

KING'S THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

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have to take the form of another paper raising the question of just what it is that distinguishes hysteria from sanity. The implications of the present paper are that that question is not to be settled solely by a study of the extract from Sarah's diary which described the circumstances in which she made her rather strange vow. It was not hysteria which prevented her finally leaving Henry. What she was and what she became are central to this question. Nor is the difference between hysteria and sanity, between belief and unbelief, to be settled by appeal to the difference between superstition and belief in coincidences. Greene develops a counterpoint to that account of the difference between Sarah and Bendrix. Bendrix in the end cannot understand Sarah because

'I refuse to believe that love could take any other form than mine'.

AN INTRODUCTION TO NAG HAMMADI STUDIES

T.V. Smith

Despite the appearance of several books and articles dealing with the subject (1), personal experience reveals that mention of the Nag Hammadi discovery is often met with a shrug of the shoulders and a quizzical frown. It is not difficult to point out several reasons why the Nag Hammadi find has failed to attract the same public and scholarly attention, particularly in Britain, as that which surrounded the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. For one thing, the gnostic texts belong to the Christian era, and in several cases are clearly influenced by Christianity, whilst the Dead Sea Scrolls relate to the period of Christian origins and uncover the scriptures of a hitherto unknown Jewish sect. In addition, fewer scholars are able to deal at first-hand with Coptic texts than with Hebrew, and the publication of the Nag Hammadi library has been plagued with far more problems and delays than attended the publication of the Scrolls (2). Recent months, however, have witnessed three significant events in Nag

If this analysis is at least partially adequate as an account of *one* form which the difference between belief and unbelief can take, then to that extent it questions the adequacy of the definition of atheism as the belief that God does not exist.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Historical Selections in the Philosophy of Religion*, ed. R.N. Smart, S.C.M., 1962, p. 452.
2. Published by Heinemann. All references to the Uniform Edition 1955.
3. *op.cit.*, p. 459.
4. *Works of Love*, Collins, 1962, p. 72. See also D.Z. Phillips, *The Christian Concept of Love*, in *Christian Ethics and Contemporary Philosophy*, ed. I.T. Ramsey, S.C.M. Press, 1966.

Hammadi Studies: the publication of the final volume of the facsimile edition of the texts; the appearance of a one-volume English translation; and an International Conference on Gnosticism, held at Yale University, at which over two hundred and fifty scholars met to discuss some of the issues raised by the Nag Hammadi documents. In view of these developments, but bearing in mind the feeling of unfamiliarity, it seems appropriate to introduce the discovery and study of the Nag Hammadi texts (3).

The town of Nag Hammadi is situated on the southern bank of the River Nile, about six hundred kilometres south of Cairo. A few miles east of the town lies the ancient site of Chenoboskion, where Pachomius established the first Christian monastery at the beginning of the fourth century. The area around Nag Hammadi was in fact one of the major centres of Christian monasticism from the fourth century onwards. The gnostic texts were not discovered in the

town of Nag Hammadi itself, but at the foot of a mountain range, the Gebel et-Tarif, which lies a few miles to the north - east. Here, in December 1945, at an unknown location, a local peasant camel-driver named Mohammed Ali discovered the texts, hidden inside a jar, while searching for *sebach*, a rich soil used as a fertilizer in the Nile Valley. After changing hands several times, the texts, found in the form of papyrus pages bound together in thirteen leather-covered codices, seem to have arrived at Cairo in three different groups(4). Codex III was acquired by Togo Mina, curator of Cairo's Coptic museum, in October 1946, and a year later was examined by Jean Doresse, a young French scholar who had come to Egypt to search for Christian monastic remains. Doresse identified the five gnostic writings contained in Codex III, and, along with his teacher Henri-Charles Puech, made the first announcement of the discovery to the scholarly world in February 1948. Codex I, meanwhile, disappeared from Egypt in mysterious circumstances, and, after being offered for sale in the United States, was eventually acquired by Zurich's Jung Institute in May 1952, henceforth becoming known as the Jung Codex(5). The third group of codices consisted of nine more or less complete ones (II, IV-XI) along with parts of three others (I, XII, XIII). This group also came to the notice of Togo Mina at the Coptic Museum, and after a long legal dispute over their rightful ownership, a court-order made them national property in 1956. With the return of the Jung Codex to Cairo in 1975, all the Nag Hammadi texts are now housed in the Coptic Museum.

