Charles W. Hedrick

THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM

The Library

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT

WEST FOOTHILL AT COLLEGE AVENUE
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA

THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM

Charles W. Hedrick

THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM
A LITERARY AND SOURCE ANALYIS

Scholars Press

Theology Library

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California

THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM
A LITERARY AND SOURCE ANALYSIS

Charles W. Hedrick

Ph.D., 1977
Claremont Graduate School

Supervisor:
James M. Robinson

To Peggy
and our offspring,
Charlie, Cindi and Kay:
Small payment for their considerable expense

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART II
TEXT, TRANSLATION AND NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of biblical and apocryphal books, Nag
Hammadi tractates and contemporary publications are taken from
the Instructions for Contributors to the *Journal of Biblical
Literature* (95 [1976] 330-46). For classical and patristic
references, I have used the abbreviations appearing in *The
Oxford Classical Dictionary* ([2nd ed.; ed. N. G. L. Hammond
and H. H. Scullard; Oxford: Clarendon, 1970] ix-xxii) and
A Patristic Greek Lexicon ([ed. G. W. H. Lampe; Oxford:
Clarendon, 1961] xi-xlix).

The following list of abbreviations are those that have
been used when abbreviations were not found in the above-
mentioned sources, or when a different abbreviation was
selected.

A	Source A to the *Apocalypse of Adam*
ADAIK	Abhandlung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo
ApocPaul	Apocalypse of Paul (Latin text published by M. R. James)
APet	Acts of Peter
AscenIsa	Ascension of Isaiah
B	Source B to the *Apocalypse of Adam*
CH	Corpus Hermeticum
De haer.	Augustine: *De haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum*
ET	English translation
GL	Left *Ginza*
Keph.	Kephalaia
Pan.	Epiphanius: *Panarion seu adversus LXXX haereses*
R	The redactor of the *Apocalypse of Adam*
Ref.	Hippolytus: *Refutatio omnium haeresium*
WZMLU	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität*

References to the following authors are to the works cited below unless otherwise indicated.

Beltz   Walter Beltz. "Die Adam-Apokalypse aus Codex V
               von Nag Hammadi: Jüdische Bausteine in gnos-
               tischen Systemen." Dr. Theol. dissertation;
               Berlin: Humboldt-Universität, 1970.

Böhlig   Alexander Böhlig and Pahor Labib. *Koptisch-
               gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag
               Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*.
               Halle-Wittenberg: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift
               der Martin-Luther-Universität, 1963.

Crum   Walter Crum. *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford:
               Clarendon, 1939.

Hennecke-Schneemelcher
               Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, eds.
               New Testament Apocrypha. ET and ed. R. McL.
               Wilson et al. Vol. 1: *Gospels and Related
               Writings*, Vol. 2: *Writings Relating to the
               Apostles; Apocalypses and Related Subjects*.
               Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959, 1964.

Kasser   Rodolphe Kasser. "Bibliothèque gnostique V:
               Apocalypse d'Adam." *Revue de Théologie et de
               Philosophie* 17 (1967) 316-33.

Krause   Martin Krause. "The Apocalypse of Adam." Pp.
               13-23 in *Gnosis*. 2 vols. Ed. Werner Foerster,
               trans. and ed. R. McL. Wilson. Oxford:
               Clarendon, 1972-74.

MacRae   George MacRae. "The Apocalypse of Adam." Pp.
               151-95 in *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with
               Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*. Ed. Douglas
               M. Parrott. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.

Schenke   Hans-Martin Schenke. "Alexander Böhlig und Pahor
               Labib, Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex
               V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-
               Kairo." *OLZ* 61 (1966) cols. 23-34.

Till   Walter Till. *Koptische Grammatik: Sahidic
               Dialect*. Leipzig: VEB Verlag, 1966.

SYMBOLS

[ ]   Square brackets indicate lacunae in the text.

< >   Pointed brackets indicate the author's correc-
tions of a scribal error.

{ }   Braces indicate Coptic material that has been
included in the text through scribal error,
such as a dittography or letters deleted by
the scribe.

( )   Parentheses in the translation enclose Greek
loan words used in the Coptic text and inter-
pretative material added by the author to clarify
the meaning of the Coptic text.

. . .   Sublinear dots appearing alone in the transcrip-
tion indicate illegible Coptic letters. Each dot
represents one letter. Sublinear dots beneath
letters in the transcription indicate that the
letters are not visually certain.

\ /   High diagonal strokes enclose letters that are
written above the line by the Coptic scribe.

*   Asterisks in the transcription and translation
indicate lines in lacunae. Each asterisk repre-
sents one line.

/   The solidus in the transcription and translation
indicates the beginning of every fifth line of
Coptic text. The line number to which it corre-
sponds is shown in the left margin.

//   A double solidus in the transcription and trans-
lation indicates a change in Coptic page number.
The new page number and beginning line number
are indicated in the left margin.

‡   This sign alerts the reader to the fact that
additional text follows this point in the re-
dacted version of the text as it appears in
Codex V. The critical notes may be consulted
for the location and extent of such text.

| Long vertical lines in the transcription and
translation indicate Coptic line division.

The idea for this approach to the *Apocalypse of Adam* grew out of a seminar on the Nag Hammadi texts with Professor James M. Robinson in 1970. The argument for sources underlying the present text of the *Apocalypse of Adam* was originally developed in a seminar paper, then later revised and published in the book of seminar papers for the 1972 annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature ("The Apocalypse of Adam: A Literary and Source Analysis," *The Society of Biblical Literature One Hundred Eighth Annual Meeting Book of Seminar Papers*, *Friday-Tuesday, 1-5 September 1972, Century Plaza Hotel, Los Angeles, Ca*. [2 vols.; ed. Lane C. McGaughy; Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972] 2.581-90).

The transcription in part two was originally collated against photographs taken by the Center of Documentation of the Arab Republic of Egypt and supplied to UNESCO in 1963 and loaned to me by Professor Robinson, Permanent Secretary of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices, from the Archives of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, California. Later I had the opportunity of collating the transcription against the papyrus manuscripts in the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo during several work sessions at the museum in connection with the American project to conserve the manuscripts, the international project to publish them in facsimile edition, and the project to publish an English language edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices sponsored by the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. From 1971-1973, several work sessions at the Coptic Museum in Cairo from two weeks to one month in length were made possible for me through grants by the American Philosophical Society, The Mills Foundation, Claremont Graduate School and the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. A seven-month period of research, 1974-1975, was made possible through a federal grant by the Smithsonian Institution. Part of the expense of typing the manuscript for publication was defrayed by Wagner College, Staten Island, New York.

The present transcription represents an improvement over the *editio princeps* published by Alexander Böhlig in 1963.

Since his publication, new readings in the text have been made possible by the placement of fragments on pp. [65]/[66] and [79]/[80] and by the acquisition of early photographs taken by Jean Doresse prior to 1949. The Doresse photographs reveal more text on pp. [65]/[66] than was extant on the papyrus at the time Böhlig's transcription was made. The greatest improvement has been the restoration of text at many points through the use of ultraviolet light. In many instances, the text is illegible under natural light but is clearly visible when the papyrus is read with magnification under ultraviolet light.

I have been cautious in the conjectural emendations of lacunae and have only restored text where such restorations seemed virtually certain. All restorations have been carefully measured to insure that the restoration was possible when compared to the average size of letters elsewhere in the text. The translation and transcription are presented in paragraph form on the basis of thought units, while retaining Coptic line numeration.

The study is divided into two parts. Part One presents the argument for sources underlying the edited form of the *Apocalypse of Adam* as it appears in Codex V and an analysis of the text on the basis of that source division. It also includes a chapter on the history of research on the *Apocalypse of Adam*. Part Two presents transcription and translation with critical notes. The translation is broken down into the two underlying sources and the redactor's comments.

Coptic page and line numbers are indicated in the left margin of both translation and transcription. The beginning of every fifth line of Coptic text is signalled in the translation and transcription by a single solidus. Long vertical lines indicate Coptic line division. A double solidus indicates a change in Coptic page number.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

INTRODUCTION

Discussions of the *Apocalypse of Adam* have generally pro-
ceeded on the assumption that the document was written by a
single author. Although many have recognized that the collec-
tion of narratives on the origin of the illuminator ([77],27-
[83],4) is traditional material and as such has a history in
the tradition prior to its incorporation into the *Apocalypse of
Adam*, few have considered this as an indication that the docu-
ment as a whole may have been composed using earlier collec-
tions of material. Or, put another way: few have considered
the possibility that the *Apocalypse of Adam* is an edited docu-
ment compiled from earlier source material. In fact, few have
speculated on the possibility of sources underlying the pres-
ent form of the text, and no one has yet examined the text in
an attempt systematically to isolate such sources.[1] Even
Walter Beltz, who made the text the subject of a *Habilitations-
schrift* and who thinks the document is a composite work, has
not attempted to work out an identification of the sources.

If indeed the *Apocalypse of Adam* is a composite text, it
is essential that its history of redaction be clarified. Not
to do so places the interpretation of the text in question
since one would be unable to distinguish between the various
stages in the transmission of the text, and therefore could not
identify the theology of a later redactor from the theology of
his sources. The usual approach to the text, i.e., regarding
it as written by a single author, is much like trying to iden-
tify the theology of Mark or John without using literary or
source analysis and form criticism.

The search for sources or prior collections of material
underlying a given text is a recognized and established part
of the total hermeneutical enterprise. In fact, modern bibli-
cal criticism may be said to trace its beginning to the recog-
nition of sources in Genesis in the eighteenth century. At the
close of the nineteenth century, one of the assured results of
biblical criticism was that certain biblical texts were derived
from earlier collections of material. While there was no con-
sensus as to the exact limits of the sources, there was general

agreement that these texts did incorporate earlier collections
of material.

In the twentieth century, in an attempt to get behind
these early collections of material, the focus of interest
shifted to the smaller literary units, i.e., stories and say-
ings, and to the history of their transmission. The new form
critical research was never intended to replace source analy-
sis, but it enabled the scholar to break through the impasse
at which critical research had arrived and to identify still
earlier layers of tradition. Each method is important in it-
self as a hermeneutical tool for understanding a text. This is
demonstrated by the fact that the search for possible sources
underlying the Gospel of John plays a significant role in
today's discussion along with the continuing form critical
analysis.

More recently, in research on the Synoptic Gospels, the
focus has again shifted back to the gospel as a whole. While
the form critic stressed the composite nature of the gospels
and regarded the evangelists simply as collectors or editors
of the tradition, the new approach regards them as theologians
or authors in their own right, and seeks an understanding of
their theology in the way each evangelist arranged or redacted
his material. In this enterprise, the identification of mate-
rial *received* by the evangelist, the smaller literary units as
well as longer collections of material, is essential since the
redaktionsgeschichtliche Methode proceeds by studying the evan-
gelist's redaction of the material he received. All three ap-
proaches to the text (literary or source analysis, form criti-
cism and redaction criticism) are not exclusive disciplines;
they are complementary parts of one hermeneutical process. A
biblical scholar will allow all three methods to guide his re-
search, since all can contribute to his understanding of the
text. In a sense, literary criticism and form criticism are
incorporated into redaction criticism since these two methods
are basic tools for the redaction critic.

This study utilizes that kind of methodology. I am con-
cerned with the *Apocalypse of Adam* as a literary whole. How-
ever, in order to understand the whole I must also be concerned

with earlier collections of material underlying the composite
whole of the text as well as the tradition history of the
smaller units. The discussion proceeds on the assumption that
an understanding of the whole is achieved only through a clear
understanding of its parts.

NOTE

INTRODUCTION

[1]There has been one preliminary attempt to analyze the
literary development of the *Apoc. Adam*: Rodolphe Kasser,
"Textes gnostiques: Remarques à propos des éditions récentes du
Livre secret de Jean et des Apocalypses de Paul, Jacques et
Adam," *Le Muséon* 78 (1965) 91-98 and "Bibliothèque gnostique V:
Apocalypse d'Adam," *RTP* 17 (1967) 316-33. Kasser identifies
two primary divisions to the tractate which, he says, can be
easily identified by their style and "probably" also by their
content. The larger section (64,1-[77],27a; [83],8b-[85],31)
is principally a gnostic reinterpretation of certain events in
Genesis and can be called "the Revelation of Adam to Seth."
This section Kasser believes to be an ancient Semitic poem
whose metrical characteristics are still distinguishable in
spite of having been blurred through an initial translation
into Greek and then from Greek into Coptic. Into this poem of
sixty-three four-line strophes an ancient editor has inserted
an equally archaic shorter section ([77],27b-[83],8a). Kasser
identifies this unit as an ancient Semitic (or Iranian) hymn
whose original literary structure was modified before being in-
corporated into the *Apoc. Adam*. In its original form, the hymn
had fourteen strophes of six units each. Originally the hymn
alluded to fourteen now unidentifiable mythical figures that
came to be associated with biblical and pagan heroes. Even-
tually both of these divisions were united and edited to form
the present apocalypse.

PART ONE

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENT ON THE BASIS OF SOURCES

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

A. Text and Translations

In 1963, the *editio princeps* of the *Apoc. Adam* appeared in
the publication of the four apocalypses in Codex V by Alexander
Böhlig and Pahor Labib (*Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus
Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*
[Halle-Wittenberg: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-
Luther-Universität, 1963] 86-117). Their transcription was the
only published transcription of the text available to scholar-
ship until 1979. In light of the fact that critical editions
of a large percentage of the Nag Hammadi tractates have yet to
appear, their early publication of these texts is to be com-
mended. The editors of the text were justifiably cautious in
the restoration of lacunae; consequently, much of the text was
unrestored in their edition.

In 1965, Rodolphe Kasser, working primarily with photo-
graphs supplied by Martin Krause (although he did at least see
the papyrus manuscripts), suggested new readings for the ves-
tiges of ink around the lacunae (in particular the missing tops
and bottoms of pages) and restorations based upon those read-
ings ("Textes gnostiques: Remarques à propos des éditions ré-
centes du Livre secret de Jean et des Apocalypses de Paul,
Jacques et Adam," *Le Muséon* 78 [1965] 91-96 and "Textes gnos-
tiques: Nouvelles remarques à propos de Apocalypses de Paul,
Jacques et Adam," *Le Muséon* 78 [1965] 304-306). While Kasser
did correct some incorrect readings in the Böhlig-Labib edition,
many of his extensive restorations are based upon incorrect
readings of ink traces around lacunae.

In 1966, Hans-Martin Schenke published a review of the
Böhlig-Labib edition suggesting new parallels and restorations
as well as translation and transcription corrections ("Alex-
ander Böhlig und Pahor Labib, Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen
aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo,"
OLZ 61 [1966] cols. 32-34). There is no indication that Schenke
had access to a set of photographs of the text, and at that time

he had not yet been to Cairo to consult the originals. Other
reviews of the Böhlig-Labib edition did not deal with specific
problems of transcription and translation, but were concerned
only with a description of the text, and the interpretation of
the text by Böhlig-Labib (Kurt Rudolph, *TLZ* 90 [1965] cols.
361-62; A. Orbe, *Gregorianum* 46 [1965] 170-72; R. Kasser,
BO 22 [1965] 163-64; Jean Daniélou, *RSR* 54 [1966] 291-92;
R. Haardt, *WZKM* 61 [1967] 155-59).

    Other translations of the text have been published in
French and German. In 1967, Rodolphe Kasser published a French
translation based upon his own (unpublished) transcription of
the text that employed his own suggestions for lacunae restora-
tions published earlier (see above) ("Bibliothèque gnostique V:
Apocalypse d'Adam," *RTP* 17 [1967] 316-33). In 1971, Martin
Krause published a new German translation of the text. Krause
had access to the original manuscripts and in addition pos-
sessed a complete set of photographs of the text. He adopted
suggestions for lacunae restorations made by H.-M. Schenke, R.
Kasser and W. Beltz insofar as their restorations to him seemed
assured ("Die Apokalypse Adams," *Gnosis* [2 vols.; ed. Werner
Foerster; Zürich: Artemis Verlags-AG, 1969-1971] 2.17-31; ET
Werner Foerster [ed.], *Gnosis* [2 vols.; trans. and ed. R. McL.
Wilson; Oxford: Clarendon, 1972-1974] 2.13-23).

    In 1970, Walter Beltz completed his as yet unpublished
Habilitationsschrift on the *Apoc. Adam*. Using photographs
loaned to him by Martin Krause, Beltz sought to improve on the
transcription of the Böhlig-Labib edition. Unfortunately, be-
cause of numerous incorrect readings and extensive unwarranted
lacunae restorations, the text does not represent an improve-
ment over Böhlig-Labib. The real value of Beltz's work is his
collection of numerous parallel passages from the Jewish rab-
binic tradition, and his recognition of the heavy dependence of
the text upon the Jewish traditions ("Die Adam-Apokalypse aus
Codex V von Nag Hammadi: Jüdische Bausteine in gnostischen Sys-
temen," Dr. Theol. dissertation, Berlin: Humboldt-Universität,
1970).

In 1977, Stephen E. Robinson published an English language translation of *Apoc. Adam* apparently based on the critical text published by Böhlig-Labib ("The Apocalypse of Adam," *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 [1977] 131-53).

Early in 1977, George W. MacRae published an English language translation reflecting an improved transcription of the Coptic text in connection with the Coptic-Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont, California ("The Apocalypse of Adam," *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* [ed. James M. Robinson; San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1977] 256-64). It was followed in 1979 by a new critical edition of the Coptic text with an improved English language translation along with critical introduction and notes. This publication was part of the English language edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices sponsored by the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity. The publication represents a vast improvement over the edition of Böhlig-Labib, as it reflects considerable work with the original manuscripts under ultraviolet light over several work sessions in the Coptic Museum ("The Apocalypse of Adam," *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4* [ed. Douglas M. Parrott; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978] 193-95).

B. Secondary Literature

In 1969, Kurt Rudolph published a brief *Forschungsbericht* on *Apoc. Adam* that summarized the state of the discussion to that time ("Gnosis und Gnostizismus, ein Forschungsbericht," *TRu* 34 [1969] 160-69). The discussion in the early period evolved around two central issues. Stimulated by the claim of Böhlig (later revised) that the text reflected a kind of "pre-Christian" Gnosticism, the discussion centered on the character of the text, i.e., was it a Christian text or a non-Christian text? Since there were motifs that seemed to reflect a Christian provenance, Böhlig's characterization was challenged. Closely related to this issue was a second issue about the character and purpose of the list of statements by the personified kingdoms and the kingless generation ([77],27-[83],4,

since some of the motifs suggesting a Christian provenance fell
within this section. In the early period there was no real
consensus with respect to these two issues. Instead, the dis-
cussion seemed to have reached a methodological impasse with
parallels accumulated on both sides of the issue.

Since 1969, the pace of publication has slowed and the
direction taken by the discussion has changed. The earlier
discussion seemed to be primarily concerned with the relation-
ship of the *Apoc. Adam* to the Christian tradition, and the
discussion proceeded in an attempt to clarify that relation-
ship. More recently, there has been an interest in the theology
of the text. In 1969, Luise Schottroff published an article in
which she examined the anthropology of *Apoc. Adam* ("Animae na-
turalitur salvandae. Zum Problem der himmlischen Herkunft des
Gnostikers," *Christentum und Gnosis* [ed. Walther Eltester;
BZNW 37; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1969] 68-83). (The article
was apparently unavailable to Rudolph at the time he published
his work.) Schottroff's approach represents a first attempt to
come to grips with the theology of the text itself. She under-
stands the *Apoc. Adam* as a mythological description of gnostic
anthropology. The anthropological thesis of the text according
to her is that the gnostic has a heavenly origin. Thus, he
originates undefiled and remains undefiled. Not all men have
such an origin; only the gnostic has a heavenly origin. This
group the text describes as the men of gnosis. They are the
saved. All other men are lost. They are described as creatures
of the dead earth, men defiled by desire who serve the demiurge.

All men are threatened in the world. These threats are
reflected in the text in mythological categories as flood, fire
and darkness. Only the gnostic will be saved, i.e., taken above
to a heavenly dwelling place. The emphasis in the text is on
the gnostic community. There is no concept of individual
salvation.

The section on the statements of the kingdoms ([77],27-
[83],4) appears to be a gnostic polemic against an argument for
a mixed nature for the illuminator, and therefore also for the
gnostic (see below). In this respect, the first thirteen
statements are slanders against the illuminator. They assert

that he has a mixed and defiled origin, i.e., that his origin
is partially from heaven and partially from the defiled chaos.
This slanderous attitude is rejected by the author of the
statement of the kingless generation who for Schottroff is the
author of *Apoc. Adam*.

There are only two possible origins that one can have:
one's origin is defiled and earthly, or one's origin is unde-
filed and heavenly. The gnostics have a heavenly origin in
that they come from Seth and eternal gnosis. Therefore they
can receive revelation. This is not true of those who have a
defiled origin.

Schottroff identifies the illuminator as Seth, who is also
the *Urmensch*, and as the savior. She notes that the situation
of the gnostic community and that of the illuminator are iden-
tical: both have a heavenly origin, neither is defiled and both
are threatened by the demiurge without falling under his con-
trol. In this respect, the formula *salvator-salvandus* does not
apply since the illuminator in the *Apoc. Adam* can in no sense
be said to be in need of salvation.

In his *Habilitationsschrift*, completed in 1970, Walter
Beltz (see above) argued that, while the text drew heavily upon
Jewish traditions, it nevertheless has a Manichaean provenance
ca. A.D. 297.[1] The list of thirteen explanations by the king-
doms and the final explanation by the kingless generation were
all explanations for the birth of Jesus. Thus the document
came out of Christian Gnosticism and was written as a *Lehr-
schrift* for beginning gnostics. This latter character of the
text, he argues, explains its simple concepts in comparison to
other texts with complicated cosmological descriptions such as
Ap. John and *Gos. Eg*.

Although Beltz recognized that the document is a composite
text, he does not attempt to define the extent of redaction or
to write the history of redaction. The *Habilitationsschrift*
belongs to the early period of research on the text in the
sense that Beltz studied *Apoc. Adam* against the backdrop of the
Christian tradition. Since completing the *Habilitationsschrift*,
Beltz has published three times on the *Apoc. Adam* reaffirming
his original position ("NHC V, 5/p.64,1-85,32: Die Apokalypse

des Adams (ApocAd)," *Gnosis und Neues Testament* [ed. Karl-
Wolfgang Tröger; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973]
46-47; with P. L. Márton, "A gnósiz-Kutatás jelenlegi állása.
Az Adám-Apokalipszis a Nag Hamadiban talált V. Codexben,"
Theologiai Szemle 12 [1969] 266-70; and "Bemerkungen zur Adam-
apokalypse aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex V," *Studia Coptica* [ed. Peter
Nagel; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974] 159-63).

        In 1971 in an article on the Gospel of the Egyptians, Jean
Doresse included a brief section on the relationship between
Gos. Eg. and *Apoc. Adam* ("'Le Livre sacré de grand Espirit
invisible' ou 'L'Evangile des Egyptiens': Texte copte édité,
traduit et commenté d'après la Codex I de Nag'a-Hammadi/
Khénoboskion: II. Commentaire," *JA* 256 [1968 (1971)] 289-386).
On pages 370-376, Doresse briefly describes his theory that
Apoc. Adam was a source for *Gos. Eg.* He does not systematically
work out his argument proving such exclusive dependence, but
simply cites points where both texts have common material; in
effect, he illustrates their close relationship by their common
tradition. For Doresse, their relationship is not a literary
one; that is, the present form of *Gos. Eg.* did not draw its
material from the present form of *Apoc. Adam*. Rather, both
texts, as we now possess them, go back to an earlier common
abbreviated *Vorlage*. After reading his discussion, the reader
is keenly aware that Doresse has not solved the problem of re-
lationship as much as he has emphasized it. By not eliminating
the possibility that *Apoc. Adam* drew upon *Gos. Eg.* as a source,
Doresse leaves that option open as an explanation for the re-
lationship of the two texts.

        In 1972, three articles on the *Apoc. Adam* appeared to-
gether in *The Society of Biblical Literature One Hundred Eighth
Annual Meeting Book of Seminar Papers, Friday-Tuesday, 1-5 Sep-
tember 1972, Century Plaza Hotel, Los Angeles, Ca.* ([2 vols.;
ed. Lane C. McGaughy; Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature,
1972] 2.573-99). That year, the *Apoc. Adam* was one of two
texts considered by the Nag Hammadi Seminar. A short article
by the chairman of the seminar, George MacRae, introduced the
primary topic for discussion in the three-hour seminar ("The
Apocalypse of Adam Reconsidered," 573-77). MacRae proposes

that the motifs in the tractate that are usually regarded as
indicating Christian influence are not specifically Christian.
Thus, he regards the *Apoc. Adam* as a non-Christian gnostic
tractate.

He notes that continuing study of *Apoc. Adam* suggests that
it is the result of one or more redactional processes. In his
opinion, this approach may be the key to "discovering the pro-
cess of transition from apocalyptic Jewish thought...to properly
gnostic thought without passing through the Christian Kerygma."
He also stresses the importance of investigating thoroughly the
suggestion of Böhlig that the document comes from a Syrian-
Palestinian baptismal sect. This will require a careful exami-
nation of the conclusion of the tractate where the baptism motif
is most evident.

In a historical sense, his article reflects the shift from
an earlier stage of the discussion, where the concern was to
gather *religionsgeschichtlich* parallels and to interpret *Apoc.
Adam* in relationship to the Christian tradition, to a later
phase where the concern is to understand the theology of the
text on the basis of its tradition history. The later approach
does not argue over the provenance of individual motifs, but
attempts to identify the traditions out of which the text
evolved and the trajectory of those traditions. The earlier
approach focuses on individual motifs and argues provenance.
The later approach tries to determine provenance from the text
as a whole.

In a second article, Pheme Perkins investigated *Apoc. Adam*
from the standpoint of its close relationship to the Jewish
tradition. She regards the text as a gnostic work with no
motifs that are unambiguously Christian. It reflects apocalyp-
tic schematization of individual traditions (i.e., in the
periodization of the history of revelation of gnosis) and in
the overall composition of the work. The major patterns in
Apoc. Adam are derived from the apocryphal Jewish Adam litera-
ture. In fact, the overall structure of the apocalypse she
describes as a testament. This is particularly clear with
respect to the preamble to the text (64,1-6).

There are also other patterns that have Jewish roots.   The
most important of these is the schematization of gnostic his-
tory that forms the structure of the apocalypse proper, i.e.,
flood, Sodom/Gomorrah and the end of the world.   This periodi-
zation of cosmic destruction occurs only in *Adam and Eve*,
Josephus, *Apoc. Adam*, *Gos. Eg.* and *Paraph. Shem*.   It is reason-
able, she thinks, to conclude that the exegesis reflected in
the use of schematization by *Apoc. Adam* reflects an early gnos-
tic reworking of Genesis traditions ("Apocalyptic Schematiza-
tion in the Apocalypse of Adam and the Gospel of the Egyptians,"
591-99).   In a later paper ("Apocalypse of Adam: The Genre and
Function of a Gnostic Apocalypse," *CBQ* 39 [1977] 382-95), Per-
kins describes the text as "an ironic work whose effect depends
on the reader's ability to perceive the incongruity between...
what is implied by the genre in which the whole is cast and what
is actually going on."   What is "going on," according to Perkins,
is a satire of a final testament by Adam in which Adam, a well-
known figure in Israelite religious traditions, actually "re-
veals the futility of serving the god of Israel."   The purpose
of the text in Perkins' judgment, is to reinforce the group
identity of the community that possesses the key to the real
meaning of the text.

The third paper in the SBL volume was my own initial argu-
ment setting out the redaction history of the document as I
understood it then ("The Apocalypse of Adam: A Literary and
Source Analysis," 581-90).   Minor points have since been
modified.

In September 1975, Françoise Morard delivered a paper at
the Oxford International Congress of Patristics entitled
"L'*Apocalypse d'Adam* de Nag-Hammadi: un essai d'interpretation."
It was later published in an abbreviated form in *Gnosis and
Gnosticism* ([ed. Martin Krause; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977] 35-
42), and in a revised expanded form as "L'*Apocalypse d'Adam* du
Codex V de Nag Hammadi et sa polémique anti-baptismale"
(*RevScRel* 51 [1977] 214-33).   Morard's paper represented an
attempt to understand the provenance of *Apoc. Adam* on the basis
of the redactor's conclusion to the *Apoc. Adam* ([84],4-[85],3
less [84],19-22).   From this block of material, Morard concludes

that the author recognized two baptisms, one superior to the
other. The lower form of baptism, i.e., by water, was condemned
because through it one submitted oneself to the powers of the
demiurge. The author of *Apoc. Adam* opted for a higher more
spiritual understanding of baptism, i.e., a baptism of gnosis,
that was transmitted by the mythological figures Yesseus,
Mazareus, Yessedekeus.

Morard recognizes that the opposition to water baptism by
the text might suggest a Manichaean provenance, but excludes
that possibility because the text also prohibits the writing of
the words of revelation in a book ([85],5-6). While Mani-
chaeism rejected water baptism, it was also characterized as
being a religion of the book. A Manichaean would scarcely have
insisted that revelation was *not* to be written in a book. The
few motifs in the text that could be considered as Christian
allusions, the lack of importance the text gives to a redeemer
figure and the rejection of water baptism lead Morard to the
conclusion that *Apoc. Adam* is in an ideological continuity with
the (Sethian) gnostic sect described by Epiphanius as Archon-
tics. The text as we possess it today in Codex V is presented
as a gnostic utilization at several levels of a legend inheri-
ted through apocalyptic Judaism. A redactor later attempted to
harmonize several writings already gnostic and added certain
statements of his own faith, in particular the conclusion con-
taining the statement about baptism.

NOTE

CHAPTER I

[1]The only other published date for the text (Hans
Goedicke, "An Unexpected Allusion to the Vesuvius Eruption in
79 A.D.," *American Journal of Philology* 90 [1969] 340-41) sets
it not later than the first decade of the second century A.D.
MacRae (152) speculates that its date may be as early as the
first or second century A.D.

IDENTIFICATION OF SOURCES IN THE *APOC. ADAM*

A. Two Introductory Sections to the *Apoc. Adam*

One indication that the *Apoc. Adam* is the result of a
complicated literary development is initially suggested by the
fact that one can identify what appear to be two introductory
sections to the body of the tractate.

Section A: 64,6 (ΟΤΑΝ) - [65],23
            [66],12 (ΤΟΤΕ) - [67],12 (ΠΕΝΟΝ)[1]
Section B: [65],24-[66],12 (ΝΝΑΖΡΑΪ)
            [67],12 (ΑΪΕΙΜΕ) - [67],21 (ΕΒΟΛ)[2]

One is instantly struck by the difference between these
two units. Section A takes the form of a gnostic midrash on
Gen 2:7, 21-22 and 4:1 (LXX).[3] It describes the primordial
origins of humanity and explains why mankind in general does
not now possess the knowledge of God, the Eternal.[4] An an-
drogynous aeon, Adam-Eve, has been created by god (= the demi-
urge). Initially, after creation, Adam-Eve continued in the
glory and knowledge of the aeon from which (s)he had come.
(S)he resembled the eternal angels (i.e., in his/her androgy-
nous state) and was therefore greater than the god who created
him/her (64,6-19). Adam-Eve was divided into two distinct
aeons by the creator god. As a result of this devolution, the
two (divided) aeons no longer resembled the great (androgynous)
eternal angels (64,14-19). Consequently, they lost the
"glory" and the "first knowledge" that they had brought with
them from the (eternal) aeon (64,6-14, 24-28). Adam and Eve
were then enslaved by the creator god ([65],16-21) and their
heart was "darkened" ([65],21-23). In this depressing and
hopeless situation, Adam and Eve uttered a deep sigh that was
heard by the creator god. He stood before them and asked why
they were sighing. Had he not "blessed" them by their creation
and had not he, the creator, made them a "living soul" ([66],
12-23)? Then Adam experienced desire for Eve. In this instant,
their devolution into two aeons became complete, the knowledge

21

of the eternal God was lost to them, and they were subject to
the vicissitudes characteristic of mortality ([67],2-12).[5]

The section is characterized by an interesting use of
plurals that appears no place else in the tractate. Adam al-
ways speaks in the plural (viz. "we" or "I and Eve your
mother").[6] This unusual feature can be seen most clearly at
[66],12-[67],12. Both Adam and Eve utter a deep sigh ([66],
12-14) yet god addresses only Adam ([66],17) but unexpectedly
addresses him in the second person plural rather than the
second person singular ([66],17-23)! It is true that the *Apoc.*
Adam is not always precise in the use of singular and plural,[7]
but the use of plurals in this section is too consistent to be
considered as an accident or an oversight on the part of the
translator, particularly when one compares the consistent use
of the singular actor expression in section B. The singular
use of Adam or Eve as an independent actor expression in sec-
tion A is the exception rather than the rule.[8] By the use of
the plural actor expression, section A is set apart from
section B in a graphic way.

This cohesive narrative (section A) forms a self-contained
literary unit that is broken up by another self-contained unit
(section B) of quite a different order. In section B, Adam
appears to be in a state of unenlightenment when three uniden-
tified men appear to him ([65],24-33).[9] The men call on Adam
to "arise from the sleep of death," and listen to their words
"about the aeon and the seed" ([66],1-8). When Adam heard
these words, he became aware of his servitude to the "authority
of death" ([67],12-14). He then proposes to reveal to Seth
what had been revealed only to him ([67],14-21). This second
narrative (section B) is characterized by a change in setting
and actors. From the primordial "garden of Eden" in section A,
the scene now shifts to a different setting in which Adam alone
receives three men whose revelatory words bring about Adam's
enlightenment.[10] In this second scene, there is no suggestion
of the previous "garden of Eden" setting.

The awkward way that the narratives are joined clearly
exposes literary seams ([65],23-24; [66],12; [67],12). The
first seam between [65],23 and [65],24 is distinguishable by an

abrupt change of scene[11] and a shift from the plural "we" or
"I and Eve your mother" to the singular "I." By associating
the motif of ignorance in [65],21-23 ("darkened in heart") with
the motif of ignorance in [65],24-25 ("heart sleeping") and
adding the conjunction δέ in [65],24 as a connective device,
the redactor links the two narratives together.

At the second seam, the editor has rather awkwardly
divided a sentence that at one time ran from [66],9-12
(N̄Nλ2ρλï), picks up with [67],12 (λïειμε), and continues
through [67],14 (πμογ).[12] The new sentence created by the
editor in [66],9-14 when he brings the two narratives together
is confusing. In the protasis, it is Adam only who hears the
words of the three men, but in the apodosis, suddenly Eve ap-
pears and it is "we" (i.e., Adam and Eve) who react to the
revelation of the three men, a revelation that ostensibly only
Adam heard. Further, this sentence created by the redactor has
the words of the three men producing just the opposite of the
desired and expected result. Adam and Eve become depressed and
go on to complete ignorance and mortality ([67],1-11) after
hearing words that are intended to produce enlightenment and
happiness. The result that one would expect does not occur
until [67],12. In the sentence created by the redactor, there
is a shift from one setting reflected in the protasis to a
different setting reflected in the apodosis. Several questions
immediately arise: What happened to the three men? Where was
the creator while they were talking to Adam? If the revelation
was made to Adam alone, why does Eve also sigh?

At the third seam in [67],12, the redactor has made a
partial attempt to smooth out the contradiction between [67],
2-11 and [67],12-14[13] by inserting the conjunction ᒥλρ and by
using an adverb (N̄ωγοριτ) in [67],20. The adverb is intended
to recall the revelation that took place in [65],24-[66],12 and
to give a certain consistency to the passage by acknowledging
that something had transpired between the revelation and Adam's
decision to make it known to Seth, that is, to account for
[66],9-[67],11. However, if one were to acknowledge that the
text has been redacted and then were to arrange the material in
the order as I have suggested, the transition from [65],23 to

[66],12b (ⲦⲞⲦⲈ) is perfectly natural and makes a coherent sen-
tence: As a result of their loss of knowledge of the eternal
God and their resultant servitude to the creator god, Adam and
Eve, "darkened in their heart," utter a deep sigh over their
hopeless situation. Both segments A and B appear to form inde-
pendent narratives. When one reads each segment as an indepen-
dent unit, there is no abrupt change of setting or subject and
one plot is maintained throughout each segment.[14]

        Böhlig attempts to explain the narrative about the revela-
tion of the three men in section B as a vision of Adam that
comes to him in sleep.[15] If this were indeed the case, it
could explain some of the problems we have noted in the text.
For example, one might argue that dreams have a "world" of
their own. Therefore one should not be surprised if the garden
scene, the creator god and Eve disappear during Adam's dream.
Further, since it is Adam's dream, it is not unusual that only
he should appear in it as actor.[16] In other words, that part
of the argument offered above for detecting the hand of the
redactor on the basis of abrupt shift of scene, change of char-
acter and plurality of subject is called into question.

        To support his interpretation, Böhlig cites Gen 18:1-15
as a parallel to the scene in the *Apoc. Adam*. It is to be ad-
mitted there is a certain affinity between the parallel cited
by Böhlig and the *Apoc. Adam*, but it is not very extensive.
There appear to be only three analogues between the two narra-
tives: three men bring the revelation (Gen 18:2 and [65],24-29),
they were not recognized (Gen 18:13-14 [not until later in the
narrative is one of the guests identified as "the Lord"] and
[65],24-29), and the revelation concerned a son to be born to
Adam and Abraham (Gen 18:10-15 and [65],33-[66],8). It is
immediately noticeable that Abraham is not asleep and dreaming,
but evidently wide awake. There is simply no indication in the
text to suggest that Abraham was asleep.[17] Böhlig apparently
assumed that Adam was asleep, and having a dream on the basis
of *Apoc. Adam* ([65],24-25 -- "Now I was sleeping in the thought
of my heart"), and because of the general similarity between the
two narratives, simply read the sleep motif into the Abraham
story.

     The statements that led Böhlig to think that Adam was
asleep or dreaming ([65],24-25) are better understood as gnos-
tic *topoi* describing Adam's spiritual condition in the world
rather than as statements about physical sleep, or a visionary
experience. This understanding of the language seems evident
from the text itself, for Adam describes himself as "sleeping
in his heart" ([65],24-25) and as being called upon to arise
"from the sleep of death" ([66],1-3), statements more correctly
describing being-in-the-world than a state of physical alert-
ness, although the physical implications of the word "sleep"
cannot be denied. He is called upon to change his being-in-
the-world by heeding the words of revelation ([66],3-8), and
when he does, he is enlightened ([66],9-12; [67],12-14). The
situation is clearly the familiar gnostic *topos* of spiritual
sleep, the call from without and the response, described in
detail by Hans Jonas.[18]

     To explain the revelation of the three men in section B as
a vision of Adam which comes to him during sleep does not seem
to be a suitable description of the content of the narrative,
nor would it explain all the problems noted in the preceding
argument. A simpler and more satisfying explanation is that
we are dealing with two independent narratives that have been
inadequately harmonized by an early redactor.

     Both narratives reflect general gnostic *topoi* and have
different subject matter. For these two reasons one is forced
to look closely at them if one would recognize any material
differences. Section B, the narrative about the revelation of
the three men, does not satisfactorily accomplish what the re-
dactor intended it to do, but is in tension with its context at
two points. The redactor intended the segment to show how Adam
had regained his lost knowledge of the eternal God.[19] Ini-
tially, the androgyne Adam-Eve possessed this knowledge (64,
12-13), but lost it when (s)he became two aeons (64,2-29;
[65],9-13). The problem that confronted the redactor was that
the Adam of section A now had no special knowledge to communi-
cate! He was ignorant, and subject to desire and death. How
could he, then, pass on to Seth what he did not possess? Ob-
viously he could not, and it was necessary for the redactor to

provide some way for him to regain his lost knowledge.   To this
end he employed the narrative about the three men.[20]

However, notice that the three men have nothing at all to
say about the eternal God ([65],33-[66],8)!   Adam is called on
to arise from sleep (= awake),[21] and challenged to hear about
the "aeon and the seed."   One would have expected something
more general.   For example:

> Hearken, ye folk, men born of earth, who have given
> yourselves up to drunkenness and sleep in your ignor-
> ance of god; awake to soberness, cease to be sodden
> with strong drink and lulled in sleep devoid of
> reason.[22]

Or one would have expected something that related more specifi-
cally to the situation in section A.   But certainly one would
not expect such a specific kind of revelation that has no foun-
dation in section A, and apparently little to do with section
A.[23]

The revelation is also in tension with what immediately
follows section B.   Since the men challenged Adam to hear about
the "aeon and the seed," this is what we are expecting Adam to
relate to Seth when he says, "So now my Son, Seth, I shall re-
veal to you these (things) that those men...revealed to me"
([67],14-21).   Instead, we are launched into a gnostic midrash
on the Genesis account of the great flood.   In effect, the
revelation made by the three men to Adam is in tension not only
with section A, but also with the revelation that Adam communi-
cates to Seth, ostensibly on the basis of what the men had told
him.   What he was supposedly told by the men and what he told
Seth that they revealed to him are not the same thing.

As pointed out above, section A intends to explain how man
came to lose the knowledge of the eternal God and to be en-
slaved by his ignorance.   Thus, the motif of knowledge 64,
12-14; 64,23-28; [65],9b-13; [67],4-8), and the devolution of
Adam into ignorance are the cohesive ideas in the narrative.
For these reasons, the passage explaining why Seth received his
name ([65],3-9) strikes a discord in the narrative and has the
marks of a redactional insertion.   Lines [65],3-9 interject
theological ideas and motifs that do not arise naturally out of

the subject matter of section A.[24] The statement presupposes
mythologomena and a conceptual world for which section A has
not prepared the reader.

It is possible that the redactor left a visible seam when
he prematurely explains what happened to Adam's knowledge. In
64,24-25, we are told that the glory in the heart of Adam and
Eve left them, and (in 64,29-31) it entered into another
great aeon and generation (if the lacuna restoration is cor-
rect). Likewise, their knowledge left them (64,27), withdrew
far from them ([65],10-13), and finally was totally destroyed
([67],4-9) when Adam's devolution into ignorance was complete.
The narrative intends to show the stages of the devolution of
Adam and Eve from primordial bliss to earthly ignorance by the
loss of both of these qualities of immortality (i.e., glory and
knowledge). Glory was lost instantly and knowledge in varying
degrees. In short, Adam's devolution into ignorance provides
the structure for the section.

Apparently, the redactor was not sensitive to this loss of
knowledge by degrees and noticed in his *Vorlage* that both glory
and knowledge were lost by Adam and Eve (64,24-28), but only
glory entered into another great aeon and another great genera-
tion (64,28-[65],1). What he understood to be an oversight
in his *Vorlage*, i.e., its failure to describe where knowledge
had gone, provided him with the opportunity to include his
statement about the origin of Seth's name ([65],3-9), failing
to realize that it was in tension with the intent of his
Vorlage. If knowledge was completely gone at [65],3-4, there
is no need for the statements at [65],9-13 and [67],4-9.

B. Two Conclusions to the *Apoc. Adam*

The *Apoc. Adam* has two different concluding statements:[25]

Conclusion A: [85],19-22a (ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ)[26]
Conclusion B: [85],22b-31[27]

While the two conclusions are similar in form and function, in
content and intent they are quite different. Conclusion A is a
simple concluding statement. It states that Adam made known
revelations (ἀποκάλυψις) to Seth, and Seth taught his seed

about them.[28] It introduces no new ideas, but concludes the
tractate in a very general way. By contrast, conclusion B, the
redactor's conclusion,[29] is theologically more sophisticated.
It presupposes a mythological world only hinted at in the trac-
tate. In effect, it is comparable to an iceberg. We are al-
lowed to see that part of the mythological structure protruding
above the waterline of the text's surface, but beneath the sur-
face in the self-understanding of the redactor lies a mytho-
logical structure and thought-world for which the text has not
prepared the reader. In conclusion B, Adam has not simply made
an indefinite "revelation" or "revelations," but he communi-
cates a particular secret (ἀπόκρυφον) knowledge specifically
identified in the conclusion as the "holy baptism of those who
know eternal gnosis." This gnosis is transmitted by a select
group: "those born of the word and the imperishable illumina-
tors, who came from the holy seed." This specificity of the
content of revelation and insistence on a special group to
transmit the revelation suggest a Sitz im Leben of rival bap-
tismal sects.[30]

The document as a whole does not reflect this concern for
baptism. If one excludes the explanation of the kingless gen-
eration[31] in section B, there are only two other evident refer-
ences in the document to baptism: [84],4-23; [83],4-6 (and only
one of these unquestionably refers to baptism, [84],4-23), and
both of them have been identified elsewhere as redactional
statements.[32] Therefore the baptism motif appears to be a spe-
cial concern of the redactor. By presenting it in the conclu-
sion of the tractate, the redactor intends that the whole docu-
ment be read under its influence. He is not simply adding to
the document another conclusion like conclusion A, but rather
he is establishing a basis for understanding the document by
interpreting conclusion A in the light of his own self-
understanding. The revelations that Adam told Seth and that
Seth taught his seed were in reality the hidden gnosis of the
redactor's community.[33]

C. The Body of the Tractate

An initial casual reading of the main body of the tractate leaves one with a sense of confusion. The storyline is not consistent; a certain kind of action appears, is dropped and reappears; subject matter changes and actors appear, disappear and reappear.[34] For these reasons, it will be helpful to make an initial division of the tractate on the basis of its main thought units.

In the main body of the document, there appear to be three phases to the narrative that initially can be identified by a change in subject matter: [67],22-[76],7; [76],8-[83],7 (ΤΗρ ογ); [83],7-[85],18.[35] The first phase ([67],22-[76],7) describes a special race of men who have come "from the knowl- edge of the great eons and the angels" ([71],10-13 and [73], 15-20) and their conflict with god, the Pantocrator (also called "Sakla," [74],3-4, and "god of the eons," [74],26-28). It recounts his attempts to destroy them and their eventual preservation through divine intervention. The narrative takes the form of a midrash on the traditional biblical account of the great flood.

Phase two ([76],8-[83],7) describes a conflict between the illuminator (ϕωCTHρ) and the archon of the powers (also called the god of the powers). The illuminator performs "signs" and "wonders." This totally confuses the archon of the powers and in bewilderment he asks about the power of the man who is loftier than he and his powers ([77],4-7).[36] The archon and his powers then abuse the illuminator physically and in per- plexity ask after the source of the confusion, i.e., the error and the lying words that had so disrupted their (apparently) well-established order ([77],18-27). Response to the question is made in a series of fourteen stories apparently referring to the origin of the illuminator ([77],27-[83],7). With one ex- ception, each story has a similar structure and most are clearly marked out in the manuscript.[37]

Phase three ([83],7-[85],18) is more difficult to describe briefly since it contains divergent motifs. It is treated here as a separate "phase" as a matter of convenience because it

contains material different from the two preceding "phases."[38]
It describes the recognition of the righteous character of the
special race by an indefinite group of people ([83],7-23) and a
confession by the indefinite group of their own unrighteousness
([83],23-[84],3). It also describes a condemnation of those
who have defiled the "water of life" ([84],4-26). The end of
the section describes the faithfulness of those men who know
the eternal God ([85],1-18).

On the basis of having identified redactional activity at
the beginning and ending of the tractate, it seems legitimate
to assume that there may be other redacted elements in the
tractate, and to ask further questions on this basis. The
question arises naturally as to whether phase one and phase
two were originally separate and independent units brought to-
gether by an ancient redactor.[39] This possibility directs our
attention to the place where the first two "phases" come to-
gether ([76],7-8). The second phase begins: "Once again for
the third time the illuminator of knowledge will pass through
in great glory (ⲠⲀⲗⲓⲛ ⲟⲛ ⲩⲛⲁⲥⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲉⲍ ⲩⲟⲙⲉⲧ ⲛ̅ⲥⲟⲡ̅
[76],8-9). The statement is difficult to understand since this
is the first time that the illuminator of knowledge has been
mentioned in this tractate.[40]

The problem is not evident in Böhlig's translation. He
translates ⲙ̅ⲡⲙⲉⲍ ⲩⲟⲙⲉⲧ ⲛ̅ⲥⲟⲡ̅ as "thirdly,"[41] and under-
stands it to be the third epoch of salvation in the history of
the special race of men.[42] Although they are unnumbered, he
regards the deliverance from the flood and the rescue from the
fire as the unnumbered first and second epochs in this redemp-
tive history. The third numbered epoch is the appearance of
the illuminator who comes to assist in the redemption of the
sons of Noah and especially Ham and Japheth.

This explanation of the problem has the merit of support
from the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (III,*2*)62,24-63,12; (IV,*2*)
74,9-27 which specifically speaks of the great Seth passing
through three "parousiai": flood, conflagration and judgment of
the archons, powers and authorities.[43] Thus there is some
reason to understand these events in the *Apoc. Adam* as succes-
sive stages in the redemption of the special race of men. At

least one must acknowledge that these three events in *Apoc. Adam* were connected in gnostic mythology, although their connection in *Apoc. Adam* may have been a contrivance of the redactor.

If, however, as I would argue, the phrase in [76],8 refers to an action which is being repeated for the third time, i.e., to the third passing of the illuminator, then one is able to see the difficulty with clarity since there is no mention in the *Apoc. Adam* of two prior "passings" of the illuminator of knowledge.[44] The first two occurrences of redemption noted by Böhlig are not, narrowly speaking, manifestations of the illuminator of knowledge.[45]

The lack of connection between phase one and phase two becomes even more apparent when one notes that, prior to the descent of the illuminator of knowledge, there have already been three events of deliverance in which the special race of men are preserved ([69],19-25ff.; [71],bottom-[72],9;[46] [75], 17-[76],6), and that the descent of the illuminator does not signal a "redemption," or at least not a redemption in the sense of the "flood" and the "fire." Rather, the illuminator comes for the purpose of leaving in the "world" a witness for himself, since the special race of men had already been taken out of the world ([75],17-[76],6). There will be an act of redemption at a future time ([76],15-23), but that event is something different and should not be associated with this "pass" of the illuminator.[47] It seems that one is justified in recognizing a redactional seam between phase one and phase two and asking further questions on the basis of it.

There is also a noticeable lack of consistency in setting between phase two and phase three. Phase two (described above) seems to be an otherworldly scene depicting the standard gnostic motif of the divine beings (archons and powers) that hold mankind in slavery. The problem is that, after the "response" of the kingdoms to the question of the angels and the powers ([77],27-[83],7),[48] this scene and subject matter radically change. The otherworldly scene with its angels, powers, archon, and descent of the illuminator so strongly prominent in phase two, vanishes when we enter phase three.

     Phase three (described above) is set in the "historical"
world and idealized. An indefinite group of people (all the
races of the world?) acknowledge their own wickedness ([83],8-
[84],3) and confess the righteousness of those men "who have
known God through a knowledge of the truth" ([83],11-23).   One
is compelled to ask: What happened to the archon, powers,
angels and kingdoms? Where is the illuminator? Whence came
the indefinite group of people in [83],9-10, and who are they
exactly? If one insists that the *Apoc. Adam* is a literary
unit, the questions admit of no solution, for the second scene
has simply been replaced by a completely different third scene
that has no connection with the preceding scene in storyline or
actors.   Therefore, for these two reasons--a complete break in
the theme or storyline for no apparent reason and the radical
transition in dramatis personae--there appears to be a literary
seam at [83],7 after $TH\rho o\Upsilon$.[49]

     As indicated above, phase three was divided as a matter of
convenience. One difficulty with recognizing it as a separate
unit was that it did not maintain a consistent theme or story-
line. The scene shifts from the blessing pronounced on the
special race of men ([83],7-[84],3) to a condemnation of those
who have defiled the water of life ([84],4-[85],18). The shift
in scene in itself does not disqualify the phase as a literary
unit. The blessing and judgment motif would actually make a
good concluding unit to the tractate.

     The unity of the two sections in phase three becomes more
difficult to maintain when one realizes that each section in
phase three has its own blessing-judgment motif! In section
one (cf. [83],7-[84],3), the indefinite group of people acknowl-
edge that "those men" will live forever, but admit that, because
of their own opposition to the God of truth, they themselves
will die. In section two of phase three ([84],4-[85],18), the
actions of "those over the holy baptism and living water" are
condemned, while the actions of "those men they have persecu-
ted" are approved. Within phase three, the motif of blessing-
judgment occurs two separate times involving at least three and
probably four different groups.

   The shift in dramatis personae between section one and two
of phase three occurs at [84],3 and [84],4 in a rather dramatic
way. The first of the two sections ([83],7-[84],3) is a con-
fession made by the indefinite group of people (ΝΙλλΟC) in
[83],10. In [84],4 a (heavenly) voice suddenly breaks into
the narrative and addresses an indefinite "them" (ⳗλⲢΟΟⲨ).[50]
The problem is, to whom does "them" refer? If it fits into the
context that follows [84],4 ([84],5-[85],18), the ones ad-
dressed by the voice would appear to be the guardians of the
holy baptism and the living water, Micheu, Michar and Mnesi-
nous. If it goes with the context that precedes [84],4 ([83],7-
[84],3), its antecedent is without doubt the indefinite "people"
in [83],10. But if the latter is true, why does the "voice"
completely ignore the "people" and abruptly address Micheu,
Michar, and Mnesinous? And if ⳗλⲢΟΟⲨ refers to the three
guardians, as it appears to do, how does one explain their
sudden appearance and the equally sudden disappearance of the
"people"?

   One solution is simply to ignore the problem and translate
the text as it appears without trying to clarify the identity
of the indefinite "them."[51] This solution implies an identifi-
cation between the three guardians and the "people" of [83],10,
and is undoubtedly the effect that was intended by the redactor
(see below, pp. 192-94). However, the desired effect is not
achieved satisfactorily as the guardians are not an indefinite
group of "people" but specific mythological beings with a defi-
nite title surely known to the redactor.

   I suggest that there is a redactional break following
[84],3 which accounts for the sudden change in the actors of
the drama. The relative clause ([84],6-8) immediately follow-
ing the direct address to the three guardians may be a redac-
tional comment intended to clarify the identity of the guar-
dians, Micheu, Michar and Mnesinous, because of their abrupt
appearance in the tractate.[52]

   In the above discussion on the redactional seams in the
body of the tractate, the contents of phases two and three have
been discussed. There remains only the necessity of making a

closer examination of the details in phase one. We begin by
observing that phase one ([67],22-[76],7) has the character of
a midrash on the flood narrative. There are four units in this
section ([67],22-[69],10; [70],3-[71],4; [72],15-17; [73],25-27)
that reduce the traditional Genesis flood narrative to bare es-
sentials. Each of these traditional sections is followed by a
gnostic "narrative" interpretation that explains the heretofore
unknown story of the special race in relationship to the
flood.[53] The literary method followed is to narrate briefly
salient motifs from the traditional biblical material and to
incorporate the interpretation of these motifs as a part of the
narrative.[54] Each of the gnostic interpretations ([69],19-
[70],2; [71],8-[72],15; [72],15-[73],24;[55] [73],27-[76],7)
understands its "exegeted" passage as an attempt of the Panto-
crator to destroy the special race of men.[56]

     In summary, we may say that there appear to be three re-
dactional seams in the main body of the tractate: following
[76],7; in [83],7 (after ⲦⲎⲢⲞⲨ) and following [84],3.[57]
These seams are initially identified by both linguistic and
stylistic problems in the Coptic text. As one examines the
literary units isolated by the redactional seams, it is dis-
covered that the setting, plot and dramatis personae of each
unit are also different.

D. The Redaction History of the *Apoc. Adam*

     The recognition of redactional seams in the tractate has
only begun our task. We must now inquire about the relation-
ship of these seams to one another. More specifically, we must
put two questions to the smaller units of material isolated by
those seams: What is their relationship, if any, to one
another? How and why have they taken on their present form and
relationship in the *Apoc. Adam*? That is to say, we must in-
quire into the redaction history of the *Apoc. Adam*.[58] The
method of reconstructing the original sources that lie behind
the present version of the *Apoc. Adam* and of explaining their
redaction begins by identifying contradictory motifs in the
various divisions of the tractate and separating the divisions

on that basis. It then proceeds to match motifs that corre-
spond closely to motifs in other divisions of the tractate and
concludes by requiring that the finished product have coherence
and verisimilitude.

   The attempt to reconstruct the redaction history of the
tractate is hampered to a large extent because the document is
a translation into Coptic of what was originally a Greek *Vor-
lage*.[59] Since the document was redacted before being trans-
lated into Coptic, one would expect that the primary "indica-
tors" normally used to separate sources--i.e., the similarity
and dissimilarity of vocabulary and stylistic peculiarities--
would for the most part be obscured by the process of transla-
tion into Coptic. While certain vestiges of the original
vocabulary distinctions between sources might remain after
translation, one could not expect to find a consistent pattern
of vocabulary differences and similarities,[60] and stylistic
peculiarities, if observable at all, would be but a faint echo
of the original Greek *Vorlage*.

   However, these indicators are actually part of the broader
concept of "world" that operates in a given unit of literature.
For example, on the basis of the tendencies and the "givens" of
any literary unit, one can project forward or backward to the
broader conceptual framework that supports the unit. In other
words, the "tendencies" and "givens" of the unit evoke in the
reader's mind a certain kind of "world" without which the unit
makes no sense.

   One is justified then in comparing the broader projected
framework of one unit to the broader projected framework of
another unit to see if there is harmony or clash. If one unit
does not suit well the "world" of another unit, then the prob-
ability is increased that one is dealing with different
traditions.

   At its most obvious point, such a clash evidences itself
at the surface level of given texts by differences in vocabu-
lary and style. At its most subtle point, such a clash would
evidence itself in the "projected" unstated "world" from which
the text takes its frame of reference, its meaning. By con-
sidering the "world" which provides a frame of reference for

the text, one is merely pushing this same principle (i.e.,
similarity or dissimilarity in vocabulary and style) a step
further into an unverbalized area but an area necessarily as
definite as the surface level of the text, since it is the un-
spoken "world" that gives the text meaning. In fact, no text
is fully understandable until one is able successfully to re-
construct that unverbalized world. Thus, by using the givens
of a text, one is able to roll back the curtain of the con-
cealed world that supports the text. It is on this basis that
we approach the *Apoc. Adam.*

I begin by recognizing some of the dominant motifs in the
first phase of the body of the tractate ([67],22-[76],7). The
special race of men are those who have rejected a dead knowl-
edge ([73],30-[74],2). They are the ones who have come forth
from the knowledge of the great eons and the angels ([71],10-
14; [73],18-20). Once safe from the flood, they shall dwell
six hundred years in a knowledge of imperishability ([72],9).
The sign of their purity is the fact that only the knowledge of
God shall dwell in their hearts ([72],12-15). The shadow of
their power (i.e., the power that comes from their knowledge)
shall protect those who sojourn with them ([73],20-24) from
every unclean desire. They will not be defiled by desire
([73],24; [75],2-4), but will be protected from every evil
thing ([73],23).

These same motifs play an important role in the first half
of phase three ([83],7-[84],3): The people bless "those men"
because they have known God through a knowledge of the truth
([83],10-14). They have stood before the creator in knowledge
of the eternal God ([83],19-21), and because they have not been
corrupted by desire they will live forever ([83],14-16). It
will also be recalled that the motif of knowledge (of the
eternal God) being lost by Adam and Eve was the cohesive thread
in introduction A (64,6-[65],23); [66],12-[67],12), and it was
Adam's desire for Eve that constituted the ultimate act that
resulted in the complete loss of all knowledge of the eternal
God and subjected Adam and Eve to the vicissitudes of mortality
([67],4-12).[61]

If, on the basis of these motifs, introduction A (64,6-
[65],23; [66],12-[67],12), the narrative midrash on Genesis
6-10 (phase one of the main body of the tractate--[67],22-
[76],7) and section one of phase three of the main body of the
tractate ([83],7-[84],3) along with the incipit (64,1-6) and
conclusion A ([85],19-22) are read as one continuous narrative,
it will be discovered that there is a consistent plot and a
connected theme that opens, develops and concludes.[62]   In this
narrative, the knowledge of the eternal God that Adam and Eve
lost through desire is preserved in the special race of men who
came from the great eternal knowledge. These men are saved
from perishing in the flood, protected from another threat of
the creator god, rescued from the fire, sulphur, and asphalt
and finally taken from the world to a heavenly dwelling place.
As a result, a great cloud of darkness will descend upon the
descendants of Ham and Japheth. When the special race has been
removed from the world ([75],21-[76],6), those people who re-
main will acknowledge their wickedness ([83],23-[84],3), con-
fess the righteousness and purity of the special race ([83],8-
23), and accept their fate ([84],2-3).[63]

A similar connection is possible with introduction B
([65],24-[66],12; [67],12-[67],21), and phase two of the main
body of the tractate ([76],8-[83],7). These two units cohere
rather well, and seem to reflect a common theme, suggesting a
single, although incomplete, literary unit.[64] Indeed, [76],8-
[83],7 to a certain extent seems to have been already antici-
pated in the statement made to Adam by the three men ([66],
3-8): "Hear about the aeon and the seed of that man to whom
life has come, he who came from you and Eve." In [76],8-[83],7
we are told about a certain apparently semi-divine being (cf.
[77],16-18), described as the illuminator of knowledge. He
comes to leave fruitbearing trees for himself and to save their
souls (i.e., the group described as fruitbearing trees) from
the day of death. He is opposed by powers, but succeeds in
thwarting them and sharing his glory with those whom he chose.
The generation of those men he has chosen for himself will
shine over the whole aeon. The difference in plot and theme

between source B and source A is evident. In source A, the
spotlight is directed on a special group of people, but in
source B the center of attention is a single person.[65]

Finally, we must consider the redactor's method through
which he attempted to harmonize these two major units, and to
ask what relationship the final section ([84],4-[85],18) has to
the whole. I begin by noting that throughout the *Apoc. Adam*
there are three words used for seed: ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ , ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ and
ϭⲣⲟϭ. With one exception, both ϭⲣⲟϭ, used only twice in
the *Apoc. Adam* ([73],2,6), and ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ , used seven times in
the *Apoc. Adam* ([72],24; [73],13,25,28; [74],11,17; [76],12),
appear only in what has been identified as the gnostic inter-
pretation to the flood narrative.[66] ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ is used once
apart from the midrashic interpretation sections and that is in
source B immediately following the redactional seam in [76],7
where source B is joined with source A. The purpose of ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ
here seems to be as a connecting device to smooth over the seam
between the two sections.

