the court of Sabaôt^{h}. Their serpent-like shape might be a reminiscence of the Hebrew שרף (Rasimus 2013: 112). As in the Bible, they belong to the court of God. In the other Nag Hammadi texts, they are associated with the world of demiurge and symbolize his power that is prevailed by the Gnostics.

Müller 1959: 79—82; Michl 1962: 78—79, 171—174; Funk, Mahé, & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 142; Rasimus 2013: 112; Hevesi 2018: 96

271 ⲥⲁⲥⲁⲃⲉⲕ (sasabek)

1. NHC VI 41,29 (*Great Pow.*)

The dead Jesus is handed over to Sasabek and →Berôtt^{h} and put to shame (ἐλέγχειν). Williams identified the tormented as Judas's soul punished by Christ.

Williams 1979, in: NHS 11: 307

Etymology, commentary and literature

The common Egyptian name with the meaning "the son of Sobek" (Sobek was a crocodile-headed Egyptian deity) probably rooted in an hieroglyphic Egyptian (Ghica 2010: 94—95).

Ghica 2010: 91—95

1. NHC I 4,37 (*Ap. Jas.*)

In a teaching given by Jesus to James; Satanas could tempt a man.

2. NHC I 4,39 (*Ap. Jas.*)

In a teaching given by Jesus to James; God loves a man who is oppressed and persecuted by Satanas.

3. NHC IX 20,15 (*Melch.*)

Context destroyed; somehow associated with the sacrifice (θυσία).

Funk, Mahé & Gianotto 2001, in: BCNH T 28: 158

4. CT 60,1 (*Allogenes2*)

The name restored almost entirely [ⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛ]ⲁ̣[ⲥ]; he appears before Allogenes and starts to tempt him.

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 404

5. CT 60,15—16 (*Allogenes2*)

Allogenes refutes a temptation with the words "go away from me, Satanas."

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 405—406

6. CT 61,7 (*Allogenes2*)

Allogenes once again refutes a temptation with the words "go away from me, Satanas."

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 407

7. CT 61,10 (*Allogenes2*)

Satanas, after his attempts to tempt Allogenes failed, goes away in shame.

Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 407

Other texts

Ps.-Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5,26,4; Σατάν; in the system of Justin (the Gnostic), one of the 12 mother's angels (τῶν μητρικῶν ἀγγέλων) generated by the first principles Father and Edem.

In the Judaism of the Second Temple Period and in the New Testament, an important name for the malicious spirit, the main adversary of God. From the New Testament on, widespread in the Christian Literature. Its rather sparse attestation in Nag Hammadi is worth to be underlined. In Coptic, the form Satanaêl for Satan apperas in the *Encomium on the Archangel Michael* attributed

to St. Athanasius (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*: 336) and in the *Encoium on the Archangel Raphael* attributed to John Chrysostom (*Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*: 529). The form Satanael appears in the Slavic apocryphal texts.

Texts of ritual power

PGM IV, l. 1238 (PGM 1: 114; GMPT: 62); ⲥⲁⲇⲁⲛⲁⲥ; an unclean demon (ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲥ <ἀκάθαρτος> ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ <δαίμων>) to be driven out.

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 8, l. 17 (Kropp I: 69; Kropp II: 181; Meyer & Smith 1999: 138); ⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ; there are many spirits of Satan, all created on a single day; →Gabriēl is invoked against them.

Meyer & Smith 73, l. 32 (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 306; Meyer & Smith 1999: 154); ⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛ[ⲁ]ⲥ; in the narrational frame given by Cyprian the Magician; the powers of Satanas are weakened by the virgin (παρθένος) Justina.

Meyer & Smith 95, ll. 3, 24, 29 (Beltz 1984: 95; Kropp II: 243—344; Meyer & Smith 1999: 199—201); ⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ, ⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲏⲗ; the king of Egypt in the times of Moses had the power over all the magicians (μάγος) of Satanas; in the formula addressed to Saklabaōt^{h} the phrase: "the salvation of Satan" (ⲡⲟⲩϫⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ) appears, however, without any meaningful context; ⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲏⲗ as one of the speechless spirits (l. 29: ⲛ̄ⲡⲛ̄ⲁ <πνεῦα> ⲛⲕⲟⲩⲣⲉ).

Meyer & Smith 103, l. 17 (Weber 1972: 56; Meyer & Smith 1999: 210); ⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛ; a *historiola* of Satan's condemnation given.

Meyer & Smith 127, l. 32 (Kropp I: 57; Kropp II: 43; Meyer & Smith 1999: 265); ⲍⲁⲇⲁⲛⲁⲥ; in Kropp, the name is preceded by lacuna, however, Meyer & Smith give "I adjure you today by the one who sits upon the throne, this Satan" (transl. Meyer & Smith 1999: 265).

Meyer & Smith 134, p. 10r, ll. 15—16 (Pleyte & Boeser 1897: 459; Kropp II: 174; Meyer & Smith 1999: 319); ⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ; the God is invoked to enable a practitioner to tear "the roots (ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ) of Satan."

Etymology, commentary and literature

Satan is by no means a prominent figure in the Nag Hammadi texts. As a type of God's antagonist, Satan is replaced by demiurg or by archons. When his name is mentioned, we may think of the texts more closely tied with mainstream Christian demonology. In the cases in which we may say something more about him, Satanas is characterized mainly as a tempter. In the scene in *Allogenes2*, parallel to passages of Matt. 4 and Luke 4, he is repelled by Allogenes (presented as a Christ-like figure).

Michl 1962: 232—233; Peterson 1926: 416—417; Brankaer & Bethge 2007: 404—409

273 ⲥⲁⲫⲁⲓⲁ (sap^{h}aia)

1. NHC VII 31,27 (*Paraph. Shem*)
In the 1st person sing. speech of an unspecified subject; Sap^{h}aia is mentioned as a witnessing (ⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ) figure but no further context is provided.

2. NHC VII 46,16 (*Paraph. Shem*)
In the 1st person sing. speech by Protennoia; wider context unknown.

3. NHC VII 46,26 (*Paraph. Shem*)
In the 1st person sing. speech by Protennoia. According to Wisse, in passage NHC IX 46,20—29 we have a doublet due to homoioteleuton.
Wisse 1996, in: NHMS 30: 121

Etymology, commentary and literature
According to Roberge, from the Greek σάφα "clearly," "plainly." Sap^{h}aia represents the second step of the noetic formation, i.e. a possession of the clear truth.
Roberge 2010: 135

274 ⲥⲁⲫⲁⲓⲛⲁ (sap^{h}aina)

1. NHC VII 31,28 (*Paraph. Shem*)
In the 1st person sing. Speech of an unspecified subject; Sap^{h}aina is mentioned as a witnessing (ⲣ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ) figure but no further context is provided.

2. NHC VII 33,27 (*Paraph. Shem*)
In the cloud (ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ) of those separated from the disturbed fire (ⲡⲕⲱϩⲧ̄ ⲉⲧⲱⲧⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣ).

3. NHC VII 46,17 (*Paraph. Shem*)
In the 1st person sing. speech by Protennoia. No wider context is provided.

4. NHC VII 46,26—27 (*Paraph. Shem*)
In the 1st person sing. speech by Protennoia. According to Wisse, in passage NHC IX 46,20—29 we have a doublet due to homoioteleuton.
Wisse 1996, in: NHMS 30: 121

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Roberge, from Greek σαφηνίζω "to explain." Sap^{h}aina represents the third and final step of noetic formation, which is the perfect wisdom.

Roberge 2010: 135

275 ⲥⲁⲫⲁⲥⲁⲧⲟⲏⲗ (sap^{h}asatoêl)

1. NHC II 17,31 = NHC IV 27,16 (*Ap. John*)

One of the seven having power over the limbs of the body.

276 ⲥⲁⲫⲫⲱ (sap^{h}p^{h}ô)

1. NHC VIII 47,26 (*Zost.*)

The angel guiding misty clouds (ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲛⲣⲉⲫⲭⲓ ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲉⲛⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲓⲟⲉⲡⲉ ⲛⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ).

277 ⲥⲉⲇⲉⲣⲕⲉⲁ (sederkea)

1. NHC VII 46,8 (*Paraph. Shem*)

In the 1st person sing. speech of an unspecified subject (Protennoia?); according to Wisse, it may be a misspelling of the vocative of the name →Derdekeas.

Wisse 1996, in: NHMS 30: 120

278 ⲥⲉⲓⲥⲁⲩⲏⲗ (seisauêl)

1. NHC VIII 47,12—13 (*Zost.*)

One of the attendants (together with →Audaêl and →Abrasak^{s}), lit. "those who stand before them" (in BCNH T 24: ⲛⲏ ⲇⲉ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲁⲣⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲣⲣ[ⲁⲩ), i.e. before the preceding powers.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 562

Texts of ritual power

Only the form σεισαω is attested (PGM IV, l. 3263). Most probably, it has nothing to do with Seisauêl.

279 ⲥⲉⲗⲇⲁⲱ (seldaô)

1. NHC III 64,21 = NHC IV 76,11 (*Gos. Eg.*)

Together with →Elenos, he presides over the mountain (NHC III: ⲛⲉⲧⲣⲓϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲗⲇⲁⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ ⲛⲉⲗⲁⲓⲛⲟⲥ; in this manuscript, Seldaô might be understood as a name of the mountain) or over the rising (NHC IV: ⲉϫⲛ̄ ⲡⲧⲱⲱⲛⲩ̄), maybe referring to the sunrise.

2. NHC VIII 6,16 (*Zost.*)

One among those who seal (σφραγίζειν) in the description of the first baptism in the name of the self-generated (Autogenes); the one "over these powers" (ϩⲓϫⲛ ⲛⲉⲓⲥⲟⲙ), however, the powers themselves are not explicitly mentioned.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 503

3. NHC VIII 54,24—25 (*Zost.*)

The context partially destroyed; one of the four luminaries (φωστήρ) of the great mind (νοῦς) the first-appearer (πρωρτοφανής); in the parallel passage NHC VIII 126,20 all the editors restore his name in the lacuna.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

Other texts

CB p. 264, l. 3 (Untitled Text); ⲥⲉⲗⲗⲁⲱ; the power of an uncertain nature located probably within the aeons of Wisdom (σοφία).

Commentary and literature

Together with →Elenos forms the luminary in the fourth subaeon of the aeon the first-appearer (Protophanes) in the Sethian system.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

280 ⲥⲉⲗⲙⲉⲛ (selmen)

1. NHC VIII 54,20 (*Zost.*)

Context seriously destroyed; one of the four luminaries (φωστήρ) of the great mind (νοῦς); the first-appearer (πρωρτοφανής).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647; Choat & Gardner 2013: 17

Commentary and literature

Together with an unnamed companion forms the second luminary in the first subaeon of the first-appearer (Protophanes) aeon in the Sethian system. As such, Selmen is functionally identical with →Solmis.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

281 ⲥⲉⲗⲙⲉⲭⲉⲗ (selmek^{h}el) = ⲥⲉⲗⲙⲉⲗⲭⲉⲗ (selmelk^{h}el)^{v}

1. NHC III 62,16 = NHC IV 74,1^{v} (*Gos. Eg.*)

The guardian (NHC IV: ⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ) of the great incorruptible race (ⲧⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ <γενεά> ⲛ̄ⲁⲫⲑⲁⲣⲧⲟⲥ <ἄφθαρτος> / NHC IV: ⲁⲧⲭⲱϩⲙ̄) together with →Aerosiêl; a companion of the four hundred ethereal angels (ⲛ̄ⲁⲉⲣⲟⲥⲓⲟⲥ <ἀερόδιος> ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος>).

Other texts

CB 264, 3 (Untitled Text); ⲥⲉⲗⲙⲉⲗϩⲉ; power of an uncertain nature mentioned within the aeons, perhaps aeon itself.

282 ⲥⲉⲙⲉⲗⲉⲗ (semelel)

1. NHC VIII 52,7 (*Zost.*)

Context almost completely destroyed.

283 ⲥⲉⲙⲉⲛ (semen)

1. NHC VIII 63,18—19 (*Zost.*)

In the invocation directed by Zostrianos towards the luminaries of →Barbêlô; one of the great luminaries (ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ <φωστήρ>); the name only partially preserved as ⲥⲉ[.]ⲉⲛ. Restoration proposed by Barry & Funk (2000, in BCNH T 24: 358) is, however, almost certain because of the context, in which the group of luminaries of Barbêlô is invoked.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 578

2. NHC XI 56,25 (*Allogenes*)

Context only partially preserved, the name almost fully restored; one of the luminaries (φωστήρ) of →Barbêlô. They help Allogenes to obtain a revelation about the true existing God. Turner & Wintermute (1990, in: NHS 28: 214) emended the name as ⲥⲉⲗ<ⲗ>ⲙⲉⲛ (→Selmen) on the sole basis of NHC VIII 54,20. The identification of those two is, however, very doubtful. Funk (2004, in: BCNH T 30: 212) leaves the form found in the codex.

Commentary and literature

One of the three luminaries of →Barbêlô (together with →Armê and →Salamek[s]). In *Zost.*, they reveal the structure of the aeonic world and in *Allogenes*, they instruct Allogenes about the heavenly ascent. The triad of the luminaries appears also in NHC VIII 62,18—19, but the name of Semen is placed in lacuna and fully restored by the editors. In NHC VIII 64,8 the name is also restored, but due to the unparalleled context, the restoration is less certain.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 576—578; Funk *et al.* 2004, in: BCNH T 30: 8—9

284 ⲥⲏⲑⲉⲩⲥ (sêtʰeus)

1. NHC VIII 54,23 (*Zost.*)

Context seriously destroyed; one of the four luminaries (φωστήρ) of the great mind (νοῦς) the first-appearer (Protophanes).

2. NHC VIII 126,16 (*Zost.*)

The third luminary (φωστήρ) in the third aeon (αἰών) →Ambrosios; coupled with →Antip^{h}anes.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

Other texts

CB p. 230, l. 20 (Untitled Text); сноєус; the faces (ϩο) of the overseer (ἐπίσκοπος) look into him.