The publication of the texts has been plagued with numerous problems and long delays. The delicate political situation in Egypt in the 1950's, for example, meant that the texts in the Coptic Museum were almost completely inaccessible from 1949 to 1956. An International Committee consisting of Egyptian and Western scholars was formed in 1956 for the purpose of initiating publication plans, but the outbreak of the Suez Crisis meant that the Committee met for only one month, and the resultant rupture in Egyptian-Western relations dismissed any chance of the Committee re-convening. The committee did succeed in collating the *Gospel of Thomas* (CG.II.2), which was subsequently published

in 1959(6), and which led to a period of intensive scholarly study of the document. Publication of the texts contained in the Jung Codex had begun in 1956 with the appearance of the *Gospel of Truth* (CG.I.3), and has continued since then, though with long delays(7). The preservation of the Cairo texts was entrusted in the early 1960's to a German scholar, Martin Krause, working at Cairo's German Archaeological Institute. He was able to publish an edition of the three versions of the *Apocryphon of John* (CG.II.1; III.1; IV.1), which appeared in 1963(8). A project to photograph the entire collection of papyrus pages was begun in 1961, financed by UNESCO, but by the time of the Messina colloquium on gnostic origins in 1966, less than seventy percent of the material had been photographed. In addition, by this time, twenty years after the discovery, only a quarter of the fifty-two documents had been published and only one tenth were available in English translation(9). At Messina, a three-man committee, chaired by the American New Testament scholar James Robinson, sent a long cable to UNESCO urging completion of the photographic project as soon as possible(10), and after the conference Robinson went to the Paris offices of UNESCO where, thanks to his persistent questionings, he was able to copy out many of the papyrus pages from their photographic reproductions. In 1970, another international committee was established, with Robinson as the permanent secretary, and it was at this point that the delays which had beset the publication of the texts finally came to a welcome end.

The facsimile edition of the texts, containing photographs of the papyrus pages and the leather covers, began appearing in 1972 and has recently been completed (11). Projects are in progress for the translation of the texts into French, German, and English. French translations, along with brief introductions and commentaries, are prepared by a group of scholars working at Laval University, Quebec. Established in 1974, publication of the translations began last year (12). The Berliner Arbeitskreis für Koptisch Gnostische Schriften, based in East Berlin, regularly publishes German translations and brief introductions, in the journal *Theologische Literaturzeitung*

(13). English translations are produced by members of the Coptic Gnostic Library Project at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, California, and appear in the *Nag Hammadi Studies* monograph series. Detailed introductions and commentaries accompany the Coptic texts and English translations (14). The monograph series contains books which are invaluable for the study of the Nag Hammadi collection—festschriften for scholars involved in the publication of the texts (15), collections of papers read at conferences dealing with Gnosticism (16), studies of individual texts (17), and a bibliographical guide to Nag Hammadi Studies (18). In addition to these various publication projects, two other projects are of considerable importance, the establishment of the Nag Hammadi Archive at Claremont, and the archaeological investigation of the area around Nag Hammadi. The archaeologists have not only uncovered the remains of possibly the largest ancient church in the Middle East, at Faw Qibli, eighteen kilometres north-east of Nag Hammadi, but have also established that the hitherto unknown find-spot of the Bodmer Papyri was in the very same area as that of the Nag Hammadi library. (19)

Although some of the texts were known before the Nag Hammadi discovery, and some are duplicated (20) within the collection, there are nevertheless forty previously unknown documents, of which thirty are in a well preserved state and the other ten in a rather fragmentary condition. All the texts are written in Coptic but are in fact translations of Greek originals. Archaeological and palaeographic evidence indicates that the texts in their present form date from the fourth century. Attempts have been made to classify the codices in a variety of ways, in terms of their different Coptic dialects, different scribal hands (21), different leather covers (22), and different branches of Gnosticism (23). In view of the difficulties inherent in these methods of classification, it might be better to use a more general criterion, such as a distinction between Christian and non-Christian texts. A marked feature of the Nag Hammadi library is its variety, not only amongst the library as a whole but also within individual documents, several of which defy any attempt to place

them within a particular school of gnostic thought. This diversity can be seen quite clearly in the way in which many issues are understood in a wide variety of ways within the collection. In the course of a short article, we can only hope to sketch out this diversity as a means of introducing some of the less well-known documents and indicating some of the more recent work produced in Nag Hammadi Studies.