For three reasons it has the character of an editorial
device. In the first place, [76],11-13 (ⲍ̄ⲓⲛⲁ ⲭⲉ . . . ⲓ̈ⲁⲫⲉⲑ)
is the only reference in source B to Noah and his sons, and for
that reason the statement clashes with the plot of source B.
Once one has recognized the distinction between source A and
source B, this reference to Noah and his sons is an unexpected
intrusion into the storyline of source B and evokes a mytho-
logical structure that is not present at the textual level of
source B, nor discernible in the projected world that makes
source B understandable.[67]

In the second place, in this context there are two object
clauses: [76],11-13 and [76],14-15 (ⲭⲉ... ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲍ). While a
double object clause in Coptic is certainly possible, as used
here it is awkward. One would have expected the two clauses to
have been linked by the conjunctive,[68] or perhaps ⲁⲩⲱ ⲭⲉ,
rather than simply ⲭⲉ . In the third place, the only other use
of ⲍ̄ⲓⲛⲁ ⲭⲉ in the codex is also identifiable as a redactional
device.[69] It appears in *Apoc. Adam* in source B near the con-
clusion of the section of the stories about the illuminator
([82],18-19). For two reasons the second ⲍ̄ⲓⲛⲁ ⲭⲉ clause

appears to be a redactional comment. In the first place, it
deviates from what is recognizable as a highly stylized struc-
ture in the statements of the first twelve kingdoms,[70] and, in
the second place, it adds a pejorative character to the con-
cluding line in the first twelve kingdoms. The purpose clause
disposes one to read as a negative motif the statement about
"coming to the water." In the first twelve kingdoms, this ex-
pression was understood simply as a neutral part of the answer
describing the appearance of the illuminator.[71]

The simple redactional attachment of the purpose clause
([82],18-19) to the conclusion of what was for the redactor the
final incorrect answer of the powers[72] effectively negated the
expression about the water-appearance not only in the thir-
teenth kingdom but in all the preceding kingdom statements.[73]
In other words, the redactor prepares for what he considers to
be the true explanation of the illuminator's appearance (i.e.,
the explanation of the "kingless generation") by identifying
all explanations describing his appearance as "coming to the
water" as a misunderstanding.[74]

The last word for seed that is used, ⲤⲦⲞⲢⲀ , occurs ten
times in all parts of the tractate. It is found in both intro-
ductions ([65],4,8; [66],4). In the midrash on Genesis, it
occurs between the paraphrase of the biblical material and its
interpretation ([69],12; [71],5). It occurs at the end of the
section of the threat of fire, sulphur and asphalt just before
the redactional seam ([76],7). It is also found in the appear-
ance stories ([79],16-17), between the end of source B and the
beginning of the last part of source A ([83],4), and in both
conclusions ([85],22,29).

I notice a very subtle difference in the use of these
words for seed. ⲤⲦⲈⲢⲘⲀ and ϬⲢⲞϬ are always used in a
natural sense (that is, with respect to human reproduction),[75]
and always with reference to Noah, Ham, Japheth and Shem.[76]
ⲤⲦⲞⲢⲀ , on the other hand, with one possible exception
([79],16-17), is used with theological overtones in the sense
of a special kind of seed, that is, of the seed of a special
race of men.[77] This phenomenon does not seem to be accidental.
With few exceptions, the references to ⲤⲦⲞⲢⲀ have both a

polemical and explanatory character that give them the appear-
ance of redactional comments. Compare the following passages—
as a part of a redactional comment: [65],3-9, [69],11-18,
[71],4-8, [76],6-7, [83],4-7; as an integral part of a larger
context: [66],4, [79],16-17, [85],22,29.[78]

I would argue that sources A and B were brought together
by a gnostic redactor who added section [84],4-[85],18, con-
clusion B ([85],22b-31), and the polemical passages containing
ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ, cited above as redactional. The redactor's purpose is
to identify the special race (ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ), i.e., his own community,
as the holy seed ([85],29) that preserved a special knowledge
([85],26). This eternal knowledge, lost through the "fall" of
Adam and Eve (64,24-28),[79] was regained by Adam through the
special revelation of "three men" (introduction B), and passed
on by Adam to Seth ([67],14-21), and then by Seth to his de-
scendants ([85],20-22). The redactor describes the divine
source of the knowledge ([65],3-9) and indicates that it had
been preserved, and continued through the special race of men
descended from the ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ ([69],11-15). These men were
threatened with destruction through the flood ([69],11-15)
because they dared to oppose the creator god ([71],4-8), and
they will continue to struggle against those who have surren-
dered to the power of the evil god and have taken his name
"upon the water" ([83],4-7).

In his final statement ([84],4-[85],18), the redactor
argues that his community has the true understanding of baptism.
In fact, receiving the secret knowledge, termed the words of
imperishability and truth ([85],10-18), that has been preserved
and passed on *is* the holy baptism ([85],22-29). This holy bap-
tism of eternal knowledge is only available through the redac-
tor's community. It has not been written in books, but has
been passed on through divine means to the holy seed ([85],
1-9), and preserved through their faithfulness ([85],3-4).
Since this proper understanding of baptism has been preserved
only in the redactor's community, those practicing water bap-
tism practice it in ignorance, and thereby defile true gnosis
baptism ([84],5-23). They have even persecuted those who have
the true knowledge ([84],23-24).

This redactional analysis of the text takes its many
anomalies seriously and attempts to make some sense of them.
In some cases it clears up ambiguities in the tractate. For
example, it explains the contradictory use of the title "god
of the aeons." Most students of the *Apoc. Adam* have, no doubt,
already recognized and pondered this particular problem: How
can the tractate apply this same title to both the demiurge
([74],26-27) and the eternal God ([85],4-5) with no sense of
discontinuity? The solution is made possible by the source
analysis. Apparently the rather unsophisticated redactor simply
failed to adjust his *Vorlage* (source A, [74],26-27) to his own
theology ([85],4-5) at this point.[80]

It will perhaps be objected that we can't expect gnostic
texts to be "logical" or "consistent" as a twentieth-century
product of a basically nonmythological, technological culture
might judge logicality or consistency. Any attempt to super-
impose contemporary western standards of logic on ancient gnos-
tic texts is an incorrect procedure. The *Thunder, Perfect Mind*
([VI,2]13-21) is an example in the extreme. This text certainly
breaks with what one would judge to be accustomed patterns of
logicality. For example:

    For I am knowledge and ignorance.
    I am shame and boldness.
    I am shameless; I am ashamed.
    I am strength and I am fear.
    I am war and peace.
    Give heed to me.
    I am the one who is disgraced, and the great one.[81]

When one applies contemporary standards of logic to *Thund.*,
one is tempted to discount it as nonsensical gibberish. On
closer examination, however, one observes that there is a logic
or rationale to the text. For example, it is consistent in its
use of antithetical or paradoxical statements and in this sense,
even by contemporary standards, can be called "logical."

The problem, then, is not logic versus lack of logic in
ancient texts, but a lack of an understanding of the inherent
logic of the text. The exegete's task is not to judge the text
on the basis of his own understanding of logic and reality, but
to discover the key that admits him to the inner logic of the

text, that is, to discover its meaning. I have tried to show
that the key that admits one to the inner logic of the *Apoc.*
Adam is the recognition that it is the result of a redactional
process, and not a very polished one at that. What follows is
an attempt to understand the several layers of meaning in the
text on that basis.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

[1]See below, pp. 231-33.

[2]See below, p. 261.

[3]That only these verses from the LXX are reflected by the text is evident from the omission of any reference to the cosmic creation (Gen 1:1-19, 2:1-6), animal creation (Gen 1:20-25, 2:18-20) and the events surrounding the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:16-17, 3:2-25). The latter motif commonly appears in gnostic texts in reverse form; that is, the enlightenment of Adam and Eve (Gen 3:8) is a good thing. See Birger A. Pearson, "Jewish Haggadic Traditions in *The Testimony of Truth* from Nag Hammadi (CG IX,*3*)," *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren* (*Numen* Supplement 21; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972) 457-70. The author would scarcely have omitted this favorite gnostic *topos* unless it were far removed from his literary purpose. This appears to be the situation. His primary objective is to describe the separation of the primordial androgyne by the demiurge (cf. *Gos. Phil* [II,*3*]68, 22-24; 70,9-11), and only Gen 2:7, 21-22 and 4:1 allude to that event. The biblical order of these verses is presupposed by the text in the *Apoc. Adam*. The creation of Adam as a living soul (Gen 2:7) is already presupposed by the midrash. [66],12-23 indicates that Adam's creation as a living soul had already occurred and is assumed at 64,6-11. 64,6-19 describes the "happy days" of the unified androgyne Adam-Eve prior to the separation, that is, prior to Gen 2:21-22. 64,20-[65],3; [65],9-23; [66],12-30 describe the separation of Gen 2:21-22 and the resultant devolution of Adam-Eve. [66],31-[67],12 describes the sexual reunification of the separated aeons, Adam and Eve, on the basis of desire as described in Gen 4:1.

[4]The author's purpose in the section is to show that the "glory" and "knowledge" lost by Adam at creation have been preserved in the "great generation" (64,20-[65],3).

[5]See CH 1.18-19. The parallel is striking. Originally man was bisexual and was later divided into male and female entities. The cause of death is carnal desire. On the motif of bisexuality, see Clem. *exc. Thdot.* 1.21.1-3; Hipp. *Ref.* 5.6.5, 7.14-15, 8.4; *Eugnostos* (III,*5*)76,21-77,4; *Gos. Phil.* (II,*3*)70,24-26; and Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958) 420-25. *Orig. World* (II,*5*)113,24-25 also refers to the creation of the first man as an androgynous being.

[6]In only two places in the entire section is Adam or Eve mentioned as actor without the other: 64,6-11: "That she had seen in the aeon..." and [66],31-[67],4: "Then I was defiled in thought through my madness and I knew a sweet desire for your mother."

43

[7]For example, in five instances, the text has used a singular where one would have expected a plural: "our heart" instead of the expected "our hearts" (64,24; [65],23; [66],14, 18) and "our life" instead of "our lives" ([67],11). These do appear to be slips on the part of the translator; cf. [66],24-25: "our eyes." Compare Beltz for an explanation of the shift in actors.

[8]See n. 6 above. [66],31-[67],4 can be explained on the basis of the theology of the segment. At this point in the narrative, the androgyne Adam-Eve had been separated into two separate aeons. In order for the author to express the idea of sexual desire, he had to treat them as independent units. The other occurrence is not so easily explained (64,6-11). One would have expected the text to read ⲈⲦⲀⲦⲚⲚⲀⲨ , "that we had seen." It is possible that the use of the singular feminine actor expression suggesting Eve as the one who preserved primal revelation is an echo of that tradition found elsewhere; see *Orig. World* (II,5)115,31-116,8; *Hyp. Arch.* (II,4)89,10-17.

[9]Schenke identifies the three men as Jesseus, Mazareus and Jessedekeus ("Zum Gegenwärtigen Stand der Erforschung der Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften," *Koptologische Studien in der DDR* [Halle-Wittenberg: Martin-Luther-Universität, 1965] 127). This identification may be correct. In the theology of the redactor, these three figures were conceived as revelation bringers ([85],22-31); see below, pp. 202-203.

[10]The appearance of Adam as an individual actor is significant. It has been shown that section A, with one unexplained exception, always included Eve with Adam in the actor expression. On the other hand, in section B, Adam is the only actor and is addressed in the singular. The only mention of Eve describes her and Adam as the parents of "the seed" ([66],1-8).

[11]The shift is abrupt because no foundation has been laid for the new scene. Suddenly, the garden setting, Eve, and the use of the plural actor expression vanish and Adam is receiving three "guests." For the argument that the text reads like a vision that comes in a dream, see pp. 24-25.

[12]See Coptic text below, p. 261.

[13][67],2-11 is the statement describing the final result of Adam's devolution from original androgynous unity into two separate aeons. They had lost the knowledge of the eternal God and were subject to human desires and frailties. In this unenlightened condition, how could Adam "know" that he was under the authority of death and then pass on to Seth a secret revelation that he had supposedly lost? Further, if it was necessary for Adam to receive new revelation after his admitted ignorance in [65],16-23 (this is apparently why the three men appear to him at [65],24-[67],21), why should not there also be a necessity for further revelation after Adam's admitted ignorance in [67],1-11?

[14]The redactor intended to use section B, the narrative of the revelation of the three men, to show how Adam had regained his knowledge of the eternal God. Since section A recounts the story of Adam's devolution, eventual servitude and loss of knowledge, it afforded the redactor no basis for Adam's revelation to Seth. In it Adam ends up ignorant and subject to fleshly vicissitudes. Thus, the redactor needed some way for Adam to regain his lost knowledge, and therefore was compelled to provide the narrative about the revelation of the three men. Fortunately, he inserted the segment in a careless "wooden" way, i.e., on the basis of catchwords. Had he added it after [67],11, it would have blended much better. The seam would have then been less obvious, and far more difficult to detect.

[15]Böhlig, 88. See also Alexander Böhlig, "Die Adam-apokalypse aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi als Zeugnis jüdisch-iranischer Gnosis," *OrChr* 48 (1964) 44-49.

[16]However, this would not explain why Eve is apparently aware of what takes place in Adam's dream ([66],9-14). If Adam is dreaming, it is his dream and Eve should not react on the basis of what Adam dreamed. If Eve sees the three men and reacts on the basis of what she saw and heard, then Adam must not be dreaming. But it is nonsense to have Adam dream and to have Eve in the real world respond to his dream with no prior knowledge of it.

[17]Cf. Beltz, 57.

[18]See the examples gathered by Hans Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* (2nd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955) 113-39; idem, *The Gnostic Religion* (2nd ed. rev.; Boston: Beacon Hill, 1963) 68-91. See below, pp. 97-109.

[19]See above, n. 14.

[20]For two reasons I suspect that the section is traditional material that the redactor used for his purposes without much adaptation. (1) It does not exactly suit the situation for which he had employed it. If he had written it himself, he could have easily eliminated the problems that set it in tension with section A. (2) Section B has certain affinities with another part of the text. See below, pp. 97-115.

[21]As Jonas has indicated, it is not necessary that the gnostic "call" to the man in ignorance cite the content of revelation. The "call" may itself be the whole message (*Gnostic Religion*, 80). Here the content is specified but not elaborated upon.

[22]CH 1.27. English translation by Walter Scott, *Hermetica* (4 vols.; London: Dawsons, 1924-1936) 1.133 (reprint, 1968). For the text, see A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum* (4 vols.; Paris: Société d'édition, Les Belles Lettres, 1945) 1.16.

[23]With respect to [65],3-9, see below, pp. 185-86.

[24]For example: "seed of great aeons" ([65],3-5); "the seed of the great generation" ([65],8); the "name of that man" ([65],7).

[25]Beltz (195) has also independently recognized that the tractate has two different conclusions. What is here referred to as conclusion A, he calls the original conclusion to the tractate.

[26]See below, p. 241.

[27]See below, p. 287.

[28]Conclusion A corresponds to the incipit (64,2-6a) which promised revelation (ἀποκάλυψις), and to the title (64,1) and subscript title ([85],32), both of which use the term "revelation" (ἀποκάλυψις). All three--conclusion A, incipit and subscript title--are similar in their simplicity. By contrast, conclusion B refers to the secret (ἀπόκρυφον) knowledge and is theologically more sophisticated.

[29]Cf. Beltz, 197. Beltz is quite right that this conclusion provides the basis for an understanding of the text, but it is important that one recognize that the conclusion is appropriate only for understanding the text in its final redacted state. There are several levels at which the material must be examined.

[30]See below, pp. 192-201.

[31]The concluding line to twelve of the explanations, "in this way he came to the water," could possibly make reference to baptism in the understanding of the redactor. No one has yet understood it in this way (Beltz, 144), but then the questions being put to the kingdoms section ask after its original Sitz im Leben rather than its setting in the understanding of the redactor. See below, pp. 192-201.

[32]See pp. 39-40.

[33]One cannot help wondering why the redactor retained conclusion A at all. It is apparently nonessential. He actually accomplished the same thing with his own special conclusion. All conclusion A does is provide a summary ending to the tractate, and his interpretative conclusion also does this. Also in his arrangement of the material it is necessary for him to insert the A conclusion inside his own concluding statement in a "scissors and paste" way. It would have been simpler to have dropped it. However, see below, p. 217 n. 12.

[34]If for no other reason, this calls into question Beltz's understanding of the document as a textbook (*Lehrschrift*) for beginning gnostics (cf. Beltz, 178, 200).

[35]Böhlig (87) divides the main body of the tractate into three sections roughly paralleling the present division. In addition, his two major sections to the tractate with slight differences correspond closely to my division between the introductory section and main body of the tractate. Kasser's division is similar to the present division in its broad outlines ("Textes gnostiques: Remarques," 91).

Böhlig:	*Kasser:*	*Present Division:*
I. 64,5-[67],14	I. 64,1-[77],27	I. Introductions:
II. [67],14-[85],18	[83],8-[85],31	64,6-[67],21
A. [67],22-[73],24	II. [77],27-[83],8	II. Main Body:
B. [73],25-[76],7		[67],22-[85],18
C. [76],8-[77],27		A. [67],22-[76],7
Excursus: [77],27-[83],4		B. [76],8-[83],7
D. [83],4-[85],18		C. [83],7-[85],18
III. [85],19-31		III. Conclusions:
		[85],19-31

[36]Behind the question of the archon lies the classical boast of the demiurge. See *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)58,23-59,1; *Treat. Seth* (VII,*2*)53,30-31; 64,18-31; *Ap. John* (II,*1*)11,19-22; 13,8-9; *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,*1**)43,33-44,2; *Hyp. Arch.* (II,*4*)86,27-32; 94,19-26; *Orig. World* (II,*5*)103,9-15.

[37]The stories are generally clearly marked out by a decorative device in the margin at the beginning of each story and by a blank space between the end of one story and the beginning of the next. These phenomena occur with regularity through the section. The pattern is as follows.

	Space	*Decoration*
Between 1 and 2	none	none
2 and 3	none	none
3 and 4	yes	(lacuna)
4 and 5	yes	yes
5 and 6	none	(lacuna)
6 and 7	yes	yes
7 and 8	yes	yes
8 and 9	(lacuna)	yes
9 and 10	yes	yes
10 and 11	yes	yes
11 and 12	yes	yes
12 and 13	yes	yes
13 and the kingless generation	none	none

[38]I do not mean to imply that the material forms a cohesive unit but only wish to note that it is not immediately recognizable as belonging to either phase one or phase two.

[39]Phase three is a different problem; see below, pp. 32-33.

[40]The tractate does use the word "illuminator" in the plural (ΝΙϕⲱⲤⲦΗρ) at [75],14-15 (see the note at [75],11-16).

[41]Kasser (325) translates ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉϩ ϣⲟⲙⲉⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲡ correctly as "for the third time," but incorrectly regards the appearance of the three men ([65],26-[66],12), and the transformation of the great men ([71],8-15) as the first two appearances of the illuminator. Beltz (122) translates correctly, but does not speculate on the first two appearances of the illuminator.

[42]But if we may exempt the statement of the kingless generation from consideration for the moment (since it may also be redactional), the special race does not appear at all in phase two!

[43]This parallel in the *Gos. Eg.* is quite significant. The statement reflects the kind of understanding of the events in the *Apoc. Adam* to which a correct translation of ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉϩ ϣⲟⲙⲉⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲡ would lead one. Understanding this appearance of the illuminator as his third time to "pass through" naturally inclines one to look for his two previous appearances. Thus the redemption from the flood and the preservation through the fire could have been understood by an ancient exegete as appearance one and appearance two or, conversely, by indicating that the illuminator was making his third appearance, an ancient redactor could have intended that the first two events be understood as appearance one and appearance two. The first situation would assume the priority of the *Apoc. Adam* in the tradition history and the latter situation would assume the priority of the *Gos. Eg.*

[44]The parallel from the *Gos. Eg.* quite specifically speaks of the one figure, Seth, passing through three separate trials on three separate occasions, and this is what one would expect in the *Apoc. Adam* on the basis of [76],8.

[45]What I am arguing is that all three events must be viewed narrowly as specific acts of the illuminator, since this is the way [76],8-11 predisposes one to see them. At [76],8-11, the text implies that the first two acts of redemption are acts of the illuminator when it says that the illuminator passes through "for the third time." However, in the text, the first two redemptive acts have nothing to do with the "passing through" of an illuminator. They are only related generally to the third event as two preceding acts of redemption. Therefore, if the text at [76],8-11 specifically requires the first two events of redemption to be acts of the illuminator and they are not, then the essential unity between phase one and phase two is seriously in doubt.

[46]Cf. Schottroff, "Animae naturaliter salvandae," 71 n. 17; Beltz, 93. At this point (bottom of Coptic p. [71]), the text is fragmentary so it is difficult to say anything about the threat against the special race with certainty (however, see my conjectural reconstruction of [71],27-30), but it certainly appears on the top of Coptic p. [72] ([72],1-15) that a redemptive act has previously taken place. The special race is released, taken to a special land, and supplied with a holy dwelling place

where they remain for 600 years. In the first event of redemp-
tion, the special race is taken to the place where the spirit
of life dwells ([69],18-24); in the third, it is taken above
the aeons where they will be with the holy angels. One might
make a case for a difference among the three events on the ba-
sis that in what I have here called the second event the special
race is not "taken out of the world" as in the first and third.
But at this point we are debating the *character* of the redemp-
tion and not whether it actually is an act of redemption.   If
the character is different, it could account for the fact that
the redactor failed to recognize it as an event of redemption,
or did not count it so because of its difference. Therefore,
since he recognized only two events (flood and fire), he was
compelled by his theology to add the third--the judgment of the
archons. Cf. the three periods of world destruction of the
Mandaeans: sword, fire and flood; Mark Lidzbarski, *Das Johannes-
buch der Mandäer* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1915) 93.

[47]This redemptive act takes on characteristics of the
Eschaton (cf. with [76],17-20). However, cf. Beltz, 125. He
has made a good argument for understanding "day of death" as
the day of the individual's death. In either case, however, it
is a future event.

[48]The identity of the "kingdoms" is a problem. It is
reasonable to assume that they were also a part of the "heaven-
ly" structure ruled over by the archon of the powers, i.e.,
archon, powers, angels and then kingdoms (cf. CH Asclepius
3.19b,27c). Each of these subordinated deities tried to answer
the questions; see below, pp. 137-41.

[49][83],7-8 can be easily understood with what follows as
the basis for the cry and confession that follow ([83],8ff.).
Darkness is a sign of the *Eschaton* (see parallels at [83],8).

[50]Note that the unexplained intrusion of a "heavenly"
voice is a common feature in apocalyptic texts. See, for ex-
ample, Rev 1:10; 11:12; 12:10; 14:2,13; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 8:1.

[51]All other translators follow this procedure. Beltz (187)
has recognized the problem but is unable to offer a satisfactory
solution. In a footnote, he suggests an emendation of the text,
but does not follow it himself.

[52]The relative clause ([84],6-8) is a problem. It func-
tions as an explanatory clause in the third person where one
expects direct address in the second person. In its present
context, the clause appears to have vocative force; that is, the
heavenly voice addresses by name the ones to whom the clause is
directed. However, if this were the case, one would have ex-
pected the clause ([84],6-8) to read: ⲚⲦⲰⲦⲚ ⲈⲦϨⲒϪⲚ ⲠⲒϪⲰⲔⲘ
rather than ⲚⲎ ⲈⲦϨⲒϪⲚ ⲠⲒϪⲰⲔⲘ as it appears in the text.
Böhlig (116) notes the problem, but offers no solution, and
Kasser (331) emends the text. Schenke (cols. 33-34) suggests
that it should be read as a nominal sentence: "Micheu, Michar
and Mnesinous are those who are over the holy baptism and the

living water." However, he regards "the sentence" as presently
displaced from its original position which he thinks to be after
line [84],18 (Beltz translates as a nominal sentence--see p.
25,1). Actually, the clause seems to be a literal Coptic trans-
lation of the Greek *Vorlage*. The use of a modifying relative
clause in apposition to a vocative is a common Greek construc-
tion; cf. Mark 15:29 and Matt 6:9. The *Vorlage* must have read
as follows: οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ βαπτίσματι τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ τῷ ὕδατι τῷ ζῶντι.
The use of a second (unnecessary) ϫⲉ ([84],8) is unexpected
and suggests that the clause is actually a scribal insertion.
If we understand the relative clause ([84],6-8) as a marginal
note which some scribe introduced into the body of the tractate
along with the second ϫⲉ ([84],8) in order to pick up again
the direct address that had begun in [84],5, only to be broken
up by the relative clause in [84],6-8, the problem is resolved.
Micheu, Michar and Mnesinous are addressed by the heavenly
voice in [84],5-6, a later scribe--because he sensed the dis-
sonance of their abrupt appearance--clarifies the identity of
the three guardians in [84],6-8, and in [84],8 (ϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ) the
direct address is again picked up.

[53]Cf. A. G. Wright (*The Literary Genre: Midrash* [New York:
Alba House, 1967] 58-59) describes rabbinic midrashim as having
three literary structures that he termed exegetical midrashim,
homiletic midrashim and narrative midrashim. The form of the
midrash in the *Apoc. Adam* is identical to that which Wright
describes as "narrative midrashim."

> These works exemplify what Geza Vermes has called "the
> rewritten Bible" type of midrash: a completely re-
> written biblical narrative embellished with legends
> and non-biblical traditions....In this type the
> interpretative material is not given at the side of
> the Scripture text, as it were, but is worked right
> into the biblical text to form a continuous narrative.

Cf. Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (Leiden:
E. J. Brill, 1961) 67-95.

[54]For the biblical passages corresponding to these tradi-
tional sections, see the following:

```
[67],22-[69],11   - Gen 6:6-18  (LXX)
[70],3-6          - Gen 7:22-24 (LXX)
[70],6-[71],4     - Gen 8:1-19  (LXX)
[72],15-17        - Gen 9:1-2, 18-19 (LXX)
[73],25-27        - Gen 10:2-6 (LXX)
```

[55]In this gnostic interpretation, the traditional material
and interpretation have become so closely intertwined that the
traditional material is an essential literary part of the inter-
pretation rendering impossible a convenient separation between
traditional material and interpretation as we have it in the
first two segments of the midrash. The first two sentences
([72],15-17) are modelled on Gen 9:1-2,18-19), and to this ex-
tent are recognizable as paraphrase. However, they are also
essential to the passage that follows and to this extent they
must be included with the interpretation.

[56]The pattern is as follows:

Narration	Interpretation
[67],22-[69],11	[69],19-[70],2
[70],3-[71],4	[71],8-[72],15
[72],15-17	[72],15-[73],24 (Gen 9:25-27)
[73],25-27	[73],25-[76],7

At one point, Beltz has recognized both the logical continuity
of the paraphrase and the essentially different character of
the narrative interpretation. He calls [71],9-[72],14 (corre-
sponding to my gnostic interpretation, [71],8-[72],15) a
Zwischentext that separates two sections that logically belong
together, i.e., [71],4-8 and [72],15-20. See Beltz, 87 and 89.

[57]This division of the text does not include the section
of stories on the origin of the illuminator. This section in
itself is a difficult problem. On the basis of form alone, it
appears to be separable from its context (cf. Kasser's obser-
vations [317]). There also seems to be some evidence of redac-
tional development in certain of the stories. For example, on
the basis of a comparison with Kasser's "ideal form," the last
two narratives may have been subjected to editorial activity.
The collection of narratives is understandable in its context
as a response to the questions of the powers, but as a response
it exceeds the limits of the question by answering far more
than the questions ask. One can only conclude that the setting
is artificial and not original. See below for further discus-
sion, pp. 115-19.

[58]The term "redaction history" (*Redaktionsgeschichte*) was
coined by Willi Marxsen in 1954 in connection with a discussion
of Conzelmann's *Theology of St. Luke*. Whereas the emphasis of
NT research had been on the small isolated units that made up
the Synoptic Gospels (*Formgeschichte*), Conzelmann's work empha-
sized the Gospel of Luke as a whole unit. See Joachim Rohde,
Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists (trans. D. M.
Barton; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968) 9-11. Rohde states (14):

> The most important discovery of redaction criticism
> which goes beyond form criticism is that it is not
> the gospels as a whole which must be claimed as com-
> posite material but only their content, whilst the
> redaction of it, that is to say, its grouping, its
> composition and arrangement into a definite geo-
> graphical and chronological framework with quite
> different theological viewpoints, must be regarded
> as the work of the evangelist.

[59]There are a number of indications of this in the text.
First, there are several passages in the Coptic text that can
be explained only on the basis of a Greek *Vorlage*. See the
notes to the following passages in the translation: [65],22-23;
[83],14-15; [84],3; [65],9; [71],4-8. In several cases, the
biblical text used by the *Apoc. Adam* can best be explained as
being the LXX: 64,2-4; [72],17; [73],26-27. And in two in-
stances, Greek case endings, rare in Coptic, have been

preserved: [80],6 and [81],3. However, see Beltz (181), following Schenke (col. 33), who incorrectly believes that the fourteen stories about the illuminator were originally composed in Coptic and cites as support the fact that there are few Greek conjunctions in the section.

[60]Vocabulary differences and similarities should be preserved in the Greek words used by the translator to the extent that they had become loan words in Coptic. However, even here one should be prepared for inconsistency. See below, n. 66.

[61]See the discussion above on introductory segment A.

[62]See source A in Part Two.

[63]It is to be admitted that the motifs of "knowledge" and "desire" are common gnostic motifs, and are to be found in most gnostic texts. Further, these general *topoi* are also found in all the other sections of the *Apoc. Adam*. However, I am not arguing here that these units are from a single source on the basis of the common motifs of knowledge and desire. I am arguing that these segments that I have brought together employ the motifs within a distinctive framework that is not operative in what will be described as source B. In other words, source B material does not suit well the framework that gives source A meaning. This should become evident in the discussion that follows.

[64]See source B in Part Two.

[65]The abbreviated character of source B is interesting and will be discussed below, pp. 119-22.

[66]Why the text shifts from ⲤⲠⲈⲣⲙⲁ to ϭⲣⲟϭ is perplexing since the text regularly uses ⲤⲠⲈⲣⲙⲁ in these interpretative sections. It seems to me that there are only four possible explanations: (1) There was a different Greek word in the *Vorlage* and the Coptic translator simply translated it with a word different from ⲤⲠⲈⲣⲙⲁ. This is an appealing possibility, but I can detect no compelling reason for a different Greek word at this point. It is true that ϭⲣⲟϭ is only used in the speech of Shem. It could be that the text wishes to distinguish between the seed of Shem (ϭⲣⲟϭ), and that of Ham and Japheth (ⲤⲠⲈⲣⲙⲁ). However, note that in Noah's challenge to his progeny he uses the word ⲤⲠⲈⲣⲙⲁ in referring to all three of his children, Ham, Japheth and Shem. (2) The editorial change from ⲤⲠⲈⲣⲙⲁ to ϭⲣⲟϭ was made by the Coptic redactor-translator for some particular reason not immediately evident. Although that possibility cannot be excluded, I think it to be unlikely since all indications are that the text was redacted before translation into Coptic. (3) The change from ⲤⲠⲈⲣⲙⲁ to ϭⲣⲟϭ was made by the Coptic translator for no particular reason--an accidental emending of the text. Since ϭⲣⲟϭ and ⲤⲠⲈⲣⲙⲁ were synonyms in his Coptic, he simply decided to use ϭⲣⲟϭ. Because of the absence of any detectable theological motive for the change and the regularity of ⲤⲠⲈⲣⲙⲁ throughout the remainder

of the interpretations to the flood narrative, this seems to be
the most probable explanation. (4) Of course, there is always
the possibility that what seems to be a regular and systematic
use of ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ throughout the interpretation sections is ac-
tually illusionary and accidental. In other words, the Greek
Vorlage did not regularly use any particular word. The Coptic
translator simply selected the word ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ (being a loan-
word in Coptic from Greek; thus it was actually a Coptic word)
to translate whatever Greek words were used. If this were the
case, then one would also have to attribute the regular use of
ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ (see below) to the Coptic translator. This I feel to
be highly unlikely since several of the passages that can be
explained only on the basis of projecting a Greek *Vorlage* occur
precisely in these redactional sections. This argues that
these sections reflect a literal rendering of the Greek *Vorlage*
and suggests that the term ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ belongs to a level of the
tradition earlier than the Coptic translator. The most plau-
sible explanation for the change from ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ to ⲋⲡⲟⲋ seems
to be number three discussed above.

[67]However, on the basis of *Gos. Eg.* (III,2)63,4ff., one
could argue that the flood *motif*, at least, is part of the tex-
tual level of source B, assuming that before its redaction
source B narrated in expanded form the three "passings" of the
illuminator, a tradition that appears in *Gos. Eg.* only as a
brief reference.

[68]Till, §322.

[69]However, note that it is reconstructed by Bohlig (20)
at [18],12.

[70]The following formal analysis covers only the statements
of the thirteen kingdoms. The kingless generation has little
formal similarity to the thirteen kingdoms and for that reason
is excluded from consideration here. Each of the thirteen
kingdom statements has an identical introductory formula: "The
--- kingdom says about him." The statements of the kingdoms
are highly stylized into a four-unit structure. Although there
are some variations and differences, all statements appear to
be basically the same. The structure is as follows.

    1. A statement of birth:
       "He came from..." (kingdoms 1-5,7-8,12).
       Kingdom 6: "She...gave birth to him."
       Kingdom 9: "He was born."
       Kingdom 10: "He was born."
       Kingdom 13: "Every birth of their ruler is a word."
       The statement is lacking in Kingdom 11.

    2. A statement about nourishing:
       "He was nourished..." (kingdoms 1-3,12).
       Kingdom 4: "When he had been nourished."
       Kingdom 6: "The angels of the flower garden nourished
                    him."
       Kingdom 8: "The angels who were above the cloud
                    nourished him."

> Kingdom 9: "The angels who were over the desire nour-
>   ished him."
> Kingdom 11: "The angel nourished him in that place."
> The statement is lacking in kingdoms 5,7,10,13.

3. A statement about receiving glory and power:
   "He received glory and power..." (kingdoms 1,3-10,12,13).
   Kingdom 2: "He received glory and strength."
   The statement is lacking in kingdom 11.

4. A statement about "coming to the water":
   "In this way he came to the water" (kingdoms 1-13).

Cf. Kasser's five-unit structure ("Textes gnostiques: Remarques,"
92). What Kasser understands as the third unit in the struc-
ture should actually be included as part of what he calls the
second unit. It will be observed that, while there are slight
variations elsewhere, in the fourth unit of the structure there
is no variation. Therefore, the introduction of the purpose
clause following the thirteenth kingdom is quite unusual (see
below, n. 74). Note also the formal similarity to *Zost.* (VIII,
1)129,12-17; see p. 197 below.

[71]In its original Sitz im Leben, the concluding line to
the stories about the illuminator could have had a meaning
different than "birth" or "appearance." However, in its pres-
ent setting there can be little doubt that the intention of the
redactor is that it be understood as an explanation of the
appearance of the illuminator. See Schenke (col. 33) and
Beltz (179-80).

[72]While the kingless generation is different in form from
the thirteen kingdoms, it is by no means certain that it is a
composition of the redactor; but see below, pp. 118-19, 200-201.

[73]The redactor intends to reject the first thirteen ex-
planations given by the "kingdoms" as inadequate since they
reflect the faulty misunderstanding of the deceived powers (cf.
George MacRae, "The Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam," *HeyJ* 6
[January, 1965] 30-31).

[74]One might object that, since the purpose clause appears
only in the thirteenth kingdom, it is intended to negate only
the statement of the thirteenth kingdom. This is possible, but
for several reasons unlikely. In the first place, if the
clause negated the statement of this kingdom only and was an
essential part of the statement, it should have appeared in the
first unit of the structure as follows: "Every birth of their
ruler is a word. And this word received a mandate in that
place in order that the desire of these powers might be satis-
fied." All the other statements do it this way. If the pur-
pose clause is an essential part of the thirteenth kingdom, it
would be the only qualifying statement in all thirteen kingdoms
that follows unit four in the structure (see above).
    In the second place, this clause is the only indication in
the text that a statement of the kingless generation is intended
as a contrast. If we limit that contrast to a juxtaposing of
kingdom thirteen and the kingless generation, what are we to do

with the first twelve. Should they not also be included in the
contrast? Because of the close similarity in verbal expression
and form, all thirteen of the kingdoms must be linked together
and therefore must be included in the contrast to the kingless
generation. One indication that this interpretation of the in-
tention of the redactor is correct is that the statement about
the "coming to the water" does not appear in the statement of
the kingless generation. If it were simply a neutral expres-
sion for "birth" or "appearance," it could have easily been
used in the kingless generation, making it conform more closely
to the form of the first thirteen kingdoms. The fact that it
is not used in the kingless generation, and the fact that
"coming to the water" is defined as "fulfilling the desire of
the powers" in the thirteenth kingdom, de-neutralize the ex-
pression and make it a bad concept. And if it is a negative
expression in the thirteenth kingdom, it must also be so in the
remaining twelve kingdoms, and if it is negative in the first
twelve kingdoms, why would they not also be included in the
contrast?

In the third place, the clause states that "he came to the
water in order that the desire of *these* powers might be satis-
fied." Who are *these* powers? There are *no* powers mentioned in
the thirteenth kingdom! In fact, there are no powers mentioned
in any of the kingdoms! There are powers mentioned at the be-
ginning of source B in the framework into which these stylized
statements have been inserted. "These" powers are those whose
god was disturbed at the appearance of the illuminator ([77],
4-7); those who were blinded ([77],12-15), and who asked the
questions to which the kingdom statements are a response
([77],18-26). The absence of "powers" as a motif in the king-
dom statements and their essential position in the storyline of
source B argue that the purpose clause is a redactional device
used by the redactor to effect a contrast between the wrong
answers of kingdoms one through thirteen, to de-neutralize the
concept of water-appearance, and to make the kingdom statements
more clearly understandable as a response to the questions of
the powers.

[75] In [73],28, CΠEPMA is used from the perspective of Ham
and Japheth of that part of their seed that had gone into
another land to sojourn with the special race of men (cf.
[73],13-29).

[76] The shift from CΠEPMA to 6po6 in the speech of Shem
([73],1-12) is interesting (see above, n. 66), but 6po6 is
still used in the sense of natural reproduction.

[77] The use of CΠOPA in the statement of the fourth king-
dom ([79],16-17) creates a problem. If, as we have argued
above (pp. 38-39), the redactor has rejected all of the first
thirteen kingdoms as incorrect answers to the origin of the
illuminator, and if he uses CΠOPA in a special positive way,
why has he allowed the use of CΠOPA here in the fourth king-
dom, since its appearance in this context apparently gives the
word a negative thrust? There are two possibilities that could
account for its inclusion in the fourth kingdom that would be

in keeping with the interpretation that has been offered above.
In the first place, the redactor may simply have overlooked
this reference to ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ. His redactional methodology else-
where suggests that he does not handle his material skillfully,
but in a rather wooden, unimaginative way. Thus, one is not
surprised to see another instance of his carelessness. The one
time that he did change ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ to ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ([85],22), it could
scarcely have been overlooked or ignored (see above) because of
its proximity to his own conclusion. In the second place, it
is possible that he was aware of the ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ reference in the
fourth kingdom, but it did not create for him the problem that
it does for the modern reader since he was able to read the
fourth kingdom in such a way that the ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ reference was not
understood as a negative motif. Since the precise significance
of the stores is unclear, this possibility cannot be excluded.
For example, for Böhlig they are different explanations on an
ascending scale from lower to higher concepts of the origin of
an unidentified illuminator, whom Böhlig describes as a "suf-
fering savior" ("Jüdisches und iranisches in der Adamapokalypse
des Codex V von Nag Hammadi," *Mysterion und Wahrheit: Gesammelte
Beiträge zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte* [Leiden: E. J.
Brill, 1968] 155, 158). For Kasser, the stories concern differ-
ent people or perhaps one person in different incarnations
("Textes gnostiques: Remarques," 92). For Beltz, the stories
contain thirteen incorrect gnostic myths about the birth of
Jesus. Only the fourteenth has the correct myth (157). For
Schottroff, they are thirteen slanderous statements made
against the illuminator. The kingless generation reflects the
correct opinion ("Animae naturalitur salvandae," 74).

[78]We have already argued above that [85],29 is the redac-
tor's conclusion. Here it should be stated that the appearance
of ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ in conclusion A ([85],22) can also be explained on
the basis of redactional activity. Since the terms ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ
and ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ were "loaded" expressions, the redactor just could
not have the teaching of Seth passed on to a progeny referred
to as ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ. In the redactor's vocabulary, the descendants
of Seth were ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ. The ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ was an unenlightened gen-
eration; the ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ was an enlightened generation. Since Seth
could hardly have handed down his secret tradition to the un-
enlightened, it was necessary that the text be corrected to read
ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ. So by virtue of this theological rationale, and the
fact that conclusion A immediately preceded conclusion B, i.e.,
because of its proximity to conclusion B, the redactor changed
the ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ in conclusion A to ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ.
The redactor would have felt no necessity for altering
ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ in [66],4 since "the seed" (ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ) referred to here
was none other than Seth, the father of the special race. In
fact, its inclusion in B was undoubtedly one of the reasons
that the redactor pulled these two units of traditional mate-
rial together. [79],16-17 is admittedly a problem (see above,
n. 77).

[79]The redactor is careful to note that it was not hopeless-
ly "lost," but really preserved in the seed of great eons ([65],
3-5). Thus it could be returned to Adam by the "three men."

[80] A more detailed analysis of the theological position of sources A and B and the redactor follows in Chapters III through V.

[81] (VI,2)14,27-34. Translation by George MacRae in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 272-73.

CHAPTER III

THE CHARACTER OF THE A SOURCE

A. Form

By title and incipit, source A identifies itself as an ἀποκάλυψις, a "revelation," or, if the word were transliterated into English, as is often done, an "apocalypse." The literal meaning of the word is "an uncovering" (of that which is covered), "a disclosing" (of that which is closed), "a making known" (of that which is unknown) from the verbal root ἀποκαλύπτειν, "to uncover, to disclose."[1] The nature of the contents of source A corresponds to the title. Adam "makes known" to Seth the unknown truth about the creation and his fall from paradise. He projects into the future to tell about the flood of Noah, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah[2] and the end of the world. In the latter instances, Adam "uncovers" the concealed future to describe those events that will come to pass. However, since from the perspective of the reader (and the author) the events have in fact already occurred, it is not enough simply to predict their occurrence, he must also disclose their hidden meaning.

Adam's disclosure is made to Seth "in the 700th year," that is, just prior to Adam's death.[3] The time that the disclosure is made gives it the character of a last testament, and associates the document with other testamentary discourses in antiquity.[4] In effect, it increases the significance of the discourse. It is not just any discourse that Adam made at sometime during his lifetime to Seth, but it is his final discourse.

However, title and even incipit do not necessarily determine the literary structure or form of a document.[5] One must look beyond the literary type suggested by title and incipit-- regarded in isolation they can be misleading--to the actual structure of the document.[6] For example, the Gospel of Mark, the Gospel of John, and the *Gospel of Thomas* all bear the ancient title "gospel," suggesting that all these documents belong to the same literary genre. However, in each instance the

incipit and structure are different. Mark bears the incipit
"Beginning of the *Gospel* of Jesus Christ" (Mark 1:1),[7] and
takes the form of a collection of narratives about the deeds
and sayings of Jesus; it has several parables and one collec-
tion of sayings arranged as a discourse. *Gos. Thom.* bears the
incipit "These are the *secret words* which the living Jesus
spoke" ([II,2]32,10-11), and takes the form of a collection of
the *logia* of Jesus loosely connected by brief introductory for-
mulae including several parables. John bears the incipit "In
the beginning was the *word* and the word was with god and the
word was god" (1:1), and takes the form of a collection of
miracles and discourses by Jesus with no parables. They were
all called "gospel" by the church, but formally and structurally
each is different. Therefore, while the title and incipit of
source A may dispose one to read it as a revelation discourse,
a speech made by Adam in which he discloses unknown truths, it
is still necessary to examine the formal literary structure of
the text.

Source A in the main is an example of gnostic haggadic
exegesis. It is a midrashic commentary on Genesis in narrative
style that concludes with a judgment scene.[8] The ancient exe-
gete attempted to work his exegesis into the traditional bibli-
cal material in order to form a continuous narrative. In the
story of Adam's fall, he has done an excellent job of blending
text and exegesis,[9] but in the flood narrative he has not been
as careful, and the transition from text to exegesis is clearly
discernible in all but one point.[10] In fact, his "text" and
exegesis read like two independent narratives that have little
relationship to one another.[11] Because of his poor blending of
exegesis and text, the storyline of his composite narrative is
difficult to follow.

The saga-like narrative describes the origin of a special
race of men and their struggle with, and eventual victory over,
the creator god and his servants. The plot needs clarification
in some detail in order to be understood.

1.   64,6-19

    After creation, the androgynous aeon Adam-Eve continued
walking in the glory and knowledge of the aeon from which (s)he
had come. (S)he resembled the great eternal angels in his/her
androgynous state, and was higher than the god who had created
him/her.[12]

2.   64,20-[65],3; [65],9-23; [66],12-[67],12

    The creator then divided the androgyne Adam-Eve into two
distinct aeons and as a result they no longer resembled the
great eternal (androgynous) angels and consequently lost the
glory and the first knowledge they had brought into the lower
aeon. Their glory left them returning to the great aeon, and
to the great generation that had come from the higher aeon from
which Adam-Eve had come. Presumably this generation also pos-
sessed both the knowledge and glory that Adam-Eve had lost
since they (i.e., the generation) were from the same aeon.
Adam and Eve learn about "dead things," recognize the authority
of the creator god and serve him in fear and servility. Dark-
ness falls over their eyes, and Adam "desires" Eve. In that
moment their devolution into a mortal state is complete and
their knowledge of the eternal aeon is gone.[13]

3.   [67],22-[69],10; [69],19-[71],4

    Apparently the creator recognized that these men possessed
a unique glory and knowledge and he attempted to destroy them
by a flood along with all mankind because they were strangers
to him; that is, he did not know their origin. However, he
failed in this attempt when great angels from the higher aeon
preserved the special race. The creator god was apparently
unaware of their redemption and preserved Noah and his sons to
repopulate the earth and to rule it in obedience to him.[14]

4.   [71],8-[72],14

    However, the race of men from the higher aeon returned and
presented themselves before Noah and the aeons of the creator

god. As a result, Noah is accused of producing another race of
men to scorn the power of the creator. At this point, the text
is fragmentary, but it appears that the great men from the
higher aeon are again preserved from a threat of the creator
and taken into "a land worthy of them" where they dwell in
safety and holiness for 600 years.[15]

5.   [72],15-[76],6

After the second altercation between the creator and the
special race, Noah cautioned his sons to ensure that their
progeny will serve the creator. However, 400,000 of the seed
of Ham and Japheth entered into the land where the men from
the great eternal knowledge dwelled. There they were protected
from "every evil thing and every unclean desire." The archons
of the creator god who control the seed of Ham and Japheth
plotted against this group and the special race. They went to
Sakla and accused the great men and those who dwelled with them
of opposing the creator's power. In response, Sakla sent fire,
sulphur, and asphalt upon the inhabitants of the holy dwelling
place in an attempt to destroy them. Yet for the third time
they were saved. Abrasax, Sablo and Gamaliel descended from
the clouds to return them to the higher aeon where they will
dwell in safety, resembling the holy angels.

6.   [83],7-[84],3

When the great men are removed to safety for the third
time, a cloud of darkness will descend upon the aeon of the
creator god. The people who accused the great race before the
creator god will utter a loud cry of repentance and lament.
They will recognize the holiness of the great race. The great
race has not been corrupted by desire nor have they performed
the will of the powers. Rather, they have stood "like light"
before the creator in the knowledge of the eternal God. The
"people" will confess their sin and lament their fate. The
narrative ends with the translation of the great race into a
blessed state and the defeat and condemnation of their opposi-
tion. The secret knowledge that Adam communicates to Seth and
Seth passes on to his progeny is this narrative.

Baltzer's Analysis   *Apoc. Adam*

C. ETHICAL SECTION
    A section of ethical
    instructions introduced
    by a distinctive formula
    followed by a series of
    imperatives commanding
    general types of ethical
    conduct.

D. BLESSINGS AND CURSES
    An eschatological   "Blessed is the soul of
    section frequently   those men for they have
    concludes the *T. 12 Patr*.   known God through a knowl-
    in blessing-curse   edge of the truth....But
    format.   we have done every work
                                       of the powers sense-
                                       lessly....Now we know
                                       that our souls will sure-
                                       ly die."[17] ([83],7-[84],3)

E. CONCLUSION
    "When he said this he died.   "These are the revelations
    And his sons laid him in a   that Adam made known to
    coffin. After ____ they   Seth, his son, and his
    brought his bones to ____   son taught his seed about
    and laid him with his   them." ([85],19-22)
    fathers."

The blessing-curse format that appears in the *Apoc. Adam*
is structurally the eschatological conclusion to the midrashic
commentary that comprises most of Adam's revelation to Seth,
rather than part of a concluding personal admonition by Adam to
Seth and his posterity, as the blessing-curse form generally
appears in the *T. 12 Patr*. In the context of the midrashic
commentary, the blessing-curse is not spoken by Adam, but
rather is spoken by the enemies of Seth's descendants as a
confession of their own personal failure. Nor does it have the
distinctive form of the blessing-curse sections that Baltzer
identified in a majority of the testaments of the patriarchs.
Therefore, in a narrow sense, i.e., in the sense of Baltzer's
analysis, the blessing-curse motif that appears in *Apoc. Adam*
may not be called "testamentary."

However, in a general sense, it does seem to qualify as a
"testamentary" blessing-curse. It does not seem to be acci-
dental that the blessing-curse section in the structure of
source A occupies a position identical to that held by the

blessing-curse format in the structure of the testament, that
is, immediately before its conclusion. By its position in the
structure of source A, it would tend to displace a separate
blessing-curse section identified by Baltzer as a frequently
appearing fourth part of the structure of the testament. It is
after all part of Adam's final revelation to Seth. The bless-
ing in the statement does apply to Seth's spiritual descendants
as the curse applies to their "wicked" and "sinful" enemies.
Further, it does have a form similar to the Testament of
Naphtali. According to Baltzer, the majority of the testaments
reflect a later stage in the development of the blessing-curse
form and assume a temporal sequence: sin, curse, repentance and
blessing. Naphtali, however, resembles more closely an earlier
stage of the form as is reflected in the OT (for example,
Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28). The blessing-curse form in
source A is modelled on the blessing-curse form as it appears
in the OT tradition.

There is, of course, another possibility. Source A may
have had a separate "testamentary" blessing-curse section that
was removed by the redactor in light of the fact that it was
preceded already in the redacted form of the *Apoc. Adam* by two
separate blessing-curse sections. One of these was the conclu-
sion to the midrash ([83],7-[84],4). This section would have
resisted exclusion because it concluded the commentary. To have
omitted it would have left the narrative without a sense of
closure. The other was the redactor's own conclusion ([84],4-
[85],18). To have left all three in the text may have seemed
excessive even to the redactor.

The overall resemblance in structure and literary form in
the testament as analyzed by Baltzer and source A is striking.
If it be granted that the blessing-curse format in source A may
be considered a testamentary blessing-curse, then there are
only two differences: source A is lacking a separate section of
ethical exhortation and does not have the stylized conclusion
that Baltzer identified in the *T. 12 Patr*. This similarity in
structure, form and content cannot be accidental and forces one
to the conclusion that the genre of source A is best identified
as a testament.

B. Periodizing in Source A

The narrative relates only six events told in very general terms: the creation, the fall, the flood, a threat (uncertain because of the lacuna), threat of fire, and the *Eschaton*. None of these events are specific enough to be considered as particular occurrences in the actual history of a specific group of people, but all appear to be idealized occurrences describing the history of the great race from the perspective of an idealized world history, or more specifically an idealized Jewish concept of world history, since the events are drawn from the OT tradition. These idealized events are not everyday occurrences happening within a narrow time frame, but they periodize the history of the special race. The fact that the story begins with the creation and ends with the *Eschaton* introduces a linear apocalyptic concept into the story, and transforms the other generalized events from everyday occurrences into pivotal moments or periods in the forward movement of an idealized history.[18]

The periodizing of history is a well-known motif in apocalyptic and gnostic texts. The periodized schemes that we encounter in these texts are similar in that they usually include among their pivotal moments some reference to the Jewish biblical history, and they structure an idealized reality into a series of periods. Beyond this, however, there is really only little similarity among them. They employ different events as pivotal moments to form their schemes, and there appears to be no set number of periods required. Unfortunately, the parameters of the scheme are not always clear and frequently must be inferred from the text. For example, the scheme might include the *Eschaton* and periods before the *Eschaton*, but would assume the creation as an unstated pivotal moment. This is largely due to the fact that the author has a different concern at those points in the text where the periodizing surfaces.

In the following discussion of these texts, it is not claimed that all occurrences of periodizing in apocalyptic and gnostic texts have been collected,[19] but the sample seems extensive enough to provide a basis for comparison with the

narrative in *Apoc*. *Adam*.   The discussion intends to provide a
background with which the form of the narrative in the *Apoc*.
Adam can be compared.   For the most part, those periodizing
schemes have been selected that use all or some of the pivotal
moments appearing in *Apoc*. *Adam*, i.e., creation, flood, con-
flict, fire (Sodom and Gomorrah) and end-time.

In Dan 9:24-27, the periodizing scheme is discursively set
out.   The angel Gabriel tells Daniel that there will be seventy
weeks of years (= 490 years) from the command to rebuild Jeru-
salem until the establishment of the Messianic era; that is, it
will be that long until "transgression is finished," sin is
ended, atonement for iniquity is made and everlasting righteous-
ness is inaugurated and "prophecy and prophet are fulfilled"
(Dan 9:27; see also 7:13-14,27).   The periods prior to the end
are set forth in cryptic language as follows: From the command
to restore Jerusalem to the coming of the anointed one is
seven weeks (= 49 years).   For the next sixty-two weeks, the
holy city is restored (= 434 years).   At the end of this second
period, the city and the sanctuary will be destroyed by flood
followed by war and desolations.   For one week (= 7 years),
there shall be abominations and desolation, and then comes the
end.   The scheme is as follows.

Command to restore Jerusalem	Coming of anointed one		Death of the anointed one & destruction of the city	Messianic kingdom
		rebuilding of city and temple	abominations & desolation	
7 weeks		62 weeks	1 week	
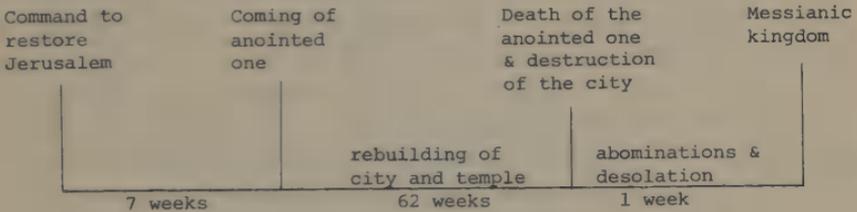
The history that is periodized is uniquely Jewish, for it
concerns the rebuilding of the holy city Jerusalem and the re-
institution of temple worship.   The scheme, however, is not
complete.   Because it has a narrow concern, i.e., the rebuild-
ing of the holy city and the current tribulation that the Jewish
nation is experiencing, the scheme does not include the creation,
nor, for example, other tribulations that the people had faced.[20]

It starts with Daniel's current situation and projects to the
end. From the end, one may infer a beginning. It is highly
improbable that the Jewish prophet would not have conceived of
a beginning in terms of Genesis 1-3. Therefore, we should
assume that the prophet operated with an idealized concept of
history as follows.

```
            Command to   Coming of   Death of anointed    Messianic
  [Creation]---restore   ---anointed ---one & destruction ---kingdom
            Jerusalem    one             of the city
      1           2           3               4               5
```

Between 1 and 2 there could have been any number of periods or
pivotal moments. The scheme could have been expanded or col-
lapsed. Its breadth hinged upon the prophet's concern at the
moment.

Another example from which the periodizing scheme must be
inferred is found in the Synoptic Gospels: Matt 24:37-39 = Luke
17:26-30. The passage is taken from Q by Matthew and Luke, but
arranged differently in the scheme of each evangelist. The
statement in Luke is more extensive, adding an additional
pivotal moment to the periodizing scheme that does not appear
in Matthew's structure. With very little divergence, Matthew
follows Mark's order in Mark 13, inserting the Q material be-
tween Matt 24:32 and 33. In Luke, the material parallel to
Mark 13 and Matthew 24 is broken up and appears in chapters 17
and 21. The Lucan periodizing statement appears in chapter 17.

The two statements differ in that Luke's account adds an
additional pivotal moment. Both cite Noah and the flood and
the coming of the Son of Man, but Luke's account adds the de-
struction of Sodom and Gomorrah. From the fact that the period-
izing scheme in both accounts ends with the *Eschaton* (= the in-
auguration of the Messianic era), we can infer a beginning to
the world order, the creation. Although the creation is not
stated, it must be the *terminus a quo* that corresponds to the
coming of the Son of Man, the *terminus ad quem* of the scheme.
Thus, although the periodizing scheme is incomplete, we can
reconstruct its beginning.[21] The inferred schemes appear as
follows.

Matt: [Creation]---The flood---The coming of the Son of Man
Luke: [Creation]---The flood---Sodom & Gomorrah---The coming of the
                                                      Son of Man

But what are we to make of the fact that Luke has added an
extra pivotal moment, giving a total of four such moments and
three periods? There are two possibilities. The first is that
Luke was theologically motivated to add the extra pivotal mo-
ment. In other words, Luke's theology required that the for-
ward sweep of idealized history include the destruction of
Sodom and Gomorrah so that there would be *only* three periods
set off by *only* four pivotal moments.

This seems unlikely for two reasons. We have already ob-
served that both schemes are incomplete. If Luke was going to
be that precise in his statement, one would have expected him
to include the creation as a pivotal moment; that is, he would
have stated a complete system. Also in Luke 16:16 there is set
out a completely *different* periodizing scheme. This sharply
reduces the probability that the present scheme was regarded by
Luke as a definitive statement. It seems more probable that
the schemes in Matthew and Luke should be regarded as incomplete
and open-ended. In other words, the statements are not defini-
tive descriptions of an idealized history, but they are ex-
cerpts from a broader scheme that stretches from creation to
end-time and could have included yet additional pivotal moments
and periods. Luke's addition of the destruction of Sodom and
Gomorrah was theologically motivated but not because he had to
have it to make up a certain number of periods or pivotal mo-
ments. He included it because it was already part of a broader
scheme of idealized history from which Q had already drawn the
flood incident, and because it made an admirable second illus-
tration to describe the woes of the Messianic era.

Similarly, there is a disagreement in the periodizing
schemes found in Jude and 2 Peter.[22] However, here the dis-
agreement does not lie in the number of pivotal moments or
periods in the scheme but in the disagreement in occurrences.
Again, the total historical scheme must be inferred from the
text. The difference is that Jude records the Exodus as one of
his pivotal moments where 2 Peter records the flood as a pivotal

moment. Again, the creation is omitted as a part of the scheme,
but can be inferred as the beginning of the scheme on the basis
of the *Eschaton* as the conclusion. The schemes appear as
follows.

```
2 Peter:  [Creation]----------------Sin of the---Flood---Sodom & ---Judgment
                                     Angels[23]             Gomorrah

Jude:     [Creation]---The Exodus---Sin of the----------Sodom & ---Judgment
                                    Angels               Gomorrah
```

What are we to make of the fact that 2 Peter reports a
different scheme than Jude? The consensus of contemporary
scholarship is that 2 Peter is dependent upon Jude,[24] and if
this is correct,[25] 2 Peter has altered the scheme he found in
Jude. The striking thing in the two different pivotal moments
is that Jude's example, the Exodus, is really more appropriate
to what he was trying to illustrate. He was trying to warn the
false teachers in the congregation of the judgment of God and
used the example of God destroying the unbelieving children of
Israel in the wilderness, although they were part of the people
of God. The example of 2 Peter, the flood, doesn't quite have
the same close parallel to the false teachers in the congrega-
tion. Here the people that were destroyed are not described as
part of the household of faith. They are simply the "unrigh-
teous," and their sin is immorality rather than unbelief.

The real issue, however, is not priority, but in which
text is the scheme a definitive statement of the author's con-
cept of history, that is, which text requires just that scheme
as stated with no alterations? The answer is that neither one
is a definitive statement since the periodizing schemes are
not complete statements. The parameters of both schemes have
to be inferred, and Jude has even recorded his illustrations
out of "historical" order. It seems better to regard both
statements as incomplete and open-ended. They are part of the
author's idealized view of world history which includes a num-
ber of pivotal moments drawn from the OT tradition extending
from creation to the *Eschaton*.