CB p. 233, l. 16 (Untitled Text); сноєус; there is a deep (βάθος) of Set^{h}eus; twelve fatherhoods surround him.

CB p. 234, l. 21 (Untitled Text); сноєус; twelve fathers (ⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧ) surround him.

CB p. 235, ll. 24, 27 (Untitled Text); сноєус; the king (ⲣⲣⲱ); the only-begotten one (μονογενής) is hidden in him.

CB p. 336, ll. 4, 17 (Untitled Text); сноєус; the powers posses two faces in a type (τύπος) of Set^{h}eus. There is a monad (μόνας) within him.

CB p. 238, ll. 4, 5 (Untitled Text); сноєус; he is as a god (ⲉϥⲟ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) and dwells in the sanctuary (ἱερόν) as a king (ⲣ̄ⲣⲱ).

CB p. 238, l. 26 (Untitled Text); сноєус; he sends a spark (σπινθήρ) to the indivisible one (ⲡⲁⲧⲡⲱϣ).

CB p. 239, l. 3 (Untitled Text); сноєус; the Fullness (Pleroma) gives glory to Set^{h}eus.

CB p. 246, l. 10 (Untitled Text); сноєус; the Fullness (Pleroma) of Set^{h}eus mentioned.

CB p. 247, l. 14 (Untitled Text); сноєус; he sends the creative word (ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲇⲏⲙⲓⲟⲩⲣⲅⲟⲥ) with many crowned powers (δύναμις).

CB p. 267, l. 16 (Untitled Text); сноєус; the father (?) creates navel (ϩⲗⲡⲉ) of the cosmic man (?) in the likeness of the monad hidden (ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲩϩⲏⲡ) in Set^{h}eus.

CB p. 267, l. 18 (untitled text); сноєус; the lord over pleroma (ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲭⲙⲡⲉⲡⲗⲏⲣⲱⲙⲁ); the father (?) creates a great intestine (ⲡⲛⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲧ̄) of the cosmic man in the likeness of Set^{h}eus.

CB p. 267, l. 21 (Untitled Text); the father (?) creates a small intestine (ⲛⲕⲟⲩⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁϩⲧ̄) of the cosmic man in the likeness of ennead (ἐννεάς) in Set^{h}eus.

CB p. 268, ll. 15—16 (Untitled Text); the cosmic man (?) is filled with mystery (μυστήριον) in a manner (ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ) of Set^{h}eus.

Commentary and literature

Together with →Antip^{h}anes, Set^{h}eus forms the second luminary (φωστήρ) in the →Ambrosios, the third subaeon of the aeon of the first-appearer (Protophanes) in the Sethian system.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647

285 ⲥⲛⲁⲱⲛ (sênaôn)

1. NHC VII 126,6 (*Steles Seth*)
In a hymnic passage sung by the 1st pl. subject; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲛⲓⲥⲉ); the one who begat himself (ⲡⲉⲧϫⲡⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲩ).

2. NHC XI 54,28—29 (*Allogenes*)
In a hymnic passage; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲁⲧϫⲡⲟ); according to Turner, praise might be given by →Iouêl, and the name refers to the entire Triple Powered One.

Turner & Wintermute 1990, in: NHS 28: 257

286 ⲥⲛⲁⲫⲑⲓ (sênap^{h}t^{h}i) = ⲥⲛⲁⲫⲓⲙ (sênap^{h}im)^{v}

1. NHC II 16,15^{v} = NHC IV 25,17 (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the abdomen (ὑποχόνδριον).

Commentary and literature
Quack relates him to the 1st decan of Cancer or the 1st decan of Libra constellations. If so, Senap^{h}t^{h}i is rooted in the Egyptian astronomical speculation. However, the name does not perfectly match any form of decan's name as preserved in the ancient catalogues.

Gundel 1936: 77—80; Quack 1995: 116

ⲥⲛⲥⲟⲗⲉ → ⲅⲛⲥⲟⲗⲉ

287 ⲥⲓⲟⲩ (siou)

1. NHC VIII 88,17 (*Zost.*)
Context partially destroyed; in a doxology directed toward →Barbêlô as the primal hidden-one (Kalyptos); the name refers to the one (ⲛⲧⲕⲟⲩⲁ), who is probably Kalyptos.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 624

Commentary and literature

It is not certain if Siou is a proper name (which is suggested by the supralinear stroke), and recognized by Layton (1991, in: NHS 31: 171) and Turner (2000, in: BCNH T 24: 624) or is simply an epithet of →Aphredôn, and means "a star" (BCNH T 24: 401) as in Coptic ⲥⲓⲟⲩ exactly means "a star."

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 624

288 ⲥⲙⲟⲩⲛ (smoun)

1. NHC XI 54,31 (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲁⲧⲭⲡⲟ); according to Turner, praise might be given by →Iouêl and the name here refers to the entire Triple-Powered One.

Turner 1990, in: NHS 28: 257

289 ⲥⲟⲗⲇⲁⲛ (soldan) = ⲥⲟⲗⲇⲁⲥ (soldas)[v]

1. NHC VII 30,32—33 (*Paraph. Shem*)

A demon (δαίμων); should be separated from the other unspecified power (δύναμις).

2. NHC VII 39,31[v] (*Paraph. Shem*)

The dark flame (ⲡⲱⲁϩ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲕⲉ); completion of an error (ⲡⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ <πλάνη>).

Etymology, commentary and literature

There has been no etymology proposed for this figure, even by Roberge (2010). In the system of Naaseans according to Ps.-Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5,7,30, there is a creator, a fiery god (θεός πύρινος) Êsaldaios (Ἠσάλδαιος, proposed by Schenke 1975: 26). Although Soldas is not a creator, the affiliation with the fire or flame might be not coincidental.

Schenke 1975: 126; Roberge 2010: 134

290 ⲥⲟⲗⲙⲓⲥ (solmis)

1. NHC VIII 119,13 (*Zost.*)

The fourth luminary (φωστήρ); his consort is →Olmis; only the last letter [---]c is preserved, but *P.Bodmer* LXIII (Kasser & Luisier 2007: 258) has the name in its full.

2. NHC VIII 122,12 (*Zost.*)

In the pl. form; on a long list of glories (ⲛⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ); the limitless ones (ⲛⲓⲁⲧⲛⲁⲣⲏⲓⲛⲟⲩ).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 642; Choat & Gardner 2013: 17

3. NHC VIII 126,4 (*Zost.*)

Preceding passage considerably destroyed; the first aeon (αἰών) and the first luminary (φωστήρ) in the first-appearer aeon (Protop^{h}anes); he is coupled with an unnamed god-revealer aeon (ⲡⲓⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲛϩ ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ) which may render the Greek θεοφάνης.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 647; Choat & Gardner 2013: 17

4. NHC XI 54,7 (*Allogenes*)

Context almost completely lost.

Choat & Gardner 2013: 17

Other texts

CB p. 252, l. 22 (Untitled Text); ⲥⲟⲗⲙⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ; an eon (αἰών); all the aeons are seeking him.

Commentary and literature

Together with unnamed companion, Solmis forms the second luminary in the first subaeon of the first-appearer (Protophanes) aeon in the Sethian system. In NHC VIII 54,20 →Selmen is functionally identical with Solmis. He appears also in the aeon Kalyptos.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 642, 647

291 ⲥⲟⲣⲙⲁ (sorma) = ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲁ (sôrma)^{v}

1. NHC II 16,30^{v} = NHC IV 26,5 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the genitals (αἰδοῖον).

292 ⲥⲟⲫⲁⲓⲁ (sop^{h}aia)

1. NHC VII 33,27 (*Paraph. Shem*)
In the cloud (ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ) of those separated from the disturbing fire (ⲡⲕⲱⲣⲉ̄ ⲉ̄ⲧⲧⲣ̄ⲧⲱⲣ).

2. NHC VII 46,16 (*Paraph. Shem*)
In the 1st person sing. speech of an unnamed subject (Protennoia).

3. NHC VII 46,26 (*Paraph. Shem*)
In the 1st person sing. speech of an unnamed subject (Protennoia); according to Wisse, in the passage NHC IX 46,20—29 we have a doublet due to homoioteleuton.
Wisse 1996, in: NHMS 30: 121

Etymology, commentary and literature
According to Roberge, from Greek σοφία, "wisdom"; Sop^{h}aia represents the first step of noetic formation that is the acknowledgement of the true sense of the Scriptures and rejection of the worldly nature.
Roberge 2010: 135

293 ⲥⲧⲏⲑⲉⲩⲥ (stêt^{h}eus)

1. NHC VIII 47,16 (*Zost.*)
On the long list of powers (ⲥⲟⲙ) and glories (ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲩ); the guardian of the glory (ⲣⲉⲩⲣⲁⲣⲉⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ).

Commentary and literature
Together with →T^{h}eopemptos and →Eurumeneus, Stêt^{h}eus forms a group of guardians of the glory, benevolent figures located in the aeon of →Barbêlô.
Barry *et al.* 2000, in : BCNH T 24: 561

294 ⲥⲧⲣⲉⲙⲯⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ (stremp^{s}ouk^{h}os)

1. NHC III 65,8 = NHC IV 77,1 (*Gos. Eg.*)

Appears together with other salvation-bringers; the guardian of the souls of the chosen (ⲡⲉⲧϩⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲛⲉⲯⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲡ).

2. NHC VIII 47,3 (*Zost.*)

The one of the guardians of the immortal soul (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϯⲯⲩⲭⲏ <ψυχή> ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲧⲙⲟⲩ).

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 559

Other texts

CB p. 239, ll. 25—26 (Untitled Text); ⲥⲧⲣⲉⲙⲯⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ; he belongs to the group of the three →watchers (φύλαξ). Together with other two serves as a helper (βοηθός) for light-spark (ⲡⲉⲥⲡⲓⲛⲑⲏⲣ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) believers.

Commentary and literature

The name looks like an Egyptian, but no direct parallel could be provided.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 559

295 ⲥⲧⲣⲟⲫⲁⲓⲁ (strop^{h}aia) = ⲥⲧⲣⲟⲫⲁⲓⲁⲥ (strop^{h}aias)^{v} = ⲥⲧⲣⲟⲫⲉⲁ (strop^{h}ea)^{v2}

1. NHC VII 31,6^{v} (*Paraph. Shem*)

Strop^{h}aia enables the passage through the wicked region (ⲧⲉⲓⲑⲉⲥⲓⲥ <θέσις> ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ).

2. NHC VII 33,2 (*Paraph. Shem*)

The blessed glance (ⲡⲥⲱⲱϥ̄ ⲉⲧⲥⲙⲁⲙⲁⲁⲧ); the spirit (πνεῦμα).

3. NHC VII 46,9^{v2} (*Paraph. Shem*)

Mentioned in the 1st person sing. speech (by Protennoia?); the guilelessness (ⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲃⲁⲗϩⲏⲧ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Roberge, from Greek στροφάς "turning round," "revolving" which may refer to description of the spirit as a whirlwind.

Wisse 1996, in: NHS 30: 120; Roberge 2010: 134

296 ⲥⲩⲙⲡⲫⲁⲣ (sump^{h}t^{h}ar)

1. NHC VIII 47,22 (*Zost.*)

On a long list of various powers; mentioned as one of the three judges (ⲛⲓⲣⲉϥϯ ϩⲁⲡ).

297 ⲥⲟⲩⲛⲟⲅⲭⲟⲩⲧⲁ (sounogk^{h}outa) = ⲥⲩⲛⲟⲅⲭⲟⲩⲧⲁ (sunogk^{h}outa)^{v}

1. NHC II 17,19^{v} = NHC IV 27,2 (*Ap. John*)

The one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the left ribs (ⲡⲥⲡⲓⲣ ⲛⲟⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

298 ⲥⲱⲥⲧⲣⲁⲡⲁⲗ (sôstrapal)

1. NHC II 16,21 = NHC IV 25,24 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the liver (ἧμαρ).

ⲥⲱⲣⲙⲁ → ⲥⲟⲣⲙⲁ

ⲥⲱⲭ → ⲉⲥⲥⲱⲭ

299 ⲧⲁⲫⲣⲉⲱ (tap^{h}reô)

1. NHC II 16,24 = NHC IV 25,28 (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the spine of the body (ⲛ̄ⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲙⲁ).

300 ⲑⲏⲃⲁⲣ (têbar)

1. NHC II 16,5 = NHC IV 25,4 (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right arm (ⲧⲛⲁϩⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Quack traces it down to various decans of Aquarius, Gemini and Pisces constellations. If so, Têbar would be a figure rooted in the Egyptian astronomical speculation, but this possibility remains only tentative.

Gundel 1936: 77—80; Quack 1995: 115

301 ⲧⲉⲗⲙⲁⲏⲗ ⲧⲉⲗⲙⲁⲏⲗ ϩⲏⲗⲓ ϩⲏⲗⲓ ⲙⲁⲭⲁⲣ ⲙⲁⲭⲁⲣ ⲥⲏⲑ (telmaêl telmaêl hêli hêli mak^{h}ar mak^{h}ar sêt^{h}) = ⲧⲉⲗⲙⲁⲏⲗ ⲧⲉⲗⲙⲁⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲏⲗⲓ ⲏⲗⲓ ⲙⲁⲭⲁⲣ ⲙⲁⲭⲁⲣ ⲥⲏⲑ (telmaêl telmak^{h}aêl êli êli mak^{h}ar mak^{h}ar sêt^{h})^{v} = ⲧⲉⲗⲙⲁⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲧⲉⲗⲙⲁⲭⲁⲏⲗ ⲏⲗⲓ ⲏⲗⲓ ⲙⲁⲭⲁⲣ ⲙⲁⲭⲁⲣ ⲥⲏⲑ (telmak^{h}aêl telmak^{h}aêl êli êli mak^{h}ar mak^{h}ar sêt^{h})^{v2} = ϩⲏⲗⲓ ϩⲏⲗⲓ ⲙⲁⲭⲁⲣ ⲙⲁⲭⲁⲣ ⲥⲏⲑ (hêli hêli mak^{h}ar mak^{h}ar sêt^{h})^{v3}

1. NHC III 62,2—4 = NHC IV 73,13—14^{v} (*Gos. Eg.*)
The Great Seth praises him and other powers; the thrice-male child (NHC III: ⲡϣⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧ ⲛ̄ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲟⲩ) or male child (NHC IV: ⲡⲓϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ

ⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲟⲩ); the power which truly exists (NHC III: ⲧⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲉⲥ ⲁⲗⲏⲑⲱⲥ <ἀληθὲς ἀληθῶς>).