1. *The Crucifixion of Jesus*

On the one hand, there is evidence from the Nag Hammadi library which supports the view that gnostics understood the death of Jesus docetically, that is, they maintained that although Jesus seemed to suffer, in reality he did not do so (24). In the *Apocalypse of Peter* (CG.VII.3) we find the crucifixion explained in terms of two Jesus figures. Peter's question about the identity of the two figures is explained in the following way: "he whom you saw on the tree, glad and laughing, this is the living Jesus. But this one into whose hands and feet they drive the nails is his fleshly part, which is the substitute being put to shame, the one who came into being in his likeness." (81:15 - 24). A distinction is made between the bodily Jesus who suffered and the living Jesus who did not suffer: the fleshly part (sarkikon) of Jesus is crucified while the incorporeal body of the living Jesus is released (83:6 - 8) and stands by and laughs at the crucifixion scene, unaffected by it. This gnostic version of Jesus' crucifixion is clearly docetic, and occurs in the *Apocalypse of Peter* in the context of a polemical attack upon a group which "cleave to the name of a dead man, thinking that they will become pure" (74:13 - 15), a reference to the orthodox theology of the cross based on Jesus' physical and real death (25). Such an understanding of the crucifixion is vigorously attacked, and the crucified one is described as "the first-born, and the home of demons" (82:21 - 23) in an allusion to the widespread Hellenistic belief that the body is controlled by evil powers. Similar criticisms of the orthodox crucifixion doctrine are found in the *First Apocalypse of James* (CG.V.3), in which Jesus states that he has "never suffered in any way" (31:18 - 19), and in the *Letter of Peter to Philip* (CG.VIII.2), where Peter summarises the

orthodox position only to dismiss it: "Jesus came down and was crucified. And he bore a crown of thorns. And he put on a purple garment. And he was crucified on a tree and he was buried in a tomb. And he rose from the dead. My brothers, Jesus is a stranger to this suffering"(139:15 - 22)(26). A docetic view of Jesus' crucifixion is also found in the *Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (CG.VII.2), where we find a somewhat similar view to that of the *Apocalypse of Peter*: "It was another, their father, who drank the gall and the vinegar; it was not I. They struck me with the reed; it was another, Simon, who bore the cross on his shoulder. It was another upon whom they placed the crown of thorns ... And I was laughing at their ignorance."(56:6 - 13, 18 - 19). The idea of a laughing Jesus at the crucifixion is a prominent feature of the teaching of the gnostic Basilides who, according to Irenaeus(27), believed that Jesus stood by and laughed while Simon of Cyrene suffered and died on the cross in his place.

This is *not* the same idea as is found in the *Second Treatise of the Great Seth*, where Simon's function is limited to carrying the cross (a tradition derived from Mark 15:21) and does not extend to being crucified. The document is still, however, a further witness to a gnostic denial of Jesus' suffering made in terms of a docetic separation of the bodily Jesus from the spiritual Jesus (28).

On the other hand, some evidence reveals that certain gnostic groups insisted on the *reality* of Jesus' suffering and death. There seems to be an anti-docetic tendency in the *Gospel of Truth* (29), but such a tendency is most clear in *Melchizedek* (CG.IX.1). In a description of a group of opponents, the author first gives their views and then counters them with his own: "they will say of him that he is unbegotten though he has been begotten, that he does not eat even though he does eat, that he does not drink even though he drinks, that he is uncircumcised though he has been circumcised, that he is unfleshly though he has come in the flesh, that he did not come to suffering though he did come to suffering, that he did not rise from the dead though he arose from the dead"(5:2 - 11)(30). Whilst it is not possible to identify the opponents

from such a general description of their views - they could be orthodox Christians or another gnostic group - it may be possible to identify the precise branch of gnosticism within which the document arose. Several of the anti-gnostic writers give an account of a gnostic sect called Melchizedekians (31), who affirmed the true humanity of Jesus, believing him to be a mere man in contrast to the heavenly power Melchisedek, whose image Christ is. Although *Melchisedek* does not subordinate Christ to Melchisedek, as Epiphanius attributes to the Melchisedekians, it is highly likely that the document was written by members of the sect which Epiphanius describes. (32)