In the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (III,2 and IV,2), there
appears a periodized scheme in which the Great Seth is said to

have passed through three "parousiai": the flood, the confla-
gration and the judgment of the archons, powers and authori-
ties.[26]   The scheme is different from those previously examined
because in addition to omitting the creation, it also omits the
Eschaton. The lack of reference to the beginning and end makes
the scheme suspect as a periodized scheme of an idealized his-
tory. However, the text does mention the consummation of the
aeon at (III,2)61,1ff. (= [IV,2]72,10ff.), and the conclusion
of the *Gospel of the Egyptians* says that the book was written
for the "ends of the times and the eras" ([III,2]68,10ff.).
The "ends of the times and the eras" and the "consummation of
the aeon" should be conceived as an event distinct from the
third parousia of the Great Seth ([III,2]63,4-8 = [IV,2]74,17-
22), i.e., the judgment of the archons, powers and authorities,
because the time frame of this latter event is past, while the
"consummation of the aeon" is yet a future event. Further,
these three events are related to the redemption of the special
race in the world rather than to the end of the age.[27]

        The creation also appears elsewhere in the text, but not
in conjunction with the threefold parousia of the Great Seth.[28]
Thus, we do have both creation and *Eschaton* as a part of the
author's scheme of an idealized history, but not in connection
with the periodized scheme with which we began. A closer read-
ing of the text reveals that these three appearances of the
Great Seth are not three separate pivotal moments in the au-
thor's scheme, but they represent only one pivotal moment in
the author's scheme of an idealized history of the immovable
race that stretches from creation to consummation, and includes
the origin of the immovable race ([III,2]60,9-61,1), the send-
ing of 400 guards to protect the immovable race ([III,2]62,
13-24), a period of testing by the devil ([III,2]61,16-23) and
"the time and the moment of truth and justice,"[29] as well as
assorted plagues, famines, temptations, falsehoods and false
prophets ([III,2]61,1-15). In fact, the author has periodized
his idealized history at another point when he says that the
400 angels came forth "to guard the great incorruptible
race, its fruit and the great men of the Great Seth from

the time and the moment of truth and justice until the consum-
mation of the aeon and its archons" ([III,2]62,16-22).

     If we were to attempt a reconstruction of the author's
concept of idealized history, it would appear as follows.

```
              Origin of the    The       The              Testing by
Creation---immovable race---flood---conflagration---the devil --- (cont.)

Appearance             The moment    The three Parousiai        The
of the        and  of truth    ---of the Great Seth     ---consummation
400 guards           and justice   (flood, fire, judgment)
```

However, it should be pointed out that this is a reconstructed
scheme, and does not reflect all the periods and pivotal mo-
ments that the author alluded to in (III,2)61,1-15 as famines,
temptations, falsehood and false prophets. One may assume that
these events, mentioned here in general terms, could refer to
events at least as specific as the flood and the conflagration.

     The *Paraphrase of Shem* ([VII,1]1-49) also seems to have a
periodizing scheme, although it appears here less clearly
stated than in the other documents that have been discussed.
The author has a concept of creation (VII 20,20-24), or begin-
ning (VII 1,21-25; 12,33-38; 36,1-3; 45,17-20). He also
looked for a final ultimate end to the world, conceived as
an inevitable catastrophic destruction of nature (VII 22,33-
23,1; 48,16-22; 44,2-45,20), and referred to as "the consum-
mation" (VII 35,25-27; 48,16-22) and "the last day" (VII
39,17-21; 45,14-20). At no one point does the author
systematically set out his periodized scheme that takes place
within the time frame from creation to consummation. However,
he does provide sufficient hints stated in such a way that the
reader is aware of the author's periodizing proclivities. For
example, the flood is a pivotal moment in his scheme, for he
discusses events "before the flood" and "after the flood" (VII
28,5-22).[30] There are other indications of a periodizing
scheme, but the author provides no definitive statement, nor
does he clarify the relationship of the periods to one another.
Aside from the division suggested by the "before the flood" and
"after the flood" terminology, there are at least three other
periods that can be distinguished: "The appointed days of the

demon" (VII 31,14-22), "The appointed term of faith" that ap-
pears on the earth "for a short time" (VII 43,14-21), and a
time of "great evil error" that occurs in the world after
Derdekeas(?) withdraws from the world (VII 43,28-44,2). If we
may assume that the sequence of events in the revelation by
Derdekeas to Sēem correspond to the sequence of pivotal moments
and periods in the author's scheme of periodized history, that
scheme would appear as follows.

```
                    The          The
         The        appointed    appointed   Time of
Creation---Flood---days of  ---term of  ---great      ---Consummation
                    the demon    Faith       evil error
```

Again, it should be pointed out that we have inferred this
scheme from the text as a whole. It represents a skeletal re-
construction of the author's concept of history. Allowance
must be made for other possible pivotal moments and/or periods
to the scheme.

In the Coptic *Asclepius* (VII,*8*)65-78, there appears a
periodizing scheme mentioned briefly in connection with a
statement about God's punishment of evil in the world (VII 73,
22-74,17).[31]

> Sometimes he submerged it in a great flood, at other
> times he burned it in a searing fire, and at still
> other times he crushed it in wars and pestilence....
> (VII 73,31-36)

The author's broader concept of history can be inferred
only from his statement about the punishment of evil since at
no other point in the tractate is there a clear reference to
the creation or consummation. There are only two brief allu-
sions in the tractate and both in the present text. God is
referred to as the creator (δημιουργός) in a positive sense,
and in speaking of the restoration of nature, the author says
that "the restoration...will take place in a period of time
that has no beginning." This implies that prior to its restor-
ation, nature has both beginning and end, but the restored
nature is timeless and eternal.

The problem is that the three events in the scheme are
general and not necessarily related in time sequence to either

the creation or the restoration. In other words, they are not
specific one-time-only sequential events in the forward move-
ment of an idealized history that begins with creation and
rushes toward a restoration. Instead, they seem to be events
that can be repeated and not necessarily in their stated order.
When the text says "sometimes" (ƩЄNϹOTT) and "other times"
(ƩЄNKЄϹOTT), it implies more than one flood, more than one
fire and more than one occurrence of war and pestilence. Had
the author conceived of one particular fire or flood or pesti-
lence, he would not have used a word implying several occur-
rences of a particular kind of event.

     If this interpretation is correct, a mockup of the author's
scheme cannot be stated with any certainty. All that can be
said is that the events described as God's instrument of pun-
ishment bear a striking resemblance to some of the pivotal mo-
ments that have been discussed in the other texts above. For
example, the flood corresponds to the great flood in Genesis
and the fire recalls the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

     All the examples discussed above have been brief state-
ments by an ancient author involving at the most several para-
graphs. A brief part of the periodizing scheme is simply
stated or alluded to in a few lines. It is not discussed in
detail, nor is reference made by the author to a broader sche-
matized concept of time or history. The broader scheme can
only be inferred from the total document in which the brief
statement appears. The final three examples, however, are more
than brief statements, although they may be just as incomplete.
In the texts that follow, the author has adopted a periodized
scheme as a literary structure for his ideas.

     In *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (*2 Enoch*), a periodized
scheme appears as the literary framework for God's revelation to
Enoch when he enters the tenth heaven (24:1-35:3), the sphere of
the Lord's presence.[32] He discusses two events that have ap-
peared as pivotal moments in the schemes discussed above: the
creation (24:1-32:2) and the flood (33:3-35:3), and between
these two pivotal moments he alludes to the end of time (33:1-2).
It is clear that his concept of time and history is highly sche-
matized since it is based upon the seven days of creation (33:1-2).

Each day of the creation corresponds to a world day of 1000
years. As the world was created in seven days, so it has seven
world days, i.e., 7000 years, until its end. The beginning of
the eighth world day is simultaneously the end of time. The
creation is the beginning of his scheme and the beginning of
time.

        The author describes only one pivotal moment in addition
to the creation and the end of time: the flood. That the flood
serves as a pivotal moment in the author's idealized and highly
schematized view is clear from the fact that he envisions a
pre-flood time and a post-flood time (34:3-35:1). That the
flood is not the only pivotal moment in his concept of time is
suggested by the division of time into seven 1000 year periods.
The flood must be one pivotal moment separating two 1000 year
periods, but we cannot be certain which moment. Thus we can
schematize the view of the text as:

          1000   1000   1000   1000   1000   1000   1000
          years   years   years   years   years   years   years
 Creation-------1-------2-------3-------4-------5-------6-------End-Time

The numbers represent unidentified pivotal moments, one of
which is the flood.

        A periodizing scheme is employed as the literary structure
for *The Assumption of Moses*, ostensibly Moses' final testament
to Joshua prior to the conquest of Palestine. The general out-
line of the book is as follows.

        Introductory   1:1-18
        The Testament   2:1-10:15
        Response of Joshua   11:1-19
        Conclusion   12:1-13

The testament proper is broadly structured into four periods as
follows.

        The Exodus   2:1-19
        1st visitation of divine wrath   3:1-7:10
        2nd visitation of divine wrath   8:1-9:10
        The Messianic kingdom   10:1-15

The author's periodizing proclivities are clearly evident
throughout the document. He "dates" the testament of Moses to
Joshua as taking place 2,500 years "from the creation of the

world" (1:1-3). This event falls between the Exodus and the
conquest of Palestine by Israel. One would have expected the
testament of Moses itself to have been a pivotal moment separ-
ating these two events into individual periods. However, the
author does not divide in this fashion. He incorporates the
Exodus into his first broad division and includes the conquest
of Palestine as a small part of the "62 year" span that separ-
ates his first broad division of 2,500 years from the first
visitation of divine wrath. [33]

According to Charles, who assigns the cryptic language of
the document specific values in terms of Israel's idealized
history, this first period of divine retribution stretches from
the deportation of Israel by Nebuchadnezzar (588-586 B.C.) to
Varus, Governor of Syria who subdued a Jewish rebellion in
4 B.C. The end of this period is the author's own time. In
the second period of divine retribution, the author "leaves
obvious historical allusions to obscure predictions and enig-
matical symbols."[34] The end of the second period comes rather
abruptly with a "hymnic" section describing apocalyptic woes
and the inauguration of the Messianic kingdom. The period from
the death of Moses to the advent of the Messianic kingdom is
"250 times" (11:12-13).[35] This second broad division corre-
sponds rather nicely to his first broad division (from creation
to Moses) of 2,500 years. Thus, the author's scheme of history
would appear as follows.

```
  2,500 years                                      "250 times"
 ┌──────────────┐  ┌────────────┐  ┌───────────────────────────────────────┐
              │ 62 "years"
 Creation-----Moses------------1st visitation----2nd visitation----Messianic
          (Exodus)             of divine wrath   of divine wrath   kingdom
```
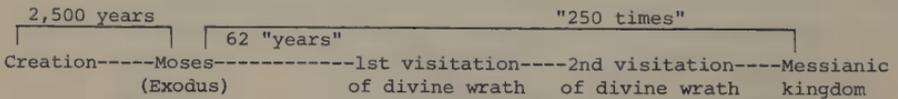
This scheme omits two of the most commonly used *topoi* pre-
viously noted in the periodizing schemes: the flood and the
destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. The author instead concen-
trates on late Jewish history. This does not mean, however,
that the author could *not* have conceived of these events also
as pivotal moments in his first broad division. The very fact
that he also conceives of the period from Moses to the Messianic
kingdom as a single unit and yet can still cite individual

pivotal moments within the single broad division suggests that
the same could have been true for his first broad division. And
it is incredible that he would not have viewed the flood or
Sodom and Gomorrah as examples of divine retribution.[36] Thus,
one can only conclude that the author's scheme is incomplete.
His omission of the flood and Sodom and Gomorrah as pivotal
moments in his periodizing scheme should not be traced to the-
ological necessity, that is, to the fact that he did not con-
ceive of them as distinct pivotal moments in the forward move-
ment of history, but to the fact that the author was primarily
concerned with a later period of Israel's history.

    The most striking parallel to the scheme in the *Apoc. Adam*
is found in *The Book of Jubilees*. R. H. Charles calls *Jub.*
"the most advanced pre-Christian representation of the midrashic
tendency."[37] Like the *Apoc. Adam*, *Jub.* presents the OT tradi-
tion rewritten from the perspective of the author's faith. He
begins with creation and proceeds through the giving of the law
at Sinai. There are six primary cycles of stories: Adam, Noah,
Abraham, Jacob, Joseph and Moses. Since both documents are
midrashim on the OT tradition, the events of the narrative in
the *Apoc. Adam* appear in *Jub.* in the same sequence: the crea-
tion (2:1-3:35), Noah and the flood (4:33-9:15), Noah and the
evil spirits (10:1-17), the destruction of Sodom (16:4-9), the
Eschaton (23:11-13).

    Jub. also affords excellent examples of two ways of
periodizing. The author declares his intention to write a
"world history," that is, a history of the world from creation
to the judgment.[38] However, he does not achieve this goal, and
covers only the period from creation to the giving of the law
at Sinai. (His section on the Messianic kingdom [23:9-31] is
out of order and should have been recorded at least after the
Moses cycle.)[39] The predominant method of periodizing in the
document is the dividing of history from creation to Moses and
the law into Jubilee periods.[40] There are then forty-nine
Jubilees from the days of Adam until the giving of the law
(50:4). Within this broad timeframe, the author does not seem
to regard any of the events as moments of crisis or pivotal
moments as we observed to be the case in previous schemes. Here

all of the stories appear to be of equal weight. For example,
he does not break the forty-nine Jubilees from creation to the
giving of the law into subdivisions at particular events so
that these events serve in effect as major dividing points in
the scheme, unless one assumes that the giving of the law (the
end of the present document) should serve as the end of the
first broad period, and would be followed by another broad
division ending with the judgment and the Messianic kingdom, or
followed by other divisions, the last of which would end with
the judgment and the institution of the Messianic kingdom. The
Jubilee structure is not well balanced throughout the document.
The first half of the book (chaps. 1-23) incorporates Jubilees
1-44 and the last half of the book (chaps. 24-50) incorporates
Jubilees 44-49.

        The other method of periodizing appears in what has been
described above as a parenthetical or explanatory section
(23:9-32). This scheme is more similar to what has been ob-
served in the documents discussed above. Here the author
divides by indefinite periods rather than by Jubilees. For
example, from the creation to the flood,[41] men lived "19
Jubilees," but from the flood to the time of Moses, their age
was less than 19 Jubilees because of their wickedness, and from
the time of Moses until the judgment, men will grow old even
more quickly (23:9-11). The scheme can be mocked-up as follows.

```
              49 Jubilees                           (?)
|                                       |  |                            |
Creation--------Flood--------Moses and the law--------Judgment
```

If the author's stated intention (prologue) to write a complete
history from beginning to end may be taken seriously, then we
must conclude that his scheme is also incomplete.[42]

        The narrative in the *Apoc. Adam* has a structure quite
similar to the last three texts discussed above.[43] It begins
with creation (64,6-[65],3; [65],9-23; [66],12-[67],12) and
concludes with the *Eschaton* ([83],7-[84],3). Between these two
terminal events, it traces the experiences of the men of gnosis
through three pivotal moments of divine judgment drawn from the
Jewish biblical, midrashic and apocalyptic traditions (cf. the

visitations of divine wrath in *The Assumption of Moses*): the
flood ([69],1-[71],4; cf. *Jub.* 5:19-32), conflict ([71],8-
[72],14; cf. *Jub.* 10:1-13) and fire ([74],26-[75],16; cf. *Jub.*
20:5). Like the last three texts discussed, source A of the
Apoc. Adam has employed a periodized scheme as its literary
structure.

C. Characteristic Religious Ideas

1. Theology

        The text reflects the standard gnostic *topos* of the evil
demiurge, who created the world and enslaved man in a mortal
body. He is referred to as god (64,7; [67],29; [70],6,16;
[71],16; [72],14), the god who created (64,17; [65],17-18;
[66],14-15.25-26), god the ruler of aeons and powers (64,20-22),
the lord ([66],14), god the Almighty ([69],3-4; [72],25; [73],
9-10), god of the aeons ([74],26-27) and Sakla ([74],3,7). From
the fact that the author has drawn his material from the bibli-
cal creation and flood traditions,[44] it is clear that the demi-
urge is to be identified with Yahweh, the Jewish god of crea-
tion. He is characterized as an angry god (64,20-22; [70],6-8)
who is full of power and might ([74],15-21). He demands fear
and servility on the part of his subjects ([65],20-21) to whom
he teaches "dead things" ([65],14-15) that produce ignorance
([65],21-23; [66],23-25), desire ([66],31-[67],4) and mortality
([67],10-12).

        There is also the concept of the good God. He is called
the eternal God (64,12-14), the God of truth ([65],9-13) or
simply God, with a reference to knowledge ([83],13-14.19-21)
that distinguishes him from the evil creator. He is described
as eternal and as a God whose works will prevail ([83],25-30).
His primary characteristic is that he is the God of gnosis
(64,12-14; [65],9-13; [67],4-8; [71],8-14).

        There is nothing irregular in these concepts. The motif
of an evil demiurge who created the world and the God of knowl-
edge whose revelation leads to enlightenment is common enough
in gnostic texts. However, an interesting feature does appear
in the way the demiurge is described. In the traditional account

of the flood, god the Almighty is described in neutral terms.
It is only in the gnostic exegetical section that it becomes
evident that he is to be identified with the evil demiurge.[45]
For example, in the traditional section, his destruction of the
world is not the whimsical act of an ignorant demiurge, but is
more understandable as the judgment of a righteous God upon
disobedient man as it is portrayed in Gen 6:5-8. Only in the
exegetical section is the deed placed in a true gnostic per-
spective.

This suggests that the author was working with a text that
he expanded. The tension between the received traditional sec-
tion and the gnostic exegetical section is subtle and would
scarcely have been sensed by anyone who believed that the crea-
tor was truly the demiurge. When he read "παντοκράτωρ" in the
traditional section, it would still equal "demiurge." However,
when one examines the traditional sections closely, it is only
this title for the creator that even faintly suggests a gnostic
tendency. In all other ways, the creator bears a striking re-
semblance to the righteous God of the OT. Far from being de-
meaned, he is described in positive terminology. And even the
title παντοκράτωρ is not exclusively gnostic, but would have
been known to pious Greek-speaking Jews as a title for Yahweh
in the LXX.[46]

2. The Heavenly World

The text makes no overt attempt to organize or structure
its concept of the heavenly world. The language describing the
angels, aeons and powers that make up the hierarchy of heavenly
beings is imprecise and usually indefinite. The text seems to
assume that the reader knows their identity, and therefore no
explanation is required. In general, it may be observed that
it designates those beings of the heavenly world associated
with the God of knowledge by an adjective ascribing a positive
quality: the *great eternal* angels (64,12-16), *great* angels
([69],18-19), *great* aeons and angels ([71],13-14), angels of
the *great* light ([72],11-12), *great* aeons of *imperishability*
([74],1-2), *eternal* angel ([75],8), *great* aeons ([75],21) and

holy angels ([76],2-3). In one instance, angelic beings from
the God of gnosis are designated with specific names: Abrasax,
Sablo, and Gamaliel ([75],22-23), but no clarification is ever
made of their identity as is done by the *Gos. Eg.*[47] The title
"the great light" ([71],9-10; [72],11-12) is mentioned, but not
identified or clarified.[48]

   The beings associated with the demiurge are mentioned with
no descriptive adjective as simply powers (64,18.22; [65],19;
[74],5; [75],27; [83],18-19.25), aeons (64,21; [75],26-31) and
rulers of the powers ([75],27). In three instances, it is
difficult to know whether the beings are to be associated with
the demiurge or the God of knowledge: aeons ([75],11-16), the
powers of the illuminators ([75],14-15) and angels ([83],17).
A further confusion is introduced by the use of "aeon" as both a
being inhabiting the heavenly world and as a place in the
structure of the heavenly world (64,10-12.[30-31]; [74],13).

   The inhabitants of the heavenly world (aeons, powers, an-
gels and rulers) are found in all sections of the narrative
except the traditional section on the flood. As noted above,
this section is free of all gnostic speculation.

3. Creation

   The text has no interest in cosmogony, but assumes the
creation of the world. It briefly describes the creation of
man (64,6-10), but describes in detail Adam's "fall" from an
original androgynous state into separate male and female aeons
(64,6-[65],3; [65],9-23; [66],12-[67],12). The narrative takes
the form of a midrash upon Gen 2:7,21-22 and 4:1.[49] The strik-
ing thing about the account of Adam's "fall" is its view of
creation (64,6-10). It does not describe the creation of the
world as a mistake or as an evil act. In fact, there is some
basis for arguing that it views creation as a positive thing!
The description that it gives of the androgynous aeon Adam-Eve
after creation suggests this (64,6-19). After creation, Adam-
Eve "walked in glory" and still possessed knowledge of the
eternal God. In the created state, Adam-Eve resembled the
"great eternal angels" and exceeded the creator god and his

powers in greatness. It was not until the creator dissolved
the androgynous union that glory and knowledge were lost. Adam
and Eve then experienced carnal desire and were subjected to
servitude to the creator.

        The separation of Adam into his male and female parts (Gen
2:21-23) was really the evil deed of the creator that pushed
man into carnal desire, but in the creation stage of androgy-
nous union, Adam-Eve still possessed the perfection of that
aeon from which (s)he had come (Gen 2:1-17). Such a motif can
scarcely be considered gnostic, since gnostic texts almost
unanimously regard creation as an evil act.[50] In this respect,
Apoc. Adam is much closer to the Jewish traditions of creation
and the garden of Eden paradise, where Adam and Eve walked with
God until their fall (Gen 3:23-24).

4. Anthropology

        The text recognizes only two classes of men in the world,[51]
the men of gnosis[52] and the seed of Noah.[53] The men of gnosis
apparently have a supernatural origin. Unlike Noah and his
sons, who are the natural descendants of Adam and are therefore
the "sons" of the creator, the gnostic community has been "cast
forth from knowledge" ([71],8-14; [73],15-20), and their soul
has come through a "great command of an eternal angel" ([75],
5-8). Possibly they have come from the same source as Adam
himself (64,6-12).[54] In fact, the creator himself is surprised
at their appearance in the world and accuses Noah of "creating
another generation" in order to discredit him ([71],16-27).

        This group of men does not do the will of the creator, but
opposes his power ([74],21-26), converts some of the natural
seed of Ham and Japheth to their ways ([73],25-29; [74],21-26),
and in general is a disturbing element in a world supposedly
controlled by the demiurge. On the other hand, the descendants
of Noah obey the demiurge ([74],7-11.17-21) and oppose the men
of gnosis ([73],30-[74],4).

        It is not until the end of the narrative that these two
groups assume an apocalyptic character in the sense of the
sheep and the goats in Matt 25:31-46 ([83],7-[84],3). Until

this concluding section, the two groups do not have this uni-
versalized dimension. In the conclusion, the opponents of the
men of gnosis represent all the peoples of the world who have
obeyed the demiurge and have not known God "through a knowledge
of the truth." The men of gnosis represent those who have
"known" God and have therefore not performed the works of the
powers, nor obeyed the demiurge, nor been corrupted by desire.
They shall enter a state of eternal blessedness while their
opponents will perish.

5. Soteriology

The text is not concerned with the salvation of the indi-
vidual gnostic, but rather with the salvation of the gnostic
community. It describes the attempts of the demiurge to de-
stroy the gnostic community by three great cosmic catastrophes.[55]
The first cosmic crisis is the great flood of Noah ([67],22-
[69],10), which the exegetical section of the midrash treats as
an attempt to destroy the gnostic community in particular. The
second attempt of the demiurge to destroy the gnostic community
is lost in lacuna ([71],27ff.), but from the statement of de-
liverance that follows ([72],1-12), it is clear that some kind
of threat statement was contained in the lacuna.[56] The third
cosmic crisis that threatens the gnostic community is destruc-
tion by fire, sulphur and asphalt ([75],9-16), paralleling the
destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.[57]

All three attempts to destroy the gnostic community fail
and the community is preserved through divine intervention.[58]
On the first occasion, great angels come on high clouds and
remove the men of gnosis to "the place where the spirit of life
dwells" ([69],18-24). On the second occasion, the God of truth
causes their removal to a land worthy of them and builds for
them a holy dwelling place where they dwell for 600 years in
imperishable knowledge ([71],21-[72],15). On the third occa-
sion, Abrasax, Sablo and Gamaliel, emissaries of the God of
knowledge, come in great clouds of light to remove the gnostic
community to the dwelling place of the great aeons where they
dwell with the holy angels ([75],17-[76],5).

In all three instances, the character of salvation is un-
certain. The first two occurrences of redemption do not appear
to be a removal from the world since the community is still
threatened by the demiurge. On the other hand, the nature of
the third redemption does seem to be of an order different from
the first two. It makes claims not made in the first two oc-
currences of redemption; that is, the community is "with the
holy angels and aeons," and becomes "like them." This sounds
like the community has been translated into a higher state. On
the other hand, in the second redemption it is said that they
are in another land for only a temporary period: they will dwell
in the holy dwelling place prepared for them for 600 years. The
first redemption is too fragmentary to permit a description, but
the "place where the spirit of life dwells" does not have to be
a heavenly state. Indeed, if the demiurge could threaten them
a second time, it still must have been within his frame of ref-
erence and therefore is not a final heavenly dwelling place.

The basis of their salvation is simply the fact that they
possessed γνῶσις. The text does not specify the content of
their knowledge, but refers to it in a general and ambiguous
way, viz., they come from "the γνῶσις of the great aeons and
angels" ([71],10-14; [73],15-20), they dwell in a "knowledge of
imperishability" ([72],5-9), nothing dwells in their hearts
except "the knowledge of God" ([72],12-15; [83],19-23) whom
they know "in a knowledge of the truth" ([83],7-14).

6. Ethics

There is a marked ascetic bias to the text. The gnostic
community is described as being free of "desire" ([73],20-24;
[74],21-[75],4; [83],14-19). They are people of purity, for
nothing "loathsome" dwells in their hearts ([72],12-15). Pre-
cisely what is meant by "desire" and what is described as
"loathsome" is not clarified by the text. Schottroff has de-
scribed "desire" as *more* than mere sexual attraction. In her
opinion, "desire" is the antithesis to γνῶσις and the equiva-
lent of "doing the works of the powers."[59] Unfortunately, the
text never really discursively clarifies the meaning of these
terms, but is consistently ambiguous.

    The account of Adam's fall, however, suggests a framework
in which the terms can be understood. Here it is precisely
sexual desire that Adam experienced for Eve that signals their
ultimate devolution into a mortal state ([66],25-[67],12).
Adam-Eve was created as an androgynous "aeon" (64,6-22). Crea-
tion did not affect his/her perfection in the slightest, but it
was separation into two distinct entities (i.e., loss of an-
drogynous union) that brought about loss of knowledge and glory
(64,20-[65],3; [65],9-16), and it was not until the moment of
Adam's "sweet desire" for Eve that the devolution was complete
and total mortality realized.

    "Sweet desire" can mean nothing other than the desire for
sexual union (Gen 4:1). It is in the light of Adam's sexual
desire for Eve that one must read the statements about desire
in the rest of the narrative. The gnostic community was pure
in heart because they had no desire for sexual union.   The
creation state of androgynous union was not regained through
sexual intercourse (cf. Gen 2:24, Matt 19:5-6, Eph 5:31, 1 Cor
6:16); this was the act that brought ignorance, humiliation
(= loss of glory), and death. It was the "doing of the works
of the powers" and "the will of the creator" (cf. Gen 1:28)
from which the gnostic community had been freed ([74],17-26;
[83],14-19). The gnostic community possessed knowledge and
through knowledge they had overcome sexual desire and maintained
their purity, and through knowledge they would achieve eventual
androgynous reassimilation.

                    D. The Position of the Text in the
                        History of Religions

    The discussion of the characteristic religious ideas in
the text suggests a tentative positioning for the material with
regard to the history of religions, specifically in relation to
Jewish apocalypticism and Gnosticism. The tension between the
traditional sections and the exegetical sections in the narra-
tive is quite striking, once it is recognized. The purpose of
the creator in sending the flood in the traditional sections is
"to destroy all flesh from the earth," as it appears in Gen 6:7,
Jub. 5:4-5 and *2 Enoch* 34:1-3 (cf. also 2 Pet 2:5), rather than

as a device of the demiurge to destroy the gnostic community,
as it appears in the exegetical sections and the *Gos. Eg.*
(III,*2*)61,1-15. Further, the charge given to Noah and his sons
in the traditional section "to reign over the earth in regal
fashion" ([71],1-4) sounds more like the command given to Noah
and his sons in the biblical tradition (Gen 8:17) when con-
trasted to Noah's command to his sons in the exegetical section
"to serve in fear and servility" ([72],18-26). The latter com-
mand sounds more like a requirement of the demiurge than the
former. Finally, the fact that creation does not appear to be
a negative deed puts the "creator" in a much better light, and
is a remarkable concession for a gnostic text to make.

The situation that best explains these phenomena in the
text is the assumption that the text stands near the border be-
tween Jewish apocalypticism and Gnosticism. The use of un-
altered pro-Jewish midrashic material is a "slip" that would
undoubtedly have been corrected by a more sophisticated gnostic
exegete, unless he had a specific reason for leaving it un-
altered so that it would purposely reflect characteristic non-
gnostic ideas. While the author might have made use of char-
acteristic pro-Jewish motifs to increase the effectiveness of
his document as a missionary tract among Jewish groups, it
seems improbable that he would purposely use material that con-
flicted in such a basic way with his own ideas. If we assume
that the author had some esoteric reason for leaving the con-
tradictions, we call the text into question as serious reli-
gious literature.

The imprecision in language, the superficial and general
character of the Gnosticism reflected in the text, the lack of
any evident structure to the religious system and the very
strong Jewish influence indicate that the author was himself a
beginning gnostic, or stood within a tradition that must be
described as an emerging Gnosticism. Thus, the A source is not
part of a catechism for beginning gnostics, as Beltz describes
the *Apoc. Adam*,[60] but might better be described as a book by
a beginner. As a catechism, the text could only serve to con-
fuse the beginner.

Although the text draws heavily upon Jewish midrashic and apocalyptic traditions, there can be little question that it is gnostic. It does not stand on the border between Jewish apocalypticism and Gnosticism, but has already turned the corner into Gnosticism. Yet the emerging nature of that Gnosticism requires that it still use concepts and categories from Jewish traditions for expressing itself. The author (or his tradition) stood that close to his Jewish roots.[61] The text stands on the gnostic side of the shift, and the trajectory of the shift is quite clearly from Jewish apocalypticism into Gnosticism.

This positioning of the text is consistent with the history of ideas. One scarcely sees in a document the precise moment of shift when an individual radically alters his basic understanding of reality, but in the text one generally sees the individual either just before or immediately following the shift. For example, in Romans, Paul writes about his pre-conversion understanding of existence, but he writes from the perspective of Christian faith, that is, on the Christian side of the shift from Judaism to Christianity. While one may with confidence trace the trajectory of Paul's faith from Judaism into Christianity, one must do it from the Christian side of the shift looking backward into Paul's former faith. The A source in the *Apoc. Adam* is that kind of text. It is still near enough to the shift conceptually to reflect its roots quite clearly, but far enough from the shift that there can be little question of its basic orientation and thrust.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

[1]G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (9 vols.; trans. and ed. G. W. Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-1974) 3.556-57, 570-71.

[2]I.e., the holy dwelling place of the gnostics; cf. [72],1-5 and n. 57 below.

[3]See below, p. 243, note to 64,1-2.

[4]See Klaus Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary in Old Testament, Jewish and Early Christian Writings* (trans. David Green; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 137-63.

[5]Compare, for example, the *Gospel of Truth* (I,2) in the Nag Hammadi Library. The document is formally a homily on the meaning of the gospel, but is described as a gospel in the incipit.

[6]See James M. Robinson, "Logoi Sophon," *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971) 74-85.

[7]Cf. Matt 1:1 ("The *book of the genealogy* of Jesus Christ") and Luke 1:1-4 ("Inasmuch as many have undertaken to compile a *narrative* of the things which have been accomplished among us...it seemed good to me also...to write *an orderly account*....."

[8]See above, pp. 29 and 33-34. Cf. also Jean Daniélou, "Histoire des Origines Chretiennes," *RSR* 54 (1966) 292. Daniélou, so far as I can determine, was first to recognize this formal literary feature in the tractate. However, he regards the entire tractate as haggadic exegesis.

[9]See above, p. 43 n. 3.

[10]See above, p. 50 n. 55. In fact, there is a tension between the character of the creator in the paraphrased biblical passages and in the exegetical section. In the paraphrased passages god, the Almighty, does not appear evil, and his destruction of the world is not the act of a wicked demiurge. In the "textual" passages, his destruction of the world and all flesh still has the Genesis character of a righteous god punishing disobedient man but preserving righteous Noah, the one man who found favor in his eyes. It is only in the exegetical sections that god, the Almighty, clearly emerges as the evil demiurge who brought the flood as an attempt to destroy the special race of men who had preserved the knowledge of the eternal God lost by Adam and Eve.

[11]See above, pp. 33-34. The first narrative, the "text,"
is clearly a paraphrase of selections from Genesis 6-10. The
second narrative, the "interpretation," taken apart from the
rest of the document, describes Noah's failure to ensure that
his progeny serve the creator god, and describes the origin of
a new generation of men who don't serve the creator.

[12]Adam-Eve came from an aeon higher than that ruled by the
creator god where they possessed the knowledge of the eternal
God. Source A recognizes two deities that exist in a higher-
lower relationship. The higher aeon from which Adam-Eve came
is the dwelling of the great eternal angels where knowledge of
the eternal God is still possessed. The lower aeon is under
the control of the creator, the ruler of the aeons and the
powers, and his lesser powers. Note that aeon is used in two
different ways: Adam-Eve became two aeons (being) and Adam-Eve
existed in a higher aeon (place).

[13]The knowledge and glory of the eternal aeon brought into
the lower aeon by Adam-Eve is lost when their devolution into
mortality is complete; the knowledge and glory is gone from the
lower aeon except for the great generation.

[14]The first attempt to destroy the special race fails
when they are taken to the place "where the spirit of life
dwells."

[15]For the second time, the special race escapes from the
attempt of the creator god to destroy them. See above, p. 48
n. 46 for a discussion of this episode as the second act of
redemption.

[16]Baltzer, *Covenant Formulary*, 137-63. Compare Pheme
Perkins, "Apocalyptic Schematization," 591-92. Perkins cor-
rectly recognized the similarity in introductions between the
Apoc. Adam and Baltzer's standard testamentary preamble, but
incorrectly on this basis alone regarded the "over-all literary
structure" of the *Apoc. Adam* as a "testament" in Baltzer's
technical literary sense. I would agree that the broad struc-
ture of *Apoc. Adam* as redacted does take the form of a testa-
ment. However, it should be understood that this is so only
because source A provides that basic structure for the docu-
ment; that is, source A is the framework into which have been
redacted other source materials. The "over-all" formal struc-
ture of *Apoc. Adam* is actually more complicated. Into the
testamentary structure of source A have been conflated several
other clearly distinct literary forms (see above, pp. 33-34,
64-69, and below, pp. 97-109, 119-22, 130-32, 202-208). In this
sense, the *Apoc. Adam* is not simply or even primarily a testa-
ment--although its broad framework may take that form. Rather,
it is a highly complicated conflation of several literary forms.

[17]See above, p. 32, for a discussion of the blessing-curse
motif. There is some question that this section should be
called a testamentary blessing-curse. See the discussion below.

[18]Cf. Pheme Perkins, "Apocalyptic Schematization" (591-99) and her unpublished paper for the Nag Hammadi section of SBL, 1970, "Gnostic Periodization of Revelation and the Apocryphon of John." She treats the periodizing in the *Apoc. Adam* as a periodized scheme of revelation rather than an idealized history. The third period in her scheme, the appearance of the illuminator, clearly has the character of a revelation event, but this is not true of the preceding periods. They might be regarded as revelation events only in the broadest sense and then only under the influence of the illuminator's appearance. Perkins has probably correctly exegeted the redactor's theology, but is also misled by the redactor to attribute a character to the earlier periods that simply is not there. See Hans-Martin Schenke ("Das sethianische System nach Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften," *Studia Coptica* [ed. Peter Nagel; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974] 169-70) who, for different reasons, regards the scheme in *Apoc. Adam* as "world periods." The apocalyptic concept of an idealized world history occurring in periods or epochs may be due to the influence of Hesiod. See Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (2 vols.; trans. John Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974) 1.181-96.

[19]For example, compare the vision of black and bright waters that symbolize the world's history from creation to the advent of the Messiah (*2 Apoc. Bar.* 56:1-69:5). Also, R. H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913) 2.512-17.

[20]For example, the period of bondage in Egypt. Certainly it would have included the destruction of Jerusalem. These events, and others, would be considered part of the larger context that gave meaning to the prophet's present proclamation.

[21]Cf. the periodizing scheme in Matt 11:12-14 = Luke 16:16. The creation as a pivotal moment is also omitted but surely assumed in the scheme. It must have originally appeared as follows.

    [Creation]---The advent of ---John---Now (the appearance---[The end]
                law & prophets   of Jesus)

Although both the beginning and ending of the scheme are absent, they are essential to give the rest of the scheme meaning.

[22]

2 Pet 2:1-3 = Jude 4	2 Pet 2:12 = Jude 10
2 Pet 2:4 = Jude 6	2 Pet 2:15 = Jude 11
2 Pet 2:6 = Jude 7	2 Pet 2:17 = Jude 12-13
2 Pet 2:10-11 = Jude 8-9	2 Pet 3:2-3 = Jude 17-18

[23]Cf. Gen 6:1-4; *2 Enoch* 29:4-5 (Charles, *APOT*, 2.447); *A Valentinian Exposition* (XI,2)38,34-39.

[24]See Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (trans. H. C. Kee; Nashville/New York: Abingdon, 1975) 429-34, and W. Marxsen, *Introduction to the New Testament* (trans. G. Buswell; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968) 241.

[25]The arguments for the literary dependence of 2 Peter upon Jude do not rule out the use by both documents of a common *Vorlage*. In fact, those features that have been argued as proof for literary dependence seem better suited to the argument for a common *Vorlage*. For example, there is very little *exact* verbal agreement between Jude and 2 Peter, but there is *some* verbal agreement and considerable agreement in concepts expressed by synonyms. In my judgment, there is too little verbal agreement to argue on this basis alone for literary dependence, but the agreement is too close for there to have been no relationship between the two documents. In short, the documents reflect the kind of product one would expect if both authors had used a common *Vorlage*.

If one could argue for a common *Vorlage* to explain both similarities and differences in the two documents, then on literary grounds one must judge Jude to be closer to the *Vorlage* than 2 Peter. The construction of 2 Peter is more stylized than Jude and represents a slight refining of the material. For example, in the illustrations (angels that sinned, Exodus, Sodom and Gomorrah), Jude gives only the negative lesson (except for the Exodus). In each illustration, he emphasizes only God's judgment: God keeps the angels that sinned chained until the judgment, and he destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah for immoral acts. In the Exodus example, he does cite both God's saving action and judgment. On the other hand, 2 Peter draws out *both* the positive and negative lessons in the illustration except for the sin of the angels, where it was not possible. The sin of the angels, that appears in Jude after the Exodus, 2 Peter has properly placed first.

[26](III,*2*)63,4-8 = (IV,*2*)74,17-22. Cf. (III,*2*)60,25-61,15 = (IV,*2*)72,7-27.

[27](III,*2*)63,4ff.

[28]See for example (III,*2*)58,23-59,1 and the mythological section at the beginning of the tractate.

[29]Possibly the appearance of the 400 guards and the time of truth and justice are simultaneous events.

[30]He also mentions Sodom, but not in connection with a periodizing statement.

[31]Translation by James Brashler, Peter Dirkse and Douglas Parrott in *The Nag Hammadi Library* (304). The same statement with some modification appears in the Latin *Asclepius* 26 and in a Greek fragment of *Asclepius* appearing in Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 7.18.3-4.

[32]Citations are from Charles, *APOT*, 2, version A.

[33]The 62-year period is broken down as follows: Conquest, 5 years; Period of Judges, 18 years; Period of Apostasy, 19 years; Period of Faithfulness, 20 years. Cf. Charles (*APOT*, 2.416) for the significance of the "years" in terms of Israel's idealized history.

[34]Charles, *APOT*, 2.416-19.

[35]Charles (ibid., 423) regards this time period as 250 "year weeks," or 1,750 years, thus making a total time period from creation to consummation of 4,250 years.

[36]Cf., for example, *Jub.* 20:5 where the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah appears as an example of God's judgment but was not used as a pivotal moment in the author's periodized scheme.

[37]Charles, *APOT*, 2.1.

[38]Prolog, 1:26. Cf. also 50:5 where the text implies that more Jubilees are to follow the giving of the law.

[39]The section 23:9-32 has a parenthetical and explanatory character, and may have been a later addition.

[40]A Jubilee period is 49 years or seven weeks of years; see Leviticus 25.

[41]At two other points in the document the flood appears as a turning point: 5:19 and 6:18.

[42]The destruction of Sodom (*Jub.* 20:5) is recognized by the author as an example of God's judgment, but he does not include it as a pivotal moment along with the flood as other texts previously discussed have done.

[43]Compare also the Sethian tradition about the world being destroyed once by flood and once by fire: Jos. *Ant.* 1.70; *Adam and Eve* 49:3.

[44]See above, pp. 21-22, 33-34. Also, one should compare the role of Sammaël in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (Eugène Tisserant, *Ascension d'Isaie* [Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1909] 20-25).

[45]Cf. pp. 33-34 and n. 10 above.

[46]It is used frequently in the Septuagint. See Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, eds., *A Concordance to the Septuagint* (2 vols.; Graz: Akademischer Druck-V, 1954) 2.1053-54.

[47]See below, pp. 256-57.

[48]The title is known in the *Gos. Eg.* (III,2)51,14-22 and (IV,2)63,8-17 where the four great lights are mentioned: Harmozel, Oroiael, Davithe, Eleleth. The title is also used in the singular as the source of the four great lights (III,2)43, 2-3.13; 49,1-2; 50,12-13; 51,3.14-17; 63,21. Cf. 56,5-6; (IV,2)52,21; 62,[27-28]; 63,10-11; 75,10.

[49]See above, pp. 21-22.

[50]However, cf. Hipp. *Ref*. 7.21.1-27.12 where Basilides apparently describes the creation in a neutral way.

[51]Schottroff, "Animae naturalitur salvandae," 69 n. 10. The 400,000 men from the seed of Ham and Japheth who have come under the protection of the gnostic community are full members of the community, and do not represent a separate class ([73],13-20.25-29; [74],7-11.21-26).   Cf. Epiph. *Pan*. 39.1-5 where there are only two races of men: the descendants of Seth and Cain.   Cf. Beltz (195) who sees three groups of men in the text.

[52]The term is used by Schottroff ("Animae naturalitur salvandae," 69) but is actually a modern convention.   In the text, the gnostic community is designated by various ambiguous titles: those men ([69],21-22; [71],10-11.24; [72],2; [74], 21-22; [75],11.23-24; [83],11-12), the men ([76],4), the great men ([74],5-6; [75],2), another generation ([71],19), those cast forth from knowledge ([71],11-13), and those men from the great eternal knowledge ([73],18-20).

[53]The opponents of the men of knowledge are generally Noah, his sons and their descendants ([70],8-12; [71],1-4.16-27; [72],15-17; [73],25-29; [74],17-21), and in one instance, the rulers of the aeons ([73],30-[74],4).

[54]The text that might have clarified their origin is in lacuna.   Compare the suggested reconstruction at [71],20-[72],1.

[55]See above, p. 48 n. 46.

[56]There are only two other statements in the entire narrative parallel in intent to the statement ([72],1-12) following the lacuna at [71],27ff.   Both are deliverance statements ([69],18-24; [75],17-27) that are immediately preceded by threat statements.   This argues that the deliverance statement at [72],1-12 was probably preceded by a threat statement. Compare *Jub*. 10:1-13 where a second threat also comes upon Noah after the flood.   This tradition is lacking in the biblical material.

[57]In the biblical tradition, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is viewed as the judgment of God upon a wicked city (cf. Gen 19:20,24-25), but in gnostic texts, the symbol has been changed.   Sodom-Gomorrah is the home of the Great Seth (*Gos. Eg.* [III,*2*]60,1-18 = [IV,*2*]71,18-30; cf. [III,*2*]56,4-13), and its destruction is interpreted as an unjust act of the demiurge (*Paraph. Shem* [VII,*1*]28,34-29,29).   It is probable that the "land worthy of" the gnostics and their "holy dwelling place" at [71],21-[72],15 should be identified as Sodom and Gomorrah.

[58]For a parallel, see the preservation of the Sethian community: Epiph. *Pan*. 39.2.6 (Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.294).   See below, p. 225 n. 104.

[59]Schottroff, "Animae naturalitur salvandae," 69-70.

[60]Cf. Beltz, "Bemerkungen zur Adamapokalypse," 161-63.

[61]This is not a temporal nearness, but a conceptual near-
ness. The author or his tradition had not yet learned to con-
ceptualize the new theology without heavy reliance on the older
Jewish stratum.

THE CHARACTER OF THE B SOURCE

Source B has been only partially preserved by the redactor. That the text was once considerably longer is shown by the fact that the first two appearances of the illuminator, required by the stated third appearance, are not preserved by the text. The threats against the men of gnosis in the A source and the episodes in which they are preserved are not, technically speaking, appearances of the illuminator. Therefore, they do not qualify in a narrow sense as appearance one and appearance two. Furthermore, there are already three separate episodes of redemption in the text prior to the third appearance of the illuminator. Two segments are all that remain of source B: the revelation of the three men and the episode of the illuminator.[1] The literary character and theology of these two segments will be discussed separately.

A. The Revelation of the Three Men
([65],24-[66],12; [67],12-21)

1. Form

Böhlig has described this scene as a revelatory vision that came to Adam while he was asleep. While this characterization of the narrative was rejected above as an inaccurate description for the narrative, it must be admitted that there is some basis for understanding it as a dream vision. It seems clear that this is the way the redactor intended it to be understood. The metaphorical language about sleep does create an illusion of physical sleep, and revelation through dreams is a common *topos* in ancient literature. Faced with the problem of Adam's loss of knowledge in source A, the redactor simply utilized the revelation story as a dream vision to have Adam regain his lost knowledge. If one assumed that Adam was dreaming, there would have been no loss of continuity between the two sources, since dreams function independently of their literary setting in the "real world." Understanding the passage as a

97

dream enables the reader to make the leap from the context of
the creator to the situation of the three men with no difficulty.

However, as was argued above, there is simply no indication
in the content of the narrative to suggest that Adam was actually
physically asleep and dreaming. The language in the text allud-
ing to sleep is more appropriately understood as metaphorical
language describing Adam's state of being-in-the-world.   In
this connection, it was suggested that the closest parallels to
[65],24-[66],12 and [67],12-21 were to be found in the gnostic
narrative of the "call from without" or gnostic revelation
stories.[2]

The gnostic revelation story in the *Apoc. Adam* follows the
model of a dream vision, although without being totally incor-
porated into this genre; that is, it never clearly declares
Adam to be asleep, although it is certainly suggested by the
metaphorical language of the narrative. This is not unusual.
As will be seen below, it is possible for the revelation story
to take on the characteristics of another genre and in some
cases to be totally incorporated into another genre.[3]

The narrative in *Apoc. Adam* has a fourfold structure.

1. A statement of ignorance: [65],24-25

    Now I was sleeping in the thought of my heart

2. The appearance of the bearers of revelation:
    [65],25-33

    And I saw three men before me whose figure I was
    unable to recognize since they were not from the
    powers of the god who had created me. They were
    superior to the powers in their glory.

3. The revelation: [65],33-[66],8

    Those men spoke saying to me, "Arise, Adam, from
    the sleep of death, and hear about the eon and
    the seed of that man to whom life has come, he
    who came from you and Eve, your wife.

4. The enlightenment: [66],9-12; [67],12-14

    Then, after I had listened to these words from
    those great men who were standing before me, I
    knew that I was under the authority of death.[4]

The structure and content of this narrative in the *Apoc.
Adam* is related to a small group of what I have called gnostic
revelation stories. The genre seems to be endemic to gnostic

literature since it appears only in documents described as
gnostic. All the elements making up the structure of the rev-
elation story in *Apoc. Adam* appear in these narratives although
not always in the same order, nor do all the stories have all
the units identified in the structure of the story in the *Apoc.
Adam*. In some cases, one of the units found in the *Apoc. Adam*
story is omitted, although implied elsewhere in the revelation
story.

Poimandres (CH 1,27-29) [5]

1. Appearance of the revealer:

    And I began to proclaim to men the beauty of
    piety and knowledge:

2. Statement of ignorance:

    You peoples, earth-born men, who have given
    yourselves up to drunkenness and sleep and to
    ignorance of god,

3. The revelation:

    sober up, stop being drunk, bewitched by un-
    reasoning sleep....Why, earth-born men, have
    you given yourselves up to death, when you have
    power to share in immortality?
    Repent, you who have travelled in company with
    error and have made common cause with ignorance.
    Separate yourselves from the dark light, for-
    sake corruption and partake of immortality.

4. The enlightenment:

    Some of them made fun (of me) and others went
    away...but the others threw themselves at my
    feet and begged to be instructed. But I made
    them stand up and become a guide of the (human)
    race, and taught them how and in what way they
    will be saved. I sowed in them the words of
    wisdom, and they were nourished by ambrosial
    water.

Two differences between the two narratives are immediately
obvious: in the structure and in the number of revealers. In
Apoc. Adam, three men bring the revelation, but in Poimandres
there is only one revealer. The structure of the Poimandres
segment is also slightly different, although all elements noted
in the *Apoc. Adam* are present. Poimandres begins with the ap-
pearance of the revealer rather than with the statement of ig-
norance. The earthly ignorant condition of the "earth-bound"

men in Poimandres is described as "drunkenness," "sleep" and
"death."[6] This parallels the *Apoc. Adam* where Adam is called
on to arise from the "sleep of death," and then once enligh-
tened knew himself to be under the authority of death. The
desire of the earth-bound men to be instructed further by
Hermes can be attributed to the fact that they realized the
words of Hermes to be true in the same way Adam was enlightened
and knew himself to be under the authority of death. The rev-
elation in Poimandres is a series of injunctions to the
audience.

The statement of ignorance appears as a separate unit, but
has also been incorporated into the statement of the revealer.
In fact, the statement of ignorance seems to be extraneous to
the story since what follows in the revelation makes the same
point with almost the same language.

Statement of ignorance	Revelation
῏Ω λαοί, <u>ἄνδρες γηγενεῖς</u> οἳ μέθῃ καὶ ὕπνῳ <u>ἑαυτούς</u> <u>ἐκδεδωκότες</u>	τί <u>ἑαυτούς, ὦ ἄνδρες γηγενεῖς</u> εἰς θάνατον <u>ἐκδεδώκατε</u>
	ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν τῆς ἀθανασίας μεταλαβεῖν; μετανοήσατε, οἱ συνοδεύσαντες τῇ πλάνῃ καὶ συγκοινωνήσαντες
καὶ <u>τῇ ἀγνωσίᾳ</u> τοῦ θεοῦ	<u>τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ</u>

Had the statement of ignorance been omitted as a separate unit,
there would have been no loss to the revelation story. This is
apparently the reason for the absence of this unit in the *Tri-
morphic Protennoia*; *Zostrianos*; Left *Ginza* 1,2; Right *Ginza*
60,2 and the Mandaean *Book of John* (see below for a discussion
of these references). It was recognized as an unnecessary
duplication. The statement of ignorance is usually caught up
again in the statement of revelation as that from which the
audience is to arise, awaken, or sober up. Compare the state-
ment of ignorance in *Apoc. Adam*, where Adam announces that he
was "asleep in the thought of his heart," to the statement of
revelation, where three men call on Adam to "arise from the
sleep of death." In the Hymn of the Pearl and Theodore bar
Konai (see below), the statement of ignorance is picked up
again in the revelation statement almost verbatim. In the

Apocryphon of John, the statement of ignorance is picked up
again in the revelation statement, but in modified and elabora-
ted form.

The Hymn of the Pearl (Acts of Thomas 108-113)[7]

    1. Statement of ignorance: (109,32-35)

       They (the Egyptians) dealt with me treacherously,
       and gave me their food to eat.
       I forgot that I was a son of kings, and I served
       their king; and I forgot the pearl, for which my
       parents had sent me and because of the burden of
       their oppressions I lay in a deep sleep.

    2. Appearance of the revealer: (110,36-40; 111,49-52)

       But all these things that befell me my parents
       perceived, and were grieved for me; and a proclama-
       tion was made in our kingdom, that everyone should
       come to our gate, kings and princes of Parthia,
       and all the nobles of the East. And they wrote a
       plan on my behalf that I might not be left in
       Egypt; and they wrote me a letter and every noble
       signed his name to it....It flew in the likeness
       of an eagle, the king of all birds; it flew and
       alighted beside me, and became all speech.

    3. The revelation: (110,41-48)

       From thy Father, the king of kings, and thy
       mother the mistress of the East, and from thy
       brother, our second (in authority), to thee our
       son, who art in Egypt, greetings! Up and arise
       from thy sleep, and listen to the words of our
       letter! Call to mind that thou art a son of
       kings! See the slavery, whom thou servest!
       Remember the pearl, for which thou wast sent to
       Egypt! Think of thy robe, and remember thy
       splendid toga, which thou shalt wear and (with
       which) thou shalt be adorned, when thy name hath
       been read out in the list of the valiant.

    4. The enlightenment: (111,53-57)

       At its voice and the sound of its rustling, I
       started and arose from my sleep. I took it up
       and kissed it, and I began (and) read it; and
       according to what was traced on my heart were the
       words of my letter written. I remembered that I
       was a son of royal parents, and my noble birth
       asserted its nature. I remembered the pearl for
       which I had been sent to Egypt.

    In the order that they appear in the text, units two and
three are reversed: the reciting of the letter comes before its
delivery. However, in the development of the action in the

revelation story and the effect of the letter on the recipient,
the revelation of the contents of the letter logically follows
the appearance of the letter. Hence, the above arrangement is
on the basis of the logical development of the story. Sleep is
again a description of being-in-the-world from which the king's
son must be "awakened." From the standpoint of the instrument
of revelation, there is only one revealer, the personified
letter, but from the standpoint of the initiators of revelation,
there are three revealers, the father, the mother and the
brother. The revelation consists of a series of injunctions to
the audience. [8]

Theodore bar Konai [9]

    1. The appearance of the revealer:

        Jesus the Luminous approached Adam the innocent

    2. The statement of ignorance:

        and woke him from the sleep of death in order that
        he might be delivered from the two great Spirits.
        And just as a man who is righteous and finds a man
        possessed of a mighty demon and quiets him by his
        act, like this was also Adam because that beloved
        One found him sunk in the great sleep.

    3. The revelation:

        And he woke him and took hold of him and shook
        him; and he drove away from him the seductive
        demon, and bound away from him the great female
        Archon.

    4. The enlightenment:

        Then Adam examined himself and recognized what he
        was.

The text has reversed the order of the first two units as it
appears in the *Apoc. Adam*. The description of Adam's being-in-
the-world is characterized as a "sleep of death," as we have it
in the *Apoc. Adam*. The revelation story is modelled on an
exorcism story where the demon is driven from Adam at the touch
of the miracle worker's hands. [10] No words of revelation are
spoken but at the driving out of the demons Adam "examines
himself." The sleep of death and ignorance are caused by Adam
being possessed by the seductive demon and the female archon.
At their exorcism, Adam recognized "what he was," i.e., where he
had come from, a standard gnostic *topos*. [11]

Trimorphic Protennoia ([XIII,*1*]41,20-36)[12]

1. Statement of ignorance: (lacking)

2. The appearance of the revealer: (41,20-24)

   I am the first one who descended on account of my
   portion which is left behind, that is, the Spirit
   that (now) dwells in the Soul, but which origi-
   nated from the Water of Life.

3. The revelation: (41,24-28)

   And out of the immersion of the mysteries I spoke,
   I together with the Archons and Authorities. For
   I went down below their language and I spoke my
   mysteries to my own--a hidden mystery--

4. The enlightenment: (41,28-36)

   and the bonds and eternal oblivion were nullified.
   And I bore fruit in them, that is, the Thought of
   the unchanging Aeon, and my house, and their
   [Father]. And I went down [to those who were mine]
   from the first and I [reached them and broke] the
   first strand that [enslaved them. Then] everyone
   [within] me shone....

   The statement of ignorance is missing from the story as an
individual part of the structure. However, it is implied in
the statements of revelation and enlightenment. That the re-
vealer was required to "speak mysteries" implies an unenlightened
or uninformed state on the part of the audience. Further, that
from which he freed them is described as ⊤Bⲩⲉ (sleep, forgetful-
ness), as in the *Apoc. Adam*, Adam is described as awakening from
the "sleep of death" and sleeping in the thought of his heart.
There is only one revealer.

Zostrianos ([VIII,*1*]130,4-132,5)

1. Statement of ignorance: (lacking)

2. Appearance of the revealer: (130,4-12)

   I came down to the perceptible world, and put on
   my temple. Because it was ignorant, I strengthened
   it and went about preaching the truth to all of
   them. Neither the angelic beings of the world,
   nor the rulers saw me,

3. The enlightenment: (130,12-15)

   for I destroyed a multitude of [disgraces] which
   brought me near death. But an erring multitude
   I awakened, saying,

   4.   The revelation: (130,16-132,5)
         "Know those who are alive and the holy seed of
         Seth...."[13]

The statement of ignorance although absent as a separate unit
is implied in the statement of enlightenment, i.e., the "awak-
ening" of the erring multitude. Further, the ignorance of the
"temple" used by the revealer seems to be characteristic of the
perceptible world into which the revealer comes, and therefore
of the erring multitude. The order of the last two units is
reversed in comparison to the order in the *Apoc. Adam.* There
is only one revealer. The revelation consists of a series of
injunctions. The statement of enlightenment is only briefly
stated with no elaboration, just as it appears in Theodore bar
Konai.

Left *Ginza* 1,2[14]

   1.   Statement of ignorance: (lacking)
   2.   Appearance of the revealer:

              Einmal sprach die Seele mit dem Geist und dem
         stinkenden Körper doch der Geist und der stinkende
         Körper gaben ihr keine Antwort. Während die Seele
         dasteht und mit dem Geist und dem stinkenden
         Körper spricht kam der Erlöser heran. Heran kam
         der Erlöser, es langte an der Bote. Er kam heran,
         trat an den Pfühl Adams, an dem Pfühl Adams trat er

   3.   The revelation:

         und weckte ihn aus dem Schlafe. Er sprach zu ihm:
         "Steh auf, steh auf Adam, leg ab deinen stinkenden
         Körper, den Lehmrock, in dem du weiltest. Leg ab
         den körperlichen Rock, den verwesenden Körper, in
         dem du weiltest. Leg ab das körperliche Gewand, in
         dem du weiltest, und schlag es den Sieben und den
         Zwölf, den Männern, die es geschaffen, um den Kopf.
         Lass den Körper sogleich in der Welt zurück, denn
         deine Zeit ist gekommen, dein Mass ist voll, aus
         dieser Welt zu scheiden. Das Leben hat mich zu
         dir gesandt, denn es verlangt nach dir. Dein Gang
         sei nach dem Orte des Lebens, nach dem Orte, an
         dem du früher weiltest, nach der Wohnung, in der
         dein Vater sitzet.

   4.   The enlightenment:

         Als Adam dies hörte, jammerte er über sich und
         weinte. Er jammerte und weinte, und in seinem Auge
         löste sich eine Träne. Adam öffnete den Mund und
         sprach zu dem Boten, der zu ihm gekommen war:

> "Vater!   Wenn ich mit dir komme, wer wird in dieser
> so weiten Tibil Hüter sein? Wer wird diesem meinem
> Weibe Hawwā Gesellschaft leisten? Wer wird diesen
> Pflanzen, die ich gepflanzet, in den Zeitaltern
> eine Stütze sein? Wer wird ihnen eine Stütze sein?
> Wer wird in diesem Hause wohnen, in dem ich ge-
> wohnet; wer soll darin...sein? Wenn die Palme
> Früchte trägt, wenn der Christdorn Blüten trägt,
> wer wird ihr Hüter sein? Wenn der Euphrat und der
> Tigris herankommen, wer soll...mit der Hand er-
> greifen und das Wasser zu den Pflanzen leiten?
> Wenn die Gebärerin gebieret, wer soll ihnen bei-
> stehen? Wer soll die Rinder vor den Pflug spannen
> und wer den Samen in die Erde leiten? Wer soll die
> Klapper in die Hand nehmen und den Schafen nach
> ihrer Hürde und den Antilopen nach ihrer Herde zu-
> klappern? Wer soll die Waisen zusammenhalten, wer
> die Taschen der Witwe füllen? Wer soll den Nackten
> kleiden und ihm ein Gewand um den Nacken legen?
> Wer soll den Gefangenen auslösen, wer im Dorfe den
> Streit schlichten?

The statement of ignorance is absent as a separate unit in the
structure of the story, but present in the motif of sleep from
which Adam must be awakened. See Jonas' discussion of the pas-
sage[15] where he points out that the message of awakening coin-
cides with the message of death. It is striking that the en-
lightenment segment parallels quite closely the enlightenment
segment in *Apoc. Adam*. In the *Ginza*, Adam is keenly aware of
his imminent death and clings desperately to the world as he
argues with the revealer. In *Apoc. Adam*, Adam realizes, when
he hears the words of revelation, that he has "come under the
authority of death" ([66],9-12; [67],12-14). Note that the
revelation is a series of injunctions, and there is only one
revealer.

Right *Ginza* 60,2[16]

1. Statement of ignorance: (lacking)
2. Appearance of the revealer:
   Ein Uthra ruft von aussen her
      und belehrt Adam, den Mann.
3. The revelation:
   Er spricht zu Adam:
   "Schlummere nicht und schlafe nicht
      und vergiss nicht, was dein Herr dir aufgetragen.
   Sei nicht ein Sohn des (irdischen) Hauses
      und werde nicht ein Frevler in der Tibil genannt.