2. NHC III 65,9^{v3} = NHC IV 77,2—4^{v2}(*Gos. Eg.*)

On a long list of powers revealed to the 1st person sing. subject of the text; the great power (ϯⲛⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲙ).

3. NHC IV 59,19—21^{v} (*Gos. Eg.*)

Context partially destroyed and syntactic relations between consecutive words not certain; Providence (πρόνοια) praises him and other powers. The power which really exists (ϯⲧⲟⲟⲙ ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ̄ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲉ); →Iouêl is with him; perhaps the following characteristics also belong to this power: the Great Christ (ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ <χριστός>), the incorruptible child (ⲡⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁ[ⲧ]ϫ[ⲱϩⲙ]).

Texts of ritual power

There are similar forms as αζαμαχαρ (PGM VII, l. 515) or the sequence of permutations of the μαχαρ in PGM XXXIII, ll. 1—3, however, the exact name in any of its variants is never attested in PGM.

Kotansky 1994: 52, No 11 appendix, l. 2; μαχαρ; one of the "lord gods" (κύριοι θέοι); in a long sequence of names of power against unweather and grain-rust.

Commentary and literature

One of the names of heavenly Seth.

302 ⲧⲉⲗⲙⲁⲭⲏ (telmak^{h}ê)

1. NHC VIII 52,8 (*Zost.*)

Context almost completely destroyed; nothing can be said about this power.

303 ⲧⲣⲁⲭⲟⲩ (trak^{h}ou) = ⲧⲣⲁⲭⲟⲩⲛ (trak^{h}oun)^{v}

1. NHC II 17,4^{v} = NHC IV 26,14 (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left foot (ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

304 ⲧⲣⲏⲛⲉⲩ (trêneu)

1. NHC II 16,9—10 = NHC IV 25,10 (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the fingers of the right hand (ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲓϫ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

305 ⲧⲩⲡⲏⲗⲟ (tupêlo) = ⲧⲩⲡⲏⲗⲟⲛ (tupêlon)^{v}

1. NHC II 17,1 = NHC IV 26,12^{v} (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left shin-bone (ⲧⲥⲏⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

306 ⲧⲱⲉⲭⲑⲁ (tôek^{h}t^{h}a)

1. NHC II 17,25 (*Ap. John*)
The name in NHC IV reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC II; the one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the left shin-bone (ⲧⲥⲏⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

ⲩⲙⲛⲉⲟⲥ → ⲥⲩⲡⲛⲉⲩⲥ

307 ⲩⲙⲛⲉⲟⲥ (umneos) = ⲩⲡⲛⲉⲩⲥ (hupneus)[v]

1. NHC III 65,2[v] = NHC IV 76,21 (*Gos. Eg.*)
Appears together with other salvation-bringers; the president over the rising of the sun (ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲓϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲣⲏ ⲧⲉϥⲣⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ).

308 ⲩⲯⲓⲫⲣⲟⲛⲏ (up^{s}ip^{h}ronê) = ⲩⲯⲫⲣⲟⲛⲏ (up^{s}p^{h}ronê)[v]

1. NHC XI 69,23—24 (*Hypsiph.*)
The book contains things seen by Up^{s}ip^{h}ronê in the place of her virginity (ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ <τόπος> ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲥ <παρθένος>).

2. NHC XI 70,22—23[v] (*Hypsiph.*)
She withdrawned outside the place of her virginity (ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲓⲥ <παρθένος>).

3. NHC XI 72,21 (*Hypsiph.*)
Context partially destroyed; →P^{h}ainôp^{s} (?) asks Up^{s}ip^{h}ronê why she lives outside him.

Etymology, commentary and literature

From Greek ὕψιφρων, "high-minded." Up^{s}ip^{h}ronê is certainly a supercelestial power that descended into this world and the text itself is a narrative revelation she gives to those who belong to her. The figure of Up^{s}ip^{h}ronê is not attested in any other text, and it is difficult to equate her with other salvific and revelatory agents in the Gnostic traditions, although Turner (2001) compares her with Êlêlêt^{h}. There are neither traces, nor any links to this figure in any kind of the texts of ritual power.

Turner 1990, in: NHS 28: 270; Turner 2001: 62—63

309 ⲫⲁⲓⲛⲱⲯ (p^{h}ainôp^{s})

1. NHC XI 70,26 (*Hypsiph.*)
Context seriously damaged and substantially reconstructed; P^{h}ainôp^{s} breathes into the spring of blood (ⲧⲡⲏⲅⲏ <πηγή> ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲟⲩ) of →Upsiphronê.

2. NHC XI 70,29 (*Hypsiph.*)
Context seriously damaged; P^{h}ainôp^{s} introduced himself to →Up^{s}ip^{h}ronê (?).

3. NHC XI 71,29 (*Hypsiph.*)
In the revelation narrative of →Up^{s}ip^{h}ronê; P^{h}ainôp^{s} mentioned as the one who had not come upon her.

4. NHC XI 72,19 (*Hypsiph.*)
Context almost completely lost.

Etymology, commentary and literature
From Greek φαίνωψ (Turner gives incorrect φαίωψ) "bright-eyed." Nothing certain can be said about this figure.
Turner 1990, in: NHS 28: 270

310 ⲫⲁⲓⲟⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲟⲛ ⲟⲣⲟⲓⲁⲏⲗ (p^{h}aionion ainion oroiaêl)

1. NHC XIII 39*,1 (*Trim. Prot.*)
The one over the second aeon (αἰών); cf. →Oroiaêl.

311 ⲫⲁⲗⲉⲣⲓⲥ (p^{h}aleris)

1. NHC VIII 47,14 (*Zost.*)
On a long list of various powers; one of the myriads (ⲙⲓⲁⲛⲧⲃⲁ <ⲙⲩⲣⲓⲁⲥ>).

312 ⲫⲁⲗⲥⲏⲥ (p^{h}alsês)

1. NHC VIII 47,14 (*Zost.*)

On a long list of various powers; one of the myriads (ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲧⲃⲁ <ⲡⲉⲧⲃⲁ>).

313 ⲫⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ (p^{h}ariêl)

1. NHC XIII 48*,25 (*Trim. Prot.*)

One of the three glorifiers (ⲛⲉⲧϯⲉⲟⲟⲩ). Protennoia delivers an initiated (his exact identity is uncertain) to them, and they glorify him with the glory of fatherhood (ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉⲓⲱⲧ).

Texts of ritual power

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 12, l. 3 (Kropp I: 71; Kropp II: 184; Meyer & Smith 1999: 140); ⲫⲁⲣⲓⲏⲗ; one of the angels standing around the invisible father (ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧⲛⲁⲩ), by the names (literally "heads") of whom →Gabriêl is invoked.

Commentary and literature

The group of three glorifiers (→Ariôm, →Phariêl) is not attested except *Trim. Prot.*

Poirier 2006, in: BCNH T 32: 352

314 ⲫⲑⲁⲩⲏ (p^{h}t^{h}aue)

1. NHC II 16,15 = NHC IV 25,16 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the navel (ⲑⲟⲗⲡⲉ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

The letters ⲫϑⲁ represent the Egyptian deity Ptah (cf. examples in Brashear 1995: 3600); Quack understands the name as "Ptah, the great."

Brashear 1995: 3600; Quack 1995: 116

315 ⲫⲓⲕⲛⲁ (pʰikna)

1. NHC II 17,5 = NHC IV 26,15 (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the toes (ⲛ̄ⲧⲏⲏⲃⲉ) of the left foot.

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Quack, it may be a corruption of ⲫⲓⲭⲣⲱ, the formula of the number value of 9999, or the Egyptian words referrig to birds, like "falk" (*pꜣ nšr*) or others.

Bonner 1930; Quack 1995: 118

316 ⲫⲗⲟⲍⲟⲫⲁ (pʰlokˢopʰa)

1. NHC II 18,6—7 (*Ap. John*)
The one over the heat (ⲡⲣⲙⲟⲙ).

317 ⲫⲓⲟⲩⲑⲣⲟⲙ (pʰioutʰrom)

1. NHC II 17,3 (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the right foot (ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

318 ⲫⲛⲏⲙⲏ (pʰnêmê)

1. NHC II 17,2 (*Ap. John*)
An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left knee (ⲧⲕⲗⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

According to Quack, the name means "the dwarf"(*pꜣ nmi*), one of the epithets of a solar god.

Quack 1995: 118

319 ϥⲛⲟⲩⲑ (p^{h}nout^{h})

1. NHC IV 25,20 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the left hip (ⲧϯⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

Other texts

Test.Sol. 18,24: Φνουνηβιήλ; his name causes the spirit (πνεῦμα) and the element (στοιχεῖον) Ruk^{s} Nat^{h}ôt^{h}ô to withdraw; one of thirty-six.

Texts of ritual power

PGM IV, l. 1643 (PGM 1: 124; GMPT: 68); φνουθι; in the sequence: Ψοϊ φνουθι νινθηρ associated with Helios and invoked as the great serpent (ὁ μέγας ὄφις), the leader of all the gods (ἡγούμενος τούτων τῶν θεῶν), possessor of the beginning of Egypt and the end of the whole inhabited world (τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἔχων καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης) who mates in the ocean. According to R.K. Ritner, the whole phrase is equvalent of the "the Agathodaimon the god of gods" (GMPT: 68). Note that the same phrase Ψοϊ φνουθι νινθηρ in PGM XXXVIII, l. 18 (PGM 2: 176; GMPT: 279) is a conjecture.

PGM IV, l. 2606 (PGM 1: 154; GMPT: 86); σφνουθι; in the sequence of names or words of power provided as reportedly taken from Syriac (Συριστί).

PGM XII, l. 485 (PGM 2: 86; Daniel 1991: 29; GMPT: 171); φνουθε; in the sequence of words of power used in the conjuration of the demons of the dead (νεκυδαίμονες).

PGM XIII, l. 809 (PGM 2: 124; Daniel 1991: 66; GMPT: 191); φνουθ; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the invoked god.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Greek φνουθ renders Egyptian and Coptic ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ "the god," hence it is the name of clearly Egyptian origin, but with no particular mythological identity.

Brashear 1995: 3601; Quack 1995: 116

320 ϥⲟⲣⲃⲉⲁ (p^{h}orbea)

1. NHC VII 44,17 (*Paraph. Shem*)

Demon (δαίμων) governing the world (κόσμος) by the teaching, together with →K^{h}loerga. They will lead many astray. They will cause floods. Their names are without mercy (ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲑⲏⲧ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM IV, l. 2963 (PGM 1: 168; GMPT 9: 4); φορβεα; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with Kore of three roads (τριοδίτης); used in the love-charm.

Commentary

Nothing certain could be said about this power. It cannot be proved whether the name is derived from the word φορβέα ("halter, mouth-band").

321 ⲫⲣⲓⲧⲁⲛⲓⲥ (p^{h}ritanic)

1. NHC IV 76,25 (*Gos. Eg.*)

Mentioned together with other salvation-bringers; the presiding one over the entrance into the rest of eternal life (ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲓϧⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲣⲓⲏ ⲛ̄ⲁϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲡⲁⲩⲥⲓⲥ <ἀνάπαυσις> ⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲛϩ ⲛ̄ⲁϥ ⲉⲛⲉϩ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

His name was created on the basis of a misunderstanding of Greek πρύτανις, "the ruler," which is clear in comparison with the parallel place in NHC III.

322 ⲭⲁⲁⲙⲁⲛ (k^{h}aaman)

1. NHC II 16,4 = NHC IV 25,2 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the vertebrae (σφόνδψλος).

Etymology

According to Quack, if corrected to ⲭⲁⲣⲁⲙⲁⲛ, the name refers to one of the Egyptian decans. If so, the power would be rooted in the Egyptian astronomical speculation, which remains, however, only tentative.

Neugebauer & Parker 1969: 163; Quack 1995: 115

323 ϫⲁⲣⲁⲛⲏⲣ (k^{h}aranêr)

1. NHC II 17,26 = NHC IV 27,10 (*Ap. John*)

The one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the left knee (ⲧⲕⲗⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

324 ϫⲁⲣϫⲁ (k^{h}ark^{h}a)

1. NHC II 17,23 = NHC IV 27,7 (*Ap. John*)

The one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the left leg (ⲡⲉⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

Texts of ritual power

PGM I, ll. 139, 147 (PGM 1: 10; GMPT: 6); χαρχαραχαχ; in the sequence of names and words of power prescribed to be addressed seven times to Helios.

PGM I, l. 147 (PGM 1: 10; GMPT: 7); χαρχαρα; an element of a compound name prescribed to be written on an amulet stone besides the figura magica of Helioros (Ηλίωρος).

PGM IV, l. 205 (PGM 1: 78; GMPT: 41); χαρχαρα; in the sequence of names and words of power associated with the mighty Typ^{h}ôn (κραταιός Τυφῶν), the sceptre bearer and master of the world above (τῆς ἄνω σκηπτουχίας σκηπτοῦχος καὶ δυνάστης), the god of gods, etc.

PGM IV, l. 2772 (PGM 1: 160; GMPT: 90); χαρχαρ; in the sequence of names and words of power (K^{h}ark^{h}a is followed immediately by Adōnai and Zeus) associated with many-named one (πολυώνυμος) who holds water and the great serpent (δράκων μέγας).