A belief in the soteriological importance of the cross is clearly present in the *Apocryphon of James* (CG.I.2) where Jesus is represented as saying "none will be saved unless they believe in my cross. But those who have believed in my cross, theirs is the Kingdom of God. Therefore become seekers for death ... none of those who fear death will be saved; for the kingdom of death belongs to those who put themselves to death"(6:3 - 8, 15 - 19). An interesting feature of this passage is the connection between the death of Christ and the death of the Christian: a stress on the reality of Christ's suffering serves as a model for the death of his followers. Belief in the cross is correlated with a strong belief in the validity of martyrdom as a response to persecution(33). The gnostic view of martyrdom was far from uniform, however, since in other texts it is opposed as foolish.

The *Testimony of Truth* (CG.IX.3) for example, contains a polemic against the acceptance of martyrdom: "But when they are perfected with a martyr's death, this is the thought that they have written them: 'If we deliver ourselves over to death for the sake of the Name we will be saved.' These matters are not settled in this way."(34:1 - 7). The identity of those attacked in the *Testimony of Truth* is unclear, although in a very fragmentary passage (55 - 59) the author names several gnostic leaders, such as Valentinus, Isidore, and Basilides, as "heretics"(59:4)! That a gnostic author can attack other gnostics as well as orthodox groups raises the question of the relationship *between* different gnostic

sects as well as the wider problem of the relationship between gnosticism and early Christianity.

2 *The Apostles*

Gnostics held two contrasting opinions about the apostles: either they claim to be the heirs of a secret gnostic apostolic tradition(34) stretching back to Jesus himself, or they consider their own teaching to be far superior to that of the apostles, whose words are meant only for the 'psychic' church, and not for the pneumatic gnostics.

Some groups appear to have laid claim to traditions associated with a *particular* apostle. The Nag Hammadi library contains two documents written in the name of the apostle Thomas, the *Gospel of Thomas* (CG.II.2) and the *Book of Thomas the Contender* (CG.II.7), (35) which, along with the *Acts of Thomas*, provide material for the study of "Thomas Christianity", a type of ascetic Christianity associated particularly with the Edessa area (36). Another group of texts contains traditions associated with the name of James, the brother of Jesus, a figure of considerable importance in several Jewish-Christian traditions. The favourable position assigned to James in these documents is particularly clear in the *Second Apocalypse of James* (CG.V.4) where he "seems to function practically as a gnostic redeemer"(37). The Nag Hammadi texts are also making an important contribution to our understanding of the place of Paul in gnostic thought. A recent study of Valentinian gnostic use of the Pauline letters (38) reveals that the Valentinians looked upon Paul's ideas as the source for their own theological doctrines. The *Treatise on the Resurrection* (CG.I.4), for example, quotes Paul in support of the view that the resurrection has already taken place(39), a view *combated* by a supposedly 'Pauline' author in 2 Timothy 2:18! The *Interpretation of Knowledge* (CG.XI.1) also takes up and develops several ecclesiological statements from Paul's epistles in order to show (in a very Pauline fashion) that the church is the body of Christ, and the *Gospel of Truth* 16:31 - 23:2 has been interpreted as a kind of gnostic commentary on Romans 1:14 - 3:31(40). The Nag Hammadi texts are therefore making it

increasingly clear why Paul was looked upon by second century writers as the "apostle of the heretics", and was therefore shunned by many ecclesiastical writers (41).