Liebe nicht wohlreichende Kränze
    und finde kein Gefallen an einem lieblichen Weibe.
Liebe nicht Wohlgerüche
    und vernachlässige nicht das Gebet der Nacht.
Liebe nicht täuschende Schatten,
    nicht den Verkehr mit lieblichen Frauen.
Liebe nicht die Lust,
    noch lügnerische Schattenbilder.
Trinke nicht und sei nicht unmässig
    und vergiss nicht deinen Herrn aus dem Sinne.
Bei deinem Eintritt und deinem Austritt
    siehe zu, dass du deinen Herrn nicht vergessest.
Bei deinem Gehen und deinem Kommen
    siehe zu, dass du deinen Herrn nicht vergessest.
Bei deinem Sitzen und deinem Stehen
    siehe zu, dass du deinen Herrn nicht vergessest.
Bei deinem Ruhen und deinem Liegen
    siehe zu, dass du deinen Herrn nicht vergessest.
Sage nicht, ich bin ein erstgeborener Sohn,
    der ich, was ich auch tun mag, ohne Torheit bleibe.
Adam, siehe die Welt an,
    die ganz ein Ding ohne Wesen ist.
Ein Ding ohne Wesen ist sie,
    auf die du kein Vertrauen haben darfst.
Aufgerichtet sitzt die Wage da,
    und von tausend wählt sie einen aus.
Einen wählt sie von tausend aus,
    und zwei wählt sie aus zehntausend.
Die duftenden Kränze vergehen,
    und Frauenschönheit wird, als ob sie nie dagewesen.
Die Wohlgerüche vergehen,
    und die Lust der Nacht hört auf.
Alle Werke vergehen,
    nehmen ein Ende und werden, als ob sie nie dagewesen.

4. The enlightenment:

Als Adam dies hörte,
    jammerte er und weinte über sich selbst.
Er sprach zum Uthra des Lebens
    folgendermassen:
"Wenn ihr wisset, dass dem so ist,
    warum habt ihr mich von meinem Orte weg in die
    Gefangenschaft gebracht und in den stinkenden
    Körper geworfen?
In den stinkenden Körper habt ihr mich geworfen,
    in das verzehrende Feuer mich geschleudert.
Ihr habt mich in das verzehrende Feuer geschleudert,
    dass täglich der Gestank in die Höhe steigt.

The statement of ignorance is missing as a separate unit in the
story, but is implied in the Uthra's call to Adam to awaken and
to remember his father's commission. It is also implied in
Adam's awakening where he becomes aware for the first time of
his condition in the world. Sleep is again a characteristic of

Adam's being-in-the-world. There is only one revealer, and the
revelation is a series of injunctions.

The Mandaean *Book of John* 13[17]

     1.   Statement of ignorance: (lacking)

     2.   Appearance of the revealer:

> Aus Feuer und Wasser wurde der eine Himmel
> ausgespannt. Aus Feuer und Wasser haben sie die
> Erde auf dem Amboss gedichtet. Aus Feuer und
> Wasser sind Früchte, Trauben und Bäume entstanden.
> Aus Feuer und Wasser wurde der körperliche Adam
> gebildet. Sie schufen den Boten und schickten
> ihn zum Haupte der Generationen.

     3.   The revelation:

> Er rief mit himmlischer Stimme in die Unruhe der
> Welten hinein.

     4.   The enlightenment:

> Auf den Ruf des Boten erwachte Adam, der dalag.
> Adam, der dalag, erwachte und ging dem Boten ent-
> gegen: "Komm in Frieden, du Bote, Gesandter des
> Lebens, der vom Hause meines Vaters gekommen ist.
> Wie ist doch das teure, schöne Leben an seinem
> Orte fest gepflanzt! Wie ist mir aber (hier) ein
> Sessel aufgestellt und sitzt meine finstere Gestalt
> in Klage da!" Da erwiderte der Bote und sprach
> zum körperlichen Adam: "Schön hat man deinen Thron
> aufgerichtet, Adam, und deine Gestalt sitzt hier
> in Klage da? Alle gedachten deiner zum Guten und
> schufen mich und sandten mich zu dir. Ich bin
> gekommen und will dich belehren, Adam, und dich
> aus dieser Welt erlösen. Horche und höre und lass
> dich belehren und steig siegreich zum Lichtort
> empor.
>
>   Adam hörte und wurde gläubig,--Heil dem, der
> nach dir hört und gläubig ist. Adam nahm Kuštā
> an,--Heil dem, der nach dir Kuštā annimmt. Adam
> schaute voller Hoffnung hin und stieg empor,--Heil
> dem, der nach dir emporsteigt.
>
>   Horchet und höret und lasset euch belehren,
> ihr Vollkommenen, und steiget empor zum Orte des
> Lichtes.
>
>   Und gepriesen sei das Leben.

The statement of ignorance is missing as a separate unit in the
structure of the story, but is implied in Adam's awakening, and
in the statement of the revealer that he will "instruct" Adam.
There is only one revealer. The call to awaken is briefly
stated in the third position and in this respect parallels

Apoc. Adam, *Ap. John* (II), Mandaean *Book of John*, *Trim. Prot.*
and Theodor bar Konai, but the statement of revelation is more
developed in the enlightenment segment in the fourth position
where the content of revelation is spelled out. Here the rev-
elation contains a short series of injunctions. The conclusion
to the story seems to be a conclusion for the readers of the
material to make the same response to the revelation as Adam.

The *Apocryphon of John* ([II,*1*]30,33-31,26)[18]

1. Statement of ignorance: (lacking)

2. Appearance of the revealer: (30,33-31,4)

    Still for a third time I went--I am the light which
    exists in the light, I am the remembrance of the
    Pronoia--that I might enter into the middle of
    darkness and the inside of Hades. And I filled my
    face with the light of the completion of their aeon.
    And I entered into the middle of their prison which
    is the prison of the body.

3. The revelation: (31,4-6)

    And I said, "He who hears, let him get up from the
    deep sleep."

4. The enlightenment: (31,6-26)

    And he wept and shed tears. Bitter tears he wiped
    from himself and he said "Who is it that calls my
    name, and from where has this hope come to me,
    while I am in the chains of the prison?" And I
    said, "I am the Pronoia of the pure light; I am
    the thinking of the virginal Spirit, he who raised
    you up to the honored place. Arise and remember
    that it is you who hearkened, and follow your root,
    which is I, the merciful one, and guard yourself
    against the angels of poverty and the demons of
    chaos and all those who ensnare you, and beware of
    the deep sleep and the enclosure of the inside of
    Hades."
         And I raised him up and sealed him in the
    light of the water with five seals, in order that
    death might not have power over him from this time
    on.

As is the case in a majority of the examples of the reve-
lation story cited above, the statement of ignorance is lacking
as a separate segment. However, the motif of ignorance is
present having been incorporated into the segment on the appear-
ance of the revealer. This is clear from the allusions to the

"darkness" and the "prison of the body." The revelation seg-
ment is a bare call to awaken out of sleep, while the revela-
tion proper is incorporated into the enlightenment segment.
This procedure is also observed in the *Johannesbuch*. Sleep is
again a description of man's being-in-the-world rather than
actual physical sleep. The revelation consists of a series of
injunctions.

In structure and content, the *Apoc. Adam* is closely related
to the structure of this collection of stories. Even the lan-
guage and metaphors of the stories are similar. Sleep is a
common feature used to describe man's being-in-the-world as one
of delusion or ignorance. In order to dispel the delusion of
the world and awaken man from the sleep of death, a revealer
comes into the world.[19] He calls for man to arise, awaken and
hear. The actual revelation varies. Sometimes it is no more
than the simple call to awaken, at other times it is a quite
lengthy revelation that usually takes the form of a series of
commands. Man responds in various ways. He arises from sleep,
begs to be instructed further, cries and laments his fate, or
is shocked at the condemnation of death under which he stands.
The story in the *Apoc. Adam* is such a story and is best under-
stood in this way.

2. Theology

On the basis of the preceding discussion, it can be seen
that the ideas in this revelation story are mostly quite gen-
eral and resist any attempt to associate them with any particu-
lar gnostic group. Sleep is a common motif in gnostic texts
that describes man's being-in-the-world as one of ignorance or
delusion, and appears to be a common *topos* of the revelation
story. Likewise, in the *Apoc. Adam*, the qualifiers used to
describe the kind of sleep as "sleep of my heart" and "sleep of
death" add a different dimension to the word "sleep." It goes
beyond the normal physical act of sleep, and describes the un-
enlightened state of a man deluded by the concerns of the
world, as, for example, the Hymn of the Pearl (109,32-35).[20]
Adam had become so affected by the ignorance of the world and

the forgetfulness of his origin that he failed to recognize the
revealers from the God of knowledge because they did not belong
to his present world, i.e., to the world of the creator. The
calls "to arise" and "to hear" are also common *topoi* of the
revelation story, and an expected corollary of the motif of
sleep.

     The expression "the authority of death" is more difficult
to define precisely. The motif of death is a regular feature
in gnostic texts, and a common *topos* of the revelation story.
It appears as a description of man's being-in-the-world, and as
such is a practical synonym for ignorance.[21] But it also ap-
pears once in these stories as a reference to physical death.[22]
The other references to death in source B do not really sharply
clarify this problem of whether by the "authority of death" is
meant Adam becoming aware that he had lived in ignorance
(= under the authority of death) or whether, like the Adam of
the Left *Ginza*, he suddenly becomes aware that he must physi-
cally die (cf. Gen 3:19).[23] Two of these instances ([76],17-
20 and [76],28-[77],1) are clearly pejorative metaphors de-
scribing the situation in which man finds himself (dead world =
ignorance = sleep). The phrase "power of death" occurs again
in a *parallelus membrorum* ([76],17-24).

     Every creature that has come from the dead earth will
     be under the power of death, but those who reflect
     on the knowledge of the eternal God in their heart
     will not perish.

On this basis, one could reason that if "being under the power
of death" is the equivalent of "perishing" then those who re-
flect on the knowledge of the eternal God have cast off the
power of death because they will not perish (= being under the
power of death); that is, they are not under the power of death
because they have been enlightened. Thus, one could argue that
the power of death (= perishing) does not refer to man's ulti-
mate physical demise as does Gen 3:19, since one can scarcely
keep from physically dying by receiving knowledge, but it re-
fers to man's being-in-the-world as a state of hopeless and
helpless ignorance, and describes his spiritual death.

However, the final reference ([76],15-17) in this same
context argues against this analysis: "and he will save their
souls from the day of death." Does the text refer to the in-
evitable day of the individual's death or to the *Eschaton* (cf.
[84],1-3)? There seems to be no way to understand the phrase
in a metaphorical sense. The expression regularly occurs else-
where in a personal sense (i.e., "the day of *his* death") to the
moment of the individual's death: Gen 27:2, Judg 13:7, 1 Sam
15:35, 2 Sam 6:23, 20:3, 2 Kgs 15:5, Jer 52:11.34, Midrash
Tehillim 41,4, and in an impersonal construction (i.e., the day
of death) only where it is clear that it is referring to the
day of the individual's death: Eccl 7:2 (LXX), 8:8; Pirke Aboth
2:5.

Beltz's understanding of the passage ([76],15-24) as a
reference to the day of the individual's death is probably the
best solution.[24] On this day, knowledge of the eternal God in
one's heart will preserve one from the ultimate destruction
that awaits the dead earth and its unenlightened creatures.[25]
In this sense, the "power of death" is a reference to the total
effect of ignorance. In the dead world, death is the controll-
ing power: unenlightened men are spiritually "dead," and phy-
sically they must also die. Eternal oblivion will be their
ultimate end. But those who are enlightened are spiritually
"alive." They have broken the power of "death" and have dis-
pelled ignorance. Thus, when the "day of their death" arrives,
they will also avoid eternal oblivion and enter into eternal
life. When Adam says, "I knew that I had come under the power
of death," he meant that he realized himself to be a creature
of the "dead" earth who had been "dead" in ignorance and delu-
sion and who must yet physically die, for all creatures of the
dead earth face their "day of death" (Gen 3:19).

The revelation that the three men announce to Adam re-
flects the most distinctive and yet enigmatic ideas in the rev-
elation story ([65],33-[66],8).

      Hear about the eon and the seed
      of that man to whom life has come,
      he who came from you and Eve, your wife.

The one who came from Adam and Eve is probably Seth. Although
Gen 5:4 reports that Adam had other sons and daughters, it is
quite clear that he had only three offspring whose names are
preserved by the tradition (Gen 4:25). Of these three, Abel
was killed and Cain was cursed for slaying him (Gen 4:11-14).
However, Adam had a third son "in his own likeness and after
his image" (Gen 5:3), that is, in the likeness and image of God
(cf. Gen 1:26). *Adam and Eve* 38:4 reports that Seth was born
"according to the appointment of God," and in some manuscripts
he alone is chosen to receive the revelation of Adam (*Adam and
Eve* 25:1ff.).[26] The same preference for Seth is reflected in
Epiphanius's account of the Sethians (*Pan.* 39.1-3).[27] Seth was
born through divine prerogative, chosen to purify mankind and
in him was vested divine purity and power (Epiph. *Pan.* 39.2.4,7).
All virtue and justice are ascribed to him (Epiph. *Pan.* 39.1.3).

        However, in spite of the probability that the man "who
came from Adam and Eve" is Seth, at no point in the tractate is
he *positively* identified as Seth! In fact, in *Apoc. Adam* there
are few references to Seth,[28] and the tractate seems deliberate-
ly to obscure such an identification.[29] This reluctance of the
text to identify more precisely the "man" as Seth and his "seed"
as descendants of Seth is puzzling, particularly when there is
no reluctance to talk about the seed of Noah ([74],17-21; [76],
11-13) or the seed of Ham and Japheth ([73],13-15.25-29; [74],
7-11; [76],11-13).

        The second distinctive characterization describes Seth as
the man "to whom life has come." There is nothing in the rev-
elation story proper or the tractate as a whole that explains
the meaning of the phrase, nor is there an obvious referrant in
the tradition that would clarify it.[30] A similar expression is
used of the men of gnosis ([69],12-16); they are the men "to
whom passed the life of knowledge" that came from Adam and Eve.[31]
Perhaps the reference is to Seth's divine origin as is reflected
in Epiphanius (*Pan.* 39.2.4; cf. 40.7.1).[32]

        She [i.e., the Mother] took thought and caused Seth to
        be born and put into him her own power, implanting in
        him a seed of the power from on high and the spark
        that was sent from on high for the first foundation of
        the seed and of the institution (of the world).

Seth apparently imparted this "life" or divine power to his descendants (cf. *Ap. John* [II,1]26,7-19 for association of power and life) so that they are eternal (Epiph. *Pan.* 39.2.6) as he is eternal (39.3.5). The "life" in *Apoc. Adam* ([65],33-[66],8) would correspond to the divine "power" or "spark" in the Epiphanius tradition that Seth has passed on to his descendants ([69],10-16) and they, like him, would live forever ([75],17-[76],6). In this connection, see *Steles Seth* (VII,5) 118,12-13 where Seth is referred to as the father of the *living* and immovable race.

The reference to "the aeon and the seed of that man" is equally obscure.[33] There is little in the tradition that clarifies the mythological structures that give this statement meaning. One possibility is found in the *Gos. Eg.* (III,2) 51,5-14.[34]

> The incorruptible man Adamas asked for them a son out of himself, in order that he may become father of the immovable incorruptible race, so that through it (i.e., the race), the silence and the voice may appear, and through it, the dead aeon may raise itself so that it may dissolve.

Böhlig and Wisse understand this passage to refer to the introduction of the race of Seth (i.e., his seed) into the cosmos. The appearance of the seed serves as the judgment of the dead aeon.[35] With this as a background, one could understand the statement in source B ([65],33-[66],8) as a reference to the coming of the seed of Seth and the consequent judgment of the dead aeon.

The statement is actually most compatible with two comments made by the redactor of the *Apoc. Adam* and seems to reflect his theology.[36] For this reason, the possibility arises that the revelation story is really a creation of the redactor and not traditional material that he received and adapted for his purposes. In the preceding chapter I suggested that the two units comprising source B are related in only a general way, and did not exclude the possibility that the revelation story is actually the creation of the redactor; I have not yet discussed in detail how the two units are related.[37]

However, I think it highly unlikely that the revelation story was composed by the redactor. It is more logical to explain it as traditional material received and secondarily broken up by the redactor than to argue that the redactor accidentally composed a classic revelation story in three separate increments ([65],24-34; [66],1-12; [67],12-21)--separating them by disparate and incompatible material--that fit together perfectly once that disparate material is removed.

There is another argument for the original unity of the revelation story and for the fact that its present disarrangement occurred *after* its initial composition. In the rationale of the revelation story, the last sentence ([67],12-14) is a positive assertion. It represents the desired objective of the revealer, i.e., the statement of enlightenment. When Adam heard the words of revelation for the first time, he realized that his pre-revelation state was one of ignorance and death.[38] However, in its present context, following [67],4-12, it takes on a negative meaning. The passage preceding it reflects the ultimate result of Adam's involvement in the physical world: ignorance, carnal desire, and physical death. In its secondary context in the *Apoc. Adam*, the last line is intended to clarify and emphasize the sentence that precedes.

A weakness overtook us; therefore the days of our life became few.

By this statement, the redactor of *Apoc. Adam* wants the reader to understand the text to mean that Adam "had fallen under the authority of death," a negative concept, and as it appears in the redacted text of *Apoc. Adam*, negatively intended. Yet we have previously seen that in its original context it was an affirmative statement and had a meaning sharply opposed to the meaning it is forced to assume in the present context, if one is to make any sense of it at all.

If one assumes that the redactor originally composed the revelation story, one must also assume that the redactor knew what he was doing since it is so artfully and correctly done. Therefore he knew that the statement at [67],12-14 was affirmative. Why then would he compose the story simply for the

purpose of breaking it up and use what he originally intended
as an affirmative statement as a summary line in a negative
assertion? The assumption is more difficult to maintain when
one realizes that if he could have composed the revelation
story he could also have composed a better conclusion for
[66],31-[67],12, and there would have been no necessity for
composing a revelation story and then adapting it for purposes
foreign to the genre.

        However, it is always possible that the redactor could
have reworked the revelation story, even if he didn't compose
it, by simply expanding the statement made by the bearers of the
revelation ([65],33-[66],8), or by substituting a completely
different statement of revelation. It is also possible that
the revelation story is traditional material so closely aligned
with the redactor's own theology that it required no editing.
If this is the case, it was unnecessary for him to redact the
revelation story; he merely had to incorporate it with no
change. There is really no way to be certain which of these
three possibilities is the correct option. In any case, as
will be seen below, the relationship of the statement of rev-
elation to the redactor's theology is more than superficial;
it is substantial.[39]

                B. The Third Appearance of the Illuminator
                ([76],8-11; [76],14-[82],17; [82],19-[83],4)

1. Introduction

        The second unit of source B is a collection of explanations
about the origin of the illuminator of knowledge with a brief
narrative introduction.[40] The thirteen explanations by the
kingdoms have a similar form or structure, and seem to be in
contrast to the explanation of the kingless generation, which
appears to be the final and true explanation.[41] The explana-
tions are stated ostensibly in response to a question of the
powers in the introduction regarding the source of error: "Where
did it (error) come from, or (rather) whence have come these
deceiving words that all the powers failed to discover?" ([77],
23-27).[42]

    Although the question by the powers asks about the source
of error, and the explanations address themselves to an unposed
question about the origin of the illuminator, there is a sense
in which the collection of explanations can be related to the
question by the powers. One could reason that the thirteen
kingdoms represent the kingdoms or nations of the world. There
is some basis in the text to support this finding. In Genesis,
after the flood, the world is divided among the sons of Noah
(Gen 10:2-6). This same motif appears in the *Apoc. Adam* where
Ham and Japheth form twelve kingdoms (Gen 10:2-6 LXX) plus one
additional kingdom for a total of thirteen kingdoms ([73],
25-29). Therefore, the answers of the kingdoms--the nations
of the world--could represent the entire erroneous religious
history of mankind.

    On the basis of this background, the answer to the ques-
tion is that error, represented in the deception of the heaven-
ly powers and by erroneous human traditions about the origin
of the illuminator, is characteristic of the cosmos. The oppo-
nent of error in the cosmos is gnosis, represented by the true
explanation for the illuminator's origin made by the kingless
generation. The theological intent of the collection of ex-
planations as an answer to the question is to make clear this
contrast between error and gnosis. Error has been perpetuated
because generations of men have offered false explanations for
the source of enlightenment (as is indicated by the erroneous
explanations). The only solution to the problem is to discover
gnosis through the generation without a king: the gnostics
themselves. When one looks at the text from this perspective,
the collection of stories does seem well suited to the
question.[43]

    However, in another sense there is a serious problem with
holding that there is an original compositional unity between
the narrative introduction ([76],8-[77],27) and the collection
of explanations ([77],27-[82],17; [82],19-[83],4). For one
reason, the stories in the collection taken individually do not
answer the question asked by the powers. The question of the
powers asks specifically about the source of the *error* (feminine
gender) that had deceived the powers, but the individual

explanations do not respond to this question. Instead, they
answer a question, not posed in the text, about the origin of
a certain supra-natural individual (masculine gender) who re-
mains unidentified in the answers of the thirteen kingdoms. In
short, there is no substantial correlation between the question
and the answers; the answers do not arise naturally in response
to the question.

        Further, there is a change in the actors of the drama be-
tween the narrative introduction and the collection of explana-
tions. The powers (ϬΟⲨⲨ) pose the question, but the kingdoms
respond.[44] If one assumes that the kingdoms were evil powers
and part of the court of the archon of the powers ([77],1-3),[45]
and that their responses represent the attempt of this court
to come to grips with the disturbance that had invaded the
archon's realm, then one must ask why they are not mentioned
before, or after, this incident? If one assumes they represent
the kingdoms (= nations) of the world, then one must ask when
the shift from the archon's realm to the earth took place, and
how the nations heard the question? The abrupt shift from the
archon's sphere to an idealized earthly setting with no prepar-
ation for the shift maintains an illusion of continuity between
question and answer until one recognizes that, although they
are part of the same cosmos, they are essentially two different
realms and that one would not normally expect a rhetorical type
question asked in the sphere of the archon to be answered in
the earthly realm without some basis being given for the over-
hearing of the question on the part of the actors in the
earthly realm.

        The lack of a specific identification for the subject of
the statement by the thirteen kingdoms is also a problem. With
the exception of kingdom thirteen where he is called an archon,
in the thirteen kingdoms the hero is not specifically identi-
fied. Only in the statement of the kingless generation is he
specifically identified as the illuminator. The kingdoms refer
to him generally as "he" or the "child." If there were a com-
positional unity between the two segments, the introduction and
the collection of answers, one would have expected additional
concrete allusions in the statements of the thirteen kingdoms

identifying the subject as the illuminator. At some point, the
text should have betrayed the fact that the illuminator, so
prominent in the introduction and specifically identified in
the statement of the kingless generation, is the subject of the
statements by the thirteen kingdoms. Coming as it does at the
end of the collection in the statement by the kingless genera-
tion, the identification has the character of a redactional
device included for the purpose of tying in the thirteen king-
dom explanations to the preceding context, particularly because
the identification of the illuminator by the kingless genera-
tion is no more essential to that statement than it was to
those by the thirteen kingdoms.

      At what stage in the literary history of the *Apoc. Adam*
this redaction took place is difficult to tell.[46]   It is prob-
able that at the earliest stage the thirteen statements by the
kingdoms circulated as an independent literary unit without the
statement by the kingless generation. There are two reasons
for this: the fact that the kingless generation breaks with the
stylized form of the thirteen kingdoms, and the fact that there
is no indication within the explanations themselves to suggest
that they are false statements. The character of falsity is
only added with the statement of the kingless generation, and
the question of the powers in the narrative introduction. At
the next stage, the thirteen statements by the kingdoms, the
narrative introduction to the myth of the illuminator, and the
statement by the kingless generation were brought together as a
single composition. The final stage was the inclusion of this
new literary unit into the *Apoc. Adam* by the redactor of the
present received text. It seems unlikely that one can merge
stages two and three into a single stage and make the redactor
of the present text responsible for composing the statement of
the kingless generation to contrast with the thirteen kingdoms
and to agree with the narrative introduction. If this were the
case, the title "the kingless generation," a *terminus technicus*
for the gnostic community in several texts,[47] would have prob-
ably been the redactor's identification for his own community.
However, this title does not appear elsewhere in the tractate.
The redactor has, in fact, consistently utilized another title

(ⲤⲦⲞⲢⲀ) for his community,[48] or refers to them in a general way.[49] The easiest explanation for this phenomenon is to assume that the title "kingless generation" came to the redactor through his *Vorlage*.

Many students of the *Apoc. Adam* have regarded the collection of thirteen false explanations and one true explanation as a unit of traditional material that had a life setting other than its present literary setting in the *Apoc. Adam*.[50] This evaluation has largely been based upon its systematic and highly stylized form. To this argument should also be added the inappropriateness of its present literary setting. On this basis, therefore, it seems justifiable initially to consider the material in the second segment of source B as two separate units for the purpose of discussing form and theology.

2.   The Narrative Framework: The Descent of the Illuminator ([76],8-[77],27)

a.   Form

The narrative introduction to the collection of explanatory statements reflects the well-known gnostic myth of the descent of the redeemer-revealer that has numerous parallels in the Nag Hammadi library.[51] A majority of these parallels appear in various texts as brief isolated allusions that merely hint at the broader myth.[52] There are three texts, however, in which the myth is narrated in some detail.[53] These texts provide a convenient occasion for a consideration of the structure of the myth as it appears in *Apoc. Adam*. In these three instances, the parallels are not limited to similarity in individual isolated motifs, but are extended to structural similarity; that is, motifs appear in these texts in a sequence similar to that sequence in which they appear in the *Apoc. Adam*. The following outline of the myth as it appears in the *Apoc. Adam* reflects a highly schematic structure. The myth is narrated with minimal digression and no elaboration.[54] The sequence of events seems logical and there is no duplication of motif. The author has used an economy of words in producing a well-balanced story. The myth appears in six units; each unit has three segments of varying lengths.

1. The illuminator of knowledge
    a. will pass by in great glory   [76],8-11
    b. to leàve behind fruit-bearing trees;   [76],14-15
    c. he will redeem their souls.   [76],15-17

2. The illuminator of knowledge
    a. will come upon the dead creation   [76],28-30
    b. that will be destroyed through the   [76],30-[77],1
        sowing of Seth;
    c. he will perform signs and wonders to   [77],1-3
        scorn the powers.

3. Then the God of the powers
    a. will be disturbed: [77],4-5
    b. "What sort of power has this man?"   [77],5-7
    c. He will arouse great wrath against   [77],7-9
        that man.

4. And the glory
    a. will withdraw   [77],9-10
    b. to dwell in holy houses   [77],10-11
    c. chosen for it.   [77],11-12

5. And the powers
    a. will not see the glory,   [77],12-14
    b. nor will they see the illuminator;   [77],14-15
    c. they will punish the flesh of the man   [77],16-18
        on whom the holy spirit has come.

6. Then the angels and generations of powers
    a. will use the name in error: [77],18-22
    b. "Where did it come from?"   [77],22-23
    c. "Whence came the deceiving words,   [77],23-27
        that the powers failed to discover?"

The comparison of the texts in the table on the next page shows
the similarity in sequence of motifs among the four documents
using the sequence of motifs in the *Apoc. Adam* as a key. Par-
entheses indicate that the motif is present as a doublet or is
out of sequence.

    There is a striking difference in structure between the
Apoc. Adam and the three parallel texts. In *Treat. Seth* and
Trim. Prot., the author seems to have made little attempt to
narrate the myth in an organized or ordered way. There is di-
gression, duplication and expansion. Although the AscenIsa
seems better organized, and is therefore easier to follow, there
is still duplication and elaboration of motif. In all three of
these documents, the narration of the myth occupies consider-
ably more text than that amount of text involved in the *Apoc.
Adam*. In contrast, the *Apoc. Adam* schematizes the myth by

Apoc. Adam [76],8-[77],27	Treat. Seth (VII,2) 50,23-56,32	Trim. Prot. (XIII,2*) 40,8-46,3	AscenIsa 10-11	New Testament[55]
1. a) [76],8-11	50,22-24	40,12 (40,29-30)	10,8 (10,14;11,24)	John 1:9
b) [76],14-15		(41,30)	(11,22)	Acts 1:8 John 1:14 Matt 28:18-20 John 15:16
c) [76],15-17		40,13-14 (41,15-35)		
2. a) [76],28-30			10,8 [not re-ferred to as "dead" creation]	
b) [76],30-[77],1 [56]				
c) [77],1-3	52,14-17	(41,4-11)	11,18	John 7:31, 12:37, 9:16, 11:47
3. a) [77],4-5	54,23-27 (51,24-31) (52,8-14)	40,19-22 (43,4-17)	11,19a	
b) [77],5-7				Matt 9:8 Luke 4:36
c) [77],7-9	54,32-34		11,19b	
4. a) [77],9-10				
b) [77],10-11	(51,4-7) (51,20-21)			John 17:22
c) [77],11-12				
5. a) [77],12-14			(11,24)	
b) [77],14-15	55,36-56,2 (56,20-32)	(47,13-25) (49,6-21) (50,12-16)	11,19c (10,11,20-21) (11,14,16,26)	1 Cor 2:7,8 John 7:10 Mark 3:12 passim
c) [77],16-18	56,4-18 (52,25-30) (55,15-35)		11,19d-20	John 1:32 Mark 1:10
6. a) [77],18-22	65,9-13 (53,5-8) (55,10-15)			
b) [77],22-23		(43,17-44,10)	11,24 (10,12)	John 7:27, 8:14
c) [77],23-27	(52,30-36)		11,25-29	Matt 13:54

abridgement of the narration. It does not expand motifs, and in only one very noticeable instance does it digress from the development of the story.[57] In some cases it has even omitted material essential to understanding certain motifs in the myth.[58] It follows a logical and ordered sequence and uses an economy of narration.

There are no verbal parallels among the documents that would enable one to argue for a literary relationship. Yet the conceptual parallelism and the similarity in motif sequence seem too close to be accidental. The explanation that best

suits this set of circumstances is that the documents share a
common heritage in the tradition.[59] The myth in these texts
did not originate in a common literary *Vorlage* and evolve into
these parallel texts as recensions of an original archtype, but
the myth in each document represents a development out of a
common tradition. Therefore, none of the texts reflects an
"authoritative" tradition in the sense that it is nearer to an
archtype, but each text witnesses to a variation of the myth
that evolved in the tradition of a particular locale or
community.

b. Characteristic Religious Ideas[60]

     (1) *The Third Appearance of the Illuminator*. I have ar-
gued above that the statement about the third "pass" of the
illuminator should be understood in a narrow sense as the third
appearance of a particular illuminator, rather than in a broad
sense as the third epoch in a three-staged episode of redemp-
tion in which the redeemer figures are different.[61] There are
two basic reasons for this: it is the simplest interpretation
of the language of the text, and what are generally taken to be
the first two epochs of redemption are not technically speaking
acts of the illuminator.[62] At its simplest language level, the
statement that the illuminator once again passes through for
the third time can only mean that he has already "passed through"
on two previous occasions. Unfortunately, these two previous
episodes are lacking in the text and there is no indication in
the text as to what they were. Thus, we have only a partially
preserved account of the episode of the illuminator. Fortu-
nately, however, there are parallels in the Nag Hammadi texts
themselves that suggest what the other two appearances of the
illuminator-redeemer may have been.

     The closest parallel to the third "pass" of the illumina-
tor in the *Apoc*. *Adam* is found in the parallel versions of the
Gospel of the Egyptians: *Gos*. *Eg*. (III,*2*)62,24-64,9 =
(IV,*2*)74,9-75,24. The pertinent statement is as follows:[63]

Codex III   Codex IV

Then the great Seth...   Then the [great Seth]...
passed through   passes through
the three parousias   the three parousias
which I mentioned before: [which I] mentioned before,
the flood,   through [the] flood,
and the conflagration,   and the conflagration,
and the judgement   and the judgement
of the archons   of the archons
and the powers   [and] the authorities
and the authorities   and the powers,
to save her...   to save her...
who went astray.   who went astray.

The great Seth is sent forth into the world by the four
lights, by the will of the self-begotten One. He passes through
the same three visitations of wrath experienced by his seed: the
flood, the conflagration, and the judgment of the archons,
powers and authorities.[64] The experiencing of these visitations
of wrath by the race of Seth seems to be an entirely different
episode than Seth's experiencing of the visitations.[65] It ap-
pears that, independently of his seed, the great Seth also
passes through the flood, the conflagration and the judgment of
the archons. It is in this context that the illuminator epi-
sode in the *Apoc. Adam* should be understood. The text describes
the third visitation of wrath through which the illuminator of
knowledge passes in his saving work.

This same phenomenon of one illuminator-redeemer figure
appearing three times is found also in two other Nag Hammadi
tractates using motifs other than the flood-fire-endtime scheme:
the longer ending to the *Ap. John* (II,*1*) and the *Trim. Prot.*
(XIII,*2**). In the *Ap. John*, the scheme of revelation involves
three descents by the "perfect Pronnoia of the All" into the
lower world. On the first occasion, the illuminator reached
down to chaos and its foundations trembled. On the second oc-
casion, the foundations of chaos were so severely shaken by the
presence of the Pronnoia that they threatened to fall "before
the (appointed) time." On the third occasion, the perfect
Pronnoia of the All succeeded in awakening those who slept.[66]

Contrary to the analysis of Pheme Perkins, this threefold
descent of the one illuminator-redeemer figure seems also to be
true of the *Trim. Prot.*[67] Perkins was probably misled into

assuming three different revealers because the structure of the
tractate seems to imply it. The threefold pattern of revela-
tion is utilized as the structure for the tractate:

    1. The revelation through the voice: XIII 35,1-42,3.
    2. The revelation through the sounds of the voice:
        XIII 42,4-46,4.
    3. The revelation through the word: XIII 46,5-50,3.

Each of these sections is clearly set out in the text as a
separate unit by an appropriate title and each section employs
different designations for the redeemer figure suggesting that
in each unit the redeemer figure was different. However, it
seems clear from XIII 47,1-19 that all the units of revelation
are linked in a threefold scheme of revelation and that there
is only one illuminator-redeemer who communicates revelation in
three forms.[68] With reference to the second and third appear-
ance, the speaker clearly says of himself:

    2. The second time I came in the [Sound] of my Voice
        (XIII 47,11-12).

    3. The third time I revealed myself to them [in]
        their tents as the Word (XIII 47,13-15).

The statement about the first appearance is mostly in lacuna,
but the editor restores the last few lines as: I taught [them
the mysteries] through the [Voice] (XIII 47,7-8). This three-
fold pattern of revelation corresponds to the scheme of the
tractate and suggests that the author of the text conceived of
the Trimorphic Protennoia as three revelatory appearances by
one illuminator-redeemer.

    The *Gospel of the Egyptians* also provides a context for
understanding the threats against the men of gnosis in *Apoc.
Adam* source A. The attacks against the men of gnosis--the
flood, the unknown threat at [71],20-[72],15,[69] and the fire
correspond to the visitations of wrath through which the race
of Seth passed, and through which Seth himself later passed in
his redemptive activity (*Gos. Eg.* [IV,2]60,25-61,23).[70] Appar-
ently the redactor of the *Apoc. Adam* intends to conflate into
one episode what appears in *Gos. Eg.* to be two different epi-
sodes, that is, the passage of the seed of Seth through perse-
cution followed by the illuminator through the same acts of
persecution.[71]

(2) *The Saving Work of the Illuminator*. Unlike the
illuminator-redeemer figure in *Ap. John* and *Trim. Prot.*, the
illuminator in *Apoc. Adam* is not described as coming to reveal
a secret message, but he comes "to leave behind fruitbearing
trees for himself."[72] Presumably the term "fruitbearing trees"
describes the gnostics, those who remain in the world producing
converts to Gnosticism.[73] Exactly how the illuminator "leaves
behind" fruitbearing trees is not explicitly stated, but appar-
ently he produces them through revelation, the imparting of
gnosis. This is implied both by his title: the illuminator of
knowledge (ΠΙϕⲱⲥⲦⲎⲢ ⲚⲦⲉ +ⲅⲚⲱⲥⲓⲥ), and by the exegetical state-
ment at [76],17-27 where it is stated that salvation comes
through a special kind of gnosis. The concept of revelation is
also basic to the work of the gnostic community. A close
parallel to this is found in the *Gos. Eg.* (III,2)62,14-24 =
(IV,2)73,27-29 where the incorruptible race is distinguished
from "its fruit," i.e., those who join with the community as
converts to Gnosticism. Apparently the children of Seth have a
missionary responsibility in the world that must be exercised
until "the consummation of the aeon." There is another parallel
in source A of the *Apoc. Adam* ([73],13-24 and [74],21-26) where
it is stated that the men of gnosis have produced converts to
Gnosticism.[74]

     The illuminator is further described as redeeming the
souls of the "fruitbearing trees" ([76],15-17) and as perform-
ing "signs and wonders" ([77],1-3). The concept of redeeming
the individual soul at the time of death[75] is in contrast to
source A, where salvation was a group or community experience.[76]
The exegetical interpretation of the statement regarding salva-
tion ([76],17-27) leaves little question about its meaning.[77]
The "fruitbearing trees" were formally "creatures of the dead
earth," who were therefore under the authority of death. How-
ever, because they now have gnosis in their heart (i.e., have
been illuminated), they will not perish, but will be redeemed.
Enlightenment brings with it a spirit different from the un-
enlightened inhabitants of a dead earth destined for death.

     The exact nature of the "signs and wonders" that disturbed
the ruler of the powers is not specified in the text. Probably

the phrase is not really intended to refer to any specific act
as such, but is simply a traditional phrase serving to authen-
ticate the work of the illuminator.[78] The text states that the
illuminator does these "signs and wonders in order to scorn the
powers and their ruler." They "scorn" the creator in the sense
that they call into question his authority and role as the only
true God. Thus, they are an insult and an embarrassment to him
precisely because they imply that there is an authority higher
than he, the creator, that has commissioned the illuminator.

The reactions to the appearance of the illuminator--the
confusion of the archon, the aroused wrath of the powers, the
physical suffering of the illuminator and his invisibility[79]--
are all consistent with the tradition, and appear in the
parallel accounts of the myth.[80] However, two of the events
that follow the illuminator's appearance are not reflected
elsewhere in the tradition: the loss of glory by the illumina-
tor and the erroneous use of the "name" by the angels and
powers.

The glory that withdraws is probably the same glory in
which the illuminator appeared ([76],8-11). This glory the
illuminator passes on to his seed, i.e., the fruitbearing trees
that the illuminator selected and is to save. They are the
holy houses that the illuminator selected as repositories for
his glory. Why the powers fail to see the glory is not clear.
Nor is it clear why it is stated in this obtuse way ([77],9-12)
rather than simply saying: ⲁⲣⲱ ⲩϥ ⲉⲟⲟⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲧⲡⲟⲧ.
The implication seems to be that the illuminator, or his physi-
cal host, was completely drained of glory, and all glory came
to reside in his race (cf. John 17:22).

The combination of motifs at the beginning of this section
--Φωστήρ, glory, display of power, the disturbing of the heav-
ens and redemption of the chosen ones--is similar to Mark 13:
25-27 and parallels:

> And the stars (ἀστέρες) will be falling from heaven,
> and the powers in the heavens will be shaken. And
> then they will see the Son of Man coming in clouds
> with great power and glory. And he will send out the
> angels, and gather his elect from the four winds, from
> the ends of the earth to the ends of heaven. (RSV)

     In Mark, these events are a portent of the endtime. They
herald the end of the present age and the dawning of the mes-
sianic era. Because of the abbreviated character of the text,
i.e., the fact that source B is only a partially preserved ac-
count of the episode of the illuminator, and the fact that it
has been recorded in a highly schematized way,[81] it is impos-
sible to know how they originally functioned in the source from
which source B was taken. However, if we may regard the ex-
planation given for the third appearance of the illuminator as
valid,[82] there is some justification for regarding the circum-
stances surrounding this appearance of the illuminator as a
prelude to the endtime. It is, after all, the final appearance
by the illuminator in a threefold pattern of appearances. In
the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, the fact that the great Seth comes
the third time to save the race that went astray "through the
reconciliation of the world" (*Gos. Eg.* [III,2]62,24-63,11) sug-
gests that the third time is the endtime. In the present re-
dacted form of the text, the third appearance of the illumina-
tor is definitely intended as a prelude to the endtime as is
indicated by the redactor's arrangement of this narrative imme-
diately preceding the apocalyptic conclusion to source A
([83],7-[84],3).[83]

     The identification of the "name" being misused by the
powers is not certain. Beltz understood it as a reference to
Seth.[84] And he is probably correct at the level of the redac-
tor.[85] But it is not at all certain that in source B the "name"
originally referred to was that of Seth. There is evidence of
a similar use of the tetragrammaton "name" without any indica-
tion in the immediate text as to what it signifies in both the
Jewish and Christian traditions.[86] Both of these traditions
are unlikely possibilities as the background to explain the use
of the term in source B.

     There is a parallel in the gnostic tradition (Naassenes)
that may provide a possible background for the use of the term:

     These men, according to their own doctrine, reverence
     beyond all others Man and the Son of Man. Now this
     Man is bisexual and is called by them Adamas. A great
     many hymns of various kinds have been composed for
     him; and the hymns, to put it briefly, are worded by

them in some such fashion as this: "From thee, Father,
and through thee Mother, the two immortal names,
parents of the Aeons, thou citizen of heaven, Man of
the mighty name."[87]

The Man of the mighty name, Adamas, is the androgynous *Ur-
mensch*.[88] For the reasons stated above, it is not possible to
determine beyond question whether the illuminator was thought
of in this sense or not. He is referred to as "man" ([77],4-9),
a term reminiscent of the statement of the three men in the
first part of source B: "Hear about the aeon and the seed of
that man to whom life has come, he who came from you and Eve
your wife" ([65],33-[66],8). In this latter instance, the
reference is surely to Seth who is identified with the *Ur-
mensch*.[89] But beyond these brief allusions, there is no sug-
gestion in the immediate text that the illuminator is to be
identified as the *Urmensch*.

(3) *Anthropology*. There are two classes of people recog-
nized by the text. One class is the saved, i.e., those who
reflect on the knowledge of the eternal God ([76],21-24). This
group is identical to those described as "fruitbearing trees"
([76],14-15) and as the holy houses chosen by the illuminator
as repositories of his glory ([77],9-12). The other class is
described as "creatures of the dead earth" who are subject to
the power of death ([76],17-20). The basis for the distinction
between the groups is the knowledge of the eternal God.[90]

(4) *Cosmology and Dualism*. There is a suggestion of a
pronounced dualism between the cosmos and the eternal God, a
dualism that is maintained in both a spatial and qualitative
sense. The spatial motif is suggested by the disturbance of
the archon and his powers at the "passing through" of the illu-
minator. In the parallel texts (see above, p. 121), this
feature occurs at the passage of the redeemer figure *down*
through the aeons and into the inhabited world. It is also
suggested by the *upward* movement of the soul at death through
the aeons and powers who serve as penal guards to keep the un-
enlightened souls imprisoned in the flesh and the cosmos.[91]
If the same analogy holds, then the text reflects a common
gnostic perception of the cosmos as a structure in which the

cosmos is the lowest rung on an ascending ladder that concludes
just short of the eternal God and passes through semi-divine
and evil beings antagonistic to the soul of man. This descrip-
tion is not meant to imply that the eternal God is naturally
accessible to the cosmos. On the contrary, he is accessible
only through gnosis, a quality not possessed by the archon and
his powers.

     The distinction made between the inevitable death of the
earth and of every *creature* (πλάσμα) originating from that
earth on the one hand, and the salvation of the *souls* (ψυχή) of
those who reflect on the knowledge of the eternal God ([76],
17-24) on the other, implies a negative view of materiality and
also reflects a pronounced dualism; that is, because the earth
and everything it produces is evil, it cannot be salvaged but
must be destroyed. Only the soul of the enlightened, as op-
posed to the flesh ([76],15-17), will be preserved from de-
struction. Another suggestion of this dualism is found in the
docetic motif at [77],16-18. As pointed out above,[92] the best
explanation for the contradictory motifs of invisibility and
punishment of the illuminator is a docetism that was not com-
pletely preserved in the present form of the text. However, a
vestige of that docetism does remain in the fact that the text
makes a conscious distinction between the illuminator on the
one hand, and his host on the other, a figure identified as the
"man on whom the holy spirit had come." The illuminator with-
draws prior to punishment and the archon and his powers punish
the "flesh" of the host.[93] This latter expression gives strong
support to the idea of dualism that exists between "flesh" or
materiality on the one hand and the "spirit" on the other. The
men of this world (i.e., the dead earth, [76],17-20) are
governed by its authority ([76],17-20.24-27). Thus they are
characterized by their materiality ([76],17-20) or "flesh"
([77],16-18). The enlightened man, on the other hand, is char-
acterized by "spirit" ([76],24-27).

3.   The Thirteen Kingdoms and the Kingless Generation
     ([77],27-[82],17; [82],19-[83],4)

a.   Form

    This section has been previously described as simply a
collection of stories or narratives, but it is more accurately
to be described formally as a catalog or list. Compare, for
example, the catalog of heroes in 2 Sam 23:8-39 and that in
Heb 11:4-31. An even closer and more pertinent parallel is to
be found in the catalog of beliefs on the origin of man assem-
bled by Hippolytus (*Ref*. 5.7,2-6).[94]

    The basis of their system is the Man Adamas, and they
    say that he is the subject of the text, "His generation
    who shall declare it?"....

    The earth it was, according to the Greeks, that first
    produced man, bearing a noble gift; for she desired
    to be the mother, not of senseless plants nor of brute
    beasts but of a tractable and God-loving creature.

    But it is hard to discover, he says, whether the
    Boeotians beyond Lake Cephisis Alalcomeneus appeared
    as the first of mankind,

    or whether it was the Curetes of Mount Ida, that
    divine race,

    or the Phrygian Corybantes, whom first the sun beheld
    springing up like trees;

    or did Arcadia (see) Pelasgus, a man older than the
    moon,

    or Eleusis (see) Diaulus who dwelt in Raria;

    or did Lemnos engender the fair child Cabirus in an
    unspeakable ecstasy,

    or Pellene the Phlegraean Alcyoneus, the eldest of
    the giants?

    But the Libyans say that Garamas was the firstborn,
    who arose from the desert lands, and began upon the
    sweet acorn of Zeus.

    And in Egypt the Nile enriching her silt to this very
    day, he says, brings to life (creatures) clothed in
    flesh by her moist warmth and bears living beings.

    The Assyrians say that Oannes the fish-eater came from
    them,

> The Chaldaeans speak (likewise) of Adam. And they
> say that he was the man whom the earth produced by
> herself; and he lay without breath, without motion,
> without a tremor, like a statue, being an image of
> that celestial being praised in song, the Man
> Adamas....[95]

This parallel is pertinent in that the catalog describes
different beliefs regarding the origin of the first man held by
various races of people. In the catalog each explanation is
posed in such a way as to exclude the rest. In other words,
the author of the catalog assumes that only one of the various
explanations can be correct, but he does not state which one.
The catalog in *Apoc. Adam* contains thirteen erroneous explana-
tions as opposed to one correct explanation.[96]

A close parallel in form is also found in a discussion of
the Gospel of Matthew by Isho'dad of Merv in the ninth century
A.D. In a discussion of Matthew 3:1, he lists four incorrect
interpretations alongside the correct interpretation of the
Interpreter.

> But how was John removed?

> Mar Ephraim and others say that
> Elizabeth withdrew him from before
> the sword of Herod; she had received in a revelation
> that she should make him flee to the wilderness; when
> by gracious dexterity she had made him a garment of
> hair of the wool of camels; Mar Ephraim alone calls it
> Ba'wa. Ba'wa is the hair which is on the belly of camels
> which is not very rough.... (Cf. kingdoms 3,4)

> Others say that an angel seized him from his mother's side,
> and neither she nor his father nor anyone else knew the
> place of his abode. (Cf. kingdoms 2,7)

> Others say that at one time, our Lord fled before the
> sword of Herod, and so did his messenger, the one to
> Egypt, but the other to the wilderness, and the one
> rode on an ass, but the other on the rush of the wind,
> like Habakkuk.

> But the Interpreter says that he retired after the
> reception of the word. (Cf. kingdom 13)

> Others say, that when Zecharia his father felt the sword
> of Herod, perhaps the boy was sought...and he took the
> child and put him on the altar of propitiation, where he
> received the conception by means of the angel; while he
> was blessing about this in prayer, the angel seized him
> and took him away to the inner wilderness.[97] (Cf. king-
> doms 2,7)

The passage is interesting not only because of the similarity
in form, but also because of similarity in motif with the ex-
planations of several of the kingdoms (as noted above).

     The fact that we are dealing with an ancient catalog of
diverse explanations seems clear, and is hardly in need of
further argument. However, the arrangement of the explanations
in the catalog is a problem. Is the present order of the
statements systematic or indiscriminate, i.e., gathered at
random? If systematic, are they arranged on the basis of
catchword connections or motif associations, or on some other
basis? Böhlig has argued that there is a systematic order to
the explanations, and that they are ordered on the basis of an
ascending scale from a lower more natural explanation of the
birth of the illuminator to a higher more philosophical
explanation.[98]

     His analysis of the explanations correctly recognizes that
some of them are similar, and can on the basis of those simi-
larities be associated with one another. However, there are
problems with his analysis. For example, he describes the
catalog as an "ascending" scale (*aufsteigende Linie*), that is,
from a lower-type explanation to a higher-type explanation.
Presumably, on this basis, all explanations have some merit or
value and the kingless generation is the best explanation among
other possible explanations. As evidence for the "ascending"
sequence of the catalog, he offers the following analysis.

    Statements 1-4:   The illuminator originates through
                         human reproduction.
    Statements 5-8:   The illuminator originates through
                         physical-material celebrities.
    Statements 9-11:   The illuminator originates through
                         divine acts of desire.
    Statements 12-14:   The illuminator originates through
                         scientific and philosophical
                         celebrities.

     If his analysis and ordering of the statements were cor-
rect, there would be an ascending order to the explanations.
However, in some cases, the explanations do not always suit the
principle Böhlig has used to group them. In group one, he is
correct that explanations two to four are to be associated. In
these statements, the illuminator is the product of a natural

generation: 2--he is the son of a prophet; 3--he is the son of
a young woman (παρθένος); 4--he is the son of Solomon. Further,
in all of these explanations, the child is taken after birth to
a desolate area (2--mountain top; 3--desolate place; 4--border
of the desert).[99]   There is also a strong catchword connection
between explanations three and four in παρθένος,[100] but no such
connection is evident between explanations two and three.[101]
It is difficult to say whether explanation one is to be asso-
ciated with this group or not. Since it is mostly in lacunae,
we don't know whence in the view of this kingdom the illumina-
tor originated. The extant text suggests, however, that after
birth perhaps he was taken to heaven ([78],1-- ⲈⲦⲦⲈ ⲚϭⲒ ⲞⲨⲦⲦⲚⲀ).
If this is correct, it would align this explanation with ex-
planations five and seven, found in Böhlig's second group where
it is stated that the illuminator returned to heaven (5), or to
the place from which the drop had come (7).

Böhlig's descriptive phrase for his group two, "physical-
material celebrities," is drawn only from explanation six. In
none of the other explanations that he associates in this group
does the illuminator originate from a particular "being," or
celebrity: 5--he came from a drop of heaven; 7--he is a drop;
8--a cloud comes to earth and envelopes a rock; the illuminator
comes from that union. There is no reason to assume that either
the "drop" or the "cloud" is to be understood as a supra-natural
being as, for example, an archon or an aeon, nor is the source
from which the illuminator originates a physical or material
source! On the contrary, the organizing motif of explanations
five through eight seems to be that the illuminator has a *non*-
natural origin. He comes from heaven and in two of the explan-
ations returns to heaven:[102] 5--he came from a drop of heaven...
brought him to heaven; 7--the drop came from heaven...was taken
above to the place where the drop came forth; 8--a cloud came
(from heaven) to earth; 6--a kingdom came down to this aeon be-
low. Explanation eight does not have the ascent motif clearly
stated, but it does seem to be implied in the fact that the an-
gels over the cloud nourished him. Explanation six is lacking
the ascent motif completely and, in fact, as will be seen be-
low, actually has more in common with Böhlig's third group (9-11).

Explanation eight has some similarity with explanations nine and ten. Explanations eight and ten are the only two in which a cloud is mentioned: 8--a cloud came to earth; 10--his god loved a cloud of desire. The association between eight and nine is more formal than essential. The statements of nourishing in both eight and nine have the same form.

8-- ⲀⲨⲤⲀⲚⲞⲨⲱⲏ̄ⲏ̄ Ⲛ̄ϬⲒ ⲚⲀⲄⲄⲈⲖⲞⲤ ⲚⲎ ⲈⲦ𝈌𝈌ⲒⲬ̄Ⲛ̄ †ⲔⲖⲞⲞⲖⲈ
9-- ⲀⲨⲤⲀⲚⲞⲨⲱⲏ̄ⲏ̄ Ⲛ̄ϬⲒ ⲚⲒⲀⲄⲄⲈⲖⲞⲤ ⲚⲎ ⲈⲦ𝈌𝈌ⲒⲬ̄Ⲛ̄ †ⲈⲦⲠⲒ𝈌ⲨⲘⲒⲀ

When one considers that in only four of the explanations is someone other than the mother of the child mentioned as nourishing him (2, 8, 9, 11), it is striking that only these two explanations falling one after the other in the list have the same form for the statement of nourishing.

According to Böhlig, the explanations in group three (9-11) describe acts of desire by various divine personages. The illuminator originates from those acts of desire. With respect to explanations nine and ten, Böhlig's description is accurate: 9--one of the muses conceives from her desire; 10--a god loves a cloud of desire. However, explanation eleven makes no mention of gods. Böhlig assumes that the father who desires his own daughter is actually a divine figure, although the text does not suggest it. It seems that an act of desire or, more specifically, a sexual act stimulated by desire, is the basis on which the explanations in group three are to be associated.

Explanation nine: One of the muses desires herself in order to become androgynous. She fulfills her desire and conceives by herself through that desire. This explanation closely parallels the myth of Sophia who desired to copy the Father and to produce an offspring without a partner. She achieved her desire and produced an abortion, an unformed and incomplete substance.[103]

Explanation ten: The illuminator's god loved a cloud of desire. The god begat it (i.e., the sperm) in his hands and "seeded" the cloud; that is, the illuminator was produced as the result of the masturbation of a god. Explanation eleven: A father desired his own daughter, and through that desire the father sired the illuminator by his own daughter; that is, the illuminator was produced as the result of an act of incest.

Explanation six also has the motif of desire. An uniden-
tified female conceives through desire for flowers presented to
her by a "kingdom." It is not clear who she was, or when the
conception takes place, but she conceives through her desire
and the illuminator is born. At first glance, the motif of
desire seems more evident than the principle on which group two
was associated and suggests that explanation six is more prop-
erly to be associated with group three, rather than group two.
However, as we have seen, it is not simply the motif of desire
around which group three is gathered. It is the motif of a
sexual act stimulated by desire. It is true that this motif is
also present in explanation six. In fact, in many ways it
seems to be a parallel tradition to explanation nine. In both
explanations six and nine, like Sophia, the female produces
androgynously, i.e., without impregnation by a male.

Before examining Böhlig's group four, the order of the
explanations within groups one through three ought to be con-
sidered. In none of these groups can I find a reason that
would explain the present order of the explanations as place-
ments of design. In a few instances, the order of some explan-
ations can be explained on the basis of catchwords, but these
are the exception rather than the rule. In group one, explana-
tions three and four have in common the catchword παρθένος.
No such catchword connection is evident for explanations two
and three. Nor can I find a reason to explain the present
order of the explanations within group two as a conscious re-
dactional arrangement. In fact, in group two, the arrangement
suggests that the opposite is true and that the order of the
explanations in this group reflects a random and careless ar-
rangement. It separates explanations five and seven, possible
doublets, with explanation six which has more in common with
group three (9-11). If explanation six were placed after eight,
the arrangement as far as catchword connections are concerned
would have been better. Explanation seven would then follow
immediately upon five, and six would immediately precede group
three and provide a better connection between groups two and
three than now exists. There seems to be no catchword connec-
tion between groups one and two, and the only connection between

groups two and three is the formulaic expression regarding the
nourishing of the illuminator.

Böhlig finds that the explanations in group four describe
the illuminator as arising from scientific or philosophical
celebrities. It is not too clear how his descriptive phrase
relates to all explanations in the group. It appears to be
simply a convenience for organizing the remainder of the ex-
planations as a single group. Explanation twelve has little in
common with thirteen and the last explanation by the kingless
generation (Böhlig's fourteenth explanation). There is no evi-
dent catchword connection, nor a common motif that connects ex-
planations eleven and twelve. In fact, except for form, there
seems to be little correlation between explanation twelve and
any of the other explanations. Twelve is in a category by it-
self in that it is the only explanation that describes the
illuminator's origin without some discussion as to how that
birth took place. However, it has in common with all the other
explanations the fact that the birth of the illuminator has a
mythological origin. This is true even of group one where the
origin of the illuminator comes as the result of a natural gen-
eration. As it stands in the text, explanation twelve can
hardly qualify as a "scientific" explanation even by ancient
standards. Nor do explanation thirteen and the explanation by
the kingless generation appear to be more philosophical in com-
parison to the first twelve explanations. In explanation thir-
teen, the subject of the statement is identified as an archon,
and the expression ϬINⲘICE NIⲘ implies more than one birth.
The personification of λόγος implies a mythological background
without which the explanation is not understandable.[104]

When the kingless generation describes the origin of the
illuminator as being a selection "from all the aeons," it also
implies a particular mythological structure. Of course this
explanation differs from all the preceding thirteen in two re-
spects: it is not the statement of a kingdom, but of a genera-
tion over which there is no king, and it does not describe the
illuminator as being *born*, but as being *selected*. He is chosen
for his task and comes into the world as an alien (i.e., of a
foreign air). Therefore, in Böhlig's last group, I can find

no single integrating principle that would allow one to de-
scribe it as a unified group, nor is there an evident sequence
of catchwords pulling them together into their present order.
The positioning of the statement by the kingless generation at
the conclusion of the list does seem to be the only placement
made by design. In form, content and source, it contrasts with
the statements made by the thirteen kingdoms.[105] By virtue of
its position and the negative character attributed to the state-
ments by the thirteen kingdoms,[106] the statement of the kingless
generation uses the thirteen explanations by the kingdoms as a
foil to enhance its own positive statement. In summary, the
list of explanations does not seem to have the ascending char-
acter that Böhlig ascribed to it in his *editio princeps*. With
the exception of those explanations that can be grouped for the
reasons indicated above, the first thirteen explanations seem
to be arranged in a random order, but are intended as a whole
to contrast with the statement of the kingless generation.

       Not everyone is agreed regarding the exact number of ex-
planations for which a parallel is to be sought. Some have
suggested that we are dealing with a total of fourteen mytho-
logical explanations and a parallel should therefore be sought
for the number fourteen.[107] Some have suggested that perhaps
the original number of explanations in the list was only
twelve.[108] Therefore, a parallel should be sought to twelve
explanations. A third alternative, for which I have argued
above, is that we are dealing with a list of thirteen erroneous
explanations in contrast to one correct explanation.[109] There-
fore, a parallel should be sought to the number thirteen.

       The problem is compounded in that parallels have been
found to all three of these possibilities. Three parallels
have been advanced with regard to the total number of fourteen
explanations. Böhlig pointed out three parallels; two from the
Manichaean tradition: the fourteen aeons of light in the
Kephalia (Keph. 10, 42ff.), the fourteen vessels ascended by
Jesus (Keph. 8, 36ff.),[110] and also the fourteen aeons in the
Second Book of Jeû.[111]

       There are several possible parallels to the number twelve
that would be appropriate. In source A there is a reference to

the sons of Noah forming twelve kingdoms ([73],25-29). This
would coincide with the tradition that the world is divided
into twelve regions ruled over by twelve angels.[112] Assuming
that the kingdoms are to be identified as ruled generations in
contrast to the kingless generation, these kingdoms could be
those twelve regions, and would represent the answer to the
question of the powers given by the whole of mankind, i.e., all
twelve kingdoms of the world. Assuming that the kingdoms are
to be identified as demonic powers, they could be the angels
who ruled over the twelve regions of the world. In this latter
case, the twelve points of the Zodiac would be an appropriate
parallel, assuming that they could be considered as the demonic
powers controlling the twelve regions of the heavens that re-
plied to the questions of the powers.[113] The major difficulty
with considering these parallels as the background that explains
the list is that we actually have thirteen explanations by the
kingdoms and a total number of fourteen explanations when the
explanation of the kingless generation is included. However,
Kasser has suggested that the list originally may have comprised
only twelve explanations.[114] On this basis one might argue that
originally the list contained a total number of twelve explana-
tions that represented all the nations of the world, or the
twelve kingdoms formed by the sons of Noah, or the twelve angels
that ruled the world, or the twelve points of the Zodiac as
demonic powers.