P.Oxy. LXXXII 5306, l. 26; Χαρχααακ; as Χαρχααακ Σαβαώθ invoked in a protective spell called "prayer of Adam."

Etymology, commentary and literature

Gundel notes similar names of the 1st decan of Leo (χαρχαμ, χαρχνουμις). Preisendanz (1939) claimed it to be a variation of βαρβαρ. Certainly, we deal here with a replication of a syllable typical of the *voces* and the names of spiritual powers (Fauth 1993).

Gundel 1936: 77—80; Preisendanz 1939: 40; Fauth 1993: 66—67; Brashear 1995: 3602

325 ⲭⲁⲣⲭⲁⲣⲃ (k^{h}ark^{h}arb)

1. NHC II 17,21 = NHC IV 27,4 (*Ap. John*)
The one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the right thigh (ⲡⲙⲏⲣⲟⲥ <μηρός> ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

Etymology, commentary and literature
See → ⲭⲁⲣⲭⲁ

326 ⲭⲉⲗⲕⲉ (k^{h}alke)

1. NHC VII 33,12 (*Paraph. Shem*)
The single form garment (ⲧⲁϩⲥⲃⲱ) of →Derdekeas. He was in the cloud of a middle region (μεσοτής).

2. NHC VII 46,11 (*Paraph. Shem*)
Mentioned in the 1st person sing. speech of an unspecified subject (Protennoia?).

3. NHC VII 46,21 (*Paraph. Shem*)
Mentioned in the 1st person sing. speech of an unspecified subject (Protennoia?); according to Wisse, in the passage NHC IX 46,20—29 we have a doublet due to homoioteleuton.
Wisse 1996, in: NHMS 30: 121

Etymology, commentary and literature
From the Greek χάλκεος "of copper" or "of bronze," metaphorically "hard," "strong." According to Roberge, K^{h}alke represents the first of the three steps of spiritual formation of pneumatics which means "fullness of thought and word." Together with representations of two other steps →K^{h}alkea and →K^{h}alkeak, K^{h}alke helps the pneumatics to ascend through the spheres.
Roberge 2010: 134

327 ϫελκεα (k^{h}elkea)

1. NHC VII 31,7 (*Paraph. Shem*)
K^{h}elkea enables the passage through the wicked region (ⲧⲉⲓⲑⲉⲥⲓⲥ <θέσις> ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ).

2. NHC VII 33,9 (*Paraph. Shem*)
The bimorphic (ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ <μορφή> ⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ) garment (ⲧⲁϩⲃⲱ) of →Derdekeas; he is in the cloud of silence (ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲕⲁ ⲣⲱϥ).

3. NHC VII 46,10 (*Paraph. Shem*)
Mentioned in the 1st person sing. speech of an unspecified subject (Protennoia?).

Etymology, commentary and literature
From the Greek χάλκεος, cf. →K^{h}alke; according to Roberge, K^{h}alkea represents the second step of spiritual formation of pneumatics which means "silent rejoicing." Together with representations of two other steps →K^{h}alke and →K^{h}alkeak, K^{h}alkea helps pneumatic to ascend through the spheres.

Roberge 2010: 134

328 ϫελκεακ (k^{h}elkeak) = ϫελκεαχ (k^{h}elkeak^{h})^{v}

1. NHC VII 31,6 (*Paraph. Shem*)
K^{h}elkeak enables the passage through the wicked region (ⲧⲉⲓⲑⲉⲥⲓⲥ <θέσις> ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ).

2. NHC VII 33,4^{v} (*Paraph. Shem*)
The garment (ⲧⲁϩⲃⲱ) of →Derdekeas; K^{h}elkeak was in the cloud of hymen (ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ϥⲩⲙⲏⲛ <ὑμήν>); he appeared as a trimorphic cloud (ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ϣⲟⲛⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲏ <μορφή>).

3. NHC VII 46,9—10 (*Paraph. Shem*)
Mentioned in the 1st person sing. speech of an unspecified subject (Protennoia?).

4. NHC VII 46,20 (*Paraph. Shem*)
Mentioned in the 1st person sing. speech of an unspecified subject (Protennoia?); according to Wisse, in the passage NHC IX 46,20—29 we have a doublet due to homoioteleuton.
Wisse 1996, in: NHMS 30: 121

Etymology, commentary and literature

From the Greek χάλκεος, cf. →K^{h}alke; According to Roberge, K^{h}alkeak represents the first step of the spiritual formation of pneumatic that means renunciation of the worldly things and knowledge of spiritual ones. Together with representations of two other steps →K^{h}alke and →K^{h}alkea, K^{h}alkeak helps pneumatic to ascend through the spheres.
Roberge 2010: 134

329 ϫερογβιν (k^{h}eroubin)

1. NHC II 95,27 (*Hyp. Arch.*)
There is a great four-faced chariot of k^{h}eroubin (ογνοϭ ⲛ̄ϩⲁрма <ἅρμα> ⲛ̄ϫєрογвιν єчо ⲛ̄чтооγ ⲙ̄просѡпон <πρόσωπον>) created by →Sabaôt^{h} for himself.

2. NHC II 105,4 (*Orig. World*)
In the four-faced chariot (ογϩⲁрма <ἅρμα> єчо ⲛ̄чтооγ ⲙ̄просѡпон <πρόσωπον>) created by →Sabaôt^{h} under his throne (θρόνος). It has eight shapes in each of its four corners. The shapes were of a lion (πмογι), a calf (πмасє), a human (πρѡмє) and an eagle (ἀετός).
Fallon 1978: 101—104

3. NHC II 121,9 (*Orig. World*)
Fiery living creatures (ϩⲛ̄zѡon <ζῷον> ⲛ̄кѡϩт), with a flaming sword (ογсиче ⲛ̄сатє) in their midst, surrounding the tree of life and protecting it against the entrance.

4. NHC VII 54,34 (*Treat. Seth*)
There are fights around →sarap^{h}in and k^{h}eroubin for their glory is to perish due to disturbances in the realm of →Adonaios.

Other texts

Test.Sol. 18,34: χερουβίμ; together with serap^{h}im (→sarap^{h}ein) invoked to remove the spirit (πνεῦμα) and the element (στοιχεῖον) Ruk^{s} P^{h}usikoret^{h}.

Texts of ritual power

PGM XXXV, l. 12 (PGM 2: 161; GMPT: 268); Χερουβί<ν>; the power invoked in the spell is between two k^{h}eroubim and serap^{h}im.

PGM XLVIII, ll. 5—6, 7 (PGM 2: 181; GMPT: 282); ϫερογβιν; context partially destroyed; they led the father, ruler of all (παντωκράτορ) who is in heaven.

Meyer & Smith 62, ll. 23, 25 (Drescher 1950: 267; Meyer & Smith 1999: 116); ϫⲁⲓⲣⲟⲩⲃⲓⲛ; seven k^{h}eroubin fan the face of God; there is also a great k^{h}erub of fire (ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛϫⲁⲓⲣⲟⲩⲃⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲕⲱϩ̄ⲧ̄), whose name is unknown.

Meyer & Smith 71, p. 4, ll. 5—6; p. 10, l. 5; p. 15, l. 5 (Kropp I: 66, 70, 74; Kropp II: 178, 182, 187; Meyer & Smith 1999: 136, 139, 142); ϫερογβιν; the God sits over k^{h}eroubin (p. 10, l. 5); the light of the father enlights seraphim (→sarap^{h}ein) and k^{h}eroubin; Adonai (→Adônein) Eloei (→Elôein) is the first of seraphim (→sarap^{h}ein) and k^{h}eroubin.

Meyer & Smith 73, l. 39 (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 306; Meyer & Smith 1999: 154); ϫερωβι; k^{h}eroubin and other angelic powers are not able to fulfil the command of a practitioner (Cyprian the Magician in the narrative frame of the texts).

Meyer & Smith 83, l. 8 (MacCoull 1979—1982: 11; Meyer & Smith 1999: 176); ϰχρεριβιν; the God sits over k^{h}eroubin.

Meyer & Smith 88, (Crum 1905: 506; Kropp II: 226; Meyer & Smith 1999: 188); ϫερογβιν; k^{h}eroubin and other angels should act against the enemies of a practitioner.

Meyer & Smith 89, l. 17 (Hengstenberg 1915: 9*; Kropp II: 230; Meyer & Smith 1999: 189); ϫερογβειν; the God sits upon the chariot of k^{h}eroubin.

Meyer & Smith 90, ll. 3, 6 (Ernštedt 1959: 153; Kropp II: 232; Meyer & Smith 1999: 190—191); ϫερογβιν; God sits upon the chariot of k^{h}eroubin.

Meyer & Smith 91, ll. 10r, 31r (Crum 1896: 86—87; Kropp II: 235; Meyer & Smith 1999: 193—194); ϫερογβιν; the God sits upon k^{h}eroubin.

Meyer & Smith 93, l. 9 (Crum 1905: 505; Kropp II: 241; Meyer & Smith 1999: 197); ϫερογβιν; invoked to act against the object of the spell.

Meyer & Smith 105, l. 15 (Bilabel & Grohmann 1934: 400; Meyer & Smith 1999: 213); ϫερογβιν; the practitioner adjures Ariô, the great one of k^{h}eroubin of the Father almighty (παντοκράτωρ).

Meyer & Smith 118, l. 37 (Lange 1932: 163; Meyer & Smith 1999: 238); ϫερογβιν; two k^{h}eroubin of light.

Meyer & Smith 121, l. 5 (Beltz 1983: 69; Kropp II: 109; Meyer & Smith 1999: 245); ϫερεβιν; together with seraphim (→sarap^{h}ein), k^{h}eroubin stand before the God.

Meyer & Smith 122, l. 36 (Meyer & Smith 1999: 349; Meyer & Smith 1999: 248); χερογβεν; greeted by a practitioner.

Meyer & Smith 131, ll. 62r, 71r, 16v, 22v, 65v—66v (Kropp I: 37—38, 41—43; Kropp II: 90—91, 138; Meyer & Smith 1999: 284, 286—287); χεροβιν; the God sits over the chariot of the light k^{h}eroubin (ll. 62r—63r; ⲉⲭⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲁⲣⲙⲁ <ἅρμα> ⲛⲉⲭⲉⲣⲟⲃⲓⲛ ⲛ[ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ]); Souriêl Manuêl sits over the two k^{h}eroubin of light (ll. 21v—23v); the God sits over the four k^{h}eroubin of light (ll. 60v—66v; ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

Meyer & Smith 134, p. 1v, l. 21; p. 8r, l. 20; p. 9v, l. 8; p. 14r, ll. 9—10 (Pleyte & Boeser 1897: 444, 455, 458, 471; Kropp II: 81—82, 163; Meyer & Smith 1999: 315, 318, 321); χερογβιν; there are k^{h}eroubim who rise with the sun (ⲉⲧⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲣⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲏ; p. 8, ll. 19r—22r); the God sits over →seraph^{h}im and k^{h}eroubin (p. 1, ll. 20v—22v; p. 14, ll. 8v—9v); together with seraphim (→sarap^{h}ein), k^{h}eroubin stand below the face of Christ (ⲉⲧⲁⲣⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲁ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲭ̄ⲥ̄, p. 9, ll. 7v—10v).

Meyer & Smith 135, ll. 15, 21 (Kropp 1966: 13, 15; Meyer & Smith 1999: 326); χερωβιν; they are created by God.

P.Giesen Copt. 1, l. 4 (Van der Vliet 2005: 133); χεροφιν; the contex partially destroyed. Once, K^{h}eroub (only one) has been sent by God and it seems that a practitioner requests God to send him once again to give (χάρις; ϩⲏⲥⲉ), favour and success to the practitioner.

P.Heid. inv. Kopt. 685, p. 6, ll. 11—12 (Meyer 1996: 18); χερογβιν; the God sits over the chariots (ἅρμα) of k^{h}eroubin. Each of the k^{h}eroubin has six wings.

P.Ifao copte 451, l. 8 (Louis 2013: 26); χερογβιν; the one who sits over →Saraphein and K^{h}eroubin invoked to deliver a judgment against the adversaries of the practitioner.

P.Macq. I 1, p. 3, ll. 18—19 (Choat & Gardner 2013: 48); ⲕⲭⲉⲣⲟⲩⲃⲓⲛ; the seven servants (ⲣⲏⲡⲱⲫⲉⲛ) in the heights sit over k^{h}eroubin.

P.Stras. K 205 fr. A, I, K and K 204v fr. G, l. 9 (Hevesi 2018: 70); χερογβιν; context partially destroyed, in a phrase "the lights of the kheroubin" (ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ <ⲛ>ⲛⲉⲭⲉⲣⲟⲩⲃⲓⲛ).

London Ms. Or. 4714, part 3 (Crum 1897: 212; Kropp II: 128); ⲛⲓ[χⲉⲣ]ⲟⲩⲃⲓⲛ; Maria asks God to sent many powers to her, among them k^{h}eroubin; the text is a version of "Oratio Mariae ad Bartos."

Gager 1992: 67, No 12, l. 25; (Wünsch 1907: 12); χερουβι; God above the heaven, who separated the earth and the sea, sits upon k^{h}eroubin.

Kotansky 1994: 278, No 52, l. 70 (Jordan 1991: 64; Gager 1992: 234, No 125; Gelzer *et al.* 1999: 54); Χηρουβιν; the God (?) is seated in the midst of two k^{h}eroubin for ever and ever (τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰόνων).

LB, l. 33 (Gelzer *et al.* 1999: 42); Χερουβιν; Miêêl (one of the names of the invoked deity) sits over the two k^{h}eroubin.

Bonner 1950: 304, No 311; Χερουβιν; Obv. A rider spearing a lying female figure; Rev.'Ιάω Σαβαὼ Μιχαὴλ Γαβριὴλ Οὐριὴλ χερουβιν σεραπι and a lion below.