Finally, a word about the controversial issue of the relationship of John's Gospel to gnostic thought. In the controversies which raged in the early part of this century over the suggestion that there existed a pre-Christian gnosticism, the fourth gospel assumed a position of major importance. On the basis of parallels between John and the writings of the Mandaeans, a gnostic community which survives in Iraq, Bultmann attempted to show that John's Gospel was originally a non-Christian document composed by members of John the Baptist's community. He explained the Johannine Prologue on the hypothesis of a gnostic origin, a theory which became a cornerstone in his supposed pre-Christian gnosticism but which was attacked largely on account of the unlikelihood that the Mandaean texts were of pre-Christian date. It appears, however, that the discussion of pre-Christian gnosticism is once again about to envelop the Johannine prologue, for some scholars believe that the third section of the *Trimorphic Protennoia* (CG.XIII.1) provides the closest parallel to the Prologue to be found in any text of antiquity. These scholars also believe that the study of the parallels between the two texts indicates that the Prologue is dependent upon the gnostic work(42). This view is not proven, however(43), and it seems best at present to limit ourselves to the observation that the *Trimorphic Protennoia* provides further evidence of the popularity of John's Gospel among gnostics(44).

NOTES

1 J. Doresse *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics: An Introduction to the Gnostic Coptic Manuscripts discovered at Chenoboskion* (London, 1960); W.C. Van Unnik, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings. A preliminary survey of the Nag Hammadi find* (London, 1960); A.K. Helmbold, *The Nag Hammadi Gnostic Texts and the Bible* (Grand Rapids, 1967); J.M. Robinson, 'The Coptic Gnostic Library Today', *New Testament Studies*, Vol. 14 (1968) pp. 356-401; J. Dart, *The Laughing Savior. The Discovery and Significance of the Nag Hammadi Gnostic Library* (New York, 1976).