However, as far as the present form of the list is con-
cerned, there can be little doubt that we are dealing with a
total of thirteen explanations by the kingdoms and one (con-
trasting) explanation by the kingless generation, for the ex-
planations by the kingdoms are *numbered* one through thirteen,
and for that reason alone, if for no other, we must conclude
that in the present context the fact that there are thirteen
kingdoms is not accidental but by design. Therefore, it seems
more appropriate to consider parallels to the number thirteen
in order to explain the list.[115]

Two such parallels to the number thirteen have been iden-
tified in the Nag Hammadi gnostic texts. One of these, *Marsanes*,
refers to the loosening of the thirteenth seal (X,2,14-15). This

statement is followed by a numbered list of thirteen items
(X,2,14-4,23). Unfortunately, the text is highly fragmentary
and for that reason the significance of the list of the thir-
teen items is obscure. There is no indication that there is a
contrast of anything with these thirteen items. However, there
is an indication that they speak (X,4,13-14.20-21), but, as
mentioned above, except for its numerical sequence in the list
of items, the identification of the speaker is uncertain. There
is some grouping in the list, but it does not coincide with our
analysis above,[116] nor does the content of the items in the list
coincide with the list of explanations in the *Apoc. Adam*.[117]
The list does seem to ascend from a lower cosmic or material
level to a higher spiritual level.

a) 1st, 2nd, 3rd: The cosmic and the material (X,2,18-28).
b) 4th and 5th: Exist above the first three (X,2,28-3,17).
c) 6th: Concerns the self-begotten ones, and those who
   exist in the truth of the All (X,3,18-25).
d) 7th: Concerns the self-begotten power, and mentions
   the salvation of Sophia (X,3,25-4,2).
e) 8th: Concerns the male Nous, incorporeal essence and
   the intelligible world (X,4,2-7).
f) 9th: Too fragmentary (X,4,7-10).
g) 10th: Mentions παθένος and αἰών (X,4,10-12).
h) 11th and 12th: Speak of the highest, the one who
   possesses the three δύναμεις and the πνεῦμα that does
   not have essence, belonging to the first unbegotten
   (X,4,13-19).
i) 13th: Speaks concerning the unknown silent one and
   the primacy of the one who was not distinguished
   (X,4,20-23).

The other Nag Hammadi parallel, mentioned briefly two dif-
ferent times in the same context in *Gos. Eg.*, seems more appro-
priate to the circumstances suggested by the *Apoc. Adam*: *Gos.
Eg.* (III,2)63,16-18 = (IV,2)75,4-6 and (III,2)64,3-4 = (IV,2)
75,18-20. The text describes a mythological figure, the god of
the thirteen aeons (= Sakla? [III,2]58,23-59,1) who, along with
the world, is renounced by the "saints." The thirteen aeons
appear to be evil powers who are antagonistic to the great Seth,
but who are "nailed down" (= defeated?) through "Jesus the liv-
ing one, he whom the great Seth put on."[118] The text does not
clarify further the identity of the thirteen aeons or their
relationship to their god. The number of aeons in the *Gos. Eg.*
corresponds to the number of explanations in the *Apoc. Adam* as

does their negative character. If the god of the thirteen aeons
is Sakla, it would correspond to the redactor's identification
of the evil creator god in the *Apoc. Adam* (cf. [74],7). The
thirteen aeons in the *Gos. Eg.* also appear to be mythological
powers who are defeated in a struggle with the great Seth.   A
similar struggle is suggested in the *Apoc. Adam.*

     The most reasonable and simplest explanation for the num-
ber thirteen is that it represents a total of the seven kings
appointed over the seven heavens and the five kings appointed
over the abyss (*Ap. John* [II,*1*]11,4-7) plus the first archon,
Yaltabaoth (Sakla, Samael: *Ap. John* [II,*1*]10,19-25 and 11,11-
22). This makes a total of thirteen "kings." The same tradi-
tion is found in the *Gos. Eg.* where Sakla creates twelve aeons
each to rule over its own world (*Gos. Eg.* [III,*2*]57,1-58,22).
Apparently the redactor intends the reader to understand the
god of the powers ([77],4-7) as Sakla (cf. [74],3-4.7-11), and
those whom he ruled ([77],12-15) as the twelve "kings." These
together ([77],1-3) make a total of thirteen "kings." Twelve
rule over the seven heavens and the neatherworld and Sakla
rules everything below the Ogdoad.[119] The generations of the
powers ([77],18-22) should probably be understood as those
powers created by each "king" for his own kingdom (*Ap. John*
[II,*1*]11,22-25).

     To a certain extent, this analysis is verified by parallels
in the Askew and Bruce Codices. In the Askew Codex, thirteen
aeons are mentioned and all appear to be dominions ruled over
by archons. The twelfth and the thirteenth are linked together
as part of the material world (Carl Schmidt, *Koptisch-gnostische
Schriften*, 40, lines 18-22), and the realm of darkness (ibid.,
121, lines 20-23).[120] All thirteen aeons lie between Chaos and
the "Midst" (ibid., 94, lines 5-7; 28, lines 6-12; 110, lines
29-31). While each aeon has a ruler, all thirteen seem to be
dominated by the "triple-powered self-willed one" (αὐθάδης)
(ibid., 27, lines 2-10; 66, lines 28-31; 88, lines 24-32; 90,
line 32 - 91, line 1; 93, lines 20-24). This agrees with at
least one reference in the Bruce Codex where thirteen aeons are
listed together as areas through which the soul must pass before
it reaches the world of light (ibid., 330-32). However, another

reference lists fourteen aeons (ibid., 327). The relationship
of the fourteenth aeon to the scheme for which I have argued,
on the basis of the *Gos. Eg.* and *Ap. John*, and to the scheme
elsewhere in the Bruce Codex, is not clear. In any case, the
fourteenth aeon was associated with the material world since it
too attempted to deter the soul from reaching the realm of
light.

b. Characteristic Religious Ideas

        The formula ("and in this way he came to the water": ⲀⲨⲰ
N̄ϮⲌⲈ ⲀⲨⲈⲒ ⲈⲬⲘ̄ ⲠⲒⲘⲞⲞⲨ) appearing at the conclusion to each of
the explanations in the list of kingdoms, is perhaps the most
enigmatic phrase in the entire section. The latter part of the
formula, ⲈⲬⲘ̄ ⲠⲒⲘⲞⲞⲨ, has been translated in two ways: "upon
the water" and "to the water." Böhlig in his *editio princeps*
translated "auf das Wasser," but later changed his translation
to "an das Wasser," under the influence of his understanding of
the background of the formula.[121]

        For Böhlig, the issue seems to be the exact relationship
of the illuminator with respect to the water. Is he in direct
contact with the water, i.e., "auf das Wasser," or is he near
the water, i.e., "an das Wasser"? Kasser (apparently),[122]
Krause,[123] Beltz,[124] and Schottroff[125] translate the statement
in accordance with Böhlig's earlier translation. MacRae[126]
follows Böhlig's later translation. Rudolph[127] concludes, after
considering Böhlig's argument, that the exact translation must
remain undecided. The statement is ambiguous and on the basis
of grammar can be translated both ways. Therefore it appears
that Böhlig's method seems correct, and the formula should be
translated on the basis of its use in the context and how one
views its background.

        On the basis of the statement of equivalency ("in this
way": N̄ϮⲌⲈ) in the concluding line to explanations 1-13 in the
list of kingdoms, it seems that the formula "he came to the
water": ⲀⲨⲈⲒ ⲈⲬⲘ̄ ⲠⲒⲘⲞⲞⲨ is intended to summarize the total
statement made by each kingdom. Thus, "to come to the water"
is to perform the same action identified in the explanation.

There are in each explanation generally three phases in view:
physical birth (2-6,9-11,13),[128] rearing (1-4,6,8-9,11-12), and
the receiving of glory and power (1-10,12-13). Böhlig takes
these three phases as three separate events: birth, removal
into the wilderness (an act connected to watchcare and tutoring
by birds, angels, etc.), and the assumption of power.[129]

     This is not the only way that one can understand the ex-
planations, however. They can be conceived as collective parts
of a single whole, rather than as three separate and distinct
events. This is actually suggested in the text itself. There
is a close relationship in the concepts of birth and nourishing
(i.e., between the first and second phases of each explanation)
so that the latter can be viewed as a continuation of the for-
mer. This relationship is evident in the fourth explanation
where conception, birth and nourishing are all included as
parts of the first phase of the explanation. The nourishing
phase is then restated before the phase in which glory and
power are received. Thus:

    Phase 1: The virgin conceived; she gave birth to the
              child in that place and nourished him.
    Phase 2: When he had been nourished,
    Phase 3: he received glory and power.

In most other explanations (6,8,9,12), while the conceptual
closeness of phases one and two is not emphasized, it is at
least not excluded by implying a separation between the phases
as is done in three of them (2,3,11). Explanations two, three
and eleven imply a separation between the birth phase and the
nourishing phase by having the child removed from the place of
birth before he is nourished. This is also true of explanation
four where the child is born "in that place," i.e., where the
virgin conceived; and nourished in a different place, i.e., "on
a border of the desert." In explanation four, however, the
immediate inclusion of a second statement of nourishing sug-
gests that the author conceived the first nourishing statement
to be part of phase one and the second nourishing statement to
be phase two. If this is not the case, how else does one ex-
plain the second nourishing statement? Furthermore, there is a
break in tense immediately following the first nourishing

statement. The first nourishing statement is connected to what
precedes by a string of perfect tenses. The second nourishing
statement breaks with the string of perfect tenses by being
cast in the *temporalis*. This is particularly striking since in
every other explanation having a nourishing statement (3,6,8,9,
11,12) phase one and phase two are connected through a string
of perfect tenses with no intervening conjunction except for
explanation two that begins the nourishing statement with ⲀⲢⲰ
([78],12-13). And even in this instance, the perfect tense is
used.

Finally, the fact that the second phase as a separate en-
tity has been eliminated altogether from several of the explan-
ations (5,7,10,13) suggests that the author did not maintain so
sharp a separation between phase one and two as Böhlig wants to
give it. Or put another way, one should not assume that the
nourishing phase has been eliminated from these explanations
because it is actually present by implication in the birth
phase. The fourth explanation also implies a close relation-
ship between nourishing and the receiving of glory and power.
Here the receiving of glory and power occurs in the context of
nourishing. In most of the other explanations, the nourishing
and the receiving of glory and power occur in the same place
(1,2,6,8,9).[130]

There is another structural argument for a close associa-
tion among all three phases. Except for explanations two and
nine,[131] the first major break in each explanation comes with
the conjunction introducing the stereotyped concluding phase:
"And in this way he came to the water." This effectively
divides all but two explanations into two parts, thereby asso-
ciating Bohlig's three phases as one unit in a quite obvious
manner.

I would argue that when the author uses Ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ to explain
the relationship of ⲀⲨⲈⲒ ⲈⲬ̄ⲙ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲨ to the rest of the narra-
tive he intends that the reader understand the coming to the
water as equal to the totality of these three phases. Thus "to
come to the water" seems to describe some sort of epiphany in
which the individual so described is born, prepared and commis-
sioned. The emphasis is not that he was born at one moment in

a certain fashion, and then over a period of time reared, and
then finally after a number of years commissioned. Rather, the
emphasis is he *appeared* in a certain way.

It is not clear exactly what context provides the meaning
for the formula ("And in this way he came to the water": ⲀⲨⲰ
Ⲛ̄ⲦⲈ ⲀⲨⲈⲓ ⲈⲬⲘ̄ ⲠⲘⲟⲟⲨ). A clarification of the meaning of the
formula and the identification of its background have given
rise to a divergence of scholarly opinion. H.-M. Schenke has
argued that the formula can be explained as an assimilation by
the Coptic word ⲘⲟⲟⲨ of a figurative use of the Egyptian word
mu. This assimilation allows one to understand the formula as
meaning: "and so he appeared."[132] However, his explanation
requires one to assume an original Coptic composition for the
list of kingdoms, and this is not possible if Nagel's explana-
tion for the difficult reading at [81],17-20 is correct.[133]
Schenke's explanation has been rejected by Rudolph in favor of
Böhlig's explanation, an explanation which Schenke himself
acknowledges to be possible.[134] Beltz, on the other hand,
thinks that Schenke's explanation is more convincing than
Böhlig's, but prefers a more direct explanation in terms of
Jewish apocalyptic.[135]

Böhlig has drawn attention to a series of parallels to the
list of kingdoms from the Iranian tradition.[136] He argues that
one of these parallels, the legend of the great king of the
endtime, provides a striking parallel both to the structure of
the individual narratives in the list of kingdoms and to the
final formula ("And in this way he came to the water": ⲀⲨⲰ
Ⲛ̄ⲦⲈ ⲀⲨⲈⲓ ⲈⲬⲘ̄ ⲠⲘⲟⲟⲨ).[137] According to Widengren, from
whose presentation of the legend Böhlig has drawn, three pri-
mary moments characterize the legend: birth, rearing and sei-
zure of power. This is a striking parallel to explanations
2-4,6,8-9,12, where each of these explanations is characterized
by three main events: birth, rearing and receiving glory and
power.[138]

He suggests two possible explanations for the final for-
mula. He recalls that the seed of the Saošyants, the three
sons of Zarathustra (Hušētar, Hušētarmāh and Sōšyans), was pre-
served in the Kasaoya sea. In intervals of 1000 years, three

different virgins bathed in the sea, conceived and gave birth
to the three Saošyants. The third son to be born, Sōšyans, is
the Saošyant par excellence. The first two are only fore-
runners. At his appearing, evil is destroyed, the dead are
awakened and a kingdom of righteousness is established. In
hymns he is described as "coming forth out of the waters of the
Kasaoya sea."[139]

        In a later article, Böhlig had questions about the applic-
ability of this parallel for the final formula, which he regards
as a reference to epiphany, the moment of intervention into
world afairs when youth is left behind. The parallel of the
Saošyants to which he had pointed, however, was to the moment
of birth only. If the parallel be admitted as appropriate with
regard to the formula, one must understand the appearance upon
the water as a fossilized vestige where Sōšyans arises from the
sea and then appears upon its surface. Böhlig, however, pre-
fers to translate the formula differently and to consider
another parallel. Regarding the preposition $\in \overline{X}N$ as a Coptic
translation of the Greek ἐπί, he translates "an das Wasser" and
suggests that it could refer to an episode reported in the
Šāhnāmah where Rustam travels to the mountain Alburz in order
to pay tribute to Kaikōbad as the king of kings, and to take
him for his official coronation.[140] He finds the young king in
a palace on the mountain surrounded by trees and fountains.
The throne on which he was sitting was near the water. He ar-
gues that since the king is the reincarnated Mithra and pos-
sesses the character of a universal figure, he is justified in
taking the parallel seriously with reference to the illuminator
in the *Apoc. Adam*.[141]

        Schenke has also briefly alluded to a third possible back-
ground for the formula. It may refer to the general represen-
tation in antiquity of the material world as originally consist-
ing of the waters of chaos.[142] However, Schenke rejects this
possibility as not completely satisfying because in his opinion
the mythological concepts throughout the list of kingdoms are
almost all non-gnostic.[143] This, of course, as Schenke himself
realized, is not sufficient basis on which to reject completely
this explanation. In gnostic texts, the description of the

material world as the waters of chaos is a common motif.[144]
It is specifically so identified in *Treat. Seth* (VII,2)50,13-18:

> I produced thought...about the
> descent upon the water, that is
> the regions below.[145]

In this passage, the "water" is specifically identified as the
regions below, i.e., the material world. A graphic description
is also set out in Right *Ginza* 3:

> He called Ptahil-Uthra...
> He gave him the name "Gabriel, the
> messenger," he called him, gave command,
> and spoke to him: "Arise, go, descend to
> the place where there are no skinas or
> worlds. Call forth and create a world for yourself....
> Ptahil-Uthra rose up, he went out and
> descended below the skinas, to the
> place where there is no world. He trod in the filthy
> mud, he entered the turbid water.[146]

The best description that I have found of water as a metaphor
for the material world is found in Hippolytus' (*Refutations*)
description of the Peratae.

> They call themselves Peratae, holding that nothing
> belonging to the world of becoming can escape the
> destiny laid down for things that come into being
> from their (moment of) coming into being. For he
> says, "Whatever comes into being is also completely
> destroyed," as the Sibyl has it. But we alone, he
> says, who have realized the necessity of coming-
> into-being and the routes by which man has entered
> the world, are exactly instructed and are the only
> ones who can pass through and cross over destruction.
> Now destruction he says, is water, and nothing else
> brings quicker destruction on the world than water. .
> Now water is that which circles the Proastii,[147]
> they say, namely Cronos; for he says it is a power
> of the color of water; and this power namely Cronos
> cannot be escaped by anything belonging to the world
> of becoming for Cronos presides over the whole pro-
> cess of becoming so as to make it subject to
> destruction.[148]
>
> And departing from Egypt, he says, means departing
> from the body--for they consider the body a miniature
> Egypt--and crossing over the Red Sea, that is the
> water of destruction, namely Cronos, and crossing
> over beyond the Red Sea, that is, beyond the process
> of becoming, and arriving in the desert, that is,
> escaping from the process of becoming.[149]

> The power of the abysmal darkness, which supports the
> silt of the imperishable watery void, the whole power
> of the convulsion, coloured like water, which is
> ever-moving, bearing up what holds fast, consolidating
> what is unstable, resolving what is to come, lighten-
> ing what holds fast, cleansing what increases; the
> faithful treasurer of the path of the vapours, which
> enjoys what wells up from the twelve "eyes" of the law,
> showing the seal to the power that governs those un-
> seen waters that hover above, its name was Thalassa.
> To this power ignorance gave the name of Cronos,
> guarded with chains, since he bound together the
> complication of the dense and cloudy dim dark
> Tartarus.[150]

In these quotations from Hippolytus, Cronos, the power of
darkness, presides over the entire process of becoming, i.e.,
the world, or as it is referred to, the world-of-becoming,
and makes it subject to destruction (i.e., through change and
dissolution). "Destruction" is descriptive of the world condi-
tion. "The unseen waters that hover above" appear to be the
waters of chaos known from other sources.[151] These waters are
identified both with Cronos as the power that controls the
world-of-becoming and with destruction that is characteristic
of the world condition. The metaphor crystallizes in the con-
cept of entering, and leaving the world. Man becomes (i.e.,
comes-into-being), that is, comes into the world, falls under
the power of Cronos and is subject to destruction. This is his
ultimate end, unless he can escape. Only those "exactly in-
structed" are the ones who can enter, pass through and cross
over destruction, that is, the world (or, as it is referred to,
water or Cronos). The Peratae used the imagery of the Exodus,
where crossing over the Red Sea is equivalent to crossing over
the water of destruction (i.e., Cronos or the world), and en-
tering the desert is equivalent to escaping from the process of
becoming or destruction (or the world). Turning this figure
around, one could say that entering the world can be described
as coming to the water (of chaos, or destruction).

It is against this background that I would suggest the
concluding formula to the explanations in the list of kingdoms
should be understood. "Coming to the water" is a metaphor for
coming into the world. In the context, it is intended to de-
scribe the epiphany of the illuminator of knowledge.

A description of the provenance of each individual explan-
ation and the kind of tradition it reflects is a difficult
problem that raises not only the natural issue of tradition
origins, but methodological ones as well. Beltz has assumed
that all the statements in the list are intended to explain the
birth of Jesus from the standpoint of a particular gnostic
group in antiquity.[152] Thus, he believes that the traditions
reflected in the individual statements have all been interpre-
ted and transmitted through Christian Gnosticism and/or Mani-
chaeism.[153] For example, explanation four reflects a gnostic
interpretation of the Jewish tradition of Solomon's control
over the demons and, according to Beltz, Solomon's desire to
take wisdom as his bride (Wis 8:2). Beltz understands the two
young women in the text to represent two Sophia figures, one
belonging to the Ogdoad above, and the other to the aeon of the
creator god. In the text, Solomon pursues the heavenly Sophia,
but only obtains the Sophia belonging to the lower aeon.[154]

Böhlig, on the other hand, because of his understanding of
certain of the explanations, argues that the document is a pre-
Christian text stemming from Jewish-Iranian Gnosticism. He
finds clear reference to the god Mithra in explanations seven,
eight, ten and eleven, and explanation two, he thinks, is the
result of a combination of Jewish and Iranian legends.[155] He
also argues that the Iranian legend of the great king of the
endtime, of which Mithra is the typical representative, is the
best parallel to explain the literary framework reflected in
the individual explanations, i.e., the threefold structure con-
sisting of birth, rearing and the assumption of power.[156] The
concluding refrain to each of the explanations, "and thus he
came to the water," is explained either by the birth of the
three Saošyants from the Kasaoya Sea or--a more recent position
by Böhlig--by a scene from the Šāhnamāh legends, the coronation
of Kaikōbad.[157]

The method used by both raises serious doubts about their
results. Beltz's approach to the narratives is not really ob-
jective. He *assumes* that all the stories are various (con-
testable) explanations about the birth of Jesus, but he fails
to demonstrate this fact conclusively in his discussion. His

accumulation of interesting similarities in motif is not
sufficient support for his sweeping assumption.

On the other hand, Böhlig's attempt to explain the prove-
nance of the document as derived from an Iranian background by
identifying the origin of the individual stories, while more
objective than Beltz, fails to recognize that the derivation of
certain explanations should not be equated with the provenance
of the document. Even if he is persuasive about the derivation
of certain explanations, he has shown only that the author of
the list was familiar with those traditions he identified. The
operative explanation with respect to provenance is the state-
ment of the kingless generation. This last explanation reflects
the position of the author of the list and, one would assume,
also that of the redactor. Böhlig's uncertainty as to the
parallel that best explains the refrain, of which the transla-
tions and meaning are uncertain, emphasizes the difficulty of
predicating provenance on the basis of obscure and uncertain
parallels.[158]

Further, we must at least consider the possibility that
these stories were created ad hoc as "strawmen" to be refuted
by the final correct explanation. In this sense, the author
would have drawn on traditions both contemporary and ancient,
but he considered none of them to be serious viable options.
His description of these traditions would either be biased
caricatures, or creations not intended to be taken seriously.

Several things speak in favor of this possibility. One is
our inability to identify with certainty convincing parallels
for any but a few of the explanations. A second is the fact
that where we can identify to everyone's satisfaction an
earlier parallel tradition, that feature lacking in the parallel
is precisely the one that would cause the earlier tradition to
"parallel" the given explanation. For example, in explanation
four, there is no record that Solomon sent his demons after a
"virgin" whom he impregnated when she was brought to him. And
in explanation nine, there is no known tradition that one of the
Muses drew apart to produce an offspring androgynously. One
might also argue that the reason explanation twelve is so abbre-
viated is that the author ran out of good ideas.[159] Arguing for

the thirteen explanations as reflecting viable ancient tradi-
tions is the fact that their literary structure is known else-
where in antiquity, i.e., in the Gospel of Mark, Revelation,[160]
and, if Böhlig is correct, also in the Iranian tradition.

There needs to be discussion and general agreement among
specialists as to what constitutes a parallel. Böhlig's in-
ability to determine with certainty which of his suggested
background traditions parallels and clarifies the refrain
points up the lack of criteria under which the enterprise of
parallel gathering labors. This is not to say that one should
not point out any and all similarities in motif, but there
needs to be clarity as to what constitutes a parallel and
parallels should be distinguished from incidental and general
similarities.

Further, there needs to be clarity about the function of a
parallel. Both Böhlig and Beltz have proceeded on the assump-
tion that the identification and accumulation of parallels de-
cides provenance. Is this the case? Should a given provenance
for a text on the basis of parallels even be considered unless
there are extensive striking parallels in a given tradition to
the text with parallel clusters in motif? Even then it would
not seem that provenance can be assumed to be proven absolutely,
since what are cited as parallels may themselves be motifs de-
rived from another milieu from which the text under considera-
tion stems. This could easily be true of Beltz's Manichaean
argument, since the similarities cited by Beltz are neither ex-
tensive nor striking, but rather limited and general.

The problem may lie in the categories being used. Appar-
ently any similarity to a given text, regardless of how vague
or general or limited, can be regarded as a "parallel." No
attempt is made to rank the "parallels" as to specificity of
analogue. All would agree that some "parallels" are more
appropriate and pertinent than others, but there is no provi-
sion to show this distinction in the terminology, as all ana-
logues are considered to be "parallels." In the interests of
clarity, specialists should so refine terminology as to allow
for this distinction. For example, I and others have used
interchangeably the words "parallel" and "similarity." Actually,

they are not identical. A similarity suggests only *partial* and
general correspondence, while parallel suggests *close* and spe-
cific correspondence; that is, a given motif "matches" or
"equals" that to which it corresponds. One might also con-
sider the use of the term "analogy" as used in biology. In
this life science, an analogy indicates similarity in function,
but dissimilarity in origin and structure. The term "resem-
blance," indicating vague or superficial correspondence, might
also be considered as a possible terminological tool.

The point is, if language were refined to accommodate the
nature of the correspondence between texts, then not every re-
lationship between texts can or should be called a parallel,
although there might still be resemblances.[161] To some extent
this is already done. We do talk about "verbal parallels,"
"conceptual parallels," "language similarity," "formal paral-
lels," and the like. However, there is sufficient lack of
clarity even in these expressions as to the value and meaning
of the analogue to lead to misunderstanding.

The parallel compiler should also be careful to show *how*
the "parallel" corresponds to the text under consideration. It
is not enough simply to list the extent of text thought to
correspond to another text or tradition; the analogue must also
be identified! If it is not identified, the reader is left to
determine it for himself, and this is not always a simple task.
While the parallel compiler may assume the analogue to be self-
evident, some are quite obscure. A description of how texts
relate should include a description of how the analogues func-
tion in *both* texts.[162] In some cases, "parallels" are cited
for a given text which, when carefully examined in their own
context, are found not to correspond at all.[163]

The use of parallels in the argument for provenance is a
difficult issue on which scholars can be expected to disagree.
The argument is too easily reduced to an accumulation of
appropriate "parallels" on both sides of an issue.[164] It
seems to me that a great deal of the confusion could be elimi-
nated by a refinement in terminology and a careful description
of how the analogue functions.[165]

When one takes this stance toward the identification of
parallels and the use of parallels, neither Beltz nor Böhlig
can be said to have proven his thesis as regards the provenance
of the *Apoc. Adam*. With respect to the provenance of the list
of explanations, one should do two things: begin with those
motifs for which one can find clear specific and convincing
parallels, and then concentrate attention on the statement of
the kingless generation, since this is the explanation that one
would expect to reflect the attitudes of the redactor to whom
must be attributed the final form of the tractate.

There are only two of the explanations that have clear,
unambiguous and specific parallels in antiquity: four and nine.
In these two instances, the backgrounds are clear. Explanation
four is clearly derived from the Jewish tradition of Solomon's
control over demons.[166] But the tradition that Solomon fathered
a child with an unnamed virgin secured for him by his army of
demons is unknown elsewhere in antiquity. The only statement
that can be made with certainty is that the author of the ex-
planation was familiar with the tradition about Solomon, al-
though he may not have known it from Jewish circles.

Likewise, it is equally certain from explanation nine that
the author was familiar with the Greek tradition of the nine
Muses.[167] Yet there is no known tradition of one of the Muses
drawing apart and producing a child androgynously, i.e., with-
out impregnation by a male partner. It is not even clear that
either of these explanations in their present form should be
called "gnostic." With respect to the other explanations,
there are no *clear* parallels that will allow us to associate
them with certainty to other known traditions in antiquity.

The one explanation that is decisive for the character of
the list as a whole is that of the kingless generation. This
generation says that the great illuminator was not born, but
was "chosen from all the aeons." This statement of his origin,
precisely in opposition to the preceding thirteen explanations
that indicate a birth of some sort, implies a negative view of
the material world. This observation is further strengthened
by the statement about receiving knowledge. It is indicated
that the illuminator possessed a knowledge of the "undefiled"

one. Presumably, had he entered the world in a way that asso-
ciated him with materiality, he himself would have been "de-
filed" and would not therefore possess this knowledge (cf. the
devolution of Adam and Eve in source A above). However, he was
chosen from all the aeons[168] and came from a "foreign air,"[169]
i.e., in no way associated with the world of becoming and de-
generation. His origin had nothing to do with the process of
becoming, whether natural or miraculous.[170] Therefore, he
could be the bearer of the knowledge of the "undefiled" one.[171]
Unfortunately, all of these motifs--choosing, non-material
origin and possession of special knowledge--are found generally
in gnostic texts making a decisive argument for provenance
based on similarities difficult if not impossible.[172]

     Beltz has argued that the statement of the kingless gener-
ation reflects a Manichaean provenance. At line [82],25 he
reads ΠЄⳜⲀ[C],[173] and understands the subject of the verb to
be γνῶσις ([82],23). He argues that there are two speakers and
hence two statements. The first statement is made by the king-
less generation ([82],20) regarding the figure previously men-
tioned in [77],16-18 who is, according to Beltz, Jesus. The
second statement is made by the (personified?) knowledge
([82],25) received by this figure (Jesus), and describes a
second different figure who is illuminator and savior. Accord-
ing to Beltz, the first figure, Jesus, is merely the prophet
and bearer of revelation who points to another who is illumina-
tor par excellence. This second figure Beltz describes as
Mani.[174] The other possibility that the subject of ΠЄⳜⲀ[C]
([82],25) is the same as Ⳝⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ([82],20), i.e., the king-
less generation, he rejects as not being the preferred
interpretation.[175]

     His explanation of the text frankly hinges upon his re-
storation of ΠЄⳜⲀ[C] at [82],25. However, this restoration
seems to be excluded by the vestiges of ink around the lacuna
that look more like ⲩ than C. On the basis of the present read-
ing of the text (ΠЄⳜⲀⲩ), the first speaker in the final ex-
planation is the kingless generation, who describes God as say-
ing that the illuminator came from a "foreign air."[176] Thus,
there are two statements about the illuminator, one made by the

kingless generation and one made by God, the undefiled one of
truth, as quoted by the kingless generation.

4. The Character of the Section

There are three motifs in this section that have been de-
scribed as Christian:[177] the illuminator suffers in his flesh,[178]
his converts are called "fruitbearing trees,"[179] and the illu-
minator performs signs and wonders.[180] It is striking that they
appear here in a cluster, and this configuration raises the
possibility that they are indirect references to Jesus, although
the name of Jesus is not mentioned in the text. On this basis,
arguments have been made that the section should be character-
ized as Christian. I have avoided deciding provenance on the
basis of a simple accumulation of parallels. Using that method,
these motifs might be Christian, but they might equally as well
be non-Christian.[181] However, here we do have the added fea-
ture of clustering.[182] Perhaps the situation provides an excel-
lent opportunity for pursuing the approach I suggested above;[183]
that is, to decide how these motifs function in the myth in the
Apoc. Adam.

Since the aim of such an examination of the *Apoc. Adam* is
to gain an understanding of its character, one should begin with
similar texts where there has already been general agreement
about how myth functions. By observing how motifs function in
these similar texts, it may be possible to establish guidelines
that will aid in the examination of the *Apoc. Adam*.

There are two such texts that possess a "redeemer myth"
similar to the section under consideration in the *Apoc. Adam*:
The Ascension of Isaiah and the *Concept of Our Great Power*
(VI,*4*). The Ascension of Isaiah (10-11) reflects a Christian
tradition that has been subjected to gnostic expansion and
elaboration.[184] On the other hand, the *Concept of Our Great
Power* (40,1-45,29) is a gnostic text that reflects Christian
influence.[185] The latter text is quite pertinent to the dis-
cussion since the elaboration of the myth, like the *Apoc. Adam*,
does not include any *specific* identification of the "redeemer"
as Jesus, while the Ascension of Isaiah does.

The fundamental Christian character of the myth in the
Ascension of Isaiah can hardly be contested.[186] The redeemer
is specifically identified as Jesus, the Lord Christ (10,7).
He enters the world as the son of the virgin Mary who was es-
poused to Joseph the carpenter, both of whom were descended
from the line of David (11,1-2). Joseph was espoused to Mary
and did not have sexual intercourse with her but "put her away"
until the child Jesus was born (11,3-11). The baby Jesus was
born in Bethlehem (11,12), and taken to Nazareth in Galilee
(11,15.17). When he matured, he worked signs and wonders in the
land of Israel and Jerusalem (11,18). Israel was roused
against him, he was delivered to the king and crucified (11,
21). On the third day following, he was raised (11,21), sent
out twelve apostles and ascended (11,22).

The gnostic elaboration and expansion is equally evident.
The appearance of the redeemer Christ is interpreted in gnostic
categories as a descent from the seventh heaven through the
"gate keepers" of the lower six heavens to the perceptible
world (10,8-13.17-31), and as an ascent to the right hand of
glory in the seventh heaven (10,14-16.24-32). The unrecogniz-
ability of the redeemer's true form (10,10-12.20-27; 11,24), a
motif that suits well the descent and ascent feature with its
gate keepers and antagonistic princes, angels and gods (10,12),
appears also as a secondary gnostic expansion of the New Testa-
ment tradition (11,14.16-17) where it really only makes sense
in relationship to the descent-ascent through the lower heavens
(cf. 11,16). However, this feature is also interpreted in the
myth in terms of recognizing the redeemer's true identity, and
not his true form (11,14).

The basic structure of the myth takes the form of a narra-
tive relating the Christian tradition about Jesus, that is
elaborated and expanded in only three ways: descent,[187]
ascent[188] and unrecognizability.[189] These features are not
essential to the myth proper. In this case they are, so to
speak, gnostic features appended to a Christian trunk which,
when disregarded, affect the character of the narrative but do
not disturb its basic structure. Since these features are un-
necessary to maintain the integrity and sense of the narrative,

they are to be described as secondary motifs; that is to say,
they serve a secondary function in the action of the narrative.
On the other hand, were we to disregard the characteristic
Christian elements, the structure of the narrative would be
radically altered. It would no longer be a redeemer myth.
There would only be left a narrative about descent (and ascent)
through the gate keepers of the six heavens to the perceptible
world. Further, the character of the narrative has also been
totally changed, since all Christian features have been re-
moved. In this instance, these features are essential to the
sense and structure of the narrative and must therefore be de-
scribed as primary motifs. Without them the narrative breaks
down. Their absence causes a gap in the action or logic of the
narrative; that is to say, they serve a primary function in the
narrative. Therefore, in this discussion it appears that we
have recognized a literary principle: when secondary features
are withdrawn from a narrative, the character may be changed,
but the basic structure of the story remains intact. On the
other hand, the removal of primary features alters *both* charac-
ter and structure.

    With respect to *Great Pow.* there can be little question
that it is primarily gnostic. There is likewise general agree-
ment that it contains covert Christian motifs;[190] that is,
references to Jesus are present in the redeemer myth of *Great
Pow.*, but without the use of Christian titles or a stated iden-
tification of the redeemer with Jesus. These Christian fea-
tures appear to be secondary (with respect to function) to the
main structure of the myth.

    The man (also called "logos" VI 43,28; VI 44,2; the
"living one" VI 36,29; "the life" VI 43,23) who knows the great
power came into being in the natural aeon (VI 40,24-27). He
proclaimed the aeon to come (VI 40,31) for 120 years (VI 43,
11-22). At his appearance, there was a disturbance and the
archons raised their wrath against him. They decided to deliver
him to the one who ruled over Hades (VI 41,13-17), so they
seized him and delivered him over (VI 41,23-30). However, the
ruler of Hades could not restrain him (VI 41,31-42,3), and he
was victorious over the command and rule of the archons

(VI 42,8-11). They recognized that he was from the logos of the power of life and that his word had abolished the law of the aeon (VI 42,4-8). His coming is the sign of the dissolution of the archons and the transition of the aeon (VI 42,11-15). Many who follow him will abandon his teaching (VI 42,31-43,3). The dissolution of the aeon will be accompanied by a great cosmic disturbance (VI 43,29-44,10) that will be preceded by a time of great wickedness (VI 44,10-29).

Those motifs that give the narrative a Christian character are actually blended into the story in such a loose way that their absence does not damage or alter the primary structure of the myth. Conversely, their presence gives an added dimension and meaning to the text. For example, the man who comes to proclaim the aeon to come will speak in parables (VI 40,30-31):

> Now concerning his words which he uttered, in all of them
> he spoke in seventy two tongues. And
> he opened the gates of the heavens with his words. And
> he put to shame the ruler of Hades;
> he raised the dead, and destroyed his dominion.
> (VI 41,3-12)[191]

The archons that wanted to hand him over to the ruler of Hades obtained his capture through his betrayal by one of his followers (VI 41,18-23).[192]

The main structure of the myth is non-Christian into which are incorporated Christian motifs.[193] When these are removed, the basic structure of the myth remains undisturbed, but the Christian character they suggest is lacking. On the other hand, were we to remove the non-Christian structure, there would be little left except an apparent Christian creedal confession. In effect, the Christian motifs function as an interpretative lever that inclines the reader to see the text in a particular slanted way. Therefore it appears that the same principle encountered in the discussion on the AscenIsa is applicable here also: when secondary features (with respect to function) are withdrawn from a narrative, the character may be changed, but the basic structure of the story remains intact. On the other hand, the removal of primary features alters *both* character and structure. In effect, we have identified a guide

that may be used for differentiating in a narrative those fea-
tures that function in a primary and secondary manner.

It is on this basis that we need to consider the so-called
Christian motifs in the *Apoc. Adam*. The issue is how do they
function in the text? Are they to be considered, with respect
to how they function in the text, as primary or secondary liter-
ary features? The motif of "fruitbearing" trees ([76],14-15)
does not appear to be a primary motif.[194] The feature of some-
thing being left behind, however, does appear to be a primary
feature, since it is the ostensible reason for the illuminator's
appearance, but it is not required that what is left behind be
specifically "fruitbearing trees." The necessity for this spe-
cific term is not presupposed anywhere in the myth. In fact,
if one assumes that the term suggests followers who propagate
the γνῶσις of the illuminator, then the expression seems to be
in tension with the description that follows it ([76],15-27)
where those left behind are not described as "propagating the
faith" but as themselves being in need of salvation. Thus,
there is no gap in the primary structure of the myth without
the expression.

Nor does the motif of "signs and wonders" ([77],1-3) ap-
pear to be a primary feature. As a *terminus technicus*, it does
serve to authenticate the work of the illuminator, but it is
not an element essential to the primary structure of the myth.[195]
At no other point in the narrative is the illuminator assumed
to have performed signs and wonders, nor is the expression re-
quired in order to make sense of some other feature in the myth.
However, the fact that the illuminator scorned the powers and
their ruler is an essential feature since it explains why the
powers were disturbed and why great wrath was raised against
the illuminator. It is not necessary to the sense of the myth
that the illuminator perform signs and wonders in order to
achieve the scorning, but it is necessary to the structure of
the myth that he scorn the creator in order to explain the re-
action of the powers.

The motif of the illuminator suffering ([77],16-18) does
seem to be essential to the primary structure of the narrative
since it follows naturally upon the wrath of the powers. But

it does not seem to be essential to add that the "flesh" of the
redeemer was punished. It would have been sufficient merely to
have said, "then they will punish the man upon whom the holy
spirit has come." It would naturally be assumed that he would
suffer physically, or in his "flesh." The addition of the ob-
ject "flesh" seems redundant and adds a different character to
the narrative. On the other hand, its absence does not actually
affect the structure of the narrative since one would naturally
assume that the man suffered physically.[196] Since he is de-
scribed as a man ([77],4-7.16-18), the reader would assume that
his humanity is characterized by his body of flesh--the normal
state of all human beings. The text implies this state by de-
scribing the descent of the holy "spirit" upon him; that is, it
was upon man, the physical *creature*, that the *spirit* descended.
This contrast is particularly true if we are dealing with the
(docetic) "host" of the redeemer. One would certainly expect
the "host" of the redeemer to have been flesh and blood.
Therefore the inclusion of the object "flesh" at this point
seems to be a clumsy redundancy not required to make the point.

        What is left after one disregards these three motifs is a
consistent narrative whose basic or primary structure not only
remains intact, but perhaps is somewhat improved by lessening
the clash between the redeemer's invisibility and the fact that
it is his "flesh" that suffers.[197] The only observable change
to the myth concerns its external character; that is, it no
longer contains features suggestive of Christian influence.
Therefore I would characterize these three motifs with respect
to function as secondary features[198] in the sense that they are
not part of the primary structure of the narrative. Their
presence is not essential to the integrity of the narrative.
In accordance with the literary principle worked out above, I
would judge any characterization attributed to the total narra-
tive under the influence of these three motifs to be a descrip-
tion based upon secondary features, since they are not constitu-
tive of the narrative as a whole.[199] The narrative should be
characterized on the basis of its primary structure, and not on
attendant or secondary motifs that may or may not be in harmony
with the nature of the narrative as a whole. In other words,

if one judges these motifs to be evidence of Christian influence, a reasonable trajectory for the intention of the narrative should be gnostic → Christian, because the presence of these motifs gives the narrative a character different from the character of the narrative as a whole. Because of their presence the reader "sees" the text in a different light; that is, he views the text through the total spectrum of the Christian tradition, and is thereby misled as to its true or primary character in that he attributes a character to the narrative that is not evident from its primary motives. Therefore if one insists on regarding these motifs as evidence of Christian influence, he should in all honesty describe the myth as non-Christian with some possible Christian influence. A better approach to the text is to interpret these motifs in harmony with the nature of the text as a whole, since the use of these motifs is not restricted to the Christian tradition only.[200]

C. The Position of the Text in the History of Religions

What I have described as source B has been preserved by the redactor in two incomplete segments. That these two segments were originally part of one document is not completely certain, although other possible explanations seem less likely.[201] This uncertainty required that the two segments[202] initially be treated separately. We are now in a position to evaluate their relationship more closely. Aside from the general relationship noted above, it appears that there is greater harmony between the two segments than was first apparent.[203]

Both segments reflect a similar threefold pattern describing man's condition and his world: man exists in a state of ignorance in the world, a condition described as death;[204] each man must anticipate his own individual day of physical death, because he is part of a world described as dead;[205] just as all men associated with this kind of world must die, so will the cosmos itself be dissolved.[206]

As the first segment recognizes two states or conditions for men in the world, ignorance and enlightenment,[207] so the second segment recognizes two classes of people: the saved, those who reflect on the knowledge of God, and the creatures of

the dead earth.[208] In both segments there is a pronounced
dualism implied in the negative view of the world and the death
of the body.[209]

It is to be agreed that these are general gnostic con-
cepts, but when contrasted to the A source, the basic harmony
of the two segments in the B source is more apparent and the
difference of the B source from the A source more apparent. In
the A source, there is no evidence of the marked dualism that
we find in the B source.[210] While the A source, like the B
source, recognizes two groups of people in the world, they are
characterized differently, and the organizing principle for
each group is different. In the B source, there is a marked
emphasis upon the individual that does not appear in source
A.[211] Individual men are described in source B as saved or
lost on the basis of whether or not they have received γνῶσις.
Those individuals who have received γνῶσις are called the
"chosen generation" ([82],28-[83],4). Those who have not are
described as "creatures of the dead earth" ([76],17-20).

In the A source, two distinct communities are recognized
at the outset: the men of gnosis and the seed of Noah ([71],8-
[73],12). The men of gnosis have a supernatural origin while
the seed of Noah have a natural origin. It is possible for
some of the seed of Noah to unite themselves with the men of
gnosis if they share in their knowledge of and committment to
the true God ([73],13-[74],16). On the other hand, the seed of
Noah are men who are corrupted by desire and who serve the
ΠΑΝΤΟ κράτωρ.[212] In the A source, life is viewed as a cosmic
struggle between the creator and his community on the one hand,
and the community of the men of γνῶσις on the other. In this
connection, salvation is not seen as a simple matter of an
isolated individual receiving special knowledge, but salvation
is determined on the basis of the community to which one belongs.
Thus, salvation is not depicted as an individual matter, but
primarily involves one in a community relationship.[213]

Further, the method of illumination is different. In the
A source, the γνῶσις lost by Adam and Eve at their devolution
into the world was passed on in the primordial period to the
great generation (64,20-[65],3; [65],9-23; [66],12-[67],12),[214]

while in the B source, "illuminators" come into the world to
bring enlightenment.[215] Source A also uses a different method
of periodizing than does source B. In A, periodizing is done
on the basis of idealized historical occurrences giving a
linear concept of time to the events.[216] On the other hand,
B is periodized as a threefold pattern of revelation of which
the first two occurrences are lacking.[217]

In the contrast between sources A and B, the position of
the text in the history of ideas becomes more clear. Source A
draws heavily on Jewish traditions, and the narrative is con-
structed from these traditions.[218] On the other hand, in the
B source, there are few specific references to the Jewish tra-
dition and those that are present are modified.[219] Source B
assumes a subtly different posture in that it presumes differ-
ent "givens" from source A. The traditions and motifs from
which its narrative is constructed are different and reflect a
different "world" than source A. For example, source B does
not draw upon the Old Testament as a sourcebook for its ideas
and imagery, while source A does. To be sure, there are allu-
sions to the Old Testament tradition in source B (for example,
the use of the names Adam, Eve and Seth), but that tradition
does not play a primary role in the narrative. Nor does source
B draw upon the New Testament tradition as a sourcebook. There
is no unequivocal reference made to the New Testament tradi-
tion, or motifs in source B. However, the text does draw upon
material that is similar to known gnostic traditions.[220]

The two sources have been examined from the standpoint of
their individual motifs in their isolation from one another.
From this standpoint, it is possible, as has been seen,[221] to
find conflicting parallels to different traditions. The true
meaning of the text, however, derives from the configuration of
its parts. The motives of the text break down the parameters
of the isolated individual motifs, and the new configuration in
the text gives them a different character. The key to under-
standing a text is to discover its motives. This is always
difficult since the motives of a text are not usually written,
but must be deduced from the general image conveyed by the
text.

One must respect the integrity of the text. The general
impression it gives is as valid for determining its character
as its individual parts. Individual motifs are integrated by
the motives of the text. These inner drives, impulses or in-
tentions pull the motifs together into the whole we call the
text and impel them in a certain direction so as to give a
general impression which we describe as the character of a
text. This impression can be described as the overall effect
produced on the mind of the reader under the influence of the
text, or as an image of the author's world refracted through
the text. From this standpoint, source B should be described
as clearly gnostic, but as having no striking affinities to any
known gnostic group as reported in the reports of the Church
Fathers.[222]

CHAPTER IV

[1]See above pp. 37-38 and 160-61. However, it is possible that the revelation story ([65],24-[66],12; [67],12-21) is the work of the redactor. See above, pp. 114-15.

[2]See above, pp. 23-25.

[3]For example, see above, p. 120, where a gnostic revelation story follows the model of an exorcism, and above, pp. 104-105, where the revelation story has become in actuality a dream vision. However, in this latter instance, the tension between metaphorical language about sleep and "real" language about sleep is evident. Compare also Poimandres 1.1-26 where the gnostic revelation story follows the model of a dream vision and Poimandres 1.27-29 where the gnostic revelation story has been modeled in a preaching context as a homily. In the former situation, the structure assumes the form of a dialog, while in the latter, the structure resembles most closely the gnostic revelation story in the *Apoc. Adam* (see above, pp. 99-101.

[4]This structure and language do not correspond closely to examples of visions that I have seen elsewhere. For the Old Testament material, see Moses Sister, "Die Typen der prophetischen Visionen in der Bibel," *Wissenschaft des Judentums* 78 (1934) 399-430. For the New Testament: Matt 17:1-9; Luke 24:13-27; Acts 10:1-17, 12:6-9, 16:9-10, 22:6-11.17-21, 26:12-19; Rev 1:9-12. For the Jewish apocalyptic literature: *2 Enoch* 1:1-38:3; *1 Enoch* 83:1-6, 85:1-91:42; *4 Ezra* 3:1-5:19, 5:20-6:34, 6:35-9:25, 9:26-10:57, 10:60-12:48, 13:1-53, 14:1-48; *3 Apoc. Bar.* 1:1-17:4; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 36:1-40:4, 53:1-12.

[5]Werner Foerster (ed.), *Gnosis* (2 vols.; trans. and ed. R. McL. Wilson; Oxford: Clarendon, 1972) 1.334. See also Nock and Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum*, 1.16-17.

[6]See Hans Jonas, *Gnostic Religion*, 68, and George MacRae, "Sleep and Awakening in Gnostic Texts," *Le origini dello gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina 13-18 Aprile 1966; Testi e discussioni* (*Numen* Supplement 12; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967) 496-507.

[7]A. F. J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962) 121-25.

[8]One might make a good argument that the Hymn of the Pearl is an expanded revelation story. The structure of the Hymn corresponds to the structure of the revelation story.
  - I.   The lapse into ignorance, 108-109.
  - II.   The appearance of the revealer, 110.
  - III. The revelation, 111a.
  - IV.   The enlightenment, 111b-113.

[9]A. V. Williams Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism* (New York: Columbia University, 1932) 249-54.

[10]Cf. Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* (2nd ed. rev.; trans. B. L. Woolf; New York: Scribner's, n.d.) 86.

[11]See Jonas, *Gnostic Religion*, 81.

[12]Quotations from *Trim. Prot.* from the translation by John Turner in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 461-470.

[13]The revelation (130,16-132,5) consists of a further series of injunctions the examination of which goes beyond the scope of this section. Translation by John Sieber in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 393.

[14]Mark Lidzbarski, *Ginza: Der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925) 430-31.

[15]Jonas, *Gnostic Religion*, 87-88. Jonas discusses the unusual response of Adam to the revelation brought by the redeemer.

[16]Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, 387-88. Cf. idem, *Das Johannesbuch* (225-26) for an identical narrative.

[17]Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch*, 56-57.

[18]Translation by Frederik Wisse in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 115-16.

[19]As seen above, *Apoc. Adam* differs from the other revelation stories most radically at this point. In the *Apoc. Adam*, there are three revealers. Beltz has cited the parallels in the rabbinic and Mandaean traditions (57-58). He points out that triads are a favorite scheme in late antiquity. In Iranian thought, three archangels appear from heaven as witnesses from Ahura Mazda to the message of Zarathustra (see the footnote to the translation at [65],24-33). See also Michael Stone, "The Death of Adam--An Armenian Adam Book" (*HTR* 59 [1966] 283-91), where three revealers appear to Eve in a dream. See *2 Enoch* 1:6 (Charles, *APOT*, 2.431), where two messengers are sent from God to Enoch, and in this connection Gen 18:1ff. where three messengers appear to Abraham. See also the thrice-male Child in the *Gospel of the Egyptians* (Alexander Böhlig and Frederik Wisse, *The Gospel of the Egyptians: The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975] 44-46).

[20]See above, p. 101.

[21]See above, Poimandres and Theodore bar Konai, pp. 99-101 and 102.

[22]See above, Left *Ginza* 1,2, pp. 104-105, and Jonas' comments in *Gnostic Religion* (87-88).

[23]This latter idea is clearly expressed in source A at
[67],10-12, and [84],1-3 also seems to assume the idea of
physical death when it contrasts souls that "shall surely die"
with those that will "live forever." However, compare [65],
14-16 and [73],30-[74],2, where the meaning of the word "dead"
is clearly metaphorical.

[24]See Beltz, 125.

[25]See above, 110-11.

[26]Charles (*APOT*, 2.139) reports that some manuscripts have
a preface explaining the reason Seth was chosen for the revela-
tion. In both the *Apoc. Adam* and *Adam and Eve*, the revelation
to Seth comes through Adam. See also *Ap. John* (II,1)24,34-
25,2: Adam begat Seth according to the way of begetting in the
aeons, i.e., he "knew the likeness of his own foreknowledge."
Cf. Clem, *exc. Thdot.* 54,1-3 and Epiph. *Pan.* 40.7.1-4. For the
importance of Seth in the Samaritan tradition, see John Bowman,
*The Samaritan Problem: Studies in the Relationships of Samari-
tanism, Judaism, and Early Christianity* (trans. A. M. Johnson,
Jr.; Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1975) 55, 100. See also the study
by A. F. J. Klijn, *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Liter-
ature* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977).

[27]See Beltz's discussion (47-50) for the significance of
Seth in antiquity.

[28]Other than the text under discussion, the name "Seth"
appears only five times in the *Apoc. Adam*: In source A: intro-
duction 64,2-6 (two times), conclusion [85],19-22. In source
B: [67],14-21, and [76],28-[77],1. In the redactor's conclu-
sion: [85],22-24. In every instance but one ([76],28-[77],1),
the use of the name Seth is part of the testament motif and
therefore unavoidable. Most of these references do nothing to
clarify the relationship of "that man," or "those men" to Seth.
[76],28-[77],1, on the other hand, does not seem to be part of
the testament motif, suggesting that it might be the one occur-
rence of the name Seth that clarifies such relationships. Un-
fortunately, it is near a lacuna. If the present reconstruc-
tion of this lacuna ([76],28-[77],1) is correct, it places
source B in contrast to source A with its use of the name Seth
in a mythological context apart from the testament motif.

[29]Compare the following references where one would have
expected a clear identification of Seth with the "great race"
or "that man": [65],3-9.25-32; [69],10-16; [72],5-9. Also see
above, p. 94 n. 52, where the great race is referred to only in
general terms and never by the name of their great ancestor
Seth (except, perhaps, for the allusion in the lacuna at
[76],28-[77],1).

[30]I assume that there is a concrete referrant intended
because the third statement ("who came from you and Eve") sug-
gests a particular incident in the tradition of which we have
knowledge and because the purpose of these explanatory clauses
seems to be to identify Seth without actually naming him.

[31]Cf. also BG8502 65,1-6; *Ap. John* (II,*1*)25,23-24; 26,9-10.

[32]Translation by Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.294. For the origin of Seth as the heavenly prototype of Adam's Son, see *Steles Seth* (VII,*5*)118,28 (brought forth without birth), and *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)51,5-14 (= [IV,*2*]62,30-63,17).

[33]I noted in the note to the text ([65],33-[66],8) that it is also possible to understand ϯⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲙ̅ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ as indicating identity, i.e., the seed *is* that man: "the seed, namely, that man," taking the Ⲛ̅ to be the particle of identity (cf. in Codex V, [47],27; [54],8; [66],10; [76],26). This interpretation has the merit of support from [65],3-9, where "that man" is identified as "the seed of the great generations." So such an interpretation would not introduce a foreign idea into the text. Further, it would remove what I sense as an inappropriate dual emphasis in the statement of the three men. If one takes the Ⲛ̅ as a genitive, then the three men call on Adam to hear about the seed, the descendants of Seth, of whom they say nothing. Instead, they talk about "that man." Understanding the Ⲛ̅ as indicating identity gives the statement only one emphasis. On the other hand, understanding the Ⲛ̅ as a genitive ("the seed *of* that man") agrees with the statement in [69],10-17 where the seed is identified as those men who received life, i.e., the descendants of the heavenly Seth. Further, the predominant use of the term ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ in the tractate is to identify the descendants of Seth. However, see [85],24-32, where ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ clearly refers to Seth.

[34]Translation by Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, 98. See also the similar statement at 59,9-25.

[35]Ibid., 178-79.

[36]See [65],3-9; [69],10-17 and below, pp. 185-87.

[37]See above, pp. 37-38, and 160-63.

[38]See above, pp. 102-03 (Theodor bar Konai), where Adam "realized what he was" after the statement of revelation.

[39]See below, pp. 185-87.

[40]See above, pp. 53-54 n. 70. Only the kingless generation gives a specific identification for the subject of the stories as the illuminator of knowledge. In the statements of the thirteen kingdoms, the subject of the stories is not specifically identified. See above, pp. 117-18.

[41]Cf. MacRae, "Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam," 30-31. MacRae has also suggested (II,*5*)97,24-30 and (III,*3*)70,1-71,13 as examples for the contrasting of several wrong answers with a correct answer.

[42]It is true that the questions are not really clear. The nominal subject of the first question is indefinite, and its antecedent is open to question (see the note to the text at [77],23-27). ΠλⲁNH seems to be the most probable antecedent, for one reason because of its proximity to ⲀCⲱⲱΠⲈ. It is the closest possible antecedent, and because of this nearness the scribe may have felt that it was unnecessary to clarify the subject through an Ńⲟ/ phrase following the verb. Another reason is that the two questions form a disjunctive parallelism and ΠλⲁNH makes a convenient parallel with ⲘⲚⲦNOYⲨ in the second question.

[43]This interpretation of the text as a whole was suggested by George MacRae as one way of making sense out of the text in its present form.

[44]The title TⲘⲚⲦ‾ρ̂ρο appears only three times in the tractate outside of the collection of explanations: [73],25-29 the twelve kingdoms formed by the sons of Noah; [74],12-16 the "dominion" of the creator; and [76],24-27 the "dominion" of the creator.

[45]Cf. *Orig. World* (II,5)101,31 where T‾ⲘⲚⲦρ̂ρο is the feminine name of Adonaios.

[46]Also see below, pp. 200-201.

[47]See the note to [82],19-20 below.

[48]See above, pp. 39-40.

[49]See above, p. 94 n. 52.

[50]MacRae, "The Apocalypse of Adam Reconsidered," 574; Rudolph, "Gnosis und Gnostizismus," 43; Beltz, 140; Kasser, 317. Others call it an "excursus," thereby suggesting that in some way it is in tension with its present literary setting: Karl Tröger (ed.), "Die Bedeutung der Texte von Nag Hammadi für die Moderne Gnosisforschung," *Gnosis und Neues Testament* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973) 46 (no author given--it is a joint work of the *Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften*); Böhlig, 87; Krause, 2.14.

[51]Cf. MacRae, "Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam," 27-35. MacRae has assembled a number of parallels to this section from the Deutero-Isaiah tradition (p. 33) and argued that the "episode of the Illuminator-redeemer...can...be accounted for as a sort of gnostic midrash built on the Deutero-Isaiah Servant Songs." While MacRae was unable to develop his thesis in the short article, as he himself noted (p. 33), I agree with Schottroff ("Animae naturalitur salvandae," 83) that the parallels are not specific nor extensive enough in essential ideas to allow one to argue that the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah provide a specific occasion for the illuminator-redeemer episode in the *Apoc. Adam*. The significance of his

article is that it flags a cluster of striking parallels to the
gnostic illuminator-redeemer episode in a Jewish text. His
cluster of parallels is more credible when regarded as an early
stage in the development of the tradition out of which the re-
deemer myth evolved. In a later article ("The Apocalypse of
Adam Reconsidered," 575), MacRae acknowledged that this was the
better explanation. In this sense, the parallels are a part of
the matrix that produced the myth, but not the direct cause of
the myth.

    [52]The myth is alluded to at many points: *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)
51,5-14; 62,24-64,9; *Ap. John* (II,*1*)30,11-31,25; *Treat. Seth*
(VII,*2*)59,19-29; *Ep. Pet. Phil.* (VIII,*2*)136,16-28; 139,9-23;
Paraph. Shem (VII,*1*)15,28-34; 28,34-29,12; 32,5-18; 36,12-14;
Trim. Prot. (XIII,*1**)50,6-20; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* (III,*4*)96,19-21;
107,11-21; *Gos. Truth* (I,*2*)20,23-21,2; 31,4-8; 40,30-41,12;
cf. also the ascent of Zostrianos (VIII,*1*)4,20-31; 129,8-132,9.
For the New Testament, compare Phil 2:6-11, 1 Cor 2:6-9. See
also Hipp. *Ref.* 5.12.6; 8.10.3-8; Epiph. *Pan.* 39.3.5; 26.9.9;
10.4-6.

    [53]*Treat. Seth* (VII,*2*)50,23-56,32; *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,*1**)
40,8-46,3; AscenIsa 10-11.

    [54][76],17-27 is an exegetical statement that digresses
from the myth proper. See below, pp. 172-73 n. 77.

    [55]Compare Rudolf Bultmann's mockup of the gnostic redeemer
myth from the Manichaean and Mandaean texts ("Die Bedeutung der
neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das
Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums," *ZNW* 24 [1925] 100-46):
1c = Bultmann's #25; 2b = Bultmann's #3; 3a = Bultmann's #26;
3c = Bultmann's #16; 4b = Bultmann's #14. See also the critique
by Carsten Colpe, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule: Darstellung
und Kritik ihres Bildes vom gnostischen Erlösermythes* (Göttingen:
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961) 57-68, 171-93.

    [56]Cf. *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)51,5-14.

    [57][76],17-27.

    [58]For example, the reference to the third pass of the
illuminator ([76],8-11) is inexplicable without mention of the
first two passes. The statement at [77],14-15 about the powers
not seeing the illuminator is likewise difficult to understand
since, immediately following, the text states that "his flesh
was punished." The statement becomes understandable only by
assuming a docetic motif similar to that in *Treat. Seth* (VII,*2*)
56,4-19. The text has also failed to record the coming of the
holy spirit upon the man whose "flesh was punished" ([77],
16-18). And finally, the statement about "using the name in
error" assumes a configuration of ideas not present in the text:
What is the name? How did they use it in error? What is the
relationship between punishing "the man on whom the holy spirit
has come," and the statement that immediately follows about
"using the name in error"? One of the most interesting features

of the myth in *Apoc. Adam* is what it does not say. The *Apoc. Adam* ends with the question of the perplexed powers and with the illuminator-redeemer still in the world. However, in the parallel texts, the illuminator has returned to the heavenly world: AscenIsa 11,22-32; *Treat. Seth* (VII,*2*)56,17-18; 57,7-16; *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,*1**)48,27-30; 49,11-15; 50,6-9.

[59]See Böhlig (87) who omits Codex XIII from the cluster of documents to be associated with the *Apoc. Adam*.

[60]The amount of text with which we are concerned here is quite brief. Thus, comments with reference to its characteristic religious ideas can for the most part be considered only as suggestive and not exhaustive.

[61]See above, pp. 30-31.

[62]Such an assertion does not reduce the received text to nonsense: One must consider the redactor's understanding of the text. The redaction of the text is an interpretation. The present form of the text would have some meaning to the redactor and his community.

[63]Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, 142-43.

[64]*Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)60,25-61,23 = (IV,*2*)72,7-27. See Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, 191. The authors of the *editio princeps* state that "Seth passes through the three παρουσίαι experienced by his children: first the flood, secondly the conflagration, and thirdly the judgment of the archons." The difficulty is that at the place cited as proof, only two of the "three παρουσίαι" are mentioned: the flood and the conflagration ([IV,*2*]72,14-15 reads "conflagrations"). The "judgment of the archons" as such does not appear. However, the other visitations of wrath mentioned in the text at this point-- famines, plagues, temptations and falsehood of false prophets-- are interpreted by the text as the activity of the devil (= archon), his guises and schemes, and the persecutions by his powers and angels ([III,*2*]61,16-23). Since the text later refers to all three visitations as being mentioned previously ([III,*2*]63,4-8), it seems justifiable to understand the statement at (III,*2*)61,16-23 as the judgment of the archons, powers and authorities, assuming that the later reference has also interpreted it this way.