Commentary and literature

K^{h}eroubin are present already in the Jewish Bible and extra-biblical writings as a category of heavenly powers at the court of God, serving him as his chariot and throne. Coptic literature uses such imagery in abundance, and it is also present in the texts of ritual power. The Nag Hammadi texts do not add much new to this picture, although they link k^{h}eroubin not with the highest father but with the rulers of lower world, →Sabaôt^{h} and →Adonaios.

Müller 1959: 79—82; Michl 1962: 78—79, 171—174; Hevesi 2018: 96

330 ⲭⲑⲁⲱ (k^{h}t^{h}aô) = ⲭⲑⲁⲱⲛ (k^{h}t^{h}aôn)^{v}

1. NHC II 17,21^{v} = NHC IV 27,5 (*Ap. John*)

The one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the left thigh (ⲡⲙⲏⲣⲟⲥ <μηρός> ⲛ̄ⲥⲃⲟⲩⲣ).

331 ⲭⲗⲟⲉⲣⲅⲁ (k^{h}loerga)

1. NHC VII 44,17 (*Paraph. Shem*)

A demon (δαίμων) governing the world (κόσμος) by the teaching, together with →P^{h}orbea; they will lead many astray and cause floods. Their names are without mercy (ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲑⲏⲧ).

332 ⲭⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛⲓⲛⲟⲣⲓⲛ (k^{h}noumeninorin)

1. NHC II 16,19 = NHC IV 25,21—22 (*Ap. John*)

An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the bones (ⲛ̄ⲕⲉⲉⲥ, ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲁⲥ).

Other texts

Celsus, in: Origen, *C.Cels.* 8,58; Χνουμήν; Celsus gives names to some of 36 demons or gods of the air (δαίμονες ἢ θεοί τινες αἰθέριοι, i.e. decans) responsible for man's limbs. Among them, there is also Χνουμήν. Celsus does not refer here to Gnostic beliefs.

Etymology, commentary and literature

The first part of the name refers to the Egyptian deity Khnum (χνουμ), alternatively to the 3rd decan of Cancer Khnubis (χνουβις, also χνουμις). It is very possible but not certain that also K^{h}noumeninorin is somehow related to decans and as such is rooted in the Egyptian astronomical speculation.

Gundel 1936: 77; Brashear 1995: 3602; Quack 1995: 116

333 ⲭⲟⲩⲍ (k^{h}ouk^{s})

1. NHC II 17,23 = NHC IV 27,6 (*Ap. John*)

The one particularly (κατὰ μέρος) active (ἐνεργεῖν) in the right leg (ⲡⲡⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

It may be a variant of the name Χουχ, one of the eight primeval gods in the cosmology of Hermopolis (cf. Merkelbach & Totti 1990) that in the magical material is written also as χυχ, χωουχ, χωωωχ or similarly.

Ritner 1986, in: GMPT: 190—191; Merkelbach & Totti 1990: 152; Brashear 1995: 3602; Quack 1995: 118

334 ⲯⲏⲣⲏⲙ (p^{s}êrêm)

1. NHC II 16,32 (*Ap. John*)

The name in NHC IV 16,8 reconstructed fully on the basis of NHC II; An angel (ἄγγελος); the creator of the kidneys of the right leg (ⲛ̄ϭⲗⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲙ).

Etymology, commentary and literature

Quack equates him with the 3rd or the 2nd decan of Scorpio (Latin "psermes"). If so, he would be rooted in the Egyptian astronomical speculation which remains, however, only tentative.

Gudnel 1936: 80; Quack 1995: 117

335 ⲱⲙⲱⲑⲉⲙ[---] (ômôthem[---])

1. NHC VIII 52,9 (*Zost.*)

Context almost completely destroyed; nothing can be said about this power.

336 ⲱⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ (ôraios)

1. NHC II 101,33 (*Orig. World*)

The sixth androgynous force (δύναμις) of the seven heavens of the chaos (ⲧⲥⲟⲱⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲡⲭⲁⲟⲥ <χάος>); his feminine name is wealth (ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲟ).

Other texts

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1,30,5 and 11; Horeus; in the system of Ophites (Irenaeus's "alii"), the third power (also called the heaven, the angel, and the creator) of hebdomade (Ebdomas); to him belong the prophets Micah and Nahum.

Origen, *C.Cels.* 6,31; Ὡραῖος; in the system that Origen ascribes to Ophites, Ôraios is an archon connected with the Moon. His name was taken by Ophites reportedly from the magical lore (Origen, *C.Cels.* 6,32).

Berlin.Kopt.Buch No 128, l. 8; ⲱⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ; the sixth of the seven archons in the system of the Sethians (ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲑⲓⲁⲛⲟⲥ).

Texts of ritual power

Bonner 1950: 284, No 188; Ὡρεός; Obv. A lion-headed figure holding a staff and a situla, nude except for an apron; Ἀαριήλ on the left, Ἰαλδαβαώθ on the right; Rev. The seven names Ἰα Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναὶ Ἐλωαὶ Ὡρεὸς Ἀσταφεός.

Etymology, commentary and literature

Against Origen's testimony, Ôraios is hardly attested in the magical texts. Rasimus (2009) identifies him with Horus but without any further investigation. The only unquestioned attestation in a magical context is on a magical gem with the full Ophite hebdomade.

Michl 1962: 214; Witte 1993: 121—122; Rasimus 2009: 105

ⲱⲣⲓⲁⲏⲗ → ⲟⲣⲟⲓⲁⲏⲗ

337 ⲱⲣⲓⲙⲉⲛⲓⲉ (ôrimenie)

1. NHC VIII 88,11 (*Zost.*)

Context partially destroyed; in a doxology directed towards many powers.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 624

2. NHC XI 54,18 (*Allogenes*)

Mentioned in a hymnic passage with other powers as a separate being or only as a name of →Epip^{h}aneu.

Commentary and literature

It seems that all the names in the doxology NHC VIII 88b—23a should be interpreted as a collective designation of →Barbêlô as the first hidden on (Kalyptos) aeon. They never appear independently and have no particular identity.

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 624

338 ⲱⲣⲓⲫⲁⲛⲓⲉ (ôrip^{h}anie)

1. NHC XI 54,29 (*Allogenes*)

In a hymnic passage; the name of the unbegotten one (ⲁⲧⲭⲡⲟ); according to Turner, the praise might be given by →Iouêl, and the name refers to the entire Triple-Powered One.

Turner 1990, in: NHS 28: 257

ⲱⲣⲟⲓⲁⲏⲗ → ⲟⲣⲟⲓⲁⲏⲗ

339 ⲱⲣⲟⲓⲁⲏⲗ[..]ⲅⲇⲁⲥ[.]ⲟⲥ ⲁⲡ[..]ⲁⲣⲣⲟⲥ[...] (ôroiaêl[..]udas[.]os ap[..]arros[...])

1. NHC VIII 127,26—128,1 (*Zost.*)

The second aeon (αἰών) of the second luminary (φωστήρ) in the self-generated (Autogenes) aeon; the name ⲱⲣⲟⲓⲁⲏⲗ is restored on the basis of the names of the other three aones listed in the same passage. Barry & Funk (2000, in: BCNH T 24) do not restore other names, but Turner (2000, in: BCNH T 24: 649) is less reluctant and restores: "Oroiael Io[udas[i]os Ap[..] Arros[iel]."

Barry *et al.* 2000, in: BCNH T 24: 649—650

ⲱⲣⲟⲓⲏⲗ → ⲟⲣⲟⲓⲁⲏⲗ

340 ⲅⲁⲣⲙⲁⲑⲱⲑ (harmat^{h}ôt^{h})

1. CT 52,7 (*Gos. Jud.*)

The second of the five angels (ἄγγελος) over the chasm and the chaos (χάος).

Etymology, commentary and literature

The conflation of the names of two first astral rulers known from *Ap. John*. →Harmas and →At^{h}ôt^{h}. The conflation might be the result of a secondary christianization of the original list. In *Gos. Jud.* the first place takes "Seth who is called the Christ," so At^{h}ôt^{h} might have been relegated to the second position already occupied by Harmas.

Meyer 2009: 64—65; Lewis 2013: 172

341 ϩⲁⲣⲙⲁⲥ (harmas) = ϩⲉⲣⲙⲁⲥ (hermas)^{v}

1. NHC II 10,30 = NHC III 16,21 = BG 40,6^{v} (*Ap. John*)

The second (of total twelve) authority (ἐξουσία) begotten by the archon (ἄρχων). The eye of envy (NHC II: ⲡⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱϩ) or of fire (NHC III and BG: ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱϩⲧ).

Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 250—253

2. NHC III 58,11 (*Gos. Eg.*)

The second of the twelve assisting angels (ϩⲉⲛⲁⲅⲅⲟⲥ <ἄγγελος> ⲉⲩⲡⲁⲣⲁⲥⲧⲁⲧⲉⲓ <παραστατεῖν>); the eye of the fire (ⲡⲃⲁⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲱϩⲧ): this epithet fully reconstructed in this place on the basis of *Ap. John*.

Etymology, commentary and literature

From the name of the Greek deity Hermes (BCNH T 35: 253), although according to Tardieu rather a garbled name of Iranian evil deity Ariman. Hermas should be identified with one of the five "over the chaos of the underworld" installed below the seven kings over the heavens (BG 41,12—15). If we accept an identification of the group of the twelve with the signs of the zodiac, the epithet "eye of fire" may refer to the star Aldebaran in the constellation Taurus (Tardieu 1984: 279).

Michl 1962: 214; Tardieu 1984: 279; Barc & Funk 2012, in: BCNH T 35: 250—253

ϩⲁⲣⲙⲏⲇⲱⲛ → ⲁⲣⲙⲏⲇⲱⲛ

ϩⲁⲣⲙⲟⲍⲏⲗ → ⲁⲣⲙⲟⲍⲏⲗ

ϩⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲡⲓⲁⲉⲗ → ⲁⲣⲙⲟⲩⲡⲓⲁⲉⲗ

ⲭⲁⲱⲑ → ⲁⲑⲱⲑ

ⲭⲉⲣⲙⲁⲥ → ⲭⲁⲣⲙⲁⲥ

ⲭⲉⲩⲣⲩⲙⲁⲓⲟⲩⲥ → ⲭⲁⲩⲣⲩⲙⲉⲛⲉⲩⲥ

ⲭⲏⲗⲓ ⲭⲏⲗⲓ ⲙⲁⲭⲁⲣ ⲙⲁⲭⲁⲣ ⲥⲛⲑ → ⲧⲉⲗⲙⲁⲏⲗ
ⲧⲉⲗⲙⲁⲏⲗ ⲏⲗⲓ ⲏⲗⲓ ⲙⲁⲭⲁⲣ ⲙⲁⲭⲁⲣ ⲥⲛⲑ

342 ⲭⲓⲙⲓⲣⲏⲣⲓⲥ (himirêris)

1. NHC II 109,3 (*Orig. World*)
The masculine aspect of androgynous (ⲭⲟⲩⲧⲥⲭⲓⲙⲉ) Eros (ἔρως) created from the light poured upon the earth by the lower Providence; fire from the light (ⲡⲕⲱⲭⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲭⲙ̄ ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

Etymology, commentary and literature
Distorted version of the Greek name Ἵμερος; in Greek tradition the personification of desire. In Hesiod's *Theogony* (v. 201) Ἵμερος belongs to the retinue of Aphrodite since she was born. In *Theogony* distinct from Eros, in later tradition, however, identified with him. In *Orig. World* represents a masculine aspect of Eros.

Tardieu 1974: 144—146; Painchaud 1995, in: BCNH T 21,361; Lewis 2013: 42—43

343 ⲭⲟⲣⲙⲟⲥ (hormos)

1. NHC III 60,3 = NHC IV 71,12 (*Gos. Eg.*)
The great angel (ἄγγελος); he prepared the seed (σπορά) of the Great Seth.

Appendices

Appendix **1**

Names of Power in Codex Brucianus and Codex Askevianus

1 ⲁⲃⲉⲣⲁⲙⲉⲛⲑⲱ (aberamenthô)

CA p. 354, l. 8 (Pistis Sophia IV): ⲁⲃⲉⲣⲁⲛⲉⲛⲑⲱⲣ; the other name of Jesus. He cries out the name of the father of the treasury of light (ⲡⲉⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ).

CA p. 360, l. 5 (Pistis Sophia IV): ⲁⲃⲉⲣⲁⲛⲉⲛⲑⲱ; the other name of Jesus. He explains to Mariam the manner in which the souls are carried off by the theft (ⲛ̄ⲥⲧⲉⲣⲉⲥⲓⲙⲟⲛ).

CA p. 367, l. 22 (Pistis Sophia IV): ⲁⲃⲉⲣⲁⲙⲉⲛⲑⲱ; the other name of Jesus. He explains his disciples that when he came to this world he brought with him only "this fire and this water and this wine and this blood" (ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲱⲣ̄ⲧ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲓⲛⲣ̄ⲡ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲛⲟⲩ) (transl. NHS 9: 735).

2 ⲁⲃⲓⲟⲩⲧ (abiout)

CA p. 375, l. 7 (Pistis Sophia IV): Paralemptes (παραλήμπτης) of Ariêl (→Ariaêl). Together with K^{h}armôn, he teaches the soul of the slenderer (ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲁⲗⲓ) about the creation and then takes it down to Amente to Ariêl.

3 ⲁⲅⲣⲁⲙⲁⲥ (agramas)

CB p. 239, l. 26 (Untitled Text): He belongs to the group of three →watchers (φύλαξ). Together with the other two, he became a helper (βοηθός) for the light-spark (ⲡⲉⲥⲡⲓⲛⲑⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ) believers. He has an unspecified group of minor unnamed powers around him.

4 ⲁⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲭⲁⲙⲁⲣⲉⲓ (agrammak^{h}amarei)

CA p. 354, l. 12 (Pistis Sophia IV): The invisible god (ⲡⲁϩⲟⲣⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ).