- 2 R. Wilson *Gnosis and the New Testament* (Oxford, 1968) p.86.
- 3 For a recent survey see R. Wilson 'Nag Hammadi: a Progress Report' *Expository Times* Vol.85 (1974) pp.196-201. The one-volume English translation is edited by J.M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden, 1977) and is an invaluable tool in the study of the texts.
- 4 For details of the discovery and subsequent transmission of the texts, see Doresse, *op. cit.* pp.116-136; Van Unnik, *op. cit.* pp.7-15; Dart, *op. cit.* pp.3-52. J.M. Robinson (ed.), *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices. Introduction* (Leiden, 1972).
- 5 The history and character of the Jung codex is discussed in F.L. Cross (ed.) *The Jung Codex. A Newly Recovered Gnostic Papyrus* (London, 1955). Several missing pages in the Jung Codex were subsequently discovered amongst the codices in Cairo. An agreement was reached whereby the missing pages were incorporated into the edition of the Jung Codex in exchange for the return of the Codex to Cairo. For a detailed history of the Jung Codex, see now J.M. Robinson, 'The Jung Codex. The Rise and Fall of a Monopoly', *Religious Studies Review* Vol. 3 (1977) pp.17-30.
- 6 A Guilaumont *et al.* *The Gospel According to Thomas* (Leiden, 1959).
- 7 M. Malinine *et al.* *Evangelium Veritatis* (Studien aus dem C.G. Jung Institut VI, Zurich, 1956). A supplementum containing the pages found in Cairo was published in 1961, and the other documents appeared in 1963 (*De Resurrectione*), 1969 (*Apocryphon Jacobi*), 1973 (*Tractatus Tripartitus, Pars I*), and 1975 (*Tractatus Tripartitus, Pars II and III*).
- 8 M. Krause and P. Labib, *Die Drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo* (Wiesbaden, 1962). The abbreviation CG used in this paper stands for *Cairensis Gnosticus*, and is the official designation of the Nag Hammadi texts. Roman numerals refer to the codex, Arabic numerals to the treatise. Thus, the *Apocryphon of John* is the first treatise of codices two, three, and four.
- 9 See the survey by M. Krause 'Der Stand der Veröffentlichung der Nag Hammadi Texte' in U. Bianchi (ed.) *Le Origini dello gnosticismo. Colloquio di Messina, 13-18 aprile 1966* (Leiden, 1967) pp.61-88.
- 10 On the Messina colloquium, see U. Bianchi, *op. cit.*, which contains all the papers read, and c.f. G. MacRae, 'Gnosis in Messina', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* Vol.28 (1966) pp. 322-333; U. Bianchi, *Le Colloque international sur les origines du gnosticisme* (Messina, avril 1966), *Numen* Vol. 13 (1966), pp. 151-160; S. Petrement, 'Le Colloque du Messine et le problème du gnosticisme', *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* Vol. 72 (1967), pp. 344-373.
- 11 J.M. Robinson (ed.) *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices* Codex VI (1972), Codex VII (1972), Codices XI, XII, XIII (1973), Codex II (1974), Codex V (1975), Codex IV (1975), Codex III (1976), Codex VIII (1976), Codex I (1977), Codices IX, X (1977).
- 12 J. Ménard (ed.) *La Lettre de Pierre à Philippe. Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi. Section Textes I* (Quebec 1977).
- 13 See the article by the Berlin group, 'Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi für die moderne Gnosisforschung' in K. Tröger (ed.), *Gnosis und Neues Testament* (Berlin, 1973), pp. 13-76, which contains comments on all the texts.
- 14 See A. Böhlig and F. Wisse 'Nag Hammadi Codices III.2 and IV.2. The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit)'. *Nag Hammadi Studies IV* (Leiden 1975).
- 15 See M. Krause (ed.) 'Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in honour of Pahor Labib' *Nag Hammadi Studies III* (Leiden, 1975).
- 16 J. Ménard (ed.), 'Les Textes de Nag Hammadi. Colloque du Centre d'Histoire des Religions (Strasbourg 25 octobre 1974) *Nag Hammadi Studies VII* (Leiden, 1975); M. Krause (ed.) *Gnosis and Gnosticism. Papers read at the Seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies.* (Oxford, September 8th-13th 1975) *Nag Hammadi Studies VIII* (Leiden 1977).
- 17 For example, K. Koschorke, 'Die Polemik der Gnostiker gegen das kirchliche Christentum. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Nag-Hammadi-Traktate Apokalypse des Petrus und Testimonium Veritatis' *Nag Hammadi Studies XII* (Leiden, 1978)
- 18 D.M. Scholer 'Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948-1969' *Nag Hammadi Studies I* (Leiden 1971) updated annually in *Novum Testamentum*.
- 19 For reports on the archaeological excavations, see *Göttingen Miscellen* Vol. 22 (1976) 71-79, Vol. 24 (1977) 57-73.
- 20 The Apocryphon of John is found in three versions, and the Gospel of Truth, Gospel of the Egyptians, Eugnostos the Blessed and On the Origin of the World twice each.
- 21 See M. Krause 'Zum Koptischen Handschriftenfund bei Nag Hammadi' *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* Vol. 19 (1963) pp. 110-111 for a tentative analysis.
- 22 See J.M. Robinson, 'The Construction of the Nag Hammadi Codices' in *Nag Hammadi Studies VI* (1975) pp. 170-190.
- 23 F. Wisse 'The Nag Hammadi Library and the Heresiologists' *Vigiliae Christianae* Vol. 25 (1971). p. 209 gives a very tentative classification.
- 24 On this see K.W. Tröger 'Doketistische Christologie in Nag-Hammadi Texten. Ein Beitrag zum Dokerismus in frühchristlicher Zeit *Kairos* Vol. 19 (1977), pp. 45-52, A. Orbe 'La Pasion segun los gnosticos' *Gregorianum* Vol. 56 (1975), pp. 5-43.
- 25 On the polemic contained in the Apocalypse of Peter see K. Koschorke, *op. cit.* pp. 11 ff.
- 26 See K. Koschorke 'Eine gnostische Pfingspredigt. Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen gnostischem und kirchlichem Christentum am Beispiel der "Epistula Petri ad Philippum"' *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* Vol. 74 (1977) pp. 323-343 for a detailed discussion of the Letter of Peter to Philip.