[65]No mention is made of the great Seth's redemptive activity during the visitations of wrath upon the seed of Seth. In fact, it is specifically stated that his race received "grace through the prophets and the guardians who guard the life of the race." It is only after the great Seth observes the "activity of the devil" that he asks for guards over his seed, and is commissioned to save his people.

[66]MacRae, "Sleep and Awakening," 496-507.

[67]Pheme Perkins, "Gnostic Periodization of Revelation and the Apocryphon of John," paper presented to the Nag Hammadi section of the Society of Biblical Literature (1970), mimeo.

⁶⁸So Gesine Schenke, "Die dreigestaltige Protennoia," *TLZ* 99 (1974) cols. 731, 733, and so *Gnosis und Neues Testament*, 74.

⁶⁹See pp. 48-49 n. 46.

⁷⁰Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, 191.

⁷¹However, compare Böhlig's suggested parallel in the Iranian tradition: the appearance of the third Saoš̄yant, Sōsyans. See below, pp. 144-45.

⁷²See below, n. 73.

⁷³The motif of "bearing fruit" as a demonstration of religious dedication is too common in antiquity to allow one to regard it as unique to any one religious movement. For the OT, see Ps 1:3; Prov 11:30; Jer 11:19, 17:7-10, 21:14; Hos 10:1. For the NT, see Matt 3:8-10, 7:15, 12:33, 21:43; Mark 4:19-20; John 15; Rom 1:13, 7:4; Eph 5:9; Phil 1:11; Col 1:10; 2 Pet 1:8; Jude 12; Rev 2:22. See also Wis 4; *Apoc. Adam* [84],26-[85],3; *Ap. John* (II,*1*)21,21-35; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* (III,*4*)97,1-11 (= BG *3*,88,2-10); 107,16-20 (= BG*3*,104,14-18); BG*3*,122,5-123,1; *Thom. Cont.* (II,*7*)39,1-2; 142,14-15; The Story of Ahikar 8:35 (Syr.) in Charles, *APOT*, 2.775. See also καρπός in *TDNT* 3 (1965) 614-16. C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm Book* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938) 208 line 23. For the rabbinic tradition, see H. L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (5th ed.; 4 vols. in 5; München: C. H. Beck, 1969) 1.466, 638-39.

⁷⁴The situation is just reversed in Epiph. *Pan.* 39.3,1-3 where a remnant of the wicked seed of Ham is left behind in the world.

⁷⁵See above, pp. 110-11.

⁷⁶See above, pp. 83-84.

⁷⁷The exegetical statement has a homiletical character, and is very clearly not a part of the structure of the myth. It digresses from the main theme of the section--the events surrounding the coming of the illuminator of knowledge. It does not describe any action by the characters in the episode, but is formally a pause in that action that suggests a different context and a different group of actors. It is an explanatory statement that clarifies why the illuminator must save the souls of the gnostics and how he saves them. Further, it is the only exegetical-type statement in a section that is characterized by a highly abbreviated style. In explaining the statement at [76],15-17 ("and he will redeem their souls from the day of death"), it would have been sufficient merely to state why the illuminator must redeem the gnostics. A statement to this effect would have not been inconsistent with the abbreviated style of the rest of the section, and would be understandable as a natural outgrowth of the statement being commented

upon. However, the second half of the statement indicating *how*
salvation was to be accomplished does not develop from the
statement ostensibly being explained. It is actually occa-
sioned by the lack of specificity in the myth about how salva-
tion is accomplished. It attempts to fill out in the myth what
is only implied (or, perhaps, what had been clearly stated in
one of the two missing appearances of the illuminator). The
explanatory statement assumes a specific life situation and the
myth does not. The myth is concerned simply to narrate the
third appearance of the illuminator. There is no special
situation assumed by the narration. The narrative could be
directed to the gnostic community or to a group of potential
gnostics as a missionary tract. On the other hand, the explan-
atory statement has in view a homiletical situation in which
the audience is non-gnostic. They are warned of the dangers of
unenlightenment and advised of the means of salvation. The
most interesting thing about the explanatory statement is what
it implies about the myth as stated in the *Apoc*. *Adam*. It im-
plies that it is a traditional unit that came to the author of
this section largely intact. The traditional character of the
unit resisted the author's attempts to rewrite the opening
lines of the section for the purpose of clarifying the role of
gnosis in the work of the illuminator, and forced him to clari-
fy it in a parenthetical statement.

[78]Cf. the article σημεῖον in *TDNT* 7 (1971) 200-61. The
phrase σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα appears to be a technical expression
that authenticates an individual as an accredited envoy of God.
In the Jewish and Christian traditions, it is rooted in the
Exodus from Egypt in which God demonstrates himself to be God
of history and showed Israel to be his chosen nation. It also
appears to be a part of the Jewish messianic expectations as
the credentials by which the Messiah is accredited (cf. Deut
13:1-2 and John 1:21), but is rejected as a part of the expec-
tations of the early Christian communities (Matt 24:24 = Mark
13:22). Paul picks it up as a traditional expression to show
that he is an accredited envoy of Christ (Rom 15:19, 2 Cor
12:12). In some cases, there is a close relationship between
"signs and wonders" and "power" (cf. Rom 5:19, 2 Cor 12:12,
2 Thess 9:9, Heb 2:4). In this case it is noticeable that
"power" also appears as a parallel manifestation of the illumi-
nator ([77],4-7).

[79]In this context, these two motifs, as indicated above
(n. 58), are contradictory. However, they undoubtedly reflect
a docetic tradition in which the motifs were understandable,
as for example that found in *Treat*. *Seth* (VII,*2*)55,10-56,32.
In *Treat*. *Seth*, the redeemer figure is both unseen and yet
physically punished because the (spiritual) redeemer separated
himself from his (physical) host prior to the suffering. In
the *Apoc*. *Adam*, apparently in the interest of abbreviating the
myth, the docetic motif is lost and hence the resulting confu-
sion and contradiction. The present form of the text con-
sciously makes a distinction between the illuminator on the one
hand and "the man upon whom the holy spirit has come" on the
other.

[80] See the parallels listed above, pp. 119-22.

[81] See above, pp. 119-22.

[82] See above, pp. 122-24.

[83] See above, pp. 62-63.

[84] Beltz, 139.

[85] See the discussion above, pp. 111-15.

[86] See, for example, the parallels listed in the footnotes to the translation.

[87] Hipp. *Ref*. 5.6.4-5. Translation from Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.263-64. Cf. Hipp. *Ref*. 8.12.5 and *Gos. Eg*. (III,*2*)66,8-24.

[88] The reference at [77],16-18 is not used in the same technical way. See the discussion above, nn. 58 and 79.

[89] Schottroff, "Animae naturalitur salvandae," 79.

[90] The soteriology of the text has already been discussed; see above, p. 125.

[91] The motif is so common in gnostic texts that it scarcely needs demonstration; cf. for example p. 170 n. 52 above.

[92] See above, n. 79.

[93] This assumes my argument above about the docetism, n. 58.

[94] See also the catalog of "forms" (pp. 195-97) through which Zostrianos passed: *Zost*. (VIII,*1*)5-7 and 53. The pertinent statements are as follows: 5,16; 6,17; 7,4.13.18-19.22; 53,18-19. See also Matt 5:21-45.

[95] Translation from Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.264-65. I am indebted to Prof. H.-M. Schenke for pointing out this parallel to me.

[96] See above, pp. 54-55 n. 74 and pp. 117-19.

[97] James Rendel Harris, *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv in Syriac and English* (5 vols.; Cambridge: University Press, 1911-1916) 1.22-23.

[98] See Böhlig (92-93), and idem, "Die Adamapokalypse," 48. But, see also his "Jüdisches und iranisches," 155, where he modifies his earlier statement and asserts that it must remain undecided whether or not we are dealing with an ascending scale or whether the thirteen kingdoms are to be contrasted with the kingless generation (to which he still refers as the fourteenth kingdom).

[99]Cf. also explanation eleven where the child came down to caves.

[100]Kasser thinks that explanations three and four may be doublets (317 n. 3).

[101]Explanations two and four have the word ⲁⲗⲟⲩ (child) in common with explanations seven and eleven.

[102]These two explanations, five and seven, may be doublets. In both, the origin of the illuminator is associated with a "heavenly drop," and in both he returns to heaven. The details of his physical birth are different, but could be accounted for as variants of the same tradition. Compare explanation ten where the word "drop" is also used. The origin of the illuminator is still associated with a "drop," presumably one may say "a drop of heaven," since he originates from the semen of a god, but he does not return to heaven.

[103]See Hipp. *Ref*. 6.30.6-31.2. See Schenke, col. 33; the citations by Beltz, 163; and *Ep. Pet. Phil*. (VIII,2)135,10-20.

[104]With the personification of λόγος, the thirteenth explanation is related to a widely used concept in antiquity. See H. Kuhn, R. Schnackenburg and C. Huber, "Logos," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (2nd ed. rev.; 10 vols.; eds. Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner; Freiberg: Herder, 1957-1965) 6.1119-1128; J. N. Sanders, "The Word," *Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible* (4 vols.; ed. George A. Buttrick, et al.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1962) 4.868-72.

[105]See the discussion above and pp. 38-39, 116-19.

[106]See above, pp. 54-55 n. 74.

[107]Böhlig, 91, 92, 94. In his *editio princeps*, Böhlig refers to them as fourteen kingdoms. He only later becomes aware of a distinction between the thirteen kingdoms and the kingless generation. See above, n. 98. Beltz (143) never discusses the issue of how one counts the explanations. However, he does call the kingless generation the fourteenth kingdom, thus implying that it was to be included with the first thirteen kingdoms (see particularly p. 178).

[108]The possibility that the list originally may have contained only twelve explanations has been suggested by Kasser (317) and in his "Textes gnostiques: Remarques" (92). He suggests twelve explanations by eliminating explanations four and fourteen on the basis of the "difference" of the explanation by the kingless generation from the first thirteen explanations, and the fact that the fourth explanation appears to him to be a doublet of the third. Note that explanations five and seven may also be doublets. See above n. 102.

[109]Schottroff, "Animae naturalitur salvandae," 73-79.
MacRae, "Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam," 30. R. Haardt,
"Böhlig, Alexander und Labib, Pahor, Koptisch-gnostische Apoka-
lypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-
Kairo," *WZKM* 61 (1967) 155-59 (esp. 156-57). Rudolph ("Gnosis
und Gnostizismus," 43) thinks the author has listed those ideas
about the origin of the illuminator of which he was aware. In
the final explanation, he shows how they are surpassed.

[110]Böhlig, 91-92.

[111]Böhlig, "Jüdisches und iranisches," 158. See Carl
Schmidt, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften; Erster Band: Die Pistis
Sophia. Die beiden Bücher des Jeû, Unbekanntes altgnostisches
Werk* (3rd ed.; ed. Walter Till; Berlin: Akademie, 1962) 322-27.
Schmidt's transcription has been translated into English by
Violet MacDermot, *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the
Bruce Codex* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978) 183-201.

[112]*Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)58,1-22 (Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the
Egyptians*, 122-24, 183-84); Iren. *Haer.* 1.17.1 and 1.24.3-7
(Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.213 and 59-62); *4 Ezra* 12:10-39 (Charles,
APOT, 2.613-15); *Ap. John* (II,*1*)10,19-11,10 and BG8502 38,14-42,15.
See also the twelve gods of chaos: *Orig. World* (II,*5*)104,25;
the twelve wicked angels of creation: Hipp. *Ref.* 5.26.3,11,27
(Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.53, 54, 56); the twelve aeons in Allberry
(*A Manichaean Psalm Book*, 98 line 25). See the discussion by
H.-M. Schenke, *Die gnostischen Schriften des Koptischen Papy-
rus Berolinensis 8502* (Berlin: Academie-Verlag, 1972) 42-45.
Compare also the secret words that the initiate speaks as he
passes the seven archons that rule over the world (the other
five presumably rule over chaos): Or. *Cels.* 6.31-32 (Foerster,
Gnosis, 1.96-97). See also GL 1,4 (Foerster, *Gnosis*, 2.246-51)
for a similar tradition in Mandaean texts. See above, n. 45.

[113]Iren. *Haer.* 1.17.1 (Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.212-13); Clem.
exc. Thdot. 1.25.1 (Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.225); *Marsanes* X,44*,
1-7.

[114]See above, n. 108.

[115]This does not mean that in the literary history of the
list it could not have been first composed and compiled as a
total number of twelve explanations. It could have been (see
above pp. 137-38), but this should not influence our trying to
understand it *in its present context* as a total number of thir-
teen explanations.

[116]See above, pp. 135-37.

[117]See above, pp. 132-37.

[118]Cf. Col 2:8-15. See Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyp-
tians*, 191-94.

[119]A certain identity for the kingdoms is a problem. Are
they idealized as the nations of the world in the sense of the
tradition that the world is divided into twelve kingdoms each

governed by a ruling angel (see above, pp. 137-38)? Or are
they to be conceived as evil powers associated with the archon
that was disturbed by the appearance of the illuminator? As
far as the meaning of the term in the original setting of the
list is concerned, it is difficult to say. However, in its
present setting, it seems unlikely that the list is intended to
reflect statements by the idealized nations of the world be-
cause of the sudden and inappropriate shift in scene (see
above, pp. 116-17). In its present setting, the list of thir-
teen kingdoms must be harmonized with the context if good sense
is to be made of it. That context requires that the thirteen
kingdoms be associated in some way with the heavenly realm of
the archon of the powers. The most reasonable explanation
seems to be as I have indicated above. The term "kingdom"
could identify the ruler of the dominion or the dominion it-
self, i.e., those over whom he rules. The latter alternative
makes a good contrast with the "kingless generation." See
Schottroff, "Animae naturalitas salvandae," 76 n. 26.

[120]The thirteenth aeon is called the aeon of righteousness
(Schmidt, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften*, 31 lines 11-13, 60
lines 6-8, 65 lines 8-10), but its association with the twelve
aeons makes it clear that it is not the highest state to which
the soul will attain (ibid., 62 lines 16-20). Schmidt's text
has been translated into English by Violet MacDermot (*Pistis
Sophia* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978]).

[121]Böhlig, 91-92, and idem, "Jüdisches und iranisches," 157.

[122]Kasser, "Textes gnostiques: Remarques," 92 n. 51. How-
ever, the French *sur* is ambiguous.

[123]Foerster, *Gnosis*, 2.27 et passim.

[124]Beltz, 143-44.

[125]Schottroff, "Animae naturalitur salvandae," 75 n. 23.

[126]MacRae, 179-87.

[127]Rudolph, "Gnosis und Gnostizismus," 41.

[128]The word "physical" might not be an accurate descrip-
tion of the situation in explanations five, six and ten since
these seem to be a more supernatural kind of occurrence. Yet
even here the text unquestionably refers to a birth of some
sort. With regard to statements one, seven, eight and twelve,
no specific birth language is used in the descriptive part of
the explanation, but there is language that can be so under-
stood when read in the light of the majority of the explana-
tions.

1. ⲁⲩϢⲱⲡⲉ [77],29, ⲁⲣⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ̄ⲩ̄ [78],1-2
7. ⲁⲩⲱϢⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲗⲟⲩ [80],14-15
8. ⲁⲩⲱϢⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍ̄ⲏⲧⲥ ⲁⲣⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ̄ⲩ̄ [80],24-27
12. ⲁⲩϢⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍ̄ⲙ̄ ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲱ̄ⲩ̄ [82],6-8.

The kingless generation uses none of this kind of language, but
is consciously in contrast to the first thirteen explanations
precisely in the fact that the individual being described is
chosen (ⲤⲰⲦⲠ) and not born; see above, pp. 136-37.

129Böhlig, "Jüdisches und iranisches," 157, and see above,
pp. 53-54 n. 70.

130In explanation eleven, there is no statement about
receiving glory and power. In explanation twelve, there is no
indication of separation or relationship between the two
phases. In explanation three, there seems to be a distance
implied, assuming of course that ⲁⲩⲉⲓ [78],24-25 is not a
scribal error. See the note to the text at [78],24-25.

131Explanation two begins phase two with a conjunction.
Explanation nine begins phase three with a conjunction. Ex-
planation ten concludes phase one with a conjunction as a sum-
mary statement but strings phases one and three together with
perfect tenses. Phase two, the nourishing statement, is lack-
ing in explanation ten.

132Schenke, col. 33, and idem, "Zum Gegenwärtigen Stand,"
133-34.

133See below, the notes to the text at [81],17-20.

134Rudolph, "Gnosis und Gnostizismus," 44.

135Beltz, 144. In Jewish apocalyptic, Beltz argues,
water and sea are virtual synonyms for world periods and the
earth (142 n. 1). Thus, coming to the water is coming into
the world.

136Böhlig, "Jüdisches und iranisches," 155-61.

137Ibid., 157.

138See above, pp. 53-54 n. 70.

139See Böhlig, 90-91; idem, "Jüdisches und iranisches,"
157. See also his source material: H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religion-
en des Alten Iran* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1938) 28-30, and
Geo Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer,
1965) 106-107. Compare to this the vision of the man arising
from the sea in 2 Esdras 13.

140See James Atkinson, "The Sháh Námeh by Firdusi," *Persian
and Japanese Literature* (rev. ed.; 2 vols.; New York: Colonial
Press, 1900) 1.78-83. In the interest of consistency, I have
adopted the spelling of Böhlig for the Persian names.

141Böhlig, "Jüdisches und iranisches," 157-58, and Widen-
gren, *Religionen Irans*, 208. Rudolph ("Gnosis und Gnostizis-
mus," 41) prefers the legend of the birth of the Saošyants.

142Schenke, "Zum Gegenwärtigen Stand," 133. The same
suggestion is made by Schottroff ("Animae naturalitur

salvandae," 75 n. 23). She cites as parallels CH 1,14 and *Ap.
John* (BG8502)48,11 [*sic*! actually 48,9-11].

[143]This evaluation by Schenke of the contents of the list
of kingdoms is not carefully thought out. While the concepts
may not have originated in a gnostic milieu, they certainly
would not have been unacceptable for use by gnostics. The
syncretism of the gnostic movements of late antiquity is well
known. Compare, for example, the use of *Eugnostos the Blessed*
(III,*3*; V,*1*) by the gnostic author of *Sophia of Jesus Christ*
(III,*4*).

[144]For example: *Paraph. Shem* (VII,*1*)32,5-17; 36,11-29;
37,14-25 (cf. 2,15-3,11 and 15,5-34); Right *Ginza* 12 (Foerster,
Gnosis, 2.159, 162). Mandaean Liturgies Qolasta I (Foerster,
Gnosis, 2.168); Hipp. *Ref*. 5.8.15 (Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.273).

[145]ⲁⲓⲧ̄ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ... ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ ⲉⲝ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ
ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲥⲁⲡⲉⲥϩⲧ (cf. 52,5-14). Translation by Roger
Bullard in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 330. See also *Testim.
Truth* (IX,*3*)30,18-23, where it is stated that the Son of Man
came into the world "by the Jordan river." See the discussion
below, p. 220 n. 50.

[146]Foerster, *Gnosis*, 2.171.

[147]οἱ προάστειοι, i.e., the outlying areas. Thus the
water is equated with the primordial waters.

[148]5.16.1-3. Translation by Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.287.

[149]5.16.5. Translation by Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.288.

[150]5.14.1. Translation by Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.286.

[151]See Paul Heinisch, *Theology of the Old Testament*
(trans. William G. Heidt; St. Paul: North Central, 1955) 146-
47; B. W. Anderson, "Water," *Interpreters Dictionary of the
Bible* (4 vols.; ed. George A. Buttrick, et al.; Nashville:
Abingdon, 1962) 4.806-10.

[152]Beltz, 157, 178.

[153]Ibid.
#3--A Christian myth of Jesus' birth given a gnostic interpre-
    tation (p. 150).
#5--A story from the Sethian tradition (Hipp. *Ref*. 5.19.20)
    (p. 155).
#6--A story out of Christian Gnosticism that has affinities
    with the system from the Book of Baruch (p. 157).
#7--A story from Christian Gnosticism that has affinities with
    the Ophite system (p. 158).
#8--A myth of Mithra's birth given a gnostic interpretation
    (p. 162).
#9--A gnostic story of the savior's birth associated with the
    Greek Muse tradition (p. 163).
#10--Isis mythology adopted by Christianity and given a gnostic
    interpretation (pp. 166-67).

[169] Cf. *Great Pow.* (VI,*4*)37,10-11: The "air" is the dwell-
ing place of "the gods and the angels." See also Eph 2:2 and
Treat. Seth (VII,*2*)52,8-10. See Kittel-Friedrich (eds.), *TDNT* 1
(1965) 163-64. The point is that the illuminator is not from
the dwelling place of the demons, but rather from a "different"
air.

[170] See Schottroff ("Animae naturalitur salvandae," 74-79),
where she argues that the thrust of the slander of the thirteen
kingdoms is that the child has a mixed origin and p. 79, where
she notes that the kingless generation says that the child is
not defiled, which one would understand to mean that he did not
have a mixed origin.

[171] Cf. the discussion of Hipp. *Ref.* 5.12.1-4 and 16.1-10.
See also above, pp. 146-47.

[172] Similar motifs do appear in other texts closely related
to the *Apoc. Adam.* The choosing: Epiph. *Pan.* 39.2.7; 3.5;
Treat. Seth (VII,*2*)50,1-24; *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)62,24-63,8; 64,1-8;
Steles Seth (VII,*5*)126,20-21. Non-material origin: *Treat. Seth*
(VII,*2*)56,4-32; *Ap. John* (II,*1*)30,11-21; *Steles Seth* (VII,*5*)
118,27-30; 119,22; 121,25-27.30-31; 124,25-26; *Trim. Prot.*
(XIII,*1**)47,30-32; *Zost.* (VIII,*1*)20,4-15. Special knowledge:
Gos. Eg. (III,*2*)64,6-9; *Treat. Seth* (VII,*2*)50,13-24; *Ap. John*
(II,*1*)31,4-25; *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,*1**)41,21-42,2.

[173] Böhlig reads the text in the same way as Beltz. MacRae
reads vestiges of ч.

[174] His parallels for this interpretation are found in the
Book of Baruch (Hipp. *Ref.* 5.26.29) and in Manichaeism, where
Jesus is merely the prophet who points toward another that is
the representative of God par excellence.

[175] Beltz, 175-78.

[176] This makes the subject of ΔΥΤΡΕΟΥΓΝωϹΙϹ ... ϢωΠΕ
([82],24-25) and ΠΕΧΔΥ ([82],25) to agree, i.e., both refer
to ΠΝΟΥΤΕ.

[177] This does not include the motif of birth from a virgin
in the list of explanations (explanation three and four) since
it is not part of the cluster in that it does not appear in the
statement of the kingless generation, or in the framework sec-
tion, but only in the refuted explanations of the thirteen
kingdoms, and because it is in direct opposition to the explan-
ation of the kingless generation. Nor does it include the mo-
tif of the invisibility of the illuminator, a motif Robert
Haardt incorrectly describes as "unrecognizability," and regards
as a Christian motif (Haardt, "Böhlig, Alexander und Labib,
Pahor," 158). Apparently Haardt associates this feature with
the messianic secret in the Gospel of Mark, and assumes the
motif to be understandable as a Christian trait on this basis.
This is, of course, a debatable point since it is precisely this
kind of feature that could have provided the early church and

the author of Mark with the interpretative principle for their
understanding of the life of Jesus. See below, where this mo-
tif is found to be a secondary feature in the AscenIsa. Cf.
the discussion of J. M. Robinson ("On the *Gattung*," 1.106-18).

    [178]MacRae, "Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam," 32;
Haardt, "Böhlig, Alexander und Labib, Pahor," 158-59; Orbe,
"Alexander Böhlig und Pahor Labib," 170.

    [179]MacRae, "Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam," 32.

    [180]Ibid.

    [181]See above, pp. 125-28.

    [182]See above, n. 165.

    [183]See above, pp. 150-52.

    [184]See R. H. Charles, *Ascension of Isaiah* (London: Society
for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917) x, xix-xxv; see also the
review of the literature by Tisserant (*Ascension d'Isaie*, 42-61).

    [185]See below, n. 190.

    [186]In this connection, we consider only those motifs that
are unambiguously Christian, and may be documented within the
canonical New Testament. References cite the chapter and verse
system of Charles, *Ascension of Isaiah*.

    [187]Cf. Gal 4:4, John 3:13.

    [188]Cf. Eph 4:9-10, Acts 1:9-11, John 6:62.

    [189]See above, n. 79.

    [190]Scholarly opinion is not as uniform as regards *Great
Pow*. as it is in regards to AscenIsa. Jean Doresse (*The Secret
Books of the Egyptian Gnostics: An Introduction to the Gnostic
Coptic Manuscripts discovered at Chenoboskion* [trans. P. Mairet;
New York: Viking, 1960] 187-88) first described the document as
a gnostic apocalypse; see Martin Krause's discussion of
Doresse's four descriptive categories for the Nag Hammadi
texts ("Der Stand der Veröffentlichung der Nag Hammadi Texte,"
Le origini dello gnosticismo [ed. Ugo Bianchi; Leiden: Brill,
1967] 66-88). However, Krause showed that there was at least
one section in *Great Pow*. that contained clandestine references
to Jesus. This fact, Krause argued, demonstrates Christian in-
fluence. But whether it was to be identified as a Christian
text, or a gnostic text that had been subjected to Christianiz-
ing influence, he did not say (72-73). On the basis of his
argument for identifying texts as Christian or gnostic based
upon the position awarded motifs in their association with one
another (74-75), it would seem to fall in the second of these
two categories, i.e., a gnostic text with Christian features.
Frank Williams is undecided as to how the tractate should be

identified (*The Nag Hammadi Library*, 284). It is either a
"Christian-gnostic apocalypse, or else a Christian apocalypse
with gnosticizing features." (This latter description seems to
me to be unlikely.) In the description of the text by the
Berliner Arbeitskreis (Tröger, *Gnosis und Neues Testament*, 50-
52), it is called a gnostic apocalypse (50), although it is
also recognized to have been subjected to some Christian influ-
ence (51). See also Karl Martin Fischer, "Der Gedanke unserer
grossen Kraft (Noēma): Die vierte Schrift aus Nag Hammadi-Codex
VI," *TLZ* 98 (1973) cols. 169-70.

[191]Translation by Frederik Wisse in *The Nag Hammadi
Library*, 286. This little segment has all the earmarks of a
creedal confession. It is slightly out of order for the sense
of the narrative. For example, at the point where it occurs
in the narrative, the man had not yet "put to shame" the ruler
of Hades nor destroyed his dominion. This event does not ac-
tually occur until VI 41,30-42,11. Apparently the author (re-
dactor?) included the statement at this point out of order on
the basis of the motif of "proclamation" with which the "con-
fessional" section begins, and the preceding section ends:

> He will *speak* in parables; he will *proclaim* the aeon
> that is to come, just as he *spoke* to Noah in the
> first aeon... (VI 40,30-41,3; the italics are mine).

For a comparison with early Christian creedal formulations, see
Reginald Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*
(New York: Scribners, 1965) 204-27; Oscar Cullmann, *The Earliest
Christian Confessions* (trans. J.K.S. Reid; London: Lutterworth,
1949); and Jack T. Sanders, *The New Testament Christological
Hymns: Their Historical Religious Background* (Cambridge: The
University Press, 1971) 9-25.

[192]I.e., Judas.

[193]The statement about performing "signs and wonders" is
made of the "imitator" (VI 45,1-15) and not of the man.

[194]See above, n. 73.

[195]See above, n. 78.

[196]As pointed out above (nn. 58 and 79), this feature
clashes with the motif of invisibility ([77],14-15). The ques-
tion arises, "how could one be invisible and suffer in the
flesh at the same time?" The motif of invisibility itself
might be a secondary feature, although not on the basis of the
apparent clash. I accounted for this (n. 79) as one result of
so severely abbreviating the myth. The invisibility motif
seems to have been included almost as an afterthought under the
influence of the motif of the powers not seeing the glory of
the illuminator in the preceding sentence ([77],12-14).

[197]See the outline of the myth on p. 120 above. Consider
the outline with the alteration to 1b, 2c and 5c.

[198]Cf. Rudolph, "Gnosis und Gnostizismus," 40-41.

[199]See above, pp. 154-59.

[200]See the discussion above, pp. 125-28.

[201]See above, pp. 113-15.

[202]See above, pp. 115-19.

[203]See above, pp. 37-38.

[204]B-1, pp. 109-11; B-2, p. 128.

[205]B-1, p. 111; B-2, p. 128.

[206]B-1, p. 113; B-2, pp. 126-27 and the reconstruction at [76],28-[77],1.

[207]See above, pp. 109-11.

[208]See above, p. 128.

[209]B-1, pp. 109-11; B-2, pp. 128-29.

[210]See above, pp. 81-82. However, traces of the dualism do appear in the ascetic bias of source A. See above, pp. 84-85.

[211]See above, p. 125.

[212]See above, pp. 82-83.

[213]See above, pp. 83-84.

[214]See above, p. 61.

[215]Once to Adam ([65],24-[66],12; [67],12-21) and once by the great illuminator ([76],8-11.14-27).

[216]See above, pp. 66-79.

[217]See above, pp. 122-24.

[218]See above, pp. 85-87.

[219]For example, Solomon's army of demons, [78],27-[79],14.

[220]See above, pp. 122-24, 127-28, 145-47.

[221]For example, see above, pp. 141-47.

[222]However, there have been attempts to determine how the Sethian materials at Nag Hammadi are related. See Schenke's attempt to describe the Sethian system from the Nag Hammadi texts ("Das sethianische System," 165-73).

THE REDACTOR

Several statements have been identified as having been
added by a redactor at the time he combined sources A and B to
form the present document that is entitled the *Apocalypse of
Adam*. These statements serve as the key to the redactor's
theology and his understanding of the sources, and also as the
cohesive force that holds together the document in its present
structure. Thus, they allow the reader to make sense of the
text as a redacted whole. Since that whole originates with the
redactor, its distinctive features must therefore be sought in
the redactor's own statements and in his organization of the
sources.

There are two ways that the redactor's statements help to
convey the unity of the redacted text: the redactional state-
ments can be considered apart from their context and the con-
text can be considered under the light of the redactional
statements. Finally the redactor's organization of his material
can be considered with respect to the question: what does the
present structure of the tractate tell the reader about the
redactor's theology? Some of these issues were touched on
briefly in Chapter II, but now are to be discussed in detail.
The meaning of the tractate as a redacted whole, its date, and
provenance, if discoverable at all, can only be determined
through a more precise understanding of the redactor's theologi-
cal position.

A. Statement One: [65],3-9[1]

Adam has called his son by the name of that man who is the
spore, or seed (ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ), from which the great generation, pre-
sumably bearing his name, has come. Although the name Seth is
not specifically used, it is clear that Seth, the son of Adam,
bears the name of a heavenly figure who must also be called
Seth. This heavenly figure is the primogenitor of a great race
that we might call the generation of Seth, or the Sethians, al-
though they are not so called in *Apoc. Adam*. The reluctance of

185

the text to designate the heavenly figure as Seth, and his
descendants as Sethians, is puzzling,[2] but there can be little
question that this is the meaning of the redactor's statement.

Adam's reason for naming his son Seth after the heavenly
Seth is not really clear. Apparently, however, his statement
is intended to do two things. In the first place, it associ-
ates the origin of the Sethian community with the heavenly Seth
rather than Seth the son of Adam; that is, they do not have an
earthly origin, but a heavenly origin, because the heavenly
Seth from whom they are descended is himself descended from the
great aeons.[3] In the second place, it makes the Sethians privy
to the special knowledge that was originally possessed, then
lost, and finally regained by Adam, the primordial first man.
This knowledge originally was the exclusive possession of the
heavenly Seth, the seed produced by the great aeons, and then
it came to the generation of men who bear his name.[4] These two
motifs place the redactor within the purview of the Sethian-
Archontic tradition as is reported in Epiph. *Pan*. 39 and 40.[5]

This statement has been added by the redactor at this
point in the text to correct what he perceives to be an over-
sight in his *Vorlage*, i.e., the failure of the A source to show
where γνῶσις, lost by Adam and Eve, had gone. He uses this
opportunity both to "correct" his *Vorlage*, and to include the
statement on the origin of Seth's name.[6]

B.   Statement Two: [69],10-17[7]

The race of Seth is again called ⲤⲠⲞⲣⲀ, an expression
reserved almost exclusively for Seth and his descendants by the
redactor in the *Apoc*. *Adam*.[8] The same preference for the word
ⲤⲠⲞⲣⲀ to describe the race of Seth is not found in other trac-
tates from Nag Hammadi,[9] although the idea of a special race as
"seed" is quite prominent.[10] As in statement one above, and in
the statement of the three men in the gnostic revelation story
in source B ([65],24-[66],12; [67],12-21), the content of
γνῶσις is not actually specified. However, the redactor leaves
his reader in no doubt as to what he means by γνῶσις. The
revelation that came from Adam and Eve ([69],12-16) and was

passed on to the seed of Seth ([69],10-17) is precisely the
information that Adam is revealing in the redacted tractate[11]
to his earthly son (64,2-4; [67],14-21) so that he in turn
might pass it on to his progeny ([85],19-22).[12]

     The redactor includes statement two in order to show that
the flood came precisely for the purpose of destroying the
Sethians. Without the statement of the redactor, this inter-
pretation of the flood is not clear in source A. That the
flood comes to destroy a special group of men is evident, but
the redactor clarifies that the special group is none other
than the ϹΠΟΡΔ, who bear the name of the heavenly Seth. But
again, the redactor has been careless. Source A stated that
the flood came so that the creator might destroy "all flesh"
from the earth. If this statement be taken seriously, then the
special race would have already been included within the pur-
view of the creator's intention, since "all flesh" would
naturally include the special group because they were also a
part of humanity.[13] Therefore, with respect to the sense of
source A, the statement that is attributed to the redactor is
both non-essential and excessive. It is only essential to the
redactor's intention to identify the "special race" of source A
as his own community, the seed of Seth.[14]

C. Statement Three: [71],4-8

     The redactor's third statement, included as a part of the
admonition of the creator to Noah, draws attention again to two
things the redactor stressed in statements one and two: the
special race of men cast forth from the knowledge of the great
aeons and angels ([71],8-14) is identified as the ϹΠΟΡΔ of
Seth and the statement reaffirms the fact that the creator
brought the flood in an attempt to destroy particularly that
race. In source A, the creator assumes that his attack on the
special race had been successful and that they had been de-
stroyed by the flood ([70],19-[71],4). The redactor includes
in the creator's command to Noah to repopulate the earth a sub-
sidiary injunction that Noah and his ϹΠΕΡΜΔ produce no ϹΠΟΡΔ
of the Sethians, that group of men who possessed a glory un-
known to him.

The "other" glory ([74],3-26) possessed by those men is an affront to the creator's glory which pales in comparison to the Sethians ([74],15-16) because their glory ([77],10-13) comes from the eternal aeon (64,9-12; 64,24-32; [76],8-11). In the refrain to the incorrect explanations of the illuminator's origin, it is stated that he receives both power and glory.[15] These qualities are not intended by the redactor in a negative way, although the explanation of the kingless generation does omit them. These attributes in themselves are not negative. It is only the various means by which the illuminator is said to acquire these qualities that are negative. In source B, the illuminator himself is said to possess both power ([77],4-7) and glory ([76],8-11; [77],9-12), and it is through these qualities that he confuses the powers and their ruler. In *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)51,1-4, glory and power are mentioned as qualities of the invisible Father of the holy men of the great light who will come into the world. These qualities belong to the invisible Father and his light, who will come into the world,[16] that is, the illuminator of knowledge in the *Apoc. Adam*,[17] and therefore also to his seed.[18]

D. Statement Four: [76],6-7

The meaning of this statement by the redactor is not clear. The contrast implied by ⲁⲗⲗⲁ suggests that those "men" (= the imperishable ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ) at [76],3-6 are not strangers to the holy angels since the holy angels work (in the world?) with them. Three things seem to be affirmed by the redactor: "those men" are identified as the ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ of Seth, they are part of a heavenly alliance with the holy angels, and the ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ is imperishable (ⲀⲦⲦⲀⲔⲞ). The first of these reflects the usual concern of the redactor to identify the heroes of source A with the Sethian community.[19] The second affirmation, that the Sethians are part of a heavenly alliance in which the earthly work of the Sethian community is shared by the holy angels, is met in source A and in the redactor's later comments.

This liaison is also suggested of the special race in source A where it is stated that the special race comes from the knowledge of the aeons and angels ([71],10-14; [75],5-8),

and like Adam and Eve they resemble these angels (64,12-15;
[76],3-6). The angels of the great light dwell with them
([72],10-14), and are their protectors and helpers in the
world. They preserved the ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ from the flood caused by the
creator ([69],18-25), and from the fire ([75],22-27). The same
motif is evident in *Gos. Eg.* (III,2)62,12-14. Seth asks for
guards over his seed, and 400 ethereal angels come forth to
guard his race. Other angelic figures are also mentioned as
guardians of "the souls of the elect" (*Gos. Eg.* [III,2]65,6-9).
The redactor further tells the reader that these angels are the
means by which the words of imperishability are brought to the
Sethian community ([85],7-18).

As to their imperishability, both sources A and B agree
that the special race, subsequently identified by the redactor
as the ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ, will live forever ([83],7-19; [76],21-24). They
serve the imperishable aeons ([73],30-[74],2) and possess an
imperishable knowledge ([72],5-9; [85],12-18) that is communi-
cated by the imperishable illuminators, Yesseus, Mazareus and
Yessedekeus ([85],22-31). Although they will be taken out of
the world, knowledge of them will last forever ([84],23-[85],3).

The fact that the seed of Seth is imperishable and will
therefore be removed from the world probably explains the re-
dactor's arrangement of source B, the description of the ap-
pearance of the illuminator. After the preservation from the
fire, the Sethians have been taken out of the world ([75],17-
[76],6) and there is no longer a witness to the ⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ of Seth.
According to the redactor, the illuminator comes in order to
preserve such a witness in the world. His appearance is the
final prelude to the ultimate destruction of the evil creation
([76],28-[77],3).

This analysis explains a similar passage in *Gos. Eg.*
(III,2)62,13-64,9. The great Seth sends guards over his seed
to protect them until the consummation. At the consummation,
presumably, they are removed from the world into the third aeon,
Davithe.[20] At that time, the great Seth comes into the world
"to save the race that had gone astray" (*Gos. Eg.* [III,2]63,8).
This race that had gone astray is certainly *not* the Sethians,
as the editors of *Gos. Eg.* assume.[21] At least they are not

initially to be described as Sethians, although later some of
them do become Sethians. Such a designation as the "race who
had gone astray" would scarcely be used to describe the chil-
dren of Seth. "The race that had gone astray" must correspond
to the "natural" seed, i.e., those who had not served the great
Seth. However, when they abandon dead knowledge for the aeons
of imperishability, they would be Sethians, just as the 400,000
sons of Ham and Japheth who followed the sons of Seth in re-
jecting the dominion of the creator ([73],13-[74],26). The
race that had gone astray is brought forth and armed with a
knowledge of the truth and with an unconquerable power of in-
corruptibility (*Gos. Eg.* [III,2]64,4-9). Those of this race,
when "saved," are called saints (*Gos. Eg.* [III,2]63,13-15) and,
like the sons of Seth, they too will live forever (*Gos. Eg.*
[III,2]65,26-66,8). According to H.-M. Schenke, this latter-
day group of Sethians (to be distinguished from those of the
previous generations), will have their final place of rest in
the 4th aeon Eleleth, as the sons of Seth have their eternal
abode in the 3rd aeon Davithe (*Gos. Eg.* [III,2]65,19-22).[22]

E.   Statement Five: [76],11-13

This is the redactor's first statement after he connects
his two sources. In the A source, the document had already
come to conclusion with the removal of the special race, who
were identified by the redactor with the seed of Seth ([75],17-
[76],6), and the condemnation of those who failed to recognize
the God of the Sethians ([83],7-[84],3). The B source, as we
have previously seen, was truncated by the redactor so that it
might be included at this point.[23] The subject matter and the
concerns of the B source are different, as the redactor appar-
ently noticed. In order to smooth over the abrupt shift from A
to B and to ensure that B will be read from the perspective of
the A source, the redactor adds a statement that is intended to
bring the soteriological work of the illuminator in line with
the situation in source A. His statement identifies the people
in source B in need of salvation as the seed (ⲤⲠⲈⲢⲙⲀ) of Noah
and the sons of Ham and Japheth, a group that appears at no
other point in source B! He has also been careful to call them
ⲤⲠⲈⲢⲙⲀ rather than ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ.[24]

The theological motivation for the statement is provided
by the redactor's view of eschatology. After the seed of Seth
had been removed from the world ([75],17-[76],6), only the
"natural" seed of the creator remained, that is, the seed of
Noah and his sons Ham and Japheth ([76],11-13). The consumma-
tion of the aeon (cf. *Gos. Eg.* [III,2]62,13-25) in which this
world was to be destroyed ([76],28-[77],1) had not yet occurred,
and there was no witness left behind in the world for the God
of the Sethians during this interim period.[25] The purpose of
the illuminator's appearance[26] is to reintroduce the γνῶσις of
the God of the Sethians that had been lost to the world when
the Sethians were removed after the fire threat just as it had
been necessary to reintroduce it after Adam's loss of knowledge
in the garden ([66],31-[67],12), after the flood ([71],8-20),
and after the unknown threat ([73],13-24). In order to ensure
that there remained a witness in the world after this (final)
removal of the Sethians, the illuminator of knowledge was sent
into the world. But to whom would he come? All the Sethians
had been removed! It would have to be to those of the natural
seed (CΠЄΡΜΑ) of Noah who had not become followers of the
γνῶσις of Seth, as had some of their number previously ([73],
13-24), and among whom the γνῶσις of the Sethians might be ex-
pected to "bear fruit."

Why Shem is not included by the redactor at this point is
unclear. In fact, the general omission of Shem in the tractate
is a problem ([73],13-15; [73],25-29; [74],7-11; [76],11-13).
Shem is only mentioned once in the document. At the time God
divides the world among his three sons ([72],15-17), Shem is
included as receiving a division of the land. At one other
place in the text, I have assumed that it was Shem who was
pledging fidelity to the creator in a speech delivered to Noah
([72],30-[73],12). It may simply be an oversight on the part
of the text (and the redactor) that Shem is not included at each
place Ham and Japheth are mentioned, but it might also be in-
tentional. In the Sethian system, as reported by Epiphanius
(*Pan.* 39.3.2), it is reported that of all the seed of Noah *only*
Ham was preserved in the ark. This does not seem to have been
an *accidental* omission of Shem and Japheth. In the *Apoc. Adam*,

192 of 328

Apocalypse of Adam

only *one* of the sons pledges fidelity to Noah and the creator!
If we assume that this was Shem, and that his seed did in fact
remain true to the creator, then Shem would have been omitted
at [76],11-13 because his seed was not the group from which the
"converts" to the γνῶσις would come. That one son did remain
true to the creator does seem to be indicated by the reference
to Noah and "his son" (sing.) that had done the creator's will
([74],17-26).

The depiction of Shem as the only son of Noah who remains
completely true to the evil creator (Sakla) is a reversal of
his role in the biblical tradition where faithfulness to the
creator is by definition a positive act. In the biblical tra-
dition, Shem appears as "father of all the children of Eber"
(Gen 10:21-31); that is, he is the eponymous ancestor of the
Semites and of the Hebrews in particular. In a sense, he is
the original Israelite. Shem's negative image and low profile
in *Apoc*. *Adam* is probably to be traced to this reversal of
values. In its treatment of Shem, the text may be described
as anti-Jewish.

F. Statement Eight: [84],4-[85],18; [85],22-31[27]

In Chapter II, I pointed out the difficulty of maintaining
a continuity between this section and its context because of
the apparent lack of identity between Micheu, Michar and
Mnesinous ([84],5-8) and the ill-defined group of people in
[83],10.[28] However, it appears that by his inclusion of this
section at just this point, the redactor does intend to imply a
relationship between these two groups; that is, the redactor
either assumes that the indefinite group of people in [83],10
and the three baptists are one and the same, or that they are
so closely associated that they are to be considered as part of
the same group.

This is clear from his similar characterization of the two
groups:

Source A: [83],7-[84],3   Redactor: [84],4-[85],6

Those people [83],8-9:   Micheu, Michar, Mnesinous
                                   [84],5-6:

have done the works of the   have drawn water in the will
  powers [83],23-25   of the powers [84],17-23
cried against God [83],28   cried against God [84],8-10
boasted in their trans-   with lawless voices and
  gression [83],26-27   tongues [84],10-12
are corrupted by desire   have obeyed their own desires
  [83],14-17[29] and   [84],26-28 and
shall surely die [84],1-3.   their fruit will wither
                                     [84],28-[85],1.[29]

     The close association of these two groups ties together
the evil natural seed of the creator, those who serve the cre-
ator in servility and fear ([72],19-23) and who have done all
his will ([74],17-21), with the three baptists who are over the
holy baptism and the living water. The effect of the identifi-
cation is to tie Micheu, Michar and Mnesinous into the whole
history of opposition to the seed of Seth from the primordial
time to the redactor's day. This is a striking shift in the
role of Micheu, Michar and Mnesinous. We encounter them else-
where in related documents where a positive role is attributed
to them. They are the powers over the living water, or the
baptists who immerse in the spring of the water of life.[30]
However, as Françoise Morard has pointed out, there is a subtle
implication in some of the texts that Micheu, Michar, and
Mnesinous were at least at one time not entirely pure.[31] Codex
Bruce says that these figures "were purified" by Barpharanges.[32]
Also *Zost*. (VIII,*2*)6,7-12 says that, although he was baptized
by the powers over the living waters (Michar, Micheu), he was
"purified" through the great Barpharanges. The fact that puri-
fication was needed in these instances indicates that something
was lacking in the water baptism of the three baptists. In
Trim. *Prot*. (XIII,*1**)48,15-32, the baptists immerse the gnostic
neophyte in the "spring of the water of life." This rite is
the second most basic, or primitive, step in a five-step series
that extends from a condition of ignorance to the moment when
the gnostic passes into the place of light of the Fatherhood.
Its position in the series gives it less importance than the
remaining four steps.

It seems that these subtle hints in the literature are
fully developed in the redactor's conclusion to the *Apoc. Adam*.
The three baptists, Micheu, Michar, Mnesinous, the living
water, are described in a highly negative way ([84],4-25). The
basic criticism of them is that they have "defiled the water of
life" and "drawn it according to the will of the powers" *whom
they now serve* ([84],17-23). In the light of the fact that
they are the powers who immerse in the spring of the water of
life, this appears to be a criticism of their role, and there-
fore of water baptism.

Deprecation of water baptism is also the purpose of the
redactor's comment seven ([83],4-7).[33] The descendants of Seth
"will fight against the power <of> those who receive his name
upon the water...." The relationship of this statement to the
context is not immediately clear. However, the intent of the
statement (as emended) is clear. The descendants of Seth not
only do not practice water baptism, but are openly opposed to
those who do.

The problem is that there is apparently nothing in the
context that alludes to baptism. Why did the redactor include
the statement at just this point? It comes exactly at the con-
clusion to the explanations on the illuminator's origin, which,
as we have seen above,[34] have no evident reference to baptism
when considered in their context. Yet this statement by the
redactor influences the reader to see the list of statements by
the kingdoms in a different light. Who are those "who receive
his name upon the water," and whose name is being received?
This seems to be a clear reference to baptism,[35] but there is
no group who baptize mentioned in the context, nor is there any
obvious allusion to baptism in the catalog of explanations.
This statement by the redactor ([83],4-7), coupled with his
comment six appended to the statement by the thirteenth kingdom
that the illuminator comes upon the water "in order that the
desire of these powers might be satisfied" ([82],18-19),[36] re-
quires the reader to look at the thirteen statements by the
kingdoms with a baptism motif in mind.[37] Only if these explan-
ations in the list related to baptism in the redactor's experi-
ence can sense be made of the redactor's statement at [83],4-7.

This suggests that the thirteen statements by the kingdoms may have served at one time as a gnostic baptismal litany or liturgy as, for example, was practiced by the Marcosians.[38] Such an understanding would have to be a derived meaning for the list of statements because, as we saw above, there is nothing in the statements themselves that suggests such an application for them.[39]

A Sitz im Leben for the list as a baptismal liturgy is suggested by the Marcosian baptismal liturgy where the setting is the path through the heavenly spheres through which the gnostic passed at death. At each level, he was required to give the proper response to the questions of the powers.[40] This is similar to the *Apoc. Adam* except that *Apoc. Adam* suggests a situation in which multiple baptisms were practised; perhaps each statement in the list was accompanied by a baptism of some sort.

In the gnostic literature, reference is made elsewhere to multiple baptisms through which the revealer figure passes. For example, *Treat. Seth* (VII,2)58,16 speaks of Seth's third baptism in a revealed image. And this is certainly the situation in *Zostrianos*.

Zost. (VIII,1)5,11-7,22:[41]

Then I knew that the power within me was set over the darkness because it contained the whole light. I was baptized there and I received the image of the glories there. I became like one of them. I left the airy [earth] and passed by the copies of aeons, after washing there seven times in a living [water], one for each of the aeons. I did not cease until I saw all the waters once.

I ascended to the Transmigration which [really] exists. I was baptized and [...] world. I ascended to the Repentance which [really] exists [and was] baptized there four times. I passed by the sixth [aeon...]. I ascended to the [...]. I stood there having seen a light of the truth, which [really] exists from its self-begotten root, and great messengers and glories [...] in measure.

I was baptized in the name of the Self-begotten God by these powers which are upon living waters, Michar and Mi[chea]. I was purified by [the] great Barpharanges. Then [they revealed] themselves to me and wrote me in the glory. I was sealed by those who are on those powers, Michar <and> Mi[ch]eus and Seldao and Ele[nos] and Zogenethlos. I became a root-seeing messenger and stood upon the first aeon

which is the fourth. With the souls I blessed the
Self-begotten God and the forefather, Geradama(s)
[...] the self-begotten, the [first] perfect [man],
and Seth Emmach[a Seth], the son of [A]damas, the
[father of the immovable] race, and the [four lights
...], and Mirothea, the mother [...] and eminence
[...] of the lights and De[...].

I was [baptized] for the second time in the name
of the Self-begotten God by these same powers. I be-
came a messenger of the perfect male race. I stood
upon the second aeon which is the third. With the
sons of [S]eth I blessed all these.

I was baptized for the third time in the name of
the Self-begotten God by these same powers. I became
a holy messenger. I stood upon the third aeon which
is the second. I [blessed] all these.

I was baptized for the fourth time by these same
powers. I became a perfect [messenger. I stood upon]
the fourth aeon [which is the first] and [blessed all
these].

Zost. (VIII,*1*)53,14-54,1:

[I was] baptized the fifth [time] in the name of
the Self-begotten by these very powers. I became
divine. [I stood] upon the fifth inhabited aeon of
all [these]. I saw all [those] who belong to the
self-begotten ones who really exist, and I was bap-
tized five [times...].

The idea of a path or a course of baptism through which the
neophyte must pass actually seems to be the meaning of *Zost.*
(VIII,*1*)25,2-20:[42]

Concerning the path to the Self-begotten Ones,
into whom you have now been baptized every time, a
path which is worthy of seeing the [perfect] indi-
viduals: Since it has come into being from the powers
of the Self-begotten, it is knowledge [of] the All,
knowledge which you acquire when you pass through the
all-perfect aeons. And the third washing, if you
should wash [...] you would hear [...].

This agrees with *Zost.* (VIII,*1*)15,1-16 where several kinds of
baptisms are suggested:

Therefore, [...] waters are perfect. It is the
[water] of Life which belongs to Vitality in which you
now have been baptized in the Self-begotten One. It
is the [water] of Blessedness which [belongs to] knowl-
edge in which you will be baptized in the First-
Appearing One. It is the water of Existence [which]
belongs to Divinity and the Hidden One. The water of
Life [is...] a power, the water belonging to Blessed-
ness according to Essence, and the water belonging to
Divinity according to [Existence].

The neophyte's confession after having passed through all
baptisms might correspond to the confession of Zostrianos in
the conclusion to the book (*Zost.* [VIII,*1*]129,4-22):

> Apophantes and Aphropais, the Virgin Light, came
> before me and brought me to the first-appearing, great,
> male, perfect Mind, and I saw how all these who were
> there dwell within one. I joined with all of them
> and blessed the Hidden Aeon and the Virgin Barbelo and
> the Invisible Spirit. I became all-perfect and received
> strength. I was written in glory and was sealed and
> received there a perfect crown.
> I came forth to the perfect individuals, and all
> of them were questioning me. They were listening to
> the greatness of the knowledge and rejoicing and re-
> ceiving strength. [43]

Compare this to the structure of the birth narratives in the
Apoc. Adam.[44]

Apoc. Adam [81],16-23   *Zost.* (VIII,*1*)129,12-17[45]

His god loved a cloud of desire.
He begat it in his hand
and cast onto the cloud near
him (some) of the drop.
And he was born   I became all-perfect.
He received glory and power   I received power, was written
                                           in glory and was sealed.
                                           I received a perfect crown
in that place   in that place,
And in this way he came to   and I came forth to the
the water.   perfect individuals.

The similarity in structure is striking.

The Marcosian liturgy also suggests a structure to which
the list of statements in the *Apoc. Adam* may be compared.

The leader:	I do not divide the spirit, the heart, and the super-celestial power which shows mercy. May I enjoy thy name, Savior of Truth.
The initiate:	I am established, I am redeemed, and I redeem my soul from this age and from all that comes from it, in the name of Iao, who redeemed his soul unto the redemption in Christ the living one.
The Congregation:	Peace be with all on whom this name rests.[46]

The liturgy is followed by the sacred baptism.

The arrangement of each statement in the catalog of ex-
planations by the thirteen kingdoms easily lends itself for use
in a baptismal liturgy such as the Marcosians used. Perhaps
the leader would announce the individual kingdom units with an
appropriate phrase. Then the neophyte would respond with the
statement corresponding to the phases or "births" through which
the illuminator figure passed in his ascent to, or descent from,
the world of light,[47] and the congregation would respond with
the standardized refrain: "He received glory and power, and in
this way came to the water." Each baptism brought the neophyte
deeper into the inner mysteries of the cult.

The series of baptisms had a twofold symbolism. On the
one hand, the baptisms symbolized the redeemer's progressive
entry into the created world through the guardians of the heav-
enly spheres. On the other hand, they were a symbolical enact-
ment of and preparation for the passage out of the created
world upward through the heavenly spheres that the individual
gnostic would make at his own death. The statements spoken by
the kingdoms are conceived of as a repetition of the (deceiving)
words with which the redeemer responded (in the first person) to
the questions of the guardians as he entered the created world.
These deceptive and incorrect responses kept the redeemer's true
identity and origin concealed. The neophyte learns the same
deceptive responses that he also might deceive the guardians and
thereby ensure his own successful passage into the world of
light.

The antipathy of the redactor to water baptism is further
emphasized by the role that he assigns to the imperishable il-
luminators: Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekeus. These figures come
from the holy ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ, i.e., Seth himself, to bring secret
knowledge, the acquisition of which the redactor describes as
"the holy baptism" ([85],22-31). One should not understand
this statement in the sense of two correct baptisms, one of
which may be higher or better than the other, but both of which
have their value, as it appears, for example, in Clem. *exc.*
Thdot. 78. Rather, it should be understood as an outright re-
jection of water baptism.[48]

This phenomenon is found elsewhere in the Nag Hammadi
Library (*Testim. Truth* [IX,*3*]69,7-24).[49]

> Some enter the faith [by receiving a] baptism, on
> the ground that they have [it] as a hope of salvation,
> which they call "the [seal]." They do not [know] that
> the [fathers of] the world are manifest to that [place,
> but] he himself [knows that] he is sealed. For [the
> Son] of [Man] did not baptize any of his disciples.
> But [...if those who] are baptized were headed for
> life, the world would become empty. And the fathers
> of baptism were defiled.
> But the baptism of truth is something else; it
> is by renunciation of [the] world that it is found.

Here it is clearly stated that true baptism is not by
means of water. True baptism comes by a renunciation of the
world. *Testim. Truth* goes on to compare the water of the Jor-
dan with "the power of the body," i.e., the senses of pleasure.
In fact, the "water of the Jordan is the desire for sexual in-
tercourse" (*Testim. Truth* [IX,*3*]30,18-31,5).[50] The same atti-
tude toward water baptism is expressed in the *Paraph. Shem*.[51]

Paraph. Shem (VII,*1*)30,21-27:

For at that time the demon will also appear upon the
river to baptize with an imperfect baptism, and to
trouble the world with a bondage of water.

Paraph. Shem (VII,*1*)36,25-29:

And many who wear erring flesh will go down to the
harmful waters through the winds and the demons. And
they are bound by the water.

Paraph. Shem (VII,*1*)37,10-38,9:

And it is blessedness if it is granted someone to con-
template the exalted one, and to know the exalted time
and the bondage. For the water is an insignificant
body. And men are not released, since they are bound
in the water, just as from the beginning the light of
the Spirit was bound.
O Shem, they are deceived by manifold demons,
thinking that through baptism with the uncleanness of
water, that which is dark, feeble, idle, (and) dis-
turbing, he will take away the sins. And they do not
know that from the water to the water there is bondage,
and error and unchastity, envy, murder, adultery, false
witness, heresies, robberies, lusts, babblings, wrath,
bitterness, great [...]. Therefore there are many
deaths which burden their minds. For I foretell it to
those who have a heart. They will refrain from the im-
pure baptism. And those who take heart from the light
of the Spirit will not have dealings with the impure
practice.

        The redactor of the *Apoc. Adam* falls within the tradition
that rejected water baptism in favor of a metaphorical under-
standing of baptism. For the redactor, the reception of the
secret knowledge brought by the imperishable illuminators *was*
holy baptism with living water ([85],22-31).

        Associated with this rejection of water baptism is the
implication that those who do practice water baptism are also
not leading ascetic lives. The three baptists are accused of
leading unbridled lives ([84],8-12) that are associated with
unspeakable deeds ([84],12-14), and their lifestyle is charac-
terized as full of "pleasure and merriment" ([84],14-17).[52]

        A final comment needs to be made about the redaction his-
tory of the catalog of explanations. In Chapter IV,[53] I argued
that the catalog of explanations had passed through at least a
three-phase redactional process. We are now in a better posi-
tion to clarify that analysis. It appears that at first only
the thirteen kingdoms circulated together. At this initial
stage of the tradition, each statement described a birth. Ex-
actly what the original context and meaning of the catalog was
is difficult to say. It appears to have been a collection of
various theological explanations as to the origin of some un-
known individual. Possibly, the catalog was intended to be
used in a confessional statement. This possibility suggests
itself because there is nothing in them that is essentially
negative and because of the highly stylized structure of the
section. Later the catalog came to be associated with the
passage of the gnostic illuminator through the antagonistic
rulers of the heavenly spheres. The narratives came to be
associated with baptism and the catalog then came to function
as a baptismal liturgy.

        The factor that brings together the motifs of baptism and
the passage of the illuminator through the heavens is not clear,
but that they were linked we know from their appearance together
in the passages cited above from *Zost*. (see above, pp. 195-97).
The imagery that was employed to explain the meaning of the
birth narratives may be the solution. One who left the heaven-
ly world to come to the created world enters the "waters of
chaos" (see above, pp. 141-47). In this sense, the figures of

appearance and water do become associated. To come to appear-
ance was equal to coming into the water, or to the water. The
Zost. passage is certainly a later development in this tradi-
tion and probably reflects a baptismal practice long estab-
lished in the community. The waters through which Zostrianos
passes in the text are not the waters of chaos, but the baptis-
mal waters of the community practice. In a sense, the *Zost*.
passage is a projection into the divine realm of an established
community practice. Thus, the neophyte was baptized thirteen
times (or twelve) to represent the passage through the thirteen
evil powers and cohorts of the creator god just as the illumi-
nator before him had passed through them. That this kind of
practice actually occurred is shown by the Marcosian baptismal
practice.[54]

Then these thirteen statements along with the statement of
the kingless generation and the narrative framework of source B
were pulled together by a community that was opposed to water
baptism. At this point, the two features of birth and baptism
coalesce in the sense of the passage from *Zost*. cited above.[55]
This is evident from the statement of the kingless generation
which is clearly opposed to the first thirteen statements in
precisely these two points:[56] the illuminator was not *born* but
chosen; his appearance is not to be associated with water, a
feature that suggests desire.[57]

Finally, the redactor picks up source B and includes it in
the *Apoc. Adam* with the redactional statements that make it
clear that he sees in the kingdom statements a baptismal motif
to which he is radically opposed. This explanation allows for
the statement of the kingless generation to have been received
as *Vorlage* by the redactor, and is in agreement with the earli-
er analysis of the redactional history of the catalog of state-
ments.[58] It also places early in the redactional process the
shift from understanding the catalog as a collection of birth
narratives to using it in a baptismal liturgy.