5 ⲁⲇⲟⲛⲓⲥ (adonis)

CA p. 377, l. 22 (Pistis Sophia IV): He has his paralemptai (παραλήμπτης), who are responsible for the souls of robbers and thieves.

6 ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲱⲭ (ark^{h}eôk^{h})

CA p. 318, l. 24 (Pistis Sophia III): An archon in the ninth chamber of the outer darkness. He has the face of a basilisk (ⲥⲓⲧ).

7 ⲁⲣⲏⲥ (arês)

CA p. 356, ll. 13, 21 (Pistis Sophia IV): The second of (five in total) great archons (ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ) set by Ieou to rule all the archons.

CA p. 357, l. 15 (Pistis Sophia IV): His imperishable name is →Mounik^{h}ounap^{h}ôr.

CA p. 382, l. 16 (Pistis Sophia IV): Together with →Kronos, Arês comes behind the virgin (παρθένος) of the light.

CA p. 383, l. 25 (Pistis Sophia IV): Together with →Kronos, Arês comes behind the virgin (παρθένος) of the light.

CA p. 384, l. 9 (Pistis Sophia IV): Together with →Kronos, Arês comes into the presence of the virgin (παρθένος) of the light.

8 ⲁⲣⲭⲁⲣⲱⲭ (ark^{h}arôk^{h})

CA p. 318, l. 8 (Pistis Sophia III): An archon in the third chamber (ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ) of the outer darkness (ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲃⲟⲗ); with the face of a dog.

9 ⲁⲥⲧⲣⲁⲡⲁ (astrapa)

CB p. 107, l. 18 (2Jeu): One of the helpers (παραστάτης) who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities and number them between the saved.

10 ⲁⲫⲣⲟⲇⲓⲧⲏ (ap^{h}roditê)

CA p. 356, l. 14 (Pistis Sophia IV): The fourth of (five in total) great archons (ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ), set by Ieou to rule all the archons.

CA p. 356, l. 26 (Pistis Sophia IV): Ieou bounds the power of Pistis Sophia to her.

CA p. 357, l. 16 (Pistis Sophia IV): Her imperishable (ἄφθαρτος) name is →k^{h}ôsi.

CA p. 361, l. 21 (Pistis Sophia IV): Ap^{h}roditê as →Boubasti comes to the seventh house (οἶκος) of the sphere (σφαῖρα), which is Libra (ζυγός).

CA p. 362, l. 22 (Pistis Sophia IV): A name of →Boubasti in this world (κόσμος). She comes to the tenth aeon of the sphere (σφαῖρα), which is Capricorn (αἰγόκερος).

CA p. 363, l. 25 (Pistis Sophia IV): She comes as →Boubasti to the second aeon of the sphere (σφαῖρα), which is Bull (ταῦρος).

CA p. 364, l. 22 (Pistis Sophia IV): A name of →Boubasti in this world (κόσμος). She comes to the third aeon of the sphere (σφαῖρα), which is Gemini (δίδυμος).

CA p. 382, l. 14 (Pistis Sophia IV): Together with →Zeus, she comes into the presence of the virgin (παρθένος) of light.

CA p. 383, l. 26 (Pistis Sophia IV): Together with →Zeus, she comes into the presence of the virgin (παρθένος) of light.

CA p. 284, l. 11 (Pistis Sophia IV): Together with →Zeus, she is behind the virgin (παρθένος) of light.

11 ⲁⲭⲣⲱⲭⲁⲣ (ak^{h}rôk^{h}ar)

CA p. 318, ll. 10—11 (Pistis Sophia III): An archon in the fourth chamber (ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ) of the outer darkness (ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲃⲟⲗ), with the face of a serpent.

12 ⲃⲁⲓⲛϫⲱⲱⲱϫ (bainkʰôôôkʰ) = ϫⲁⲓⲛϫⲱⲱⲱϫ (kʰainkʰôôôkʰ)ᵛ

CA p. 356, l. 22 (Pistis Sophia IV)ᵛ: One of the three-powered gods (ⲡⲓϣ̅ⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲓⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ). Ieou takes power (δύναμις) out of him and binds it to →Hermes.

CA p. 382, l. 1 (Pistis Sophia IV): One of the three-powered gods (ⲡⲓϣ̅ⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲓⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ). He has his paralemptes. They take the souls of the man who did not commit any sin.

13 ⲃⲟⲩⲃⲁⲥⲧⲓ (boubasti)

CA p. 361, ll. 20—21 (Pistis Sophia IV): The other name of →Apʰroditê. She comes to the seventh house (οἶκος) of the sphere (σφαῖρα), which is Libra (ζυγός).

CA p. 362, l. 21 (Pistis Sophia IV): The other name of →Apʰroditê. She comes to the tenth aeon of the sphere (σφαῖρα), which is Capricorn (αἰγόκερος).

CA p. 363, l. 24 (Pistis Sophia IV): The other name of →Apʰroditê. She comes to the second aeon of the sphere (σφαῖρα) which is Bull (ταῦρος).

CA p. 364, l. 21 (Pistis Sophia IV): The other name of →Apʰroditê. She comes to the third aeon of the sphere (σφαῖρα), which is Gemini (δίδυμος).

CA p. 366, l. 4 (Pistis Sophia IV): She comes to the fifth aeon of the sphere (σφαῖρα), which is Lion (λέων). Then, the veils (καταπέτασμα) between those on the left and those on the right are drawn aside.

14 ⲇⲓⲁⲕⲧⲓⲟⲥ (diaktios)

CB p. 107, l. 20 (2Jeu): One of the helpers (παραστάτης) who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities, and number them between the saved.

15 ⲇⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ (dromos)

CB p. 107, ll. 20—21 (2Jeu): One of the helpers (παραστάτης) who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities, and number them between the saved.

16 ⲉⲛⲧⲣⲟⲡⲟⲛ (entropon)

CB p. 107, l. 21 (2Jeu): One of the helpers (παραστάτης) who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities, and number them between the saved.

17 ⲉⲛⲭⲑⲟⲛⲓⲛ (enk^{h}t^{h}onin)

CA p. 318, l. 2 (Pistis Sophia III): An archon of the first chamber of the outer darkness (ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲃⲟⲗ); called the snake (δράκων). It has the face of a crocodile (ⲙⲥⲁϩ) with a tail in his mouth; from his mouth all the freezing, dust, cold and diseases come out.

18 ⲉⲩⲓⲇⲉⲩ[.]ⲟⲥ (euideu[.]os)

CB p. 107, l. 21 (2Jeu): One of the helpers (παραστάτης) who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities, and number them between the saved.

19 ⲍⲁⲣⲁⲍⲁⲍ (zarazaz)

CA p. 365, l. 3 (Pistis Sophia IV): The archons call him →Maskelli. His look destroys the places (τόπος) of →Typ^{h}ôn.

20 ⲍⲁⲣⲙⲁⲣⲱⲭ (zarmarôk^{h})

CA p. 319, l. 1 (Pistis Sophia III); an archon in the tenth chamber of the outer darkness. He rules over many archons with seven dragon (δράκων) faces each.

21 ⲍⲉⲩⲥ (zeus)

CA p. 356, l. 14 (Pistis Sophia IV): The fifth of (five in total) great archons (ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ), set by Ieou to rule all the archons.

CA p. 357, l. 4 (Pistis Sophia IV): →Ieou bounds the power of little →Sabaôt^{h} to him, so that he may guide aeons with his goodness (ⲧⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ).

CA p. 357, l. 16 (Pistis Sophia IV): His imperishable (ἄφθαρτος) name is →K^{h}ônbal.

CA p. 382, l. 14 (Pistis Sophia IV): Together with →Ap^{h}roditê, he comes into the presence of the virgin (παρθένος) of light.

CA p. 383, l. 26 (Pistis Sophia IV): Together with →Ap^{h}roditê, he comes into the presence of the virgin (παρθένος) of light.

CA p. 284, l. 10 (Pistis Sophia IV): Together with →Ap^{h}roditê, he is behind the virgin (παρθένος) of light.

22 ⲍⲟⲣⲟⲕⲟⲑⲟⲣⲁ (zorokot^{h}ora)

CB p. 108, ll. 8—9 (2Jeu): He brings the water of the baptism of life into the pitchers of wine (ⲛⲉⲓⲁⲅⲅⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲏⲣⲓ). Jesus summons him in his prayer.

CB p. 110, l. 10 (2Jeu): The other name of Melchisedek. He brings the water of bapitism of fire to the Virgin of the Light.

CB p. 111, l. 1 (2Jeu): He brings the water of bapitism of fire to the Virgin of the Light.

CA p. 360, ll. 9, 14, 24 (Pistis Sophia IV): The other name of Melchisedek (ⲙⲉⲗⲭⲓⲥⲉⲇⲉⲕ). He takes lights purified by the archons and brings them into the treasury of the light (ⲡⲉⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

CA p. 364, l. 1 (Pistis Sophia IV): The other name of Melchisedek (ⲙⲉⲗⲭⲓⲥⲉⲇⲉⲕ). The mountains move under his look, the archons agitate and places (τόπος) of →Hekatê are destroyed.

23 ⲓⲁⲗⲟⲩϩⲁⲙ (ialouham)

CA p. 374, l. 19 (Pistis Sophia IV): Paralemptes (παραλήμπτης) of →Sabaôt^{h}. He gives the cup of forgetfulness (ⲡⲁⲡⲟⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲃ̄ϣⲉ) to the souls (ψυχή).
CA p. 376, l. 4 (Pistis Sophia IV): See above.
CA p. 378, l. 16 (Pistis Sophia IV): See above.
CA p. 379, l. 16 (Pistis Sophia IV): See above.
CA p. 382, l. 22 (Pistis Sophia IV): See above.

24 ⲓⲁⲃⲣⲁⲱⲑ (iabraôt^{h})

CB p. 82, l. 20 (1Jeu): Pobably an archon. His imperishable name is →K^{h}ak^{h}azaôraza. He believes in the kingdom of the light (ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ) in a place of pure light (ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲏⲣ ⲉϥⲥⲟⲧϥ).
CA p. 128, l. 17 (Pistis Sophia II): There are six aeons and their archons (ἄρχων) under Iabraôt^{h}.
CA p. 351, l. 15 (Pistis Sophia III): Saviour puts Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the place (τόπος) of Iabraôt^{h}.
CA p. 355, ll. 18—19, 24 (Pistis Sophia IV): The brother of Sabaôth. When he believed, Ieou received him in the sphere (σφαῖρα) and exalted him.

25 ⲓⲁⲭⲑⲁⲛⲁⲃⲁⲥ (iak^{h}t^{h}anabas)

CB p. 141, l. 9 (2Jeu): The great severe archon (ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲧ) full of anger (ⲙⲉϩ ⲛⲥⲱⲛⲧ); successor (διάδοχος) of the archon of the outer darkness. He has his place (τόπος). Iak^{h}t^{h}anabas or the archon of the darkness spreads upon the way of the midst and carries off the souls.
CA p. 263, l. 11 (Pistis Sophia III): The merciless one (ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲛⲁ). He has his place (τόπος) Iak^{h}t^{h}anabas is not able to punish the soul of righteous man.
CA p. 365, l. 12 (Pistis Sophia IV): A powerful archon (ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲱⲣⲉ) of the fifth rank (τάξις). He has a multitude of demons (δαιμόνιον) under his authority who cause man to sin. Iak^{h}t^{h}anabas punishes souls for 150 years and 8 months.
CA p. 366, ll. 8—9 (Pistis Sophia IV): His places (τόπος) are destroyed under the look of the great →Iaô.

26 ⲓⲉⲟⲩ (ieou)

CB p. 47, l. 12 (1Jeu): A true god (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲗⲏⲑⲓⲁ). His other name Ioeiaôt^{h}ôuik^{h}ôlmiô emanated by the father of Jesus.

CB p. 48, ll. 8, 13 (1Jeu): A true god (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲗⲏⲑⲓⲁ). His name is written within his type (τύπος). His other name is Ioeiaôt^{h}ôuik^{h}ôlmiô.

CB p. 50, l. 2 (×2, 1Jeu): A true god (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲗⲏⲑⲓⲁ); father of all the Ieou (ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲛⲓⲉⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ). His name in the language of Jesus's father is Ioeiaôt^{h}ôuik^{h}ôlmiô. He is set up as a head of all the treasuries (θησαυρός) in order to emanate (προβάλλω) them.

CB p. 51 (×5); CB 52 (×2); CB 54 (×2); CB 55 (×2); CB 56 (×2); CB, 57 (×2); CB 58 (×2); CB 59 (×2); CB 60 (×2); CB 61 (×2); CB 62 (×2); CB 63 (×2); CB 64 (×2); CB 65 (×2); CB 66 (×2); CB 67 (×2); CB 68 (×2); CB 69 (×2); CB 70 (×2); CB 71 (×2); CB 72 (×2); CB 73 (×2); CB 74 (×2); CB 75 (×2); CB 76 (×2); CB 77 (×2); CB 78 (×2); in 25 graphic forms (χαρακτήρ) the name is given usually twice, once as a number of the character, then, in the middle combined with *voces magicae* (the characters nr 1—2 and 13 are omitted).

CB p. 79, l. 14 (1Jeu): Caused by the first mystery, Ieou established the sixth aeon.

CB p. 79, l. 23 (1Jeu): Caused by the first mystery, Ieou established the seventh aeon.

CB p. 80, l. 5 (1Jeu): Caused by the first mystery, Ieou established the eighth aeon.

CB p. 80, l. 15 (1Jeu): Caused by the first mystery, Ieou established the ninth aeon.

CB p. 80, l. 23 (1Jeu): Caused by the first mystery, Ieou established the tenth aeon.

CB p. 81, l. 7 (1Jeu): Caused by the first mystery, Ieou established the eleventh aeon.

CB p. 81, l. 16 (1Jeu): Caused by the first mystery, Ieou established the twelfth aeon.

CB p. 81, l. 25 (1Jeu): Caused by the first mystery, Ieou established the place of 24 invisible emanations (προβολή).