- 27 *Ad.Haer.* I.24.4.
- 28 The Christology of this document is discussed in K.W. Tröger 'Der zweite Logos des grossen Seth-Gedanken zur Christologie in der zweiten Schrift des Codex VII Nag Hammadi' *Studies VI* (1975) pp. 268-276.
- 29 See S. Arai *Die Christologie des Evangelium Veritatis* (Leiden 1964) especially pp. 100-105.
- 30 This passage is discussed in B. Pearson, 'Anti-Heretical Warnings in Codex IX from Nag Hammadi' *Nag Hammadi Studies VI* (1975) pp. 145-154.
- 31 For example, Epiphanius *Panarion* 55.9.1f; Hippolytus *Refutatio* 7.36.
- 32 See B. Pearson, 'The figure of Melchizedek in the first Tractate of the Unpublished Coptic-Gnostic Codex IX from Nag Hammadi' in C.J. Bleeker (ed.), *Proceedings of the XIIth International Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions* (Leiden 1975) pp.200-208.
- 33 That this correlation is found in a number of Nag Hammadi texts, as well as in the anti-gnostic writers, was convincingly demonstrated by Elaine Pagels, 'Gnostic and Orthodox views of Christ's passion: Paradigms for the Christian's response to persecution?' a paper read at the International Conference on Gnosticism at Yale University, March 1978.
- 34 c.f. Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* VII.106, where Basilides is said to claim an apostolic tradition going back through Glaucias to Peter, while Valentinus claims one deriving from Paul.
- 35 See J.D. Turner, 'The Book of Thomas the Contender from Codex II of the Cairo Gnostic Library from Nag Hammadi', *Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 23* (Missoula 1975).
- 36 See the discussion of this type of Christianity by H. Köster in J.M. Robinson and H. Köster, *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia 1971, pp.126-143.
- 37 C.W. Hedrick in Robinson (ed.) *The Nag Hammadi Library* in English, p. 249.
- 38 E. Pagels *The Gnostic Paul. Gnostic Exegesis of the Pauline Letters* (Philadelphia 1975).
- 39 On this document, see M. Peel, *The Epistle to Rheginos; A Valentinian Letter on the Resurrection* (London, 1969); L. Martin, 'The Anti-Philosophical Polemic and Gnostic Soteriology in The Treatise on the Resurrection', *Numen*, Vol. 20 (1973) pp. 20-37; J. Ménard, 'La notion de "résurrection" dans l'Épître à Rheginos', *Nag Hammadi Studies VI* (1975) pp. 110-124.
- 40 So L. Cerfaux, 'De Saint Paul à L'Évangile de la Vérité', *New Testament Studies*, Vol. 5 (1958/9), pp. 103-112.
- 41 See H. Schneemelcher, 'Paulus in der griechischen Kirche des zweiten Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* Vol. 75 (1964) pp. 1-20. (K. Barrett, 'Pauline Controversies in the Post-Pauline Period', *New Testament Studies* Vol. 20 (1973/4), pp. 229-245.
- 42 G. Schenke, ' "Die dreigestaltige Protennoia" Eine gnostische Offenbarungsrede in koptischer Sprache aus dem Fund von Nag Hammadi', *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 99 (1974) pp. 731-746. c.f. also Y. Janssens, *Le Codex XIII de Nag Hammadi, Le Museon* Vol. 87 (1974) pp. 341-413, especially pp. 409-410.
- 43 See the brief discussion by R. Wilson, 'The Trimorphic Protennoia', *Nag Hammadi Studies VIII* (1977) pp. 50-54.
- 44 The gnostic Heracleon wrote the first commentary on John's Gospel: see E. Pagels, *The Johannine Gospel in Gnostic Exegesis* (Nashville 1973). On the use of John's Gospel in gnosticism, see. W. Von Loewenich, *Das Johannes-Verständnis im zweiten Jahrhundert* (Giessen 1932) pp. 60-115; J.N. Sanders, *The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church* (Cambridge, 1943) pp. 47-66 M.F. Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel* (Cambridge, 1960) pp. 96-111.

ANXIETY AND THE FUTURE IN TEILHARD DE CHARDIN

Melvyn Thompson

A first reading of *The Phenomenon of Man* would suggest that Teilhard's view of the future is straightforward, although couched in unfamiliar language. A summary of it might run as follows:

The world is evolving, and produces more and more complex beings with correspondingly greater degrees of consciousness. This may

be traced from the atom through the living cell up to man. Yet evolution does not stop with man. It continues in terms of his development, particularly in his social relationships, until the noosphere (the thinking layer on our planet made up of all the human minds and relationships) reaches a point where it forms a single personal whole - the completion of the human evolution - a point Omega. Since man is the lead-