G.   The Redactor's Version of the *Apoc. Adam*

1.   Theological Implications of the Redacted Structure

     The redactor betrays little sensitivity to literary form
in his arrangement of the tractate. His arrangement is purely
functional and theological. He received a document (source A)
that he knew as a revelation discourse by Adam to Seth. He
simply expanded it at certain points in the interest of pro-
moting his own theological concerns. One of these expansions
by the redactor--the revelation of the three men ([65],24-
[66],12; [67],12-21)--has already been discussed.[59] The redac-
tor inserted this gnostic revelation story into the narrative
of Adam's fall and loss of knowledge in source A as a dream
vision in order to provide Adam a means of regaining the knowl-
edge he lost and thus to have a basis on which to have Adam
make a revelation to Seth.[60]

     The problem faced by the redactor was: if Adam had lost
the knowledge of the eternal God in his fall and devolution
into an earthly condition prior to Seth's birth, how did he
regain that lost knowledge so as to pass it on to Seth before
his own death? Source A did not concern itself with this issue
since those men threatened by the creator were "cast forth from
the knowledge of the great aeons" ([71],10-13). Therefore, they
entered the world already possessing knowledge of the eternal
God, as well as the glory of the eternal aeon (64,28-[65],3).
Only the redactor, who was trying to establish a continuity of
revelation, was concerned that Adam regain his lost knowledge.

     It was important to the redactor that he maintain an un-
broken special tradition of revelation from Adam to the Sethian
community of the redactor's own day. Adam, the *Urmensch*, had
personal intimate knowledge of the eternal God because he came
from his presence (64,5-15).[61] This knowledge is passed on to
Seth (64,2-4; [67],14-21), who in turn passes it on to his
progeny, the heroes of the faith ([85],19-22). When the great
men are removed from the world shortly before the *Eschaton*,
knowledge returns through the revelation of the great illumina-
tor ([76],8-27),[62] and it is still available in the world in
the redactor's day through the imperishable illuminators:

Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekeus, the Living Water ([85],22-31),[63]
who know the eternal God in wisdom and teaching of eternal an-
gels ([85],14-18). That revelation, "the words of imperish-
ability and truth" ([85],12-14) is a special living tradition.
It has not been necessary to commit it to writing, since it is
communicated as a living tradition in every period of world
history: from Adam to Seth, through the holy seed of Seth,
through the great illuminator of the end-time, and in the re-
dactor's day it is still communicated firsthand through angelic
beings that come from Seth himself ([85],3-9).[64]

The insistence of the redactor on a special living tradi-
tion that is not committed to writing may be understood as an
"anti-book motif," a feature that places the redactor in ten-
sion with both Judaism and the early Christian movement that
used the Old Testament as its holy scripture. It is an "anti-
book" motif in the sense that the redactor appeals to the spe-
cial living tradition to authenticate his message while the
Jewish and Christian communities appealed to their written
traditions for authority.[65]

The redactor's second major expansion is the inclusion of
the narrative of the illuminator's appearance, and the list of
explanations on his origin (source B). It comes just before
the apocalyptic conclusion to the A source and immediately
following the removal of the great race from the world. This
position suggests two concerns of the redactor: the redactor
understands his own period to be a part of the end-time, and he
understands the means by which revelation comes in this period
to be through the great φωστήρ, as well as the imperishable
illuminators ([85],22-31).

With regard to the first of these concerns, it seems clear
that in the sequence of the A source, following the removal of
the great race, the *Eschaton* occurs. By the inclusion of B at
just this point, the redactor intends the reader to understand
an additional period prior to the end. That period before the
end begins with the revelation of the great illuminator, con-
cludes with the *Eschaton*, and incorporates the redactor's own
time.[66]

The second concern of the redactor, revelation through the
great illuminator, is known in other related texts from Nag
Hammadi. *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)50,25-51,4 describes a "great light"
that will come into the world.[67]

> There may appear [   ] the glory and the power of
> the invisible Father of the holy men of the great light
> which will come into the world....[68]

To this quotation should be added a number of other references
from the *Gos. Eg.* that describe a "great light" in a personi-
fied sense[69] in distinction from the four great lights men-
tioned elsewhere: Harmozel, Oroiael, Davithe and Eleleth.[70]
The great light also appears to be in distinction from Adamas
(the heavenly prototype of the earthly first man) who is de-
scribed as a "shining light" from the Father of light (*Gos. Eg.*
[III,*2*]49,8-9).

The metaphor of a personified light coming from the heav-
enly realm to earth also occurs in the *Paraph. Shem.*[71]

Paraph. Shem (VII,*1*)8,24-9,7:

Again I shall appear. I am Derdekeas, the son of the
incorruptible, infinite Light.
The light of the infinite Spirit came down to a
feeble nature for a short time until all the impurity
of nature became void, and in order that the darkness
of Nature might be exposed. I put on my garment which
is the garment of the light of the Majesty--which I am.
I came in the appearance of the Spirit to consider the
whole light which was in the depths of the Darkness,
according to the will of the Majesty, in order that
the Spirit by means of the Word might be filled with
his light independently of the power of the infinite
Light.

Paraph. Shem (VII,*1*)28,11-34:

Then Nature, which had been disturbed, wanted to
harm the seed which will be upon the earth after the
flood. Demons were sent to them, and a deviation of
the winds, and a burden of the angels, and a fear of
the prophet, a condemnation of speech, that I may
teach you, O Shem, from what blindness your race is
protected. When I have revealed to you all that has
been spoken, then the righteous one will shine upon
the world with my garment. And the night and the day
will be separated. For I shall hasten down to the
world to take the light of that place, the one which
Faith possesses. And I shall appear to those who will
acquire the mind of the light of the Spirit. For be-
cause of them my majesty appeared.

It also appears in the *Trimorphic Protennoia.*[72]

Trim. Prot. (XIII,*1**)47,28-34:

    [I] am the Light that illumines the All. I am the
Light that rejoices [in my] brethren, for I came down
to the world [of] mortals on account of the Spirit that
remains [in] that which descended (and) came forth
[from the guileless] Sophia.

It appears in the *Apocryphon of John.*[73]

Ap. John (II,*1*)30,32-31,22:

    Still for a third time I went--I am the light
which exists in the light, I am the remembrance of
the Pronoia--that I might enter into the middle of
darkness and the inside of Hades. And I filled my
face with the light of the completion of their aeon.
And I entered into the middle of their prison which
is the prison of the body. And I said, "He who hears,
let him get up from the deep sleep." And he wept and
shed tears. Bitter tears he wiped from himself and
he said, "Who is it that calls my name, and from where
has this hope come to me, while I am in the chains of
the prison?" And I said, "I am the Pronoia of the
pure light; I am the thinking of the virginal Spirit,
he who raised you up to the honored place. Arise and
remember that it is you who hearkened, and follow your
root, which is I, the merciful one, and guard yourself
against the angels of poverty and the demons of chaos
and all those who ensnare you, and beware of the deep
sleep and the enclosure of the inside of Hades."

It is picked up in the *Letter of Peter to Philip*[74] and applied
to Jesus.

Ep. Pet. Phil. (VIII,*2*)133,17-134,18:

    Then, when the apostles had come together and
thrown themselves upon their knees, they prayed,
saying, "Father, Father, Father of the Light who
possesses the incorruptions, hear us just as [...]
in thy holy child Jesus Christ. For he became for
us an illuminator (φωστήρ) in the [darkness]. Yea
hear us."
    And they prayed again another time, saying, "Son
of Life, Son of Immortality who is in the light, Son,
Christ of Immortality, our Redeemer, give us power,
for they seek to kill us."
    Then a great light appeared so that the mountain
shone from the sight of him who had appeared. And a
voice called out to them, saying, "Listen to my words
that I may speak to you. Why are you asking me? I am
Jesus Christ who is with you forever."

Ep. Pet. Phil. (VII,2)139,9-21:

And Peter opened his mouth, he said to his disciples,
"[Did] our Lord Jesus, when he was in the body, show
us everything? For he came down. My brothers, listen
to my voice." And he was filled with a holy spirit.
He spoke thus: "Our illuminator (φωστήρ), 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.

The followers of the illuminator take on his characteristics.
And just as he will "shine" at his coming, so they, the Seth-
ians, will shine over the creation in the *Apoc. Adam* ([82],28-
[83],4) and so the followers of Christ in Christian gnostic
texts will become "illuminators" (*Ep. Pet. Phil.* [VII,2]137,
5-9).[75]

The motif of the light coming into the world is also known
in the hellenistic world,[76] the Old Testament tradition,[77] and
the Jewish apocalyptic literature.[78] In the apocalyptic liter-
ature, it appears as follows.

2 Enoch 46:1-3:[79]

Hear, my people, and take in the words of my lips.
If any one bring any gifts to an earthly ruler, and
have disloyal thoughts in his heart, and the ruler know
this, will he not be angry with him, and not refuse his
gifts, and not give him over to judgment? Or *if* one
man make himself appear good to another by deceit of
tongue, but *have* evil in his heart, then will not *the
other* understand the treachery of his heart, and him-
self be condemned, since his untruth was plain to all?
And when the Lord shall send a great light, then there
will be judgment for the just and the unjust, and there
no one shall escape notice.

2 Apoc. Bar. 71:2-72:6:[80]

This is the vision which thou hast seen, and this
is the interpretation. For I have come to tell thee
these things, because thy prayer has been heard with
the Most High.
Hear now also regarding the bright lightning which
is to come at the consummation after these black
(waters): this is the word. After the signs have come,
of which thou wast told before, when the nations become
turbulent, and the time of My Messiah is come, he shall
both summon all the nations, and some of them he shall
spare, and some of them he shall slay. These things
therefore shall come upon the nations which are to be

spared by Him. Every nation, which knows not Israel
and has not trodden down the seed of Jacob, shall
indeed be spared. And this because some out of every
nation shall be subjected to thy people. But all
those who have ruled over you, or have known you,
shall be given up to the sword.

T. 12 Patr.: T. Levi 18:2-14:[81]

Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest.
And to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed;
And he shall execute a righteous judgement upon the earth
    for a multitude of days.
And his star shall arise in heaven as of a king.
Lighting up the light of knowledge as the sun the day.
And he shall be magnified in the world.
He shall shine forth as the sun on the earth,
And shall remove all darkness from under heaven,
And there shall be peace in all the earth.

T. 12 Patr.: T. Jud. 24:[82]

And after these things shall a star arise to you from
Jacob in peace, and a man shall arise [from my seed],
like the son of righteousness, walking with the sons of
men in meekness and righteousness; and no sin shall be
found in him. And the heavens shall be opened unto
him, to pour out the spirit, (even) the blessing of the
Holy Father; and he shall pour out the spirit of grace
upon you; and ye shall be unto Him sons in truth, and
ye shall walk in His commandments first and last.
[This Branch of God Most High, And this Fountain giving
life unto all.] Then shall the sceptre of my kingdom
shine forth; And from your root shall arise a stem;
And from it shall grow a rod of righteousness to the
Gentiles, to judge and to save all that call upon the
Lord.

The reference in Eusebius to Bar Kochba as a luminary ought

also to be incorporated at this point as part of the Jewish

apocalyptic expectations.

The Jews were at that time led by a certain Bar Choche-
bas, which means "star," a man who was murderous and a
bandit, but relied on his name, as if dealing with
slaves, and claimed to be a luminary who had come down
from heaven and was magically enlightening those who
were in misery.[83]

The motif is also picked up in the Christian tradition.[84]

John 1:9:[85]

The true light (φῶς--Jesus) that enlightens every man
was coming into the world. (RSV)

John 3:19-21:

And this is the judgment, that light (φῶς) has come
into the world, and men loved darkness rather than
light (φῶς) because their deeds were evil. For every
one who does evil hates the light (φῶς), and does not
come to the light (φῶς) lest his deeds should be ex-
posed. But he who does what is true comes to the
light (φῶς) that it may be clearly seen that his
deeds have been wrought in God. (RSV)

John 8:12:

Again Jesus spoke to them, saying, "I am the light
(φῶς) of the world; he who follows me will not walk
in darkness, but will have the light (φῶς) of life.
(RSV)

Luke 1:76-79:

And you, child, will be called the prophet of the Most
High; for you will go before the Lord to prepare his
ways, to give knowledge of salvation to his people...
when the day (ἀνατολή) shall dawn upon us from on high
to give light (ἐπιφᾶναι) to those who sit in darkness.
... (RSV)

Acts of Philip 21:[86]

ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὦ φίλιππε, ἵνα σὲ ἴδωμεν καὶ διὰ σοῦ τὸν
φωστῆρα τῆς ζωῆς ᾽Ιησοῦν.

Exactly who the redactor conceived the illuminator in the
Apoc. Adam to be is not certain. However, it is clear from his
placement of the section that the great illuminator comes at
the end of time. This eschatological figure is distinguished
from the imperishable illuminators, Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessede-
keus, through whom the members of the redactor's community re-
ceive revelation, and is best understood in the sense of the
parallels collected above. In this sense, it is significant
that *Gos. Eg.* (III,2)68,10-69,5 indicates that the great Seth
is to return at the end of time.[87] This fact coupled with the
knowledge that Adamas, the heavenly prototype of the earthly
first man, was also described as a "shining light" from the
Father of light (*Gos. Eg.* [III,2]49,8-9) leads us naturally to
the conclusion that the great light in the *Gos. Eg.* and the
great illuminator in the *Apoc. Adam* are probably none other than
the great Seth.

2. Date and Provenance

The date and provenance of most of the Nag Hammadi trac-
tates is largely a matter of conjecture based upon motif-
parallels with datable traditions.[88] The reason for this is
that the gnostic texts reflect little interest, if any at all,
in the mundane affairs of human history. The gnostic was in-
terested in the primordial history that explained how the world
got into such corrupt condition, and how he could get out of
it. As we have seen,[89] gnostic texts do refer to idealized
historical events, but these were in the context of a *Heils-
geschichte* that related to man's escape from the world. The
Apoc. Adam is no exception to this generalization. All that
may be said *with certainty* on the issue of provenance is that
the *Apoc. Adam* was composed in Greek, later translated into
Coptic and found in Egypt. On the issue of date, all that may
be said *with certainty* is that the document was written after
the appearance of the Septuagint (circa 200-250 B.C.),[90] and
before the date that the codices found in Egypt were manufac-
tured (i.e., before A.D. 350).[91]

Thus far, three different suggestions have been made for
the tractate's date of composition and provenance. Hans
Goedicke has noted the similarity of [75],9-21 to the descrip-
tion of the eruption of Vesuvius by Pliny the Younger in A.D.
79. On the basis of the similarity in reports, he argues in a
brief note that the *Apoc. Adam* could not be dated later than
the first decade of the second century A.D. (i.e., prior to
A.D. 110).[92]

On the basis of what I have called the redactor's conclu-
sion (in particular [84],4-[85],31), Beltz suggests that a par-
ticular occasion for the document might be found in the perse-
cution of the Manichaeans by the Church in the years following
Diocletian's edict against the Manichaeans in A.D. 297.[93] He
thinks that the document was written in Egypt, not only because
it was found there, but because the list of kingdoms suggests
what he considers to be an Egyptian provenance rather than an
Iranian provenance.[94] This allows approximately 70± years for
the document to have been written in Greek, translated into
Coptic, and transcribed in the codices later found at Nag Hammadi.

On the other hand, Françoise Morard, although acknowledg-
ing that the Manichaeans did not baptize, and to that extent a
Manichaean provenance would suit the situation reflected by the
Apoc. Adam, considers the possibility of a Manichaean prove-
nance for the tractate improbable. Morard reasons, and I think
correctly, that it is doubtful that a later Manichaean author
would have insisted that the words of revelation be unwritten
and specifically not preserved in book form[95] ([85],3-18),
since Manichaeism is "essentially a book religion."[96] Morard
thinks that the gnostic sect of the Archontics described by
Epiphanius corresponds more closely with the community that
produced the *Apoc. Adam* than do the Manichaeans.[97] The
Archontics, probably a factional movement within the gnostic
sect known as Sethians,[98] still existed in Palestine in the
time of Epiphanius.[99] Morard suggests that the redactor of
Apoc. Adam, and hence the present form of the tractate, belongs
to a Sethian-Archontic milieu.[100] The lack of Christian allu-
sions in the *Apoc. Adam* is attributed to the fact that the re-
dactor, like the Archontic tradition to which he belongs, had
rejected the sacraments and attributed little significance to
the person of Jesus.

In discussing provenance, Morard considered primarily the
redactor's conclusion ([84],4-[85],31). As far as it goes, the
methodology is correct. Yet, Morard's discussion did not con-
sider all the statements by the redactor, nor did it consider
the entire tractate from the redactor's perspective. As we
have seen above, the redactor has unified the entire tractate
by his comments and brought it within the purview of his theol-
ogy. Therefore, one should examine more than just the redac-
tor's conclusion when considering the provenance of the
document.

When the total document is considered from the redactor's
perspective, Morard's tentative identification of provenance on
the basis of the redactor's conclusion appears even more pos-
sible. There are a number of strong similarities between the
gnostics in the Sethian-Archontic tradition as reported in
Epiphanius, and the present form of the *Apoc. Adam*. The Seth-
ians traced their descent from Seth, the son of Adam (*Pan.*

39.1.3), who was chosen to bear the seed of "power and purity"
(*Pan*. 39.2.5,7).[101] This seed was an elect and special race
(*Pan*. 39.2.6)[102] through whom destruction would come upon the
powers of the angels who made the world (*Pan*. 39.2.5).[103] The
Sethians believed this special seed would be taken up[104] from
the world (*Pan*.39.2.6).[105] The Archontics also gave Seth a
place of prominence. Seth had a special knowledge of the good
God, having been caught up to the heavens (*Pan*. 40.7.1-3), and
he acquired knowledge there that he many times revealed to his
seed (*Pan*. 40.7.3). Both groups have composed books in the
name of Seth (*Pan*. 39.5.1; 40.7.4). The Sethians,[106] like the
Apoc. *Adam*, recognized only two classes of people in the world:
the Sethians and the natural seed of Noah (*Pan*. 39.3.1-4).[107]
The Archontic rejection of baptism (*Pan*. 40.2.6) and their non-
Christian stance, as Morard clearly recognized,[108] are two of
the major similarities with the *Apoc*. *Adam*.

While there is no mention of "the Mother," who plays such
a prominent role in the Sethian-Archontic tradition as reported
by Epiphanius (*Pan*. 39.2.3,7; 40.2.3), the *Apoc*. *Adam* does give
a prominent role to Eve, in that she is the one who reveals to
Adam the knowledge of their former life after Adam-Eve had come
under the purview of the creator (64,5-15).[109] The flood also
appears in the Sethian tradition, but it appears there as the
means by which the good God attempts to destroy the evil seed
of Ham (*Pan*. 39.3.2), while the redactor of the *Apoc*. *Adam*
understands the flood as an attempt by the demiurge to destroy
the Sethian race.[110] In this respect, the Sethian tradition in
Epiphanius is much closer to the textual part of the Jewish
midrash in source A, which preserves the Old Testament view
that the flood is the means whereby a righteous God punishes a
wicked world.[111]

The Archontic account of the ascension of Seth (*Pan*.
40.7.1-2) bears strong similarities to three of the rejected
statements by the kingdoms, especially with respect to the
ascension motif after birth.[112] Finally, in the Sethian-
Archontic tradition, there is an emphasis upon a living special
revelation. The γνῶσις came from Seth (and others, *Pan*. 40.7.6),
and was preserved in books written in his name by his followers.

This parallels the situation in the *Apoc*. *Adam*.   The redactor
rejected a *written* revelation for the special revelation from
Seth, although he himself could still write that revelation in
a book.

All of these similarities seem to argue in favor of
Morard's suggestion that the *Apoc*. *Adam* should be associated
with the Sethian-Archontic tradition. How, then, does one
account for the dissimilarities? Part of the answer may lie in
the nature of the sources. There is good reason to believe
that the heresiologists did not have independent knowledge of
most sects about which they wrote, and even when they do claim
to have such knowledge, they frequently disagree in their de-
scriptions of the same sect.[113]   One should also add to this
the fact that the reports are not objective historical reports,
but polemical attacks against heretics in defense of the
"orthodox" Christian faith. Certainly under these conditions
one should not approach the reports of the heresiologists with
an uncritical attitude, nor expect them to speak specifically
to modern issues, nor be surprised when there are dissimilari-
ties between the reports of the heresiologists and the Nag
Hammadi texts.   In fact, as Wisse has pointed out, dissimilari-
ty is the rule rather than the exception.[114]

Epiphanius reports that in his day (end of the fourth cen-
tury A.D.) the Archontics were still surviving, but only in
Palestine. At an earlier time, the group was apparently more
widespread because he reports that in the time of Constantine
(circa A.D. 306-337) they had spread as far as Armenia.   This
suggests that Epiphanius is reporting on them in a period of
the movement's decline, and that the earlier time of Constan-
tine represented a period of more vigorous activity and growth
on the part of the sect.   This analysis suggests A.D. 200-400±
as possible dates during which the Archontic movement may be
identified as an independent group.   These dates assume that
the time of Constantine represents the period of the Archontics'
greatest influence and allows approximately 100± years for them
to have reached their peak and 100± years for them to have
fallen into decline.

The other datable reports by the heresiologists give some
support to this hypothesis. In none of the earlier reports
from A.D. 100-200 are the Archontics mentioned. The Sethians,[115]
however, are known by Josephus as early as circa A.D. 100[116] and
circa A.D. 200 by Irenaeus,[117] and the anonymous author of *Ad-
versus omnes haereses*,[118] and circa A.D. 220 by Hippolytus.[119]

One explanation for the omission of any reference to the
Archontics in these early reports is that, during the period
A.D. 100-200, the Archontics were probably indistinguishable
from the general Sethian movement. Of course it is always
possible that the heresiologists simply did not know of the
Archontics, although at this early date they may already have
existed as a separate group apart from the general Sethian
movement, and indeed, as Bousset has suggested, they could have
existed much earlier.[120] It is also possible that they were
known by the heresiologists, but not as a Christian heresy;
that is, they were known to the heresiologists as a non-
Christian group. Therefore, since they were not Christian
heretics, they could be omitted from any catalog of Christian
heresies.

In the report of Epiphanius, there is also a suggestion of
factionalism among the Archontics. At one time, some of the
Archontics apparently practiced baptism (*Pan.* 40.2.6), but in
the time of Epiphanius it is clearly stated that, as a group,
the Archontics condemn baptism. In the Epiphanius report, we
are apparently seeing the group when the theological controversy
over baptism had been fought and won by that faction that re-
jected baptism. However, the group is still divided even in the
time of Epiphanius by libertine and ascetic factions (*Pan.*
40.2.4). Some apparently lead "licentious" lives,[121] while
others withdraw from the world as monks.

The evidence for identifying the place of redaction is
quite meager, but what there is suggests that the *Apoc. Adam*
may have been redacted in Palestine, possibly in Transjordan,
before the second half of the second century A.D. (i.e., before
A.D. 150). There are two reasons for locating it here. In the
earliest report, in which the Archontics are mentioned as an
independent group, they are located in Palestine, and the

indication by Epiphanius is that it was from here that they
spread out.   The second reason is that the religious climate in
Transjordan at this time (i.e., A.D. 1-150) was well suited for
the kind of shift we see taking place in the *Apoc. Adam*.   There
were a great number of Jewish baptist groups in the region of
Transjordan, some of which betray evidence of early gnostic
influence. [122]

The *Apoc. Adam* apparently was produced during an early
stage of the Sethian-Archontic tradition by a minority group
that argued for a spiritualized understanding of baptism and an
ascetic lifestyle.   It is a part of that pluralism that devel-
ops in emerging religious movements before a stage of uniform-
ity is imposed by the ascendancy of one faction over all others.
This situation suits the ascetic anti-baptism stance of the
Apoc. Adam and the obvious similarities between *Apoc. Adam* and
what the heresiologists described as Sethian-Archontic gnostics.
The evident lack of Christian influence on the *Apoc. Adam* also
corresponds well with the lack of Christian influence on the
Archontics as described by Epiphanius.   Therefore it would seem
that we must assume that the *Apoc. Adam* was redacted in a time
before the Sethian movement was Christianized, i.e., probably
before the first half of the second century A.D. (i.e., prior
to A.D. 100).   Indeed, Christianization may well have been one
of the reasons for the ultimate separation of the Archontics
from the Sethians.   In the Epiphanius report (*Pan*. 39.1.3; 3.5),
the Christian motifs look like secondary features.   For example,
Christ is a secondary description of Seth, rather than the other
way around.   This suggests that the Sethian tradition was al-
ready fully developed before it came under the influence of the
Christian movement.   The Sethians maintained their original
mythology and simply incorporated Jesus into their existing
system.   The Archontics, on the other hand, apparently rejected
efforts to Christianize them, and split away over that and other
issues.   There is no evidence in the brief report by Josephus
(circa A.D. 100) that the Sethians by that time had fallen under
the influence of Christianity.   However, by the time of Hippoly-
tus (circa A.D. 200), there is ample evidence that the Sethian

movement had been influenced by Christianity. This suggests
that Christianization took place A.D. 100-200±. W. Bousset
thinks that the Archontics represent a very old gnostic sect
precisely because of the lack of even the slightest trace of
Christian influence.[123]

[1]The simplest way to discuss the material is to take each redactional statement as it comes in sequence in the tractate.

[2]See above, p. 112.

[3]See above, p. 168 n. 32. For the heavenly origin of the seed of Seth, see *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)56,13-22; 59,9-25; 60,9-12.

[4]See *Zost.* (VIII,*1*)30,10-14 for γνῶσις coming from Seth.

[5]Note that similar ideas also appear in source B. See above, pp. 111-15.

[6]See the discussion above, pp. 26-27.

[7]See above, pp. 112-13.

[8]See the discussion above, pp. 38-40.

[9]In some cases, ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ is also used to describe the archon and his crowd: *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)59,21-22; *Treat. Seth* (VII,*2*)56,16. However, *Zost.* does use the term ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ only once, and that to refer to the "holy seed of Seth" (*Zost.* [VIII,*1*]130,16).

[10]For example, see: *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,*1**)36,16; 50,17-19 (ⲤⲠⲈⲢⲘⲀ); *Steles Seth* (VI,*5*)119,34; 120,10 (ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ); *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)54,7-11; 56,2-3; 59,25-60,2; 69,9-10 (ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ); *Ap. John* (II,*1*)9,15; 20,24; 25,10; 28,3; 30,13 (ⲤⲠⲈⲢⲘⲀ); *Zost.* (VIII,*1*) 47,10; 130,16 (ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ). See also Epiph. *Pan.* 39.2.5.

[11]See above, pp. 40, 202-203.

[12]The redactor's conclusion doesn't contain the statement about passing on revelation to his progeny. This might explain why the redactor incorporated the source A conclusion, since it does include such a statement. See above, p. 46 n. 33.

[13]See above, pp. 82-83.

[14]I have included [69],16-17: ⲚⲈⲨⲈ ⲄⲀⲢ ⲚⲨⲘⲘⲞ ⲘⲘⲞⲨ ⲠⲈ as a part of the redactional statement assuming that it is part of the reason for the creator including the ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ in his wrathful designs. However, it could just as easily be part of the *Vorlage*, i.e., source A. If it were part of the *Vorlage* after [69],1-10, the text would read: "For rain-showers shall pour forth from God, the Almighty, in order that he might destroy all flesh [ ] the earth <...> by those (things) that they seek after, for they were strangers to him." In the latter case, the justification for the creator's act is the sinfulness of mankind. This is expressed by the statement that they were

217

strangers to him, i.e., strangers to his righteousness. I in-
cluded it as a part of the redactor's statement because it
fitted in so well with the redactor's third statement.

[15]See above, p. 53 n. 70.

[16]See above, pp. 204-208.

[17]For the attribute of power as a quality of Seth, see
Epiph. *Pan.*39.2.4,7.

[18]For the positive quality of the power of the seed, see
[73],15-24 and [74],7-11.

[19]See above, pp. 185-88.

[20]Schenke, "Das sethianische System," 167-68. Schenke
argues that the Nag Hammadi Sethians viewed history as a divi-
sion into periods or universal epochs. The four Sethian aeons,
Harmozel, Oroiael, Davithe, Eleleth, correspond to four differ-
ent universal epochs in which the Sethians of each epoch have
their resting place.

[21]Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, 197.

[22]Ibid.

[23]See above, pp. 50-51 and 119-22.

[24]See the redactor's statements above, pp. 185-90.

[25]See above, pp. 48 (n. 46) and 362-63.

[26]See above, pp. 202-203.

[27]The redactor's statements six and seven reflect a major
concern of the redactor that is best considered in conjunction
with his conclusion. See above, pp. 194-95.

[28]See above, p. 33.

[29]This characterization is arrived at by contrast with the
other group mentioned in the context of the statement.

[30]See the note to the text as [84],5-6.

[31]Morard, "L'*Apocalypse de Adam* de Nag Hammadi," 36-38.

[32]See Charlotte Baynes, *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise con-
tained in the Codex Brucianus* (Cambridge: The University Press,
1933) 180. In *Gos. Eg.* (IV,*2*)75,24-76,12, they are linked
with him "who presides over the baptism of the living," i.e.,
the purifier, Sesengen*barpharanges*. But compare (III,*2*)64,9-22
where a distinction is made between the "purifiers" and Sesen-
gen*pharanges*.

[33]See the argument for emendation of the text in the note to the text at [83],4-7.

[34]See above, pp. 130-47.

[35]See the discussion by Wilhelm Bousset (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907] 278-96), who shows the close relationship that existed in gnostic sects between the ritual of baptism and the pronouncement of the "name" over the initiate.

[36]See also the statement made by the redactor concerning the three baptists: "Micheu, Michar, Mnesinous, you have defiled the water of life; you drew it according to the will of the powers whom you serve" ([84],17-23). Satisfying the desire of "these" powers seems to be submitting to the water baptism of the three baptists. See *Gos. Eg.* (III,2)67,22-26 and especially its parallel (IV,2)80,9-13 where it is stated that life is mixed with the baptismal waters *of all the archons*. In the Marcosian baptism, the neophyte is baptized into the communion of the powers, Iren. *Haer*. 1.21.3 (Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.219).

[37]Note that the redactor's usual method is to include his redactional comment *following* the section to which he wishes it applied, and not before it. Observe the placement of his statements, pp. 284-87 below, and see pp. 37-40 above. Statement seven by the redactor also fits this pattern.

[38]Iren. *Haer*. 1.21.3-5 (Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.219-21).

[39]See above, pp. 141-47.

[40]Iren. *Haer*. 1.21.5 (Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.220-21).

[41]See also a fragmentary passage where the same motif is evident: *Zost*. (VIII,1)60,24-62,16. (The following series of quotations from *Zostrianos* are from the translation by John Sieber, as corrected by the ultraviolet collation of the text by Bentley Layton in September 1975 in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 368-93.) To this, compare the thirteen repentances of Sophia in PS where a similar passage through the heavens is suggested of Sophia (Schmidt, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften*, 71, line 10 to 72, line 31).

[42]See also VIII 62,11-16: "The one who belongs to all [the glories], Yoel, said to me, 'You have [received] all the [washings] in which she is worthy to [give] baptism and you have become [perfect...]."

[43]Protophanēs (the first appearing) and Kalyptos (the Hidden aeon) have their own baptismal waters; see VIII 18,6-10; VIII 22,8-14; VIII 23,5-20. Multiple baptisms appear also in PS (see Schmidt, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften*, 188, lines 12-23; 192, lines 18-27; 216, lines 3-21).

[44]See above, p. 53 n. 70.

[45]Compare the translation by John Sieber in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 392.

[46]Iren. *Haer.* 1.21.3; translation from Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.219.

[47]That is, in the sense of the passages in *Zostrianos* quoted above (pp. 195-97). However, see Morard ("L'*Apocalypse d'Adam* de Nag Hammadi," 38), who believes that the water of the thirteen kingdoms equals *for the redactor* the waters of chaos. I agree that at its earliest stage the list referred to the waters of chaos (see above, pp. 141-47), but the redactor understood it as having a baptismal motif.

[48]Morard ("L'*Apocalypse d'Adam* de Nag Hammadi," 38-41) pulls together similar motifs in other gnostic texts that reflect a negative attitude towards water baptism:

> The Book of Justin: Hipp. *Ref*. 5.27.2-3 (Foerster, *Gnosis*, 1.57-58). *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)63,24; 65,24. *Orig. World* (II,*5*)122,14-16. *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,*1**) 45,15-20; 47,15-19; 48,15-22.

> To these may be added *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,*1**)46,14-25; see Schmidt, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften*, 87, lines 34-36 and 245, lines 20-27; 308-12. *Zost.* (VIII,*1*) 17,4-15; 23,1-18; 24,20; 131,2-3; *Paraph. Shem* (VII,*1*)40,25-29.

Already in the New Testament there is the tendency toward a "higher" more spiritual form of baptism: Mark 1:8, Matt 3:11, Luke 3:16, Acts 1:5, 11:16, 19:1-6. See the discussion by Michel Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques: Adam, Eros et les animaux d'Egypt dans un écrit de Nag Hammadi (II,5)* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1974) 253-55.

[49]Translation by Birger Pearson in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 414.

[50]This passage appears to be a Christian-gnostic allegory on Mark 1:9-10 in which the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan River represents the birth of the Son of Man, and coming to the Jordan River symbolizes coming to the world. The Jordan is the power of the body or the senses of pleasure. The water of the Jordan is the desire for sexual intercourse through which birth takes place. John, who baptizes, represents the archon of this world who enslaves men in bodies. The passage recalls the explanations of the kingdoms where the illuminator's entry into the world is expressed as "coming to the water."

[51]The following series of translations are by Frederik Wisse in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 308-28. See also *Paraph. Shem* (VII,*1*)31,12-22.

[52]The ascetic stance of source A can also be incorporated as part of the redactor's position. See above, pp. 84-85.

[53]See above, pp. 118-19.

[54]Degrees of initiation into the mysteries is a motif known elsewhere in antiquity. See, for example: CH 13, *Disc. 8-9* (VI,*6*), Apul. *Met.* 11.

[55]See above, pp. 195-97.

[56]See above, pp. 135-37.

[57]See above, pp. 194-95 and 199-200.

[58]See above, pp. 118-19.

[59]See above, pp. 97-115.

[60]See above, pp. 45 (n. 14) and 21-22.

[61]An interesting feature of the creation story in source A is that it is necessary for Eve to reinstruct Adam about the aeon from which they had come; see p. 44 n. 8, above.

[62]See above, pp. 191, 203-08.

[63]Whether these figures retain a mythological character at this point or are understood in a historical sense, or are understood both ways, is not clear.

[64]The insistence on living special revelation is a recognized feature of the gnostic traditions (see, for example, R.P.C. Hanson, *Tradition in the Early Church* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962] 22-35) and of the apocalyptic literature (see D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964] 107-18, 158-73). It also appears in the earliest period of the Christian movement (i.e., from the apostolic age to circa A.D. 150) in the sense of a tradition that took its authority from the apostles who had both seen and heard Jesus. See J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (2nd ed.; New York: Harper and Row, 1960) 31-35.

[65]See, for example, 1 Cor 10:11, 2 Tim 3:15-17, Heb 3:7-11.

[66]This is suggested by the redactor's conclusion, where he associates the three baptists with "those people" rejected at the *Eschaton*. See the discussion above, pp. 192-93.

[67]Translation by Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, 98.

[68]The operative expression in Coptic is: N̄Nρⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟ6 N̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲏⲟⲩ ⲉⲧ̄ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ.

[69]*Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)43,1-4.13-16; 49,1-4; 50,10-14; 51,14-16; 63,21-22; 68,24-26.

[70]*Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)52,3-16; 56,13-57,11; 64,25.

[71]Translation by Frederik Wisse in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 308-28.

[72]Translation by John Turner in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 469.

[73]Translation by Frederik Wisse in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 115-16.

[74]Translation by Frederik Wisse in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, 394-98.

[75]This metaphor of the righteous "shining" appears also in the Jewish apocalyptic literature: *2 Enoch* 66:7 and *Adam and Eve* 39:9; in the Old Testament: Exod 34:29-35, Job 11:17, Prov 4:18, Isa 60:1-3, Dan 12:3; in the New Testament: Matt 5:16, 13:43, 17:2, Luke 24:4, John 5:35, Acts 13:47, Phil 2:15, Rev 1:16; and elsewhere in the Nag Hammadi texts: *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,*1**)49,28-32.

[76]Wilhelm Bousset, *Kurios Christos* (trans. John Steely from German 5th ed.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1970) 232-37 and esp. 234 n. 91.

[77]Num 24:17; Isa 10:17; 14:12-13; 42:6; 49:6; 60:1-3, 19-20; Mic 7:8.

[78]The term "luminary" is generally used in the apocalyptic literature for the sun, moon and stars: *1 Enoch* 17:3; 20:4; 23:4; 72:1-2,4,35,36; 73:1; 79:6; 82:7; *Jub.* 1:29.

[79]Translation from Charles, *APOT*, 2.458.

[80]Translation from Charles, *APOT*, 2.518.

[81]Translation from Charles, *APOT*, 2.314.

[82]Translation from Charles, *APOT*, 2.323-24.

[83]Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 4.6.2; see also 5.24.2. Translation by Kirsopp Lake, *Eusebius: The Ecclesiastical History* (LCL; 2 vols.; London: William Heinemann, 1965) 1.311, 313. In this connection, see CD 9,4-9, where the same title "star" is used of the leader of the community.

[84]See also Luke 2:29-32, John 9:5, 12:46, Acts 9:1-5, 2 Cor 4:6, Jas 1:17, 1 John 1:5, Rev 22:5.

[85]See also John 5:35 where John the Baptist is described as a lamp that was burning and shining.

[86]Maximilianus Bonnet (ed.), *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (2 vols. in 3; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1959) 2.2:11.

[87]"The great Seth wrote this book with letters in one
hundred and thirty years. He placed it in the mountain that is
called Charaxio, in order that at the end of the times and the
eras, by the will of the divine Autogenes and the whole pleroma,
through the gift of the untraceable, unthinkable, fatherly
love, it may come forth and reveal this incorruptible, holy
race of the great savior..." (Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyp-
tians*, 162, 164). The text uses the feminine pronoun as object
at III 68,10 (ⲀⲨⲤⲀⲌⲤ) and III 68,12 (Ⲕⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ) referring back
to ⲦⲉⲉⲓⲂⲓⲂⲗⲟⲥ in III 68,10. The masculine pronoun is used as sub-
ject in these same two positions referring back to ⲠⲚⲟϬ Ⲛ̅ⲤⲎⲐ .
In III 68,19 (ⲈⲨ‹ⲉ›ⲠⲢⲟⲈⲗⲐⲉ ⲈⲂⲟⲗ) and III 68,20 (Ⲛ̅ⲨⲟⲨⲱⲚⲌ),
the masculine pronoun is used as subject. The editors of the
text (Böhlig-Wisse, *Gospel of the Egyptians*, 205-206) argue
that the Coptic scribe, in using the masculine pronoun at III
68,19 and III 68,20, intended the antecedent to be ⲦⲉⲉⲓⲂⲓⲂⲗⲟⲥ ,
which he conceived of as the Coptic masculine word Ⲭⲱⲱⲙⲉ rather
than the Greek feminine word ⲂⲓⲂⲗⲟⲥ -- the word actually used by
the text. Therefore, he used the masculine pronoun as subject
rather than the feminine pronoun as subject because the *con-
ceived* antecedent was masculine. This analysis is confirmed
for the editors in the fact that ⲂⲓⲂⲗⲟⲥ makes better sense as
the antecedent of ⲈⲨ‹ⲉ›ⲠⲢⲟⲈⲗⲐⲉ and Ⲛ̅ⲨⲟⲨⲱⲚⲌ than does ⲠⲚⲟϬ
Ⲛ̅ⲤⲎⲐ. The sense of the text is: The great Seth wrote this
book and placed it in the mountain Charaxio in order that at
the end of time it (the book) might come forth and reveal this
holy race. This explanation of the text would seem more likely
if the verb at III 68,19 had read as a pseudo passive ⲈⲨⲈⲠⲢⲟ-
ⲈⲗⲐⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ, i.e., that it might be brought forth. The use
of the active rather than the passive at 68,19 is awkward.
A book does not come forth, but is more properly brought forth.
Another awkward feature is the revelation of the holy race.
This statement is not at all clear.

    I suggest that a simple emendation of the text might clear
up its obscurities. This is not a radical suggestion since we
know that the text in the context is elsewhere corrupt, i.e.,
III 68,13 and 19. I suggest that the text be emended at III
68,20 as follows: Ⲛ̅ⲨⲟⲨⲱⲚⲌ ‹ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ› Ⲛ̅ⲦⲉⲉⲓⲅⲉⲚⲉⲀ . The sense of
the text as emended would be:

        The great Seth wrote this book and placed it on a
        mountain in order that at the end of time he might
        come forth and reveal <it> to the holy race.
This suggestion removes the problem of the unclear statement
about revealing the holy race. If one emends at III 68,19
ⲈⲨ‹ⲉ›ⲠⲢⲟⲈⲗⲐⲉ to read Ⲉ‹Ⲩⲉ›ⲠⲢⲟⲈⲗⲐⲉ, one solves the problem
of the awkward active voice but is still left with the problem
of the obscure statement about revealing the holy race.

[88]Frederik Wisse thinks that there is a reference in *Great
Pow*. (VI,*4*)40,7-9 to the Anomoean heresy, a controversy that
arose in the early part of the second half of the fourth cen-
tury A.D. See Wisse, "The Nag Hammadi Library and the Heresi-
ologists," *VC* 25 (1971) 208 n. 16.

[89]See above, pp. 66-79.

[90]J. W. Wevers, "Septuagint," *Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible* (4 vols.; ed. G. A. Buttrick et al.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1962) 4.273-78.

[91]James M. Robinson, *Introduction to the Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972) 4.

[92]Goedicke, "An Unexpected Allusion," 340-41.

[93]Beltz, 191. However, Beltz gives the date for Dio-cletian's edict against the Manichaeans as A.D. 282. On the date of the edict, see W. Seston, "De l'authenticité et la date de l'édit de Dioclétien contre les Manichéens," *Mélanges de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes offerts à Alfred Ernout* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1940) 345-54. For the con-tent of the edict, see A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1954) 82-84. On p. 215, Beltz gives an approximate date for the document as around the middle of the third century A.D. (on the basis of his dates, this means A.D. 250-82). I have not found evidence of Manichaean influence in the trac-tate, and see no other reason for dating the document on the basis of the persecution of the Manichaeans.

[94]Beltz, 203.

[95]Morard, "L'*Apocalypse d'Adam* de Nag Hammadi," 40; see also idem, "L'*Apocalypse d'Adam* du Codex V," 225.

[96]Geo Widengren, *Mani and Manichaeism* (trans. Charles Kessler; New York/Chicago/San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965) 74-94.

[97]Morard, "L'*Apocalypse d'Adam* de Nag Hammadi," 40; see also idem, "L'*Apocalypse d'Adam* du Codex V," 226-33.

[98]Epiphanius treats the Sethians and Archontics as two separate groups. Of course, by the time Epiphanius knew them (end of the fourth century A.D.), they probably were two separate and distinct groups. However, it is worth noting that the third century author of *Adversus omnes haereses*, which Epiphanius used (Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* [2 vols.; Utrecht/Antwerp: Spectrum, 1953] 2.169-70 [*The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*]), did not know the Archontics as a separate group, nor list them in his report. Yet, Epiphanius included them in his list immediately following his discussion of the Sethians. This seems to be a subtle indication that he recog-nized some similarity between the two groups. See H.-Ch. Puech ("Archontiker," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* [8 vols.; ed. Theodore Klauser; Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950-] 1. col. 635), who thinks that the gnostic group in Palestine described as Archontics is a branch of the Egyptian group described as Sethians.

[99]Epiph. *Pan*. 40.1.1-3.

[100] Morard, "L'*Apocalypse d'Adam* de Nag Hammadi," 41-42; see also idem, "L'*Apocalypse d'Adam* du Codex V," 226-33.

[101] See above, pp. 111-13 and 185-88.

[102] See above, pp. 185-87.

[103] See above, p. 113.

[104] Καὶ τὸ γένος τοῦ Σήθ ἀφορισθὲν ἐντεῦθεν κατάγεται. See Karl Holl (ed.), *Die Griechischen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (3 vols.; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1915-33) 3.73 (*Epiphanius: Ancoratus und Panarion* [1922]).

[105] See above, pp. 189-90.

[106] Perhaps this is also true of the Archontics. They seem to recognize two forerunners to the human race: Cain and Seth, and a qualitative difference is made between the two groups (*Pan.* 40.5.3-5; 7.1,5).

[107] This is identical to source A (see above, pp. 82-83) where the conflict is between the seed of Noah and the great men, whom the redactor understands to be the seed of Seth (see above, pp. 185-87).

[108] Morard, "L'*Apocalypse d'Adam* de Nag Hammadi," 41-42.

[109] Other of the gnostic texts to which the *Apoc. Adam* is closely related do refer to the "Mother." See, for example: *Zost.* (VIII,*1*)29,17; *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,*1**)37,22 et passim; *Treat. Seth* (VII,*2*)67,3.30 et passim; *Ap. John* (II,*1*)2,14 et passim; *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)41,9.18 et passim; Codex Bruce Msf. 96v, 15 et passim.

[110] See above, pp. 187-88.

[111] See above, p. 89 n. 10.

[112] See the statements of kingdoms two, five and seven.

[113] Wisse, "Nag Hammadi Library," 205-23.

[114] Ibid., 207-208. Wisse argues that the explanation for disagreement between the reports of the heresiologists and the Nag Hammadi texts lies precisely in the incorrect categories created by early heresiologists to describe the various gnostic movements. These categories were then uncritically followed by later heresiologists (218-19).

[115] Although the Sethian groups reported by the various heresiologists are generally recognized to have been related (see Puech, "Archontiker," 1. col. 636), the Sethians known by Hippolytus and Irenaeus bear little resemblance to the Sethians of Epiphanius.

[116]F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingston (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (2nd ed.; London: Oxford University, 1974) 759-60. Josephus' description of the Sethians has similarity to the Archontics and the *Apoc. Adam*. Josephus says that the Sethians had "discovered the science of the heavenly bodies and their orderly array" (*Ant*. 1.69-70: trans. H.St.J. Thackery, *Josephus* [LCL; 8 vols.; London: William Heineman, 1930] 4.32-33). This corresponds to the Archontic description of the several heavens in each of which there is a ruling archon. Josephus further reports that in order that their traditions might not be lost "they erected two pillars, one of brick and the other of stone, and inscribed these discoveries on both so that if the pillar of brick disappeared in the deluge, that of stone would remain to teach men what was graven thereon...." Compare this statement to the conclusion of the *Apoc. Adam* ([85],7-18).

[117]Berthold Altaner, *Patrology* (trans. Hilda Graef from the 5th German ed.; New York: Herder and Herder, 1960) 150.

[118]Quasten, *Patrology*, 2.169-170, 272. See also Adolf Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (2 vols.; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904) 2.2:430-32.

[119]Quasten, *Patrology*, 2.168.

[120]W. Bousset, "Gnosis," *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (ed. A. Pauly, G. Wissova, and W. Kroll; 24 vols.; Stuttgart: Metzler, 1893-1972) 7.2 (1912) col. 1535.

[121]Compare the accusation made by the redactor against the three baptists: "your ways are full of pleasure and merriment" ([84],14-17).

[122]See Joseph Thomas, *Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie* (Gembloux: J. Duclot, 1935) 431-32, 151-56, 169-83.

[123]Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, 319-24.

PART II

TEXT, TRANSLATION AND NOTES

SOURCE A

Ⲝ̅Ⲇ̅   1   ⲦⲀⲠⲞⲔⲀⲗⲨⲯⲒⲤ Ⲛ̅ⲀⲆⲀⲘ

         ⲧⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩⲯⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲁⲁⲇⲁⲓⲙ ⲧ̄ⲁⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲩϣⲏⲣⲉ
      5 ⲤⲎⲐ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲍ̄ⲛ̄ ⲦⲘⲉⲌ̄ϣ̄ Ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ· ⲉⲩϪⲱ Ⲙ̄/ⲘⲞⲤ
         Ϫⲉ ⲤⲰⲦⲘ̄ ⲉⲚⲀϣⲀϪⲉ ⲡⲀⲩϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲤⲎⲐ· ⲞⲦⲀⲚ
         Ⲛ̄ⲦⲀⲣⲉⲨⲦⲀⲘⲒⲞⲈⲒ Ⲛ̄ϬⲒ ⲠⲚⲞⲨⲦⲉ ⲉⲂⲞⲗ ⲍ̄Ⲙ̄ ⲠⲔⲀⲌ
         ⲘⲚ̄ ⲉⲨⲌⲀ ⲦⲉⲔⲘⲀⲀⲨ· ⲚⲉⲒⲘⲞⲞϣⲉ Ⲛ̄ⲘⲘⲀⲤ Ⲡⲉ
     10 ⲍ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲞⲨⲉⲟⲟⲨ ⲉⲦⲀⲤⲚⲀⲨ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ· ⲉⲂⲞⲗ ⲍ̄Ⲙ̄ ⲠⲒⲉⲰⲚ
         ⲉⲚⲦⲀⲚϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲂⲞⲗ Ⲛ̄ⲌⲎⲦϥ̄· ⲀⲤⲦⲀⲘⲞⲒ ⲉⲩϣⲀϪⲉ
         Ⲛ̄Ⲧⲉ ⲞⲨⲄⲚⲰⲤⲒⲤ Ⲛ̄Ⲧⲉ ⲠⲚⲞⲨⲦⲉ ⲠⲒϣⲀⲉⲚⲉⲌ· ⲀⲨⲱ
     15 ⲚⲉⲚⲉⲒⲚⲉ/ ⲡⲉ Ⲛ̄Ⲛ̄ⲚⲞϬ Ⲛ̄ⲀⲄⲄⲉⲗⲞⲤ Ⲛ̄ϣⲀⲉⲚⲉⲌ·
         ⲚⲉⲚϪⲞⲤⲉ ⲄⲀⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲠⲚⲞⲨⲦⲉ ⲉⲦⲀⲨⲦⲀⲘⲒⲞⲚ Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄
         ⲚⲒϬⲞⲘ ⲉⲦⲚ̄Ⲙ̄ⲘⲀⲩ· ⲚⲎ ⲉⲦⲉ ⲚⲉⲚⲤⲞⲞⲨⲚ Ⲙ̄ⲘⲞⲞⲨ ⲀⲚ·/
     20 ⲦⲞⲦⲉ ⲀⲨⲦⲱϣ ⲚⲀⲚ Ⲛ̄ϬⲒ ⲠⲚⲞⲨⲦⲉ ⲠⲀⲣⲭⲰⲚ
         Ⲛ̄Ⲧⲉ ⲚⲉⲰⲚ Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲚⲒϬⲞⲘ ⲍ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲞⲨⲂⲰⲗⲔ̄· ⲦⲞⲦⲉ ⲀⲚϣⲱⲡⲉ
     25 ⲉⲉⲰⲚ ⲤⲚⲀⲨ· ⲀⲨⲱ ⲀⲨⲔⲀⲀⲚ Ⲛ̄ⲤⲰⲛ Ⲛ̄ϬⲒ/ ⲠⲒⲉⲞⲞⲨ ⲉⲦⲍ̄Ⲙ̄
         ⲠⲉⲚⲌⲎⲦ· ⲀⲚⲞⲔ Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲦⲉⲔⲘⲀⲀⲨ ⲉⲨⲌⲀ Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲦⲄⲚⲰⲤⲒⲤ
         Ⲛ̄ϣⲞⲣⲡ̄ ⲉⲦⲉ ⲚⲉⲤⲚⲒϥⲉ Ⲛ̄ⲌⲎⲦⲚ̄· ⲀⲨϣ̄ ⲀⲨⲠⲱⲦ
     30 ⲉⲂⲞⲗ Ⲙ̄ⲘⲞⲚ/ⲉ ⲩ ⲂⲰⲔ ⲉⲌⲞⲨⲚ ⲉⲔⲉⲚⲞϬ ⲙ̄ⲡⲒⲉⲰⲚ
Ⲝ̅ⲉ̅   1 ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲔⲉⲚⲞϬ Ⲛ̄ⲦⲄⲉⲚⲉⲀ[·] ⲦⲎ ⲉⲦⲀⲤϣ̄/ⲣⲱ ⲉⲂⲞⲗ ⲍ̄Ⲙ̄
         ⲠⲉⲒⲀⲒⲰⲚ ⲀⲚ ⲉⲦⲀⲚϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲂⲞⲗ Ⲛ̄ⲌⲎⲦϥ̄ ⲀⲚⲞⲔ
         Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲉⲨⲌⲀ ⲦⲉⲔⲘⲀⲀⲨ· ‡/
      9   Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄Ⲛ̄ⲤⲀ ⲚⲒⲌⲞⲞⲨ ⲉⲦⲘ̄ⲘⲀⲨ ⲀϭⲞⲨⲉ ⲉⲂⲞⲗ
         Ⲙ̄ⲘⲞⲒ ⲀⲚⲞⲔ Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲦⲉⲔⲘⲀⲀⲨ ⲉⲨⲌⲀ Ⲛ̄ϬⲒ ⲦⲄⲚⲰⲤⲒⲤ
         Ⲛ̄ϣⲀⲉⲚⲉⲌ Ⲛ̄Ⲧⲉ ⲠⲚⲞⲨⲦⲉ Ⲛ̄Ⲧⲉ ⲦⲘⲉ· Ϫⲓⲛ ⲠⲞⲨⲞⲉⲒϣ
     15 ⲉⲦⲘ̄ⲘⲀⲨ ⲀⲚ/Ϫⲓ ⲤⲂⲰ ⲉⲌⲉⲚⲌⲂⲎⲨⲉ ⲉⲨⲘⲞⲟⲩⲦ ⲌⲰⲤ
         ⲌⲉⲚⲣⲰⲘⲉ· ⲦⲞⲦⲉ ⲀⲚⲤⲞⲨⲰⲚ ⲠⲚⲞⲨⲦⲉ
         ⲉⲦⲀⲨⲦⲀⲘⲒⲞⲚ· Ⲛ̄ⲚⲉⲚⲟ̄ ⲄⲀⲣ ⲀⲚ ⲡⲉ Ⲛ̄ϥ̄Ⲙ̄ⲘⲞ
     20 Ⲛ̄ⲚⲉϥϬⲞⲘ· ⲀⲨⲱ/ ⲀⲚϣ̄Ⲙ̄ϣⲉ Ⲙ̄Ⲙⲟϥ ⲍ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲞⲨⲌⲟⲦⲉ
         Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲞⲨⲘⲚ̄Ⲧ̄ⲌⲘ̄ⲌⲀⲗ·

64,1   The Revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) of Adam |

                    The revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) that Adam taught |
                    his son, Seth, in | the seven hundredth year: /
5   "Listen to my words, my | son Seth. When (ὅταν)
         God created | me from | the earth along with Eve
         your (sg.) mother, | I walked with her in glory /
10   that she had seen in | the eon (αἰών) from which
         we had come. | She taught me a word | of knowledge
         (γνῶσις) of the eternal | God, and we resembled /
15   the great eternal angels (ἄγγελος), | for (γάρ) we
         were greater than | the God who had created us
         and | the powers that were with him, whom | we
         did not know. /

20   Then (τότε) God, the ruler (ἄρχων) | of the
         eons (αἰών) and the powers, | divided us in anger.
         Then (τότε) | we became two eons (αἰών) | and the
25   glory that was in our heart / abandoned us | --me
         and your (sg.) mother Eve-- | along with the first
         knowledge (γνῶσις) that | breathed in us. And |
30   it (i.e., glory) fled from us / entering into
         [another] great | [eon (αἰών)] and [another great] |
         generation (γενεά), that was not [cast forth //
[65],1   from] this aeon (αἰών) from which [we] | had come--
         I | and Eve your (sg.) mother. ⧧ /

9   After those | days the eternal knowledge
         (γνῶσις) | of the God of truth | withdrew far
         from | me and your (sg.) mother Eve. | Since that
15   time we / were taught dead things | as (ὡς) men.
         Then (τότε) | we knew the God who had | created us,
         for (γάρ) we were not | estranged from his powers,
20   and / we served him in fear | and servility.