CB p. 97, ll. 25—26 (twice) (1Jeu): Praised by Jesus; the first emanation (προβολή) emanated from the beginning by the father of Jesus. All the places (τόπος) have their kings (ⲛⲣⲣⲟ) also called Ieou.

CB p. 98, ll. 6, 10 (1Jeu): The father of all Jeus. His mysteres (ⲙⲩⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ) are mentioned.

CB p. 105, l. 7 (2Jeu): The great one (ⲛⲟϭ) of the whole treasury (ⲡⲉ⊡ ⲧⲉⲣϥ), of the treasury of the outermost ones (ⲡⲉ ⊡ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲥⲁⲛⲃⲟⲗ). He gives his name, mystery, and seal to those who ascend to his place (τόπος).

CB p. 122, l. 18 (2Jeu): A great man (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ), king of the whole treasury of life (ⲡⲣⲣⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲓ⊡ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ ⲧⲏⲣϥ).

CB p. 122, l. 25 (2Jeu): The father of the treasury of the light (ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲉ⊡ ⲙⲡ⦿). He rejoices over the ascending one and gives him his mystery, the seal and the great name of the treasury of light (ⲡⲉ⊡ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

CB p. 123, l. 5 (2Jeu): The great light (ⲡⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲛ). He gives to the ascending one his mystery, his seal, and the great name of the treasury of the light (ⲡⲉ⊡ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

CA p. 25, l. 23 (Pistis Sophia I): The overseer of the light (ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

CA p. 31, l. 7 (Pistis Sophia I): He established decans (δεκανός).

CA p. 34, l. 12 (Pistis Sophia I): The overseer of the light (ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ). He settled all the archons of aeons, heimarmene (εἱμαρμένη) and sphere (σφαῖρα).

CA p. 91, l. 8 (Pistis Sophia I): An angel (ἄγγελος) of the personalized light (ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ). Oppressed Pistis Sophia calls light to cause Ieou to smite her oppressors.

CA p. 94, l. 14 (Pistis Sophia I): An angel (ἄγγελος) of the personalized light (ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ). His light (ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ) gives more light (ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ).

CA p. 194, l. 16 (Pistis Sophia II): Together with other powers, Ieou will be the king in the first saviour of the first voice of the treasury of the light (ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲙ̄ⲫⲟⲛⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲑⲏⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲓⲛ).

CA p. 194, l. 23 (Pistis Sophia II): Together with other powers, Ieou comes forth from the pure (εἰλικρινές) light of the first tree (ⲡϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲛ).

CA p. 195, ll. 3, 14 (Pistis Sophia II): The overseer of light (ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ). He came forth first from the pure (εἰλικρινές) light of the first tree (ⲡϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲛ).

CA p. 285, l. 16 (Pistis Sophia III): The First Man (ⲡϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ). He commands the soul (ψυχή) to be taken before the sun.

CA p. 319, l. 19 (Pistis Sophia III): The first man (ⲡϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ); the overseer of the light (ⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ); the ambassador of the first ordinance (ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱϣ). He placed an angel (ἄγγελος) to keep watch over the doors of the chambers (ταμιον) against the dragon (δράκων).

CA p. 329, l. 24 (Pistis Sophia III): The first man (ⲡϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ). He has his angels (ἄγγελος).

CA p. 329, l. 26 (Pistis Sophia III): The first man (ⲡϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ), the ambassador of the first ordinance (ⲡⲉⲡⲣⲉⲥⲃⲉⲩⲧⲏⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲱϣ).

CA p. 330, l. 2 (Pistis Sophia III): The first man (ⲡϣⲟⲣⲡ̄ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ). He examines (δοκιμάζω) souls (ψυχή).

CA p. 330, l. 7 (Pistis Sophia III): He examines souls. He has his paralemptai (παραλήμπτης).

CA p. 330, l. 13 (Pistis Sophia III): He examines souls.

CA p. 330, l. 17 (Pistis Sophia III): He examines souls and has mercy upon them.

CA p. 349, l. 21 (Pistis Sophia III): He has the head of →Kalapataurôt^{h} under his feet.

CA p. 349, l. 23 (Pistis Sophia III): There are books of Ieou (ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓⲉⲟⲩ) under the watch of archon →Kalapataurôt^{h}.

CA p. 353, l. 12 (Pistis Sophia IV): Among others *voces magicae* pronounced by Jesus.

CA p. 355, l. 15 (Pistis Sophia IV): The father of Jesus's father. He bounds the aeons to heimarmene (εἱμαρμένη).

CA p. 355, l. 23 (Pistis Sophia IV): The father of Jesus's father. He places →Iabraôt^{h} and →Sabaôt^{h}, their archons and five great archons.

CA p. 356, l. 17 (Pistis Sophia IV) : He draws power out of the Great Invisible One and bounds it to →Kronos.

CA p. 359, l. 11 (Pistis Sophia IV): The father of Jesus's father. He carries off 350 rulers (ἄρχων) and set other five rulers.

CA p. 360, l. 6 (Pistis Sophia IV): The father of Jesus's father, the provider (προνόητος) of all the archons, gods (ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ) and powers (δύναμις) which came into existence in the matter of light (ⲑⲩⲗⲏ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ).

CA p. 361, l. 2 (Pistis Sophia IV): He withdraws himself to the places of those of the right.

CA p. 363, l. 1 (Pistis Sophia IV): He looks to the right and disturbes (?) the world.

27 ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲡⲁⲧⲁⲩⲣⲱⲑ (kalapataurôth)

CA p. 349, l. 20 (Pistis Sophia III): An archon over Gemmut (Pleiades). Feet of →Ieou are upon his head. He goes round all aeons and heimarmene (εἱμαρμένη). He watches over the books of →Ieou (ⲛ̄ϫⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲓⲉⲟⲩ).

28 ⲕⲛⲏⲥⲓⲟⲛ (knêsion)

CB p. 107, l. 20 (2Jeu): One of the helpers (παραστάτης) who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities, and number them between the saved.

29 ⲕⲣⲟⲛⲟⲥ (kronos)

CA p. 356, l. 12 (Pistis Sophia IV): The first of (five in total) great archons (ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ), set by →Ieou to rule all the archons.

CA p. 356, l. 19 (Pistis Sophia IV): →Ieou draws power out of the Great Invisible One and bounds it to Kronos.

CA p. 357, l. 14 (Pistis Sophia IV): His imperishable name is →Ôrimouth.

CA p. 382, l. 16 (Pistis Sophia IV): Together with →Arês, he comes behind the virgin (παρθένος) of the light.

CA p. 383, ll. 24—25 (Pistis Sophia IV): Together with →Arês, he comes behind the virgin (παρθένος) of the light.

CA p. 384, l. 10 (Pistis Sophia IV): Together with →Arês, he comes into the presence of the virgin (παρθένος) of the light.

30 ⲗⲁⲙⲭⲁⲙⲱⲣ (lamkʰamôr)

CA p. 318, l. 16 (Pistis Sophia III): An archon in the sixth chamber of the outer darkness. He has the face of a mountain pig (ⲣⲓⲣⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲩ).

31 ⲗⲁⲣⲁⲱⲭ (laraôkʰ)

CA p. 318, l. 22 (Pistis Sophia III): An archon in the eighth chamber of the outer darkness. He has the face of a vulture.

32 ⲗⲁⲭⲟⲛ (lakʰon)

CB p. 107, l. 19 (2Jeu): One of the helpers (παραστάτης), who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities, and number them between the saved.

33 ⲗⲟⲩⲭⲁⲣ (loukʰar)

CA p. 318, l. 19 (Pistis Sophia III): An archon in the seventh chamber of the outer darkness. He has a face of a bear.

34 ⲙⲁⲣⲭⲟⲩⲣ (markʰour)

CA p. 318, l. 13 (Pistis Sophia III): An archon of the fifth chamber of the outer darkness. He has a face of a black bull.

35 ⲙⲁⲥⲕⲉⲗⲗⲓ (maskelli)

CA p. 365, l. 4 (Pistis Sophia IV): A name of the great archon, by which archons call →Zarazaz.

36 ⲙⲟⲩⲛⲓⲭⲟⲩⲛⲁⲫⲱⲣ (mounikʰounapʰôr)

CA p. 357, ll. 14—15 (Pistis Sophia IV): An imperishable (ἄφθαρτος) name of →Arês.

37 ⲟⲇⲟⲛⲧⲟⲩⲭⲟⲥ (odontoukʰos)

CB p. 107, l. 20 (2Jeu): One of the helpers (παραστάτης) who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities, and number them between the saved.

38 ⲟⲛⲧⲟⲛⲓⲟⲥ (ontonios)

CB p. 107, l. 19 (2Jeu): One of the helpers (παραστάτης) who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities, and number them between the saved.

39 ⲟⲡⲁⲕⲓⲥ (opakis)

CB 107, 19—20 (2Jeu); One of the helpers (παραστάτης) who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities, and number them between the saved.

40 ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲡⲗⲏⲝ (paraplêkˢ)

CB p. 140, l. 19 (2Jeu): A great powerful archon (ϩⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲱⲧ); with feminine article. Probably, she spreads over the way of the midst. The text is difficult to understand.

CA p. 359, l. 17 (Pistis Sophia IV): The first archon of the way of the midst (ⲙⲏⲧⲉ); in the form of a woman (ⲥⲉⲓⲙⲉ) with hair reaching down her feet. She has 25 archdemons (ἀρχιδαιμόνιον) under her authority.

CA p. 361, l. 11 (Pistis Sophia IV): A power (ἐξουσία). Together with her demons, she torments the souls of the hot-tempered, cursers, and slanderers (ⲣⲉϥⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲁⲗⲓ) by smoke and fire for 133 years and 9 months.

CA p. 362, ll. 1, 4 (Pistis Sophia IV): Her places (τόπος) are dissolved under the look of the great →Sabaôt^{h}.

41 ⲡⲏϫⲟⲥ (pêk^{s}os)

CB p. 231, l. 14 (Untitled Text): The third aspect (ϩⲟ) of the hidden one (ϩⲏⲡ) called →Ap^{h}redon-Pêk^{s}os.

42 ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲉⲫⲟⲛⲏ (persep^{h}onê)

CA p. 377, l. 3 (Pistis Sophia IV): The one in the chaos (χάος). She punishes the souls of murderers for three years and six months.

43 ⲡⲟⲇⲓⲧⲁⲛⲓⲟⲥ (poditanios)

CB p. 107, l. 19 (2Jeu): One of the helpers (παραστάτης) who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities, and number them between the saved.

44 ⲡⲟⲗⲩⲡⲁⲓⲇⲟⲥ (polupaidos)

CB p. 107, l. 21 (2Jeu): One of the helpers (παραστάτης) who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities, and number them between the saved.

45 ⲣⲱⲭⲁⲣ (rôkʰar)

CA p. 119, l. 5 (Pistis Sophia III): An archon in the eleventh chamber of the outer darkness. He is over many archons with seven cat faces each.

46 ⲥⲓⲛⲏⲧⲟⲥ (sinêtos)

CB p. 107, l. 19 (2Jeu): One of the helpers (παραστάτης) who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities, and number them between the saved.

47 ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲭⲉⲁⲥ (tarikʰeas)

CB p. 100, l. 26 (2Jeu): The third power of the great archon, an enemy of the kingdom of heaven. According to Jesus, Tarikʰeas is an alleged true god of those who eat menstrual blood and semen. His another name is Adamas (ⲁⲇⲁⲙⲁⲥ), although it may be also a name of →Sabaôtʰ. He is a son of →Sabaôtʰ (ⲡⲱϩⲣⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ). He has two faces, one of a pig (ⲣⲓⲣ), another, on the backside (ϩⲓⲡⲁϩⲟⲩ), of a lion. Jesus condemned him and called the wicked one (πονηρός).

48 ⲧⲁⲣⲡⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲫ (tarpetanoupʰ)

CA p. 357, l. 15 (Pistis Sophia IV): An imperishable (ἄφθαρτος) name of →Hermês.

49 ⲧⲉⲥⲫⲟⲓⲟⲇⲉ (tespʰoiode)

CB p. 107, ll. 18—19 (2Jeu): One of the helpers (παραστάτης) who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities, and number them between the saved.

50 ⲧⲟⲩⲫⲱⲛ (toup^{h}ôn)

CB p. 141, l. 2 (2Jeu): The great severe archon (ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲉⲧⲛⲁϣⲧ) with a face of an ass. He has his place (τόπος). He is spread upon the way of the midst and carries off the souls.

51 ⲧⲩⲫⲱⲛ (tup^{h}ôn)

CA p. 364, l. 8 (Pistis Sophia IV): The fourth rank (τάξις); an assistant (παρέδρων); a powerful archon (ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ⲭⲱⲣⲉ). He causes man to commit sexual sins and torments souls in his places (τόπος) for 138 years by smoke and fire.

CA p. 365, ll. 5—6 (Pistis Sophia IV): An archon, an assistant (παρέδρων). His places are destroyed under the look of →Zorokot^{h}ora.

52 ⲫⲁⲓⲇⲣⲟⲥ (p^{h}aidros)

CB p. 107, l. 20 (2Jeu): One of the helpers (παραστάτης) who serve seven virgins of life. Jesus called him and other helpers to come and baptize his disciples, forgive their sins, purify their iniquities, and number them between the saved.

53 ⲭⲁⲣⲁⲭⲁⲣ (k^{h}arak^{h}ar)

CA p. 318, l. 5 (Pistis Sophia III): An archon in the second chamber of the outer darkness (ⲡⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲉⲧϩⲓⲃⲟⲗ), with the face of a cat.

54 ⲭⲁⲣⲙⲱⲛ (k^{h}armôn)

CA p. 375, l. 7 (Pistis Sophia IV): Paralemptes (παραλήμπτης) of Ariêl (→Ariaêl). Together with →Abiout, he teaches the soul of slenderer (ⲟⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲕⲁⲧⲁⲗⲁⲗⲓ) about the creation, and then, takes it down to Amente to the →Ariêl.

55 ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁⲱⲣ (kʰrêmaôr)

CA p. 319, ll. 9—10 (Pistis Sophia III): An archon in the twelfth chamber of the outer darkness. He is over many archons with seven dog faces each.

56 ⲭⲁⲭⲁⲍⲁⲱⲣⲁⲍⲁ (kʰakʰazaôraza)

CB p. 82, l. 22 (1Jeu): An imperishable name of →Iabraôtʰ.

57 ⲭⲱⲛⲃⲁⲗ (kʰônbal)

CA p. 357, l. 16 (Pistis Sophia IV): An imperishable (ἄφθαρτος) name of →Zeus.

58 ⲱⲣⲓⲙⲟⲩⲑ (ôrimoutʰ)

CA p. 357, l. 14 (Pistis Sophia IV): An imperishable name of →Kronos.

59 ⲩⲉⲕⲁⲧⲏ (hekatê)

CA p. 363, l. 9 (Pistis Sophia IV): The third rank (τάξις); three-faced (ⲡⲓⲯⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧ ⲛ̄ⲩⲟ). She has 27 demons under her authority who cause the man to perjury, lie and desire other's property.

CA p. 363, l. 14 (Pistis Sophia IV): She gives the souls (ψυχή) to her demons to be tormented by fire and smoke.

CA p. 364, l. 3 (Pistis Sophia IV): In a result of the intervention of →Zorokotʰora Melhisedek, the places of Hekatê are destroyed.

CA p. 356, l. 13 (Pistis Sophia IV): The third of (five in total) great archons (ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ) set by Ieou to rule all the archons.

CA p. 356, l. 24 (Pistis Sophia IV): →Ieou draws power out of the triple-powered god →Bainok^{h}ôôôk^{h} and bounds it to Hermês.

CA p. 357, l. 10 (Pistis Sophia IV): →Ieou gives to little →Sabaôt^{h} (?) two aeons in the neighbourhood of Hermês as a dwelling.

CA p. 357, l. 15 (Pistis Sophia IV): His imperishable name is →Tarpetanoup^{h}.

Appendix **2**

Sigla and Inventory Numbers of Quoted Coptic Texts of Ritual Power in Meyer & Smith

Meyer & Smith	10	*PGM* Christian P. 13
Meyer & Smith	29	Cairo, IFAO, no number assigned = *Suppl.Mag.* II 61
Meyer & Smith	36	*PGM* Christian P. 21
Meyer & Smith	37	*PGM* Christian P. 14
Meyer & Smith	43	Ms. Michigan inv. 136
Meyer & Smith	46	Wien, Nationalbibliothek inv. K 8638
Meyer & Smith	47	*BKU* I 22
Meyer & Smith	49	*BKU* I 1
Meyer & Smith	50	Wien, Nationalbibliothek inv. K 7093
Meyer & Smith	54	Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie, inv. Kopt. 544b
Meyer & Smith	57	*P.Lond.Copt.*I 1007
Meyer & Smith	59	*P.Köln* XV 640
Meyer & Smith	60	Washington, Smithsonian, Freer Gallery of Art fr. 10
Meyer & Smith	61	Wien, Nationalbibliothek inv. K 8302
Meyer & Smith	62	Location unknown, Private collection Nahman, without number
Meyer & Smith	63	P.Berlin inv. 11347
Meyer & Smith	64	*P.Lond.Copt.*I 524
Meyer & Smith	66	Ann Arbor, Michigan University, Library inv. P. 1190
Meyer & Smith	70	*P.Lond.Copt.*I 1001
Meyer & Smith	71	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, without number (lost 1904)
Meyer & Smith	73	Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie inv. Kopt. 684
Meyer & Smith	77	Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie inv. Kopt. 518
Meyer & Smith	78	London, Private collection Hay inv. 10376
Meyer & Smith	80	London, Private collection Hay inv. 10434a
Meyer & Smith	81	London, Private collection Hay inv. 10122
Meyer & Smith	82	Ann Arbor, Michigan University, Library inv. P. 4932 f

Meyer & Smith	83	*P.Morgan.Copt* 10
Meyer & Smith	84	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AN 1981. 1940
Meyer & Smith	88	*P.Lond.Copt*.I 1224
Meyer & Smith	90	*P.Hermitage.Copt.* 70
Meyer & Smith	91	Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Copt. c. (P) 4
Meyer & Smith	92	P.Berlin inv. 10587
Meyer & Smith	93	*P.Lond.Copt*.I 1223
Meyer & Smith	95	P.Berlin inv. 8503
Meyer & Smith	99	*O.CrumST* 399
Meyer & Smith	100	Aberdeen, King's College, without number
Meyer & Smith	101	Cairo, IFAO Copte inv. 449
Meyer & Smith	102	Würzburg, Universität inv. 42
Meyer & Smith	105	Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie inv. Kopt. 681
Meyer & Smith	109	Paris, Louvre inv. E 14.250
Meyer & Smith	113	Cairo, Egyptian Museum JdE 49547
Meyer & Smith	115	*P.Ryl.Copt.* 103
Meyer & Smith	117	Baarn, Private collection Moen inv. P. 3
Meyer & Smith	118	Copenhagen, Carlsberg Papyrus Collection inv. P. 52
Meyer & Smith	120	Cairo, Coptic Museum inv. 4960
Meyer & Smith	122	New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library P. CtYBR 1791 [1]
Meyer & Smith	123	*P.Lond.Copt*.I 369
Meyer & Smith	124	Ann Arbor, Michigan University, Library inv. P. 3023 a
Meyer & Smith	125	Ann Arbor, Michigan University, Library inv. P. 3472
Meyer & Smith	128	Cairo, Egyptian Museum JdE 45060
Meyer & Smith	127	London, Private collection Hay inv. 10391
Meyer & Smith	129	London, British Library, Ms. Oriental inv. 6794
Meyer & Smith	131	London, British Library, Ms. Oriental inv. 6796 [2], [3], [1]
Meyer & Smith	132	London, British Library, Ms. Oriental inv. 6796 [4], 6796
Meyer & Smith	133	Ann Arbor, Michigan University, Library inv. 593
Meyer & Smith	134	Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities inv. P. Anastasi 9
Meyer & Smith	135	Heidelberg, Institut für Papyrologie inv. Kopt. 686

Abbreviations

AfP	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*
AGDS	Antiken Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen
AJSLL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers
AnPap	*Analecta Papyrologica*
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
ASAE	*Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte*
ATD	Acta Theologica Danica
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BCNH C	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi. La section "Concordances"
2	*Concordance des textes de Nag Hammadi. Le Codex VI*, P. Cherix (éd.), Québec—Louvain: Presses de l'Université Laval & Peeters, 1993
BCNH E	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi. La section "Études"
1	*Colloque international sur les textes de Nag Hammadi (Québec, 22—25 août 1978), Québec*, B. Barc (éd.), Québec—Louvain: Presses de l'Université Laval & Peeters, 1981
6	= Turner 2001
BCNH T	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi. La section "Textes"
5	*L'Hypostase des archontes. Traité gnostique sur l'origine de l'homme, du monde et des archontes (NH II, 4)*, B. Barc (éd.), Québec—Louvain: Les Presses de l'Université Laval & Peeters, 1980
21	*L'Écrit sans titre: traité sur l'origine du monde (NH II, 5 et XIII, 2 et Brit. Lib. Or. 4926[1])*, L. Painchaud (éd.), Québec—Louvain: Les Presses de l'Université Laval & Peeters, 1995
20	*La Sagesse de Jésus-Christ (BG, 3; NH III, 4)*, C. Barry (éd.), Québec—Louvain: Les Presses de l'Université Laval & Peeters, 1993

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BIFAO *Le Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*

BKU I *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin. Koptische Urkunden*, Bd. 1, Berlin: Weidmann, 1904

BPhW *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*

BSAC *Le Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*

CBR *Currents in Biblical Research*

CCSA Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum

CCSL Corpus Christianorum Series Latina

CSCO.SC Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptores Coptici

CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

GCS Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller

GGA *Die Göttingischen Gelehrten Anzeigen*

GMPT The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, H.D. Betz (ed.), Chicago—London: The University of Chicago Press, 1986

GRBS *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

HTR *Harvard Theological Review*

JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JAOS	*Journal of American Oriental Society*
JEA	*Journal of the Egyptian Archaeology*
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JJP	*Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSQ	*Jewish Studies Quarterly*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
Kropp I—III	Kropp, A.M., *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*, 3 vols., Bruxelles, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1930—1931
LB	*Lamella Bernensis*, Gelzer *et al.* (eds.), (1999)
Meyer & Smith	= Meyer & Smith (1999)
NHS / NHMS	Nag Hammadi Studies / Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
4	*Nag Hammadi Codices III,2 and IV,2. The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great invisible Spirit)*, A. Böhlig, F. Wissse, P. Labib (eds.), Leiden: Brill, 1975
9	*Pistis Sophia*, C. Schmidt (ed.), V. MacDermot (transl.), Leiden: Brill, 1978
10	= Fallon 1978
11	*Nag Hammadi Codices V,2—5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,1 and 4*, D.M. Parrot (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 1979
13	*The Books of Jeu and the untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, C. Schmidt (ed.), V. MacDermot (transl.), Leiden: Brill, 1978
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22	*Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex)*, H.W. Attridge (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 1985

27	*Nag Hammadi Codices III,3—4 and V,1 with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,3 and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1081. Eugnostos and The Sophia of Jesus Christ*, D.M. Parrot (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 1991
28	*Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII, XIII*, Ch.W. Hedrick (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 1990
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31	*Nag Hammadi Codex VIII*, J.H. Sieber (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 1991
33	*The Apocryphon of John. Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II,1; III,1; and IV,1 with BG 8502,2*, M. Waldstein, F. Wisse (eds.), Leiden: Brill, 1995
63	*The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis. Book I (Sects 1—46)*, F. Williams (transl.), Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2009
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72	= Roberge 2010
78	*Der Same Seths. Hans-Martin Schenkes Kleine Schriften zu Gnosis, Koptologie und Neuem Testament*, G. Schenke Robinson, G. Schenke, U.-K. Plisch (Hgg.), Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2012
82	*Platonism and the Late Ancient World. Essays in Honour of John D. Turner*, K. Corrigan, T. Rasimus (eds.), Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2013
85	*Practicing Gnosis: Ritual, Magic, Theurgy and Liturgy in Nag Hammadi, Manichaean and Other Ancient Literature. Essays in Honor of Birger A. Pearson*, A.D. DeConick, G. Shaw, J.D. Turner (eds.), Leiden: Brill, 2013
89	= Evans 2015
NT	*Novum Testamentum*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTSupp	Novum Testamentum, Supplements
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OMRO	*Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*
O.CrumST	Crum 1921
OCh	*Oriens Christianus*
PG	Migne, J.-P. (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca*
P.HermitageCopt.	Ernštedt 1959

PGM	*Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechische Zauberpapyri*, K. Preisendanz (Hg.), Bde. 1—2, Aufl. 2, A. Henrichs (Bearb.), Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973—1974. PGM 3 exists only as a set of proofs. The source of references was a scan of the set in possession of Papyrologisch Instituut Leiden
P.Kell.G.	*Greek Papyri from Kellis: I: (P.Kell.G.) Nos 1—90*, K.A. Worp (ed.), Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph 3. Oxbow Monograph 54, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1995
P.Köln XV	*Kölner Papyri* XV, Ch. Armoni *et al.* (Hgg.), Papyrologica Coloniensia VII.15, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2017
PL	Migne, J.-P. (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*
*P.Lond.Copt.*I	Crum 1905
P.Oxy.	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*
P.Ryl.Copt.	Crum 1909
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
P.Stras.Copt.	*Coptica Argentoratensia. Textes et documents de la troisième université d'été de papyrologie copte (Strasbourg, 18—25 juillet 2010)*, A. Boud'hors (éd.), Paris: Boccard, 2014
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft — Neue Bearbeitung von G. Wissowa
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
RevPhil	*Revue de philologie*
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RMP	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
RSLR	*Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*
SACh SN	Studia Antiquitatis Christianae Series Nova
SC	*Second Century*
SCO	*Studi classici e orientali*
SCh	Sources Chrétiennes
SH	*Scripta Hierosolymitana*
SO	*Symbolae Osloenses*
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
Suppl.Mag.	Daniel, R.W., Maltomini, F., *Supplementum Magicum*, 2 vols., Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990—1992
TAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
VCh	*Vigiliae Christianae*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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Cover image
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Copy editing
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Cover design, text make-up and typesetting
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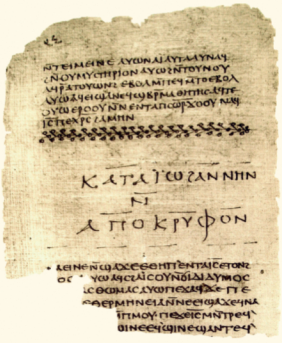
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Piwowarczyk, Przemysław
Lexicon of Spiritual Powers in the Nag Hammadi "library" in the light of the texts of ritual power / Przemysław Piwowarczyk. - Katowice : Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2021

https://doi.org/10.31261/PN.4050
ISBN 978-83-226-3716-6 (print edition)
ISBN 978-83-226-3717-3 (digital edition)

Publisher
Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego
ul. Bankowa 12B, 40-007 Katowice
www.wydawnictwo.us.edu.pl
e-mail: wydawnictwo@us.edu.pl

First impression. Printed sheets **25.5**. Publishing sheets **19.5**. **PN 4050**. Price **79.90 PLN** (VAT included). This publication has been typeset in the **Irbis EFN**, **Karmina** and **Karmina Sans** typeface (by Veronika Burian & José Scaglioni / Type Together) and published on **Alto Creme** paper 80 g/m², vol. 1.5. Printing and binding: Volumina.pl Daniel Krzanowski (ul. Księcia Witolda 7—9, 71-063 Szczecin)



Free copy

ISBN 978-83-226-3717-3

About this book