                    ⲙ̄ⲛ|ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲁⲛϣⲱⲡⲉ| ⲉⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲃⲏ ⳍ̄ⲙ
[ⲝⲅ] 12 ⲡⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ·| ‡ // ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲛϥⲓ ⲁ|ⲍⲟⲙ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲉⲩⲍⲁ
      15 ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⳍ̄ⲙ| ⲡⲉⲛϩⲏⲧ· ⲁⲣⲱ ⲁⲡ̄ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ/ⲧⲉ
          ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲁⲍⲉⲣⲁⲧϥ̄| ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ·
          ⲡⲉⲭⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲛ| ⲭⲉ ⲁ̄ⲇ̄ⲁ̄ⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄|ϥⲓ
          ⲁⲍⲟⲙ ⳍ̄ⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ· ⳍⲓⲉ| ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ
      20 ⲁⲛⲟⲕ/ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲉ| ⲑⲏⲣ̄ⲧ̄ⲛ· ⲁⲣⲱ
          ⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲓϥⲉ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ| ⲉⲣⲱⲧ̄ⲛ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲡⲛ̄ⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛ̄ϩ|
          ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲩⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲉⲥⲟⲛ̄ϩ· ⲧⲟ|ⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲕⲉ
      25 ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⳍⲓ ⲭⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲛ/ⲃⲁⲗ

              ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ|[ⲧ]ⲁⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ
          ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ|ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲏ̄ⲛ ⲉ[ⲣ]ⳍⲁ ⲧⲉ[ⲕ]ⲙⲁ[ⲁ]ⲩ
      30 ⲉⲡⲉ[ⲓ̈]ⲃⲁ[ⲕⲉ]|[..]ⲕⲥ ⲁⲛ.[ ]/[..]ⲉⲕⲉ.[.].[|ⲉⲃⲟ]ⲗ
[ⲝⲍ] 1   ⳍ̄ⲙ ⲡⲉ[ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈]/ⲧ[ⲱⲗ̄ⲙ ⳍ̄ⲙ] ⲡⲙⲉⲉⲧⲉ [ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲉ|
          ⲡⲁϣ[ⲉⲉ]! · ⲁⲓ̈ⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ| ⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲉⲥⳍⲟⲗ̄Ⳍ| ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
      5   ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲁⲁⲩ· ⲧⲟ/ⲧⲉ ⲁⲥⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲓ|ⲧ̄ⲛ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ
          ⲧⲁⲕⲙⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ| ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ϣⲁ⳪ⲉ|ⲛⲉⳍ· ⲁⲣⲱ
      10 ⲁϭⲣ̄ⲇⲓⲱⲕⲉ| ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ϭⲱⲃ/ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈
          ⲁⲩⲣ̄ ⲕⲟⲩⲉⲓ| ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛⲉⳍⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛ|ⲱⲛ̄ϩ· ‡/
      22   ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲧⲣⲁⲭⲱⲕ| ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ| ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
      25 ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ·/ ⲁⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲙⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧ| [ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛ̄]ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ
          ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ||ϯⲅⲉⲛⲉ]ⲁ· [ⲧⲟ]ⲧⲉ| [ⲛⲱⳍⲉ] ⲟ[ⲣⳍ]ⲩ̄ⳍⲁⲗ|
[ⲝⲑ] 1   [ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉ]ⲧⲁ[ ]|* * // ⲥⲉⲛⲁ[ⲟ]ⲩⲟ̲ⲧⲛⲟ[ⲩ
          ⲉⲃⲟⲗ]| ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛ̄[ϭ]ⲓ ⳍⲉⲛⲙⲟⲩ[ⲓ̈ⲉⲣⲉ]| ⲛ̄ⳍⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
      5   ⲡ[ⲛⲟⲩⲧ]ⲉ ⲡ̄|ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁ[ⲧⲱⲣ· ⲭⲉ] ⲉⲩⲉ/ⲧⲁⲕⲟ
      8   ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣⲁⳍ [ⲛⲓⲙ]{ⲝ}/ⲉⲃⲟⲗ[ ]ⲡⲕⲁⳍ|<...> ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
          ⳍⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲏ[ⲉ]ⲧⲉⲩⲕⲱ|ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲟⲩ·‡/
      18   ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲉⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲟⲩ ⲛ̄|ϭⲓ ⳍⲉⲛⲛⲟϭ ⲛⲁ|ⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ/
      20 ⳍⲛ̄ ⳍⲉⲛⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲉⲩⲭⲟⲥⲉ| ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ
          ⲉⲧⲙ̄|ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲉⲩ|ϣⲟⲟⲡ
          ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧ[ϥ] ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲡⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲁ̄| ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ] ⲡ̄ⲱⲛ̄ⳍ ⲛ̄[..]| * *
[ⲟ]   1   * * *// [ⲥⲉⲛⲁϯ ⲡⲉⲩⳍ]ⲏⲧ ⲉ[ⲡ̄]ⲛ̄[ⲟⲩ] ⲛ̄ⲉⲟ|[ⲟⲩ
          ⲛ̄]ⲧⲉ [ⲡ̄ⲙ̄ⲧⲟ]ⲛ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·|

                    And (δέ) | after these (things) we became |
[66],12   darkened in our heart. | ‡ // Then (τότε) we
          sighed, | I and Eve in | our heart. And the Lord,
    15   the God / who created us, stood | before us. He
          said to us, | 'Adam, why were you (pl.) | sighing
          in your (pl.) heart? | Do you (pl.) not know that
    20   I / am the God who created | you (pl.) and breathed
          into | you (pl.) a breath (πνεῦμα) of life | as a
          living soul (ψυχή)?' Then (τότε) | darkness came
          upon our eyes. /

    25   Then (τότε) the God who | created us created
          a | son from himself and Eve | your mother.
    30   Because of [this conception] | */* from the [
[67],1   Then (τότε) I // was defiled in] thought [through] |
          my [madness and] I knew | a sweet desire (ἐπιθυμία) |
     5   for your (sg.) mother. Then (τότε) / the vigor
          (ἀκμή) of | our eternal knowledge | perished in us |
    10   and weakness | pursued (διώκειν) us. / Therefore
          the days of | our life were | few. ‡ /

    22   After I completed | the times | of this
    25   generation (γενεά) / and [the] years of | [this
          generation (γενεά)] | were brought to an end,
          [then (τότε) | Noah], a servant | [of God   ] |
[69],1   ** // For (γάρ) rain-showers | shall pour forth |
          from [God], the | Almighty (παντοκράτωρ), [in
     5   order that] he might / destroy [all] flesh (σάρξ)
     8   { } / [   ] the earth | <...> by those (things)
          that they seek after. ‡ /

    18   After these (events) great angels (ἄγγελος) |
    20   shall come / on high clouds. | They will take
          those men | into the place (τοπός) where | the
          spirit (πνεῦμα) [of] life | dwells [   ] |
[70],1   ***** // [They will understand the great] glory |
          of that [rest]. |

[ⲧⲟ]ⲧⲉ [ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣ]ⲱⲡⲉ ⲭⲓⲛ ⲧⲡⲉ| ϣⲁ ⲡⲕⲁϩ
5 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉ]ⲩⲛⲁϣⲱⲝⲡ̄/ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲡⲙ̄[ⲏⲏϣⲉ ⲧ]ⲏⲣϥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲥⲁⲣⲁⲝ ϩⲓ ⲛ[ⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·] ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ|ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲁⲙ̄[ⲧ]ⲟⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄|ⲡⲉⲩϭⲱ[ⲛ̄]ⲧ· [ⲁ]ⲣⲱ
ⲩⲛⲉⲛⲟⲩ|ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩ[ϭ]ⲟⲙ ⲉⲝ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·/
10 ⲁⲩⲱ [ⲩⲛⲁ]ϯ[ϭ]ⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩϣⲏⲣⲉ| ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉ[ⲣϩⲓ]ⲟ[ⲙ]ⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩ̄ⲛ̄ ϯⲕⲓ|ⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ· ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
[ⲛ̄]ⲧⲃ̄ⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲉ|ⲧⲁⲩϯⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲝⲱⲟⲩ· ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
15 ⲛ̄|ϩⲁⲗⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧ[ⲉ] ⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲙⲟⲩ/ⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ·
ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ ϩ̄ⲓ|ⲭ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁ[ϩ·] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲛⲟⲩ|ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲁⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱϩⲉ· ⲡⲏ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ
ⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ| ⲭⲉ ⲇⲉⲩⲕ[ⲁ]ⲗⲓⲱⲛ· ⲭⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ
20 ϩⲏ/ⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲣⲉϩ ⲉⲣⲟ<ⲕ> ϩ̄ⲛ̄ ϯⲕⲓⲃⲱⲧⲟⲥ|
ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕϩ̄ⲓⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲕϣⲏ|ⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲩϩ̄ⲓⲟⲙⲉ· ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩ|ⲧ̄ⲃ̄ⲛⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲁⲧⲉ [ⲛ̄]ⲧ[ⲉ] ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲕⲙⲟⲩ[ⲧⲉ
25 ⲉⲣⲟ/ⲟⲩ ⲁⲕⲕⲁ[ⲁ]ⲣ̄ ϩⲓ̄ⲭ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁϩ]| ∗∗∗∗//
[ⲟ̄ⲁ] 1 ⲉⲧⲃⲉ [ⲡ]ⲁⲓ̈ ϯⲛⲁϯ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕ[ⲁϩ ⲛ]ⲁⲕ| ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲛⲉⲕϣⲏⲣⲉ [ϩ̄]ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ|ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲕⲛⲁⲣ̄ ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ
ⲉⲝⲱⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕ| ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲕϣⲏⲣⲉ· ‡/
8   ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲱ|ⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ϯⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ
10 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓ/ⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ· ⲥⲉⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲩ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ|
ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ· ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ|ⲛⲟⲭⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩ̄ⲛ̄
ϯⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄|ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
15 ⲛⲓⲁⲅ|ⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄/ⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲱϩⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲛ·| ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲛⲁⲭⲟⲟⲥ ⲛ̄|ⲛⲱϩⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲟⲩ ⲁⲕⲣ̄ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ|
ⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲁⲕ|ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛ̄ⲅⲉⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ
20 ⲭⲉ ⲉⲕⲉ/ϯ ⲥⲱϣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϭⲟⲙ ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲩⲛⲁ|ⲭⲟⲟⲥ
ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛⲱϩⲉ ⲭⲉ ϯⲛⲁ|ⲣ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ|ⲭⲛⲁϩ· ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲛ̄|ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ
25 ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ/ [ϩ̄ⲓⲧⲟⲟ]ⲧ ⲁⲛ· ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲃ[ⲟⲗ|
ϩ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲁ]ϣ[ⲏⲣ]ⲉ [ⲁ]ⲛ· [ⲁⲗⲗⲁ| ⲁⲥϣ]ⲱⲡ[ⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
[ⲟ̄ⲃ] 1 ϩ̄]ⲛ̄[   ]| ∗∗∗// [ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ϯⲅⲛ]ⲱⲥⲓⲥ·

         Then (τότε) [they will] come from the heaven |
         to the [earth, and] the entire [multitude] of flesh
5   (σάρξ) / will be left behind | in the [waters].
         Then (τότε) God | will rest from | his wrath. And
10   he will cast | his power upon the waters, / and
         [will] strengthen his sons | and [their wives] by
         means of the ark (κιβωτός), | [along with the]
         animals, that | pleased him, and the | birds of
15   heaven, that he called / and released upon | the
         earth. And God | will say to Noah--whom | the
         generations (γενεά) will call, | Deucalion
20   (Δευχαλιῶν)--'Behold, / I have kept <you> (sg.)
         safe in the ark (κιβωτός) | along with your (sg.)
         wife, and your (sg.) sons | and their wives, and
         their | animals and the birds [of | heaven], that
25   you (sg.) called / [and released upon the earth] |
[71],1   **** // Therefore, I shall give the [earth to]
         you (sg.) | and your sons. In | regal fashion
         will you (sg.) reign over it, you (sg.) | and
         your (sg.) sons.' ‡ /

8   Then (τότε) they will become | as the cloud
10   of the / great light. Those men | will come--
         those who were | cast forth from the knowledge
         (γνῶσις) of | the great eons (αἰών) and the
         angels (ἄγγελος). | They will stand before /
15   Noah and the eons (αἰών). | And God will say to |
         Noah, 'Why have you departed from | what I told
         you (sg.)? You (sg.) have | created another
         generation (γενεά) so that you (sg.) might /
20   scorn my power.' Then (τότε) Noah will | say,
         'I shall | testify before your (sg.) | might that
         the generation (γενεά) of | those men has not come
25   from / me, nor (οὔτε) [from | my sons, but (ἀλλά) |
[72],1   it came from *** // of] knowledge (γνῶσις).

[ⲁ]ⲣⲱ ⲩ]ⲛⲁⲗ[ⲕ]ⲱ [ⲉⲃⲟ]ⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ [ⲛ̄ⲧ]ⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲡⲉⲩⲕⲁⲍ |
5 ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲡ̄ϣⲁ ⲛ̄ⲩⲕⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩ/ⲙⲁⲛ̄ϣⲱⲡⲉ
ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ · ⲁⲣⲱ | ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲍ̄ⲙ̄
ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲛ̣| ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ|
ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉ ⲍ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩ|ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
10 ⲧⲁ̄ⲫⲑⲁⲣⲥⲓⲁ·/ ⲁⲣⲱ ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ
ⲛ̄ϭⲓ| ⲍⲉⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟ̣|ⲉⲓⲛ·
ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛ̄ⲃⲟⲧⲉ | ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲍ̄ⲙ̄
ⲡⲉⲩⲍⲏⲧ· ⲉⲃⲟⲗ | ⲉⲧ̄ⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
15 ⲡⲛⲟⲩ/ⲧⲉ·
ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛⲱⲍⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲉ̄ϣ ⲡ̄ⲕⲁⲍ | ⲧⲏⲣⲩ̄
ⲉⲍⲣⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩϣⲏⲣⲉ· | ⲭⲁⲙ̄· ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲓ̈ⲁⲫⲉⲑ· ⲙ̄ⲛ
ⲥⲏⲙ̄· | ⲩⲛⲁⲭⲟⲟⲥ̄ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲛⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ| ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄
20 ⲉⲛⲁϣⲁⲭⲉ· ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲍ / ⲁ̀ⲓ̈ⲡⲟⲩ̄ϣ̄ⲩ̄ ⲉⲭⲛ̄
ⲑⲩⲧⲛ̄· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ| ⲩ̄ⲙ̄ⲩ̄<ⲏ>ⲧⲩ̄ ⲍ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲍⲱⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ|
ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲍ̄ⲙⲍⲁⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩ ⲧⲏ|ⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ·
ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲧⲣⲉ|[ⲡ]ⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲡ̄ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲍⲟ/
25 [ⲙ̄ⲡ]ⲛ̄[ⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉ ⲡ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕ[ⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ|]ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲙ̄ⲛ
ⲡ̄[ⲉ]ⲧ̄ⲛ̄[ ] ⲙ̄[ ]ⲙ̄ⲛ̄[ ] ✻ ✻ |[ⲧⲟⲧⲉ
1 ⲩⲛⲁⲭⲟⲟⲥ // ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲥⲏⲙ̄ ⲡ̄]ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲱ[ⲍ]ⲉ ⲭⲉ̣
[ⲡⲁ]|ⲅⲣⲟϭ ⲛ[ⲁ]ⲡ̄ ⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲃ[ⲟⲗ·]|
ⲁⲣⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲕ̄ϭⲟⲙ·| ⲁⲣⲓⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅⲓⲍⲉ
5 ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲍ̄ⲛ ⲧⲉⲕ/ϭⲓⲭ ⲉⲧⲭⲟⲟⲣ ⲍ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲍⲟⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲛ|
<ⲟⲩ>ⲟⲩⲁⲍ ⲥⲁⲍⲛⲉ· ⲭⲉ ⲡⲓϭⲣⲟϭ ⲧⲏ|ⲣⲩ̄
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ|ⲛⲁⲣⲁⲕⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ
10 ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ| ⲁⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡ̄ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟ/ⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ·
ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲩ̄ⲙ̄|ϣⲉ ⲍ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲑ̄ⲃ̄ⲃⲓⲟ {ⲭⲱⲩ} ⲙ̄ⲛ|
ⲟⲩⲍⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲙⲉ·|
ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲉⲣⲉⲍⲉⲛⲕⲟⲟⲩⲉ <ⲉ̄ⲓ̄> ⲉⲃⲟⲗ| ⲍ̄ⲙ̄
15 ⲡ̄ⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲭⲁ̄ⲙ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄/[ⲓ̈]ⲁⲫⲉⲑ· ⲉⲩⲉⲃⲱⲕ
ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲩⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϣⲉ| ⲛ̄ϣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ· ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲕ
ⲉ|ⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲕⲉⲕⲁⲍ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϭⲟⲉⲓⲗⲉ| ⲉⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ· ⲛⲏ ⲉ|ⲧⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍ̄ⲛ ⲧ̄ⲛⲟϭ/
20 ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉⲍ· ⲭⲉ| ⲑⲁⲉⲓⲃⲉⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲉⲩϭⲟⲙ ⲛⲁ|ⲁⲣⲉⲍ ⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩϭⲟⲉⲓⲗⲉ| ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
ⲛ̄ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩ| ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ
ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩ·/

          [And he] will │ [release] those men, │ [and]
bring them into their land, │ (a land) that is
worthy (of them). And he will build for them a /

5   holy dwelling-place. And │ they will be called by
that name │ and dwell there │ six hundred years
in a │ knowledge of imperishability (ἀφθαρσία). /

10   And angels (ἄγγελος) of the great light │ will
dwell with them. │ Nothing loathsome shall │
dwell in their heart, but │ only the knowledge
(γνῶσις) of God (will dwell therein). /

15   Then (τότε) Noah will divide the whole │ earth
among his sons, │ Ham and Japheth and Shem. │ He
will say to them, 'My sons, │ heed my words.

20   Behold, / I have divided the earth among you (pl.)
but (ἀλλά) │ serve him (i.e., the creator) in fear
and │ servility all the days │ of your (pl.) life.
Do not let │ your seed (σπέρμα) depart from the

25   face / [of] God, the Almighty (παντοκράτωρ), │
    [   ] I and your (pl.) [│] and [   ] **

[73],1   [Then (τότε) Shem, // the] son of Noah [will
say, 'My] │ seed [will be] pleasing before you
(sg.) │ and before your (sg.) power. │ Seal

5   (σφραγίζειν) it by your (sg.) / strong hand with
(godly) fear and │ <a> mandate so that all the
seed │ which has come from me may │ not be inclined
away from you (sg.) │ and God, the Almighty

10   (παντοκράτωρ), / but (ἀλλά) will serve │ in
humility and │ reverence for their knowledge.' │
        Then (τότε) others will <come> forth │ from

15   the seed (σπέρμα) of Ham and / Japheth. Four
hundred │ thousand men will depart, and enter │
into another land and sojourn │ with those men,

20   who │ have come from the great / eternal knowledge
(γνῶσις), since │ the shadow of their power will │
protect those who have sojourned │ with them from
every evil thing │ and every unclean desire
(ἐπιθυμία). /

25   ΤΟΤΕ Π�ivⲠΕΡΜΑ Ⲛ̄Χ̄Ⲁ̄Ⲙ̄ Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄|[ⲓⲁ]ⲫⲉⲑ ⲚⲀⲢ̄
ⲘⲚⲦ⳱⳱ⲤⲚⲞⲞⲨ[Ⲥ]| Ⲙ̄Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄ⲦⳲⲢⲢⲞ · ⲀⲨⲰ Π[ⲉ]Ⲣ[ⲕⲉ|ⲥ]ⲠⲈⲢⲘⲀ
30 ⲚⲀⲂⲰⲔ ⲈⲌⲞⲨ[Ⲛ]|ⲈⲦⲘ̄Ⲛ̄ⲦⲢⲢⲞ[Ⲟ] Ⲛ̄Ⲕⲉ ⲖⲀⲞⲤ[·]/[ⲦⲞⲦ]ⲉ
ⲤⲈⲚ[Ⲁ]ϢⲞⲬⲚⲈ Ⲛ̄ϬⲒ [Ⲛ̄ⲀⲢ|Ⲭ]Ⲱ[Ⲛ] Ⲛ̄ⲦⲈ [Ⲛ]ⲈⲰⲚ ·
[Ō̄Δ] 1 ⲌⲀ ⲚⲈ[ⲦⲀⲔⲀ// Πⲉⲓ|Ⲙⲉ ⲈⲦⲘⲞⲞⲨⲦ [Ⲉ]Ⲧ[Ⲛ̄] Ⲛ̄Ⲛ̄ⲞϬⲒ
[Ⲛ̄]Ⲛ̄ⲈⲰⲚ Ⲛ̄ⲦⲈ ⳨ⲀⲪⲐⲀⲢⲤⲒⲀ·|[Ⲁ]ⲨⲰ ⲤⲈⲚⲀⲂⲰⲔ
ⲌⲀ ⲤⲀ̄Ⲕ̄Ⲗ̄Ⲁ| Πⲉ⳨ⲚⲞⲨⲦⲈ · ⲤⲈⲚⲀⲂⲰⲔ ⲈⲌⲞⲨⲚ/
5 ⲈⲚⲒϬⲞⲘ ⲈⲨⲢ̄ⲔⲀⲦⲎⲄⲞⲢⲒ Ⲛ̄Ⲛ̄ⲒⲚⲞϬⲒ Ⲛ̄ⲢⲰⲘⲈ ⲚⲎ
ⲈⲦϢⲞⲞⲠ Ⲍ̄Ⲙ̄ Πⲉ⳨ⲉ|ⲞⲞⲨ· ⲤⲈⲚⲀⲬⲞⲞⲤ Ⲛ̄ⲤⲀ̄Ⲕ̄Ⲗ̄Ⲁ
Ⲭⲉ|ⲞⲨ ⲦⲈ ⲦϬⲞⲘ Ⲛ̄Ⲛ̄ⲈⲒⲢⲰⲘⲈ ⲈⲦⲀⲨ|ⲀⲌⲈⲢⲀⲦⲞⲨ
10 Ⲙ̄ⲠⲈⲔⲘ̄ⲦⲞ ⲈⲂⲞⲖ/ ⲚⲀⲒ̈ ⲈⲦⲀⲨⳲⲒⲦⲞⲨ ⲈⲂⲞⲖ Ⲍ̄Ⲙ̄
Πⲓ|ⲤⲠⲈⲢⲘⲀ Ⲛ̄ⲦⲈ Χ̄Ⲁ̄Ⲙ̄ Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄ ⳨ⲀⲪⲈⲐ ⲈⲨⲚⲀⲢ̄
ⲨⲦⲞⲞⲨ Ⲛ̄ϢⲈ <Ⲛ̄ϢⲞ> Ⲛ̄ⲢⲰⲘⲈ|ⲀⲨⲬⲒⲦⲞⲨ ⲈⲌⲞⲨⲚ
ⲈⲔⲈⲈⲰⲚ Π̄Ⲏ| ⲈⲦⲀⲨϢⲰⲠⲈ ⲈⲂⲞⲖ Ⲛ̄ⲌⲎⲦ⳱ ⲀⲨⲰ/
15 ⲀⲨⲔⲦⲞ Ⲙ̄ⲠⲈⲞⲞⲨ ⲦⲎⲢ̄⳱ Ⲛ̄ⲦⲈ ⲦⲈⲔ|ϬⲞⲘ Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄
ⲦⲙⲚ̄ⲦⳲⲢⲢⲞ Ⲛ̄ⲦⲈ ⲦⲈⲔϬⲒⲬ| Ⲭⲉ ⲀΠⲉⳲⲤⲠⲈⲢⲘⲀ Ⲛ̄ⲦⲈ
ⲚⲰⲌⲈ ⲈⲂⲞⲖ| Ⲍ̄Ⲙ̄ ΠⲈϤϢⲎⲢⲈ ⲀⲨⲈⲒⲢⲈ Ⲙ̄ΠⲈⲔⲞⲨ|ⲰϢ
20 ⲦⲎⲢ̄⳱ Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲚⲒϬⲞⲘ ⲦⲎⲢⲞⲨ/ Ⲍ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲚⲒⲈⲰⲚ
ⲈⲦⲀΠⲉⲔⲀⲘⲀⲌⲦⲈ|Ⲣ̄ Ⲣ̄ⲢⲞ ⲈⲌⲢⲀⲒ̈ ⲈⲬⲰⲞⲨ· Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄
ⲚⲒⲢⲰ|ⲘⲈ ⲈⲦⲘ̄ⲘⲀⲨ· Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲚⲎ ⲈⲦⲈ Ⲛ̄|Π̄Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄ϬⲀⲈⲒⲖⲈ Ⲍ̄Ⲙ̄
25 ΠⲉⲨⲉⲞⲞⲨ·| [ⲉ]Ⲙ̄ⲠⲞⲨⲈⲒⲢⲈ Ⲙ̄ⲠⲈⲦⲈⲌⲚⲀⲔ·/[ⲀⲖⲖ]Ⲁ
ⲀⲨΠⲰⲰⲚⲈ Ⲙ̄ⲠⲈⲔ|[ⲘⲎ]ϨⳄϢⲈ ⲦⲎⲢ̄⳱ ·
ⲦⲞⲦⲈ ΠⲚⲞⲨ[ⲦⲈ] Ⲛ̄[Ⲧ]Ⲉ ⲚⲒⲈⲰⲚ ⲨⲚⲀ⳨ ⲚⲀⲨ|
[ⲈⲂⲞ]Ⲗ Ⲍ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲚⲎ ⲈⲦϢⲘ̄ϢⲈ Ⲙ̄ⲘⲞ[Ⲩ]...]. Ⲁ̄�_ Ⲛ̄ⲤⲀ
30 ⳨Ⲃ[.]ⲢⲤ Ⲛ̄Ⲕ[   ]/ ⲤⲈⲚ̄ⲚⲎⲨ ⲈⲬⲙ̄ Π[Ⲕ]ⲀⲌ
[Ō̄Ⲉ] 1 Ⲉ[Ⲧ]Ⲙ̄//[Ⲙ]Ⲁ[Ⲣ Ⲙ̄]ⲠⲎ [Ⲉ]ⲦⲞⲨⲚⲀϢⲰⲠⲈ Ⲛ̄[ⲢⲎ]|Ⲧ⳱ Ⲛ̄ϬⲒ
ⲚⲒⲚⲞϬ Ⲛ̄ⲢⲰⲘⲈ · ⲚⲎ ⲈⲦ[Ⲉ]| Ⲙ̄ⲠⲞⲨⲬⲰⲌ̄Ⲙ̄· ⲞⲨⲦⲈ
5 Ⲛ̄ⲤⲈⲚⲀ|ⲬⲰⲌ̄Ⲙ̄ ⲀⲚ Ⲍ̄Ⲛ̄ {Ⲛ̄}ⲈΠⲒⲐⲨⲘⲒⲀ ⲚⲒⲘ/Ⲭⲉ
Ⲛ̄ⲦⲀⲦⲈⲨⲮⲨⲬⲎ ϢⲰΠⲈ ⲀⲚ| Ⲍ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲞⲨϬⲒⲬ ⲈⲤ ⲬⲀⲌ̄Ⲙ̄
ⲀⲖⲖⲀ ⲀⲤϢⲰ|Πⲉ ⲈⲂⲞⲖ Ⲍ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲞⲨⲚⲞϬ Ⲛ̄ⲞⲨⲀⲌ
ⲤⲀⲌⲚⲈ| Ⲛ̄ⲦⲈ ⲞⲨⲀⲄⲄⲈⲖⲞⲤ Ⲛ̄ϢⲀⲈⲚⲈϨ·| ⲦⲞⲦⲈ
10 ⲤⲈⲚⲀⲚⲞⲨⲬⲈ Ⲛ̄ⲞⲨⲔⲰⲌ̄Ⲧ/ Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲞⲨⲐⲎⲚ Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄
ⲞⲨⲀⲘⲢ̄Ϩⲉ ⲈⲬⲚ̄| ⲚⲒⲢⲰⲘⲈ ⲈⲦⲘ̄ⲘⲀⲨ· ⲀⲨⲰ
ⲈⲢⲈ|ⲞⲨⲔⲰⲌ̄Ⲧ Ⲙ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲞⲨⲌⲖⲞⲤⲦⲚ̄ ⲈⲒ ⲈⲬⲚ̄| ⲚⲒⲈⲰⲚ
ⲈⲦⲘ̄ⲘⲀⲨ Ⲛ̄ⲤⲈⲢ̄ⲔⲀⲔⲈ| Ⲛ̄ϬⲒ Ⲛ̄ⲂⲀⲖ Ⲛ̄Ⲛ̄ⲒϬⲞⲘ Ⲛ̄ⲦⲈ
15 ⲚⲒⲪⲰⲤ/ⲦⲎⲢ Ⲛ̄ⲤⲈⲦⲘ̄ⲚⲀⲨ ⲈⲂⲞⲖ Ⲙ̄ⲘⲞⲞⲨ| Ⲛ̄ϬⲒ
ⲚⲒⲈⲰⲚ Ⲍ̄Ⲛ̄ ⲚⲈⲌⲞⲞⲨ ⲈⲦⲘ̄ⲘⲀⲨ·|

25   Then (τότε) the seed (σπέρμα) of Ham and |
            Japheth will form twelve | kingdoms, and [their
            other] | seed (σπέρμα) will enter into | the king-
30   dom of another people (λαός). / [Then (τότε) the
            rulers (ἄρχων)] of [the] eons (αἰών) | will deliberate
[74],1   against those [who have abandoned] // dead [knowl-
            edge] for the great | eons (αἰών) of imperishability
            (ἀφθαρσία). | And they will go to Sakla, | their
5   God.--They will go in / to the powers accusing
            (κατηγορεῖν) the great | men who are in their
            glory.|--They will say to Sakla, | 'What is the
            power of these men who | stood before you (sg.), /
10   who have been taken from the | seed (σπέρμα) of Ham
            and Japheth? | When they were about to number four
            hundred <thousand> men, | they were received into
            another eon (αἰών) | from which they came, and /
15   they overturned all the glory of your (sg.) | power
            and the dominion of your (sg.) hand. | For the
            seed (σπέρμα) of Noah through | his son and all the
20   powers | in the eons (αἰών) over which / your (sg.)
            might reigns | have done all your (sg.) will, and
            those men, | and those who are | sojourners in their
25   glory, | have not done your (sg.) will, / [but (ἀλλά)]
            they have diverted your (sg.) | entire multitude.'
            Then (τότε) the God | of the eons (αἰών) will
            give them | (some) of those who serve [him |] |
[75],1   They will come upon that land // where those great
            men | who were not defiled | will dwell--nor (οὔτε)
            will they | be defiled by any desire (ἐπιθυμία), /
5   for their soul (ψυχή) has not come | from a defiled
            hand, but (ἀλλά) it has come | through a great
            command | of an eternal angel (ἄγγελος). | Then
10   (τότε) they will cast fire, / sulphur and asphalt
            upon | those men, and | fire and mist will come
            upon | those eons (αἰών) and the eyes | of the
            powers of the illuminators (φωστήρ) will be
15   blinded / so that the eons (αἰών) may not see
            through them | in those days. |

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲉⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ϩⲉⲛ|ⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ|ⲉⲓ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲝⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ
20 ϩⲉⲛⲕⲉ/ⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄| ⲛⲓⲛⲟϭ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲱⲛ· ⲥⲉⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈| ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲥⲁⲝ ⲙ̄ⲛ
ⲥⲁⲃⲗⲱ ⲙ̄ⲛ| ⲅⲁⲙⲁⲗⲓⲏⲗ· ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓ|ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
25 ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲙ̄/ ⲡⲓⲕⲱϩⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡⲓϭⲱⲛⲧ̄
ⲛ̄|ⲥⲉⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲱ[ⲛ]| ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲣⲭⲏ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϭⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ|[. .]ⲧⲟⲩ· ⲉⲃⲟⲗ[|[.]ⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲱⲛⲍ̄
30 ⲁ[/ ⲛ̄|ⲥⲉⲭⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉ[   ]|ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲱⲛ· ⲡⲁ .[

1 ⲡⲙⲁ/|ⲛ̄ⲩ]ⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲛ[ⲟ]ϭ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲍ]ⲃⲁ| [ⲅⲁ]ⲣ
ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲛ·
5 ⲥⲉⲛⲁ|ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ/ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ϩⲉⲛ|ⲱ̄ⲙⲙⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ· ‡ //

7 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ| ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲝⲱⲟⲩ·
10 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ| ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲱ ⲉⲃ[ⲟ]ⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲥⲙⲏ/ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ
ⲛⲓⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ| ⲛⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲧ̄ⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲛⲓⲣⲱ|ⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ̄| ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ϩⲛ̄
15 ⲟⲩⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲉ ⲧⲙⲉ· ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲛ̄ϩ̄ ⲱⲁ ⲛⲉ/ⲱⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲱⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩ|ⲧⲁⲕⲟ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ|
ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ· ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̄|ⲡⲟⲩⲭⲉⲕ ⲛⲓϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
20 ⲛⲓ|ϭⲟⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲁⲩⲁϩⲉⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ/ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲧⲟ
ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ| ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲟ·ⲟⲩⲟ|ⲉⲓⲛ ⲉⲁⲩⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲕⲱϩⲧ̄ ⲙ̄ⲛ
ⲟⲩⲥⲛⲟⲩ· ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲇⲉ| ⲁⲛⲣ̄ ϩⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ϩⲛ̄
25 ⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲧ/ϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϭⲟⲙ· ⲁⲛⲱⲟⲩ|ⲱⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲛ
ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲁⲣⲁ|ⲃⲁ]ⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲛϩⲃⲏⲩⲉ|[ⲧⲏⲣ]ⲟⲩ
ⲁ|ⲛⲱⲱ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ [ⲡⲛⲟⲩ|ⲧ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ[ⲟⲩ] ⲇⲉ
30 ⲛⲉⲩϩⲃⲏ[ⲣⲉ / ⲧ]ⲏⲣⲟ[ⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁ]ⲣⲁⲙⲁϩⲧ[ⲉ ⲭⲉ]//

1 ⲟⲩⲱⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲡⲉ· ⲛⲉⲓ̈ϩⲁ ⲛⲉⲛ|ⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ̄· ⲁⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ
ϯⲛⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ| ⲛⲉⲛⲯⲩⲭⲏ ⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲟⲩ|‡ //

19 ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁⲗⲩ ⲯⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲁ|[ⲁ]ⲇⲁⲙ
ϭⲁⲗⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲑ ⲡⲉⲩ|ⲱⲏⲣⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲁⲡⲉⲩⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲉ| ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲡ[ⲟ]ⲣⲁ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ· ‡ /

32   ⲑ̄ⲧⲁⲡ̄ⲟ[ⲕⲁⲗⲩ]ⲯⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲇ[ⲁⲙ]ϭ|

                   And great clouds of light | will descend, |

20   and other clouds of light / from the great eons

       (αἰών) | will come down upon them. | Abrasax,

       Sablo, and | Gamaliel will descend and bring |

25   those men out of / the fire and wrath and | take

       them above the aeons (αἰών) | and the rulers (ἀρχή)

       of the powers. And they will | [|] of life

30   [   ] / and take them [   ] | of the eons (αἰών)

[76],1   [// the] dwelling [place] of the [great ones],

       for (γάρ) | there is no distress with the holy |

       angels (ἄγγελος) and the eons (αἰών). The men |

   5   will become like / those angels (ἄγγελος) for |

       they are not strangers to them. ǂ //

[83],7   And a cloud | of darkness will come upon them.

  10   Then (τότε) | those people (λαός) / will cry out in

       a loud voice, | 'Blessed is the soul (ψυχή) of those

       men, | for they have known | God through a knowledge

       (γνῶσις) of | the truth. They will live forever

  15   (αἰών, αἰών), / for they have not been | corrupted

       by their desire (ἐπιθυμία) | and the angels

       (ἄγγελος), nor (οὔτε) have they | accomplished the

       works of the | powers, but (ἀλλά) they have stood /

  20   before him in a knowledge (γνῶσις) | of God as

       light | that has come forth from fire | and blood.

  25   But (δέ) we | have done every work / of the powers |

       senselessly. We boasted in the transgression

       (παράβασις) | of [all] our deeds, | and [cried]

  30   against [God], | but (δέ) now all his deeds / have

[84],1   [prevailed, for] // he is eternal. These (deeds)

       [are against] our | spirits (πνεῦμα), for (γάρ)

       now we know that | our souls (ψυχή) will surely

       die.'" | ǂ //

[85],19   These are the revelations (ἀποκάλυψις) that |

       Adam made known to Seth, his | son, and his son

       taught | his seed (σπορά) about them. ǂ /

  32   The Revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) of Adam

CRITICAL NOTES
SOURCE A

64,1-2   Böhlig (96), Krause (20) and MacRae "trans-
literate" the title as "Apocalypse" of Adam
and "interpret" the incipit as "revelation."
Beltz (6,1) and Kasser (318) transliterate
both title and incipit. In the former group,
there appears to be the tacit assumption that
the title was intended in some kind of techni-
cal sense; that is, that the ancient author
intended by the use of this word that the
document be associated with that body of
literature in antiquity that modern scholar-
ship has defined by the term "apocalyptic
literature." On the other hand, the incipit
was used in a neutral sense and could there-
fore be translated into a modern word com-
parable to its meaning in antiquity. In the
latter group, the problem has gone unnoticed
or has been avoided by transliterating both
title and incipit. Since the document takes
the form of a "last testament" of Adam to
Seth (see above, pp. 63-65), it seems better
to assume that the title was not intended in
a technical literary sense and to translate
both title and incipit by the "less loaded"
(more neutral, at least to modern scholar-
ship) expression "revelation." However, in
the interests of standardization, the usual
title "Apocalypse of Adam" has been retained
when referring to the document.

64,2-3   The tradition utilized by the author is that
of the LXX. In Gen 5:3-5 (LXX), Adam is 230
years of age when Seth is born and he lives
for another 700 years after the birth of Seth.
The total length of his life is 930 years (cf.
Joseph., *Ant*. 1.83). In the Hebrew text
(Gen 5:3-5), Adam is 130 years of age when
Seth is born and he lives for another 800
years after the birth of Seth. The total
length of his life is 930 years. The signif-
icance of the 700th year is that the revela-
tion is given by Adam to his son Seth just
before the death of Adam. This suggests that
the document is to be read as Adam's "last
testament" and that it should be associated
with the genre of testamentary literature in
antiquity (so Pheme Perkins, "Apocalyptic
Schematization," 592). The dating of the
tractate in relationship to Seth's birth and
the fact that Seth is the one chosen to re-
ceive the special revelation of Adam are fea-
tures that emphasize the "Sethian" character
of the text.

64,11   Note that ⲁⲓⲱⲛ in the Coptic text is spelled
                 ⲈⲰⲚ. Twice in the tractate it appears as
                 ⲁⲓⲱⲚ ([65],1 and [75],26).

64,16-17   "We were greater than the God who had created
                 us." It is difficult to be certain whether a
                 cosmological difference or a difference in
                 quality is intended. Translators are not
                 agreed: MacRae (higher), Böhlig (höher),
                 Kasser (plus élevé), Krause (erhabener),
                 Beltz (über den Gott). Since the situation
                 in the text suggests that Adam-Eve had passed
                 from one aeon to that aeon controlled by the
                 creator, the present translation suggests
                 that the difference is in terms of quality
                 (cf. Till, §152).

64,22-26   Loss of glory: *Adam and Eve* 20:2-3, 21:6
                 (Charles, *APOT*, 2.144-45).

64,31   "This aeon," i.e., the place from which Adam-
                 Eve had come (64,6-12). Therefore, the great
                 generation had an origin higher than that of
                 Adam-Eve.

[65],3   ‡ [65],3-9 = redactor's comment one. See
                 below, pp. 284-85.

[65],9-11   "Withdrew far"; cf. Schenke, col. 32: "war
                 fern."

[65],14-16   The meaning of the text is unclear. There
                 appear to be two possibilities. One possi-
                 bility is: we were taught dead things, as men
                 (were taught). Another possibility is: as
                 men (i.e., since we were men), we were taught
                 dead things. Beltz (7,1) has added a verb to
                 his translation (without emending the text)
                 in an attempt to clarify the meaning of the
                 passage: "Seit jener Zeit lernten wir wie (ὡς)
                 Menschen tote Werke <zu tun>." Kasser (319)
                 translates: "Nous fûmes enseignés dans des
                 oeuvres mortes, comme <étant> des hommes."
                 Krause (21) translates: "Seit jener Zeit er-
                 hielten wir über tote Dinge als Menschen
                 Belehrung."

[65],22-23   ⲁⲚⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲈⲚⲈ ⲚⲚⲈⲂH . This must be an attempt
                 by the Coptic translator to translate the
                 Greek passive. A possible reconstruction of
                 his *Vorlage* is as follows: ἐσκοτίσθημεν ἐν
                 καρδία ἡμῶν. What is interesting is that he
                 opted to use the complicated structure that
                 he did: the present circumstantial of the
                 qualitative of Ⲉⲓⲣⲉ after ⲩⲱⲡⲉ followed by
                 the Ⲛ of identity (Crum says that ⲈⲂH is *only*
                 used with Ⲉⲓⲣⲉ) when he could have used the
                 simple pseudo passive: ⲁⲣⲡ̄ ⲈⲂH ⲙⲙⲟⲚ ⲍⲙ
                 ⲡⲈⲚⲍHⲦ.

[65],23   ‡ See [65],24 in source B below, pp. 260-61.

[66],18-23   Adam's creation. Cf. Gen 2:7; *Ap. John* (II,*1*)
                           19,23-26 and parallels; *Hyp. Arch* (II,*4*)88,
                           3-15.

[66],21   ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲩⲉ. See Walter Till (*Koptische Dia-
                           lektgrammatik* [München: C. H. Beck, 1961] §362)
                           for the continuation of the relative by the
                           perfect.

[66],22   Or, "spirit of life." Because of the context,
                           "breath" seems to be the best translation.

[66],22-23   The meaning of the text is not clear. Kasser
                           (320) has sensed this and translates: "et
                           <qui> ai souffle en vous un esprit de vie
                           pour <faire de vous> une âme vivante?" How-
                           ever, if one may reason that the thrust of
                           the preposition is purpose (Crum, 506), then
                           one may translate: "I have breathed into you
                           a breath of life for (as) a living soul" (so
                           Beltz, MacRae and Krause).

[66],25-28   For the creation of another son, see *Ap. John*
                           (II,*1*)24,8-36; *Orig. World* (II,*5*)117,15-18.

[66],25-31   There is no discussion of the lengthy recon-
                           structions of Beltz and Kasser ("Textes gnos-
                           tiques: Remarques," 71-98) once the present
                           collation of the text has excluded those re-
                           constructions as viable possibilities.

[66],31-[67],12 Cf. CH 1:18-19.

[67],2-3   Cf. *Ap. John* (BG8502)63,5-9 (ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ
                           ⲛ̄ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ) and (III,*1*)31,23-32,1 (ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ
                           ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ), (II,*1*)24,28-29, (IV,*1*)38,15-16.

[67],10-12   Shortness of life. See Gen 3:19, 24.

[67],12   ‡ See [67],12-21 in source B below, pp.
                           260-61.

[67],22   Text reads: ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ⲧⲣⲁⲭⲱⲕ. ⲭⲉ in
                           [67],21 appears to be a redactional device
                           intended to continue the speech of Adam in
                           source B by the inclusion of a segment from
                           source A.

[67],22-27   Adam seems to be talking about his own "gen-
                           eration" rather than projecting ahead to the
                           periods in his narrative. "Generation" (ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ)
                           appears to be used in the sense of "family"
                           or "race" rather than period of time, and is
                           similar to the divisions by "generation" in

Genesis 5-10 (cf. Gen 5:1, 6:9, 10:1). Beltz
(75) reports that the same use of "generation"
appears in Josephus and Philo. This section
completes the "generation" of Adam and begins
the "generation" of Noah.

[67],29-31   On the basis of profile correspondence be-
tween p. [65] and p. [67], one must allow for
at least thirty-one lines to p. [67].

[68]   Coptic page [68] was left uninscribed by the
Coptic scribe apparently because of a par-
ticularly high ridge resulting from a poor
kollesis that runs vertically through the
center of the page. See the discussion by
James M. Robinson (ed.), *The Facsimile Edi-
tion of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex V*
(Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) XI, XIII.

[69],1   Contrary to Böhlig (101), Beltz (10) and
MacRae, it is probable that no text is
lost in lacuna at the top of p. [69]. Their
assumption that something is lost is probably
to be attributed to profiling p. [69] with
pp. [65] or [67], on which the scribe began
writing slightly higher than he did on other
pages. But compare the profile of p. [69]
with pp. [71]/[72], [73]/[74], and [75]/[76].

[69],1-10   Joseph. *Ant.* 1.70 reported that Adam had
predicted the universe would be destroyed
once by flood and once by fire (cf. [75],9-
16). Compare also Gen 6:5-7.

[69],2-3   "Rain-showers"; or simply "rain." See Crum,
198a, 732a.

[69],5-6   The reconstructions in [69],5-6 are actually
too short to fill the lacunae. The lacuna in
[69],5 actually has room for at least five
letters and [69],6 actually has room for at
least four letters. The present reconstruc-
tion of these lines seems required on the
basis of the dittography ([69],3-8). The
reconstruction in [69],5 (ΝΙΜ) is assured by
ΝΙΜ in [69],8, and the reconstruction in
[69],6 (⟨Π⟩ΠΑ[ΝΤΟ]ΚΡΑΤωρ) is reinforced by
[69],4 (ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑ[Τωρ]), assuming the prob-
ability of a similar spelling of the word in
both instances. If the reconstructions are
correct, one can only assume that at this
point the papyrus was defective requiring the
scribe to use a longer space between letters
at some point in the lacuna. Unfortunately
the present state of the papyrus is too poor
to allow any judgment as to its original
condition.

[69],5-8   {ⲚⲦⲉ|ⲠⲚⲞⲨⲦⲉ ⟨Ⲡ⟩ⲡⲁ[ⲚⲦⲟ]ⲕⲣⲁ|Ⲧⲱⲣ· ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲧ[ⲁⲕ]ⲉ ⲥⲁ|ⲣⲁⲍ
             Ⲛⲓⲙ}. The dittography is curious in that
             there are two variations in what is assumed
             to be two copies of identical text. The
             article has been omitted before ⲡⲀⲚⲦⲞⲔⲣⲀⲦⲱⲣ
             [69],6. In one instance ([69],7), the *status
             nominalis* of the infinitive of ⲦⲀⲔⲞ is used
             while in another instance ([69],5) the *status
             absolutus* of the infinitive is used.

[69],8-10   MacRae transcribes: ⲉⲂⲞⲗ [ⲌⲨ]ⲠⲔⲀⲍ|ⲉⲂⲞⲗ ⲌⲓⲦⲚ̅ ⲚⲎ
             ⲉⲦⲉⲥⲕⲱ|Ⲧⲉ ⲚⲤⲰⲞⲨ and translates: "so that he
             (i.e., the Pantocrator) might destroy all
             flesh from the earth on account of the things
             that it (i.e., flesh) seeks after...." The
             reading is suggested by Stephen Emmel, who
             correctly in his analysis of the passage
             eliminates the possibility of a reference to
             the flood waters, as is suggested by Böhlig's
             reading. The difficulty with this transla-
             tion is that it attributes a causal sense to
             ⲉⲂⲞⲗ ⲌⲓⲦⲚ̅. In order to do this, one must assume
             that the Greek *Vorlage* used ⲇⲓⲁ with the geni-
             tive in a causal sense (see the relevant sec-
             tions in Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon
             of the New Testament and Other Early Christian
             Literature* [trans. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gin-
             grich; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957]
             and H. G. Liddell and R. A. Scott, *A Greek-
             English Lexicon* [rev. and aug. by H. S. Jones
             and R. McKenzie; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968])
             rather than the more usual ⲇⲓⲁ with the accu-
             sative to express a causal meaning. The Cop-
             tic translator then literally translated the
             Greek *Vorlage* with ⲉⲂⲞⲗ ⲌⲓⲦⲚ̅, which in Coptic
             seems to be used only for rendering the sense
             of agent, rather than ⲉⲂⲞⲗ ⲭⲉ or ⲭⲉ, an expres-
             sion that commonly renders a causal sense in
             Coptic. This is certainly one possible solu-
             tion. However, another possibility is equally
             appealing. It is possible that haplography
             has occurred following [69],9 and the scribe
             has simply omitted a line, as earlier in the
             immediate context he had duplicated material
             in [69],4-9. Following Gen 6:13 (LXX 6:14),
             the missing line probably read: ⲙⲞⲨⲍ ⲉⲂⲞⲗ
             Ⲛ̅ⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ ("was filled with iniquity"). One
             then does not need to force an unnatural
             translation of ⲉⲂⲞⲗ ⲌⲓⲦⲚ̅. [69],8-10 would then
             be restored as follows: ⲉⲂⲞⲗ[ⲭⲉ ⲁ]ⲠⲔⲀⲍ|⟨ⲙⲞⲨⲍ
             ⲉⲂⲞⲗ Ⲛ̅ⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ⟩ ⲉⲂⲞⲗ ⲌⲓⲦⲚ̅ ⲚⲎ [ⲉ]ⲦⲉⲨⲔⲱ|Ⲧⲉ Ⲛ̅ⲤⲰⲞⲨ,
             "[because the] earth ⟨was filled with iniquity
             (ⲁⲇⲓⲕⲓⲁ)⟩ by those (things) that they seek
             after." Compare the reading of Gen 6:13 in
             Augustini Ciasca, *Sacrorum bibliorum fragmenta
             Copto-Sahidica Musei Borgiani* (2 vols.; Rome:
             Typis eiusdem s. congregationis, 1885) 1.3.

[69],10   ‡ [69],10-17 = redactor's comment two.   See
                   below, pp. 284-85.

[69],20   "High clouds." For the motif of "cloud" in
                   the biblical tradition, see J. Luzarraga (*Las
                   tradiciones de la nube en la biblia y en el
                   judaismo* [Rome: Biblical Institute, 1973] and
                   the review article by Leopold Sabourin ("The
                   Biblical Cloud: Terminology and Traditions,"
                   BTB 4 [1974] 290-311) where he sets out
                   Luzarraga's conclusions.

[69],21-22   "Those men," i.e., the "other great race" in
                   64,31-32. See also [71],8-20. I assume that
                   the identity of "those men" was made more
                   explicit in the text that followed their
                   introduction into the narrative. This sty-
                   listic method of identifying something after
                   its introduction into the narrative occurs
                   elsewhere in the text (see [73],13-24 and
                   [84],4-8).

[69],22-23   ⲉⲧⲉⲩϣⲟⲟⲡ. For ⲉⲧⲉ with the suffix pronoun,
                   see Codex V, pp. [51],23 and [52],9.

[69],24-29   On the basis of profile correspondence be-
                   tween Coptic pp. [65] and [69], one must
                   judge that there were at least twenty-nine
                   lines to p. [69].

[70],1-2   Kasser's reconstruction is similar ("Textes
                   gnostiques: Nouvelles remarques," 305:
                   [ⲉⲩⲱⲱ]ⲡ̄ ⲉ[ⲣ]ⲛ[ⲟϭ] ⲛⲉⲟ[ⲟⲩ ⲉⲡ]ⲟⲩ [ⲛⲧⲛ]ⲛⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ.

[70],3   "They," i.e., the rain-showers; see [69],2-3.

[70],10   "Strengthen his sons." Kasser (321) emends
                   [70],10 and translates as follows: "et [il]
                   épargne[ra] <Noé(?) et sa femme(?)>, et ses
                   fils." Beltz (11) emends as follows: ⲁⲣⲱ
                   [ⲩⲛⲁ]ϯ ⲥⲟ <ⲉⲛⲱⲣⲉ> ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩϣⲏⲣⲉ and translates:
                   "Und <Noah> und seinen Söhnen wird er...Scho-
                   nung [gewähren]...." MacRae transcribes the
                   text as it appears. He reasons that if Noah
                   is conceived as the actor in the sentence no
                   emendation is necessary, but if God is con-
                   ceived as the actor one might conceivably
                   emend the text as Kasser has suggested. How-
                   ever, it would seem that if one understands
                   "his sons" to include Noah along with his
                   (i.e., Noah's) sons as the "children" of God
                   (i.e., they are all conceived as "God's sons"),
                   then an emendation is unnecessary.

[70],12-13   ⲉⲧⲁⲩϯⲙⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲝⲱⲟⲩ: literally, "which he was
                   pleased over them."

[70],15-16   There is a blank space about the size of one-
                two letters on the line [70],15 between
                ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ and ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁⲩ and on the following line
                ([70],16) between ⲕⲁⲍ and ⲁⲧⲱ. The corre-
                sponding space in the lines above and below
                these two locations has been utilized by the
                scribe. There is no evident reason as to why
                the scribe failed to write in the space be-
                tween the words indicated above. The quality
                of the papyrus at this point is not any worse
                than the rest of the page.

[70],16-25   Gen 8:15-17.

[70],19   Deucalion: In Greek mythology, Deucalion was
                the son of Prometheus who, with his wife
                Pyrrha, escaped the catastrophic flood sent
                over the world by Zeus. For nine days, Pyrrha
                and Deucalion floated in a tiny boat that
                Deucalion had built at the instructions of
                his father, Prometheus. From his offspring,
                the world was repopulated. See Apollod. *Bibl*.
                1.7.2-3.

[70],20   ⲉⲣⲟ⟨ⲕ⟩: Text reads ⲉⲣⲟⲩ.

[70],24-25   "That you called [and released upon the
                earth"]: following MacRae's reconstruction.
                The reconstruction of this sentence to re-
                semble the similar sentence in [70],14-16
                raises the issue of the identity of the actor
                in both sentences. Since God is the speaker
                in [70],16-[71],4, it is evident that the
                actor here is Noah. However, in [70],8-16,
                this clarity does not hold true. A cursory
                reading of the passage suggests that it is
                God who calls the birds and releases them
                upon the earth, since it is God who rests
                from his wrath and strengthens his sons.
                However, it appears that there is a subtle
                change in subject in [70],8-16 that is not
                indicated in the text. It is actually Noah
                that decides which animals accompany him in
                the ark, calls the birds of heaven (into the
                ark), and releases them on the earth.

[70],25-29   On the basis of profile correspondence be-
                tween Coptic pp. [70] and [74] and between
                pp. [70] and [66], one must allow for at
                least twenty-nine lines to p. [70].

[71],4   ǂ [71],4-8 = redactor's comment three. See
                below, pp. 284-85.

[71],8-10   Cloud of the great light: [72],10-11; [75],
                17-21; *Gos. Eg.* (III,2)49,1-2 and (IV,2)61,
                [1-2].

[71],26-30   On the basis of profile with Coptic p. [73],
               it appears that one must allow for at least
               thirty lines to p. [71].

[71],27-30   A possible restoration for the lines in
               lacuna is as follows:

               [71],27: [ⲁⲥ̣ⲩ̣]ⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍ̄]ⲛ̄ [ⲍⲉⲛⲛⲟ6]
                     28:[ⲛⲉⲱⲛ · ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲛⲁϯ]
                     29:[ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ]
                     30:[ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲍ̄ⲙ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ]

               [71],27: [It came from great]
                     28: [eons (αἰών). Then (τότε) the
                         archon (ἄρχων) will fight]
                     29: [against those men and]
                     30: [they will call upon the God]

[72],4   "Worthy." ⲙ̄ⲡⲱ̣ⲁ in this context is a bit
               vague. Kasser (322) senses this and emends
               his translation to read: "leur terre, qui
               <en est> digne." Krause (24) translates
               with "angesehen ist," Böhlig (104) with
               "angemessen ist" and Beltz (13,1) with "das
               ihrer würdig ist." MacRae has made the rela-
               tive clause into an adjective and translated
               with "their proper land." The present trans-
               lation assumes that the land is only suitable
               or worthy in relationship to the great race
               of men and has attempted to draw out what
               seems to be implied.

[72],8   Above ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲟⲩ the scribe has written the
               number ⲭ̄.

[72],11-12   "Great light": cf. [71],10; [75],17.

[72],17   Literally: Cham, Japheth and Sēm. See Gen
               9:18 (LXX).

[72],18-30   See Enoch's instructions to his children,
               2 Enoch 2:1-4 (Charles, *APOT*, 2.432), and the
               testament of Noah, *Jub*. 7:20-39 (Charles,
               APOT, 2.24-25).

[72],19-30   The negative attitude of *Apoc. Adam* toward the
               descendants of Noah is shared by the Qumran
               community. See CD 4:1 (Charles, *APOT*, 2.805).

[72],21   ⲩ̄ⲙⲩ<ⲏ>ⲧ̄ⲩ: text reads ⲩ̄ⲙⲩ̄ⲩ̄ⲧ̄ⲩ. The text
               leaves the reader in doubt as to the identity
               of the object of ⲩ̄ⲙ̄ⲩⲉ. There are two pos-
               sibilities. One might relate it to the clos-
               est antecedent ([72],19) and translate
               "minister to it" (i.e., the earth). MacRae
               suggests this as a possibility with a meaning
               of "to till the soil" (Gen 9:20). However,

the language of the passage would seem to
lessen this option as a strong possibility.
The expression has already been used with
reference to deference paid to the demiurge
([65],19-21; [73],5-12) and one would expect
"service" to the earth to be rendered "in
pain" and "in the sweat of the brow" (cf.
Gen 3:18-20 LXX).

The other, and more likely, possibility
is that it refers to the demiurge and all
translators have understood it in this way.
However, some (Böhlig, Beltz, Krause) are
bothered by the adversative ⲀⲖⲖⲀ and trans-
late by "nun denn," a translation that sharply
reduces its adversative force and renders it
as an inferential conjunction. The two sen-
tences in [72],19-23 do not contrast well,
and this is apparently their reason for re-
garding ⲀⲖⲖⲀ as an inferential conjunction.
The observation that the two sentences do not
contrast well and the fact that the indefi-
nite object of ⲓ̄ⲩⲙⲩⲉ probably refers to the
demiurge, although it has no antecedent in
the context to clarify it, suggests that
something has been omitted by the scribe
before ⲀⲖⲖⲀ. The speech of Shem ([73],1-12)
suggests a possible emendation. If we may
assume that Shem is echoing Noah's command
in his affirmation of obedience, it may be
that the missing line before ⲀⲖⲖⲀ would read:
ⲙ̄ⲡⲣ̄ⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ (cf.
[73],7-12): "Do not be inclined away from
God, the Almighty."

[72],26-30   On the basis of profile with Coptic p. [74],
                one must allow at least thirty lines to p.
                [72].

[73],1   "Shem." For the reconstruction, see Schenke
                (col. 32).

[73],1-12   See Gen 9:25-27 where Shem is the preferred
                son of Noah.

[73],5   "(Godly) fear": understanding ⲍⲟⲧⲉ to be a
                translation of εὐλάβεια.

[73],7-8   ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣⲁⲕ̄ⲧⲟⲩ. The scribe has marked out ⲉ
                before ⲛ̄ⲥⲉ.

[73],11   ⲑ̄ⲃⲃⲓⲟ ⲭⲱⲩ is a problem. ⲭⲱⲩ is unnecessary
                with ⲑ̄ⲃⲃⲓⲟ to get the meaning "humility."
                However, ⲭⲱⲩ is regularly used with ⲋⲛⲟⲛ
                (Crum, 821b), a construction for which ⲑ̄ⲃⲃⲓⲟ
                serves as a synonym. If ⲭⲱⲩ is to be used
                with ⲑ̄ⲃⲃⲓⲟ, one should emend as follows:

ΘBBIO <N>ⲁⲭⲱⲩ. Kasser (323) recognizes this
and translates: "dans l'humilité (de) leur
tête." It is possible that ΘBBIO was origi-
nally written above the line as a synonym for
ⲟⲛⲉ ⲭⲱⲩ and later came to displace ⲟⲛⲉ.

[73],12   "Reverence for their knowledge." Beltz (14,1)
                 translates this line as "gewissensfürchtig."
                 All other translators render the line as "fear
                 of their (its) knowledge." For the present
                 translation of ⲛⲧⲉ, cf. [67],3-4. For the
                 translation of ⲍⲟⲧⲉ, see above ([73],5).

[73],13   <ⲉⲓ> ⲉⲃⲟⲗ : emendation as Beltz (14), Böhlig
                 (105), and Schenke (col. 32). MacRae does not
                 emend the text but takes [73],13-15 (ⲧⲟⲧⲉ...
                 ⲡ̅ⲗⲁⲫⲉⲥ) as the subject of ⲉⲧⲉⲃⲱⲕ ([73],15).

[73],15   ⲛ̄ⲩⲉ . See Böhlig's note on ⲩⲉ (105). The
                 N is present but written very small beneath
                 the ⲅ of ⲩⲧⲟⲟⲩ. ⲛ̄ⲩⲉ is noticeably smaller
                 than the rest of the letters in the line.

[73],15-16   "Four hundred thousand men." Böhlig (89)
                 cites an interesting parallel from the Mani-
                 chaean texts edited by H. J. Polotsky (*Mani-
                 chäische Homilien* [Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer,
                 1934] 68 line 18).

[73],26-27   "Twelve kingdoms." See Gen 10:2-6 (LXX).
                 In the LXX, Ham and Japheth have twelve sons.
                 In the Hebrew text, they have only eleven.

[73],27   ⲡⲧⲕⲉⲅⲕⲉ . Schenke (col. 32) reconstructs
                 ⲡ[ⲕⲉⲩ ⲱ ⲭⲡ ⲙ], "the remainder." MacRae
                 translates as "also."

[73],30-31   "Rulers of the aeons." *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)55,13
                 and *Steles Seth* (VII,*5*)124,8-9; Schmidt,
                 Koptisch-gnostische Schriften, 7 lines 21, 29.

[74],3   "Sakla." Elsewhere Sakla (Saklas) is identi-
                 fied as Jaltabaoth or Jaldabaoth (*Ap. John*
                 [III,*1*]18,10; [II,*1*]11,15-18 [IV,*1*]18,1; *Hyp.
                 Arch.* [II,*4*]95,7-8; cf. *Ap. John* [III,*1*]17,
                 12-13). In *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)57 and 58 he is
                 identified as the world ruler who in conjunc-
                 tion with the great demon Nebruel creates
                 twelve angels and twelve aeons. In *Trim.
                 Prot.* (XIII,*1**)39,26-29, he is identified as
                 both Samael and Jaltabaoth. Beltz (109)
                 points out that the church fathers describe
                 Sakla as the evil demiurge of the Manichaeans
                 who devours newly-born children (August. *De
                 haer.* 46; Thdt. *Haer.* 1,26). In Epiph. (*Pan.*
                 1.26.1.10), he is described as the archon of

fornication. The *Apoc. Adam* does not clarify
the relationship between the "Almighty" and
Sakla. It simply assumes their identity.

[74],4-7   This sentence breaks the train of thought in
the passage. The sentence before it de-
scribes the rulers of the aeons going to
Sakla; the sentence following it describes
them speaking to Sakla. In this context, the
parenthetical statement has the character of
an exegetical comment.

[74],12   ⟨N̄ϣο⟩. The emendation brings the statement
into agreement with [73],15-16 on the assump-
tion that the larger figure was intended to
reflect a large innumerable group. Multiples
of four and forty are quite commonly used to
reflect a large round number: viz., 400, 4000,
40,000, 400,000. See M. H. Pope ("Number,"
Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible [4 vols.,
ed. G. A. Buttrick et al.; Nashville: Abing-
don, 1962] 3.564-66) for references and bib-
liography. The emendation has been made by
all translators.

[74],12   ⲈⲧⲚⲀⲣ̄. All other translators relate the
circumstantial clause to the sentence which
precedes. For example, see MacRae who trans-
lates: "who were taken from the seed of Ham
and Japheth, who will number four hundred
⟨thousand⟩ men?"

[74],17-24   The string of three connectives (ⲘⲚ̄) in this
sentence has posed a problem to some trans-
lators. MacRae, Beltz, Böhlig and Krause
have understood the first connective ([74],
19-21; ⲘⲚ̄ ⲚⲓϬⲞⲙ...ⲈⲭⲰⲞⲨ), to be part of the
sentence beginning at [74],17. They find
that a major break occurs after ⲈⲭⲰⲞⲨ and
regard ⲘⲚ̄ ⲚⲓⲣⲰⲙⲉ...ⲦⲉⲨⲈⲟⲞⲨ as the sub-
ject of ⲈⲙⲡⲟⲨⲈⲓⲣⲉ . Kasser (324), for some
unstated reason, wants to make all three
connectives (ⲘⲚ̄ ⲚⲓϬⲞⲙ ⲦⲎⲣⲟⲨ...ⲦⲉⲨⲈⲟⲞⲨ) the
subject of ⲈⲙⲡⲟⲨⲈⲓⲣⲉ.
                    The relationship of the phrase ⲘⲚ̄
ⲚⲓϬⲞⲙ ...ⲈⲭⲰⲞⲨ ([74],19-21) to the main
sentence beginning at [74],17 (ⲭⲉ
ⲀⲡⲉⲤⲡⲉⲣⲙⲀ) seems to present another
problem. Böhlig does not attempt to clarify
the relationship but simply translates the
text with a prepositional phrase ("mit allen
Kräften..."). Schenke (col. 32; cf. Beltz
[15,1], who apparently adopts the solution
of his *Doktorvater* with no emendation of the
text and no reference to his article), argues
that the text ought to be emended at this

point to read: $\overline{\mathcal{M}N}$ ⟨ΠΑ⟩ ΝΙϬΟΜ..., "⟨den⟩
alle⟨r⟩ Kräfte...." He understands the text
to be a literal translation of a Greek *Vor-
lage*: ἐποίησεν πᾶν τὸ θέλημά σου καὶ πάντων
τῶν δυνάμεων. The emendation would make good
sense ("the seed of Noah has done all your
will and ⟨that⟩ of all the powers...."), but
is it necessary? MacRae's understanding of
the phrase as part of the subject of ΑϢΕΙΡΕ
([74],18), seems the best solution to the
problem.

[74],18   "His son"; i.e., Shem.

[74],25   "Diverted." Translators are not agreed on
the translation of ΑΠΕΚΜΗΗϢΕ : Kasser
(324), deplacer; MacRae (turn [aside]);
Schenke (col. 32) and Krause (25), abwendig
gemacht; Böhlig (106), haben verdreht; and
Beltz (15,1), abspenstig gemacht. The diffi-
culty lies in the ambiguity of the Coptic
word and the wide range of Greek words that
it can translate (see Crum, 263b). The im-
plication seems to be that not only have
these men and their "converts" failed to do
the will of the creator, they have also di-
verted "all" the subjects of the creator from
following him (a slight exaggeration on the
part of the narrator since he had just ad-
mitted that some still do perform the will
of the creator).

[74],28-29   Schenke (col. 32) followed by Beltz (15,1)
reconstructs [ΕΤΠϢ]Τ ΝϹΑ + Β[ΑϷ]ΓϹ ΝΚ[ϢϨΤ],
"[indem sie] der F[euer]barke [folgen]"
(except that Beltz reads +Β[ΑϷ]ΙϹ). Kasser
("Textes gnostiques: Nouvelles remarques,"
305) reconstructs [ΕΤϢ]ΑΙΤ ΝϹΑ + Β[Ο]ΓϹ ΝΚ[ΗΜΕ],
"[pour être ahu]ris par la vache d'Egypt."
Beltz objects to Kasser's reconstruction by
noting that there is no evidence that ΝϹΑ
was ever used with ΤϢΑΑΤ. Further, it should
be observed that Kasser's reading strikes a
discordant note in the text. At this point
one does not expect to read of the "cow of
Egypt!" On the other hand, Schenke's reading
takes liberties with the text. The vestiges
of the first letter in the line cannot be Ϣ
since the ductus of the stroke is more like
Λ, and there is room for only one letter be-
tween Β and Γ.

[75],3-8   ΟΥΤΕ... ΝϢΑΕΝΕϮ . The sentence has the char-
acter of an exegetical comment since it breaks
the narrative and digresses into a theological
reflection on the character of the "great men."

[75],4   ⲈⲚ ⲈⲠⲒⲐⲨⲘⲒⲀ; text reads ⲈⲚ ⲚⲈⲠⲒⲐⲨⲘⲒⲀ .
                  The plural article with ⲚⲒⲘ is unattested.
                  Crum (225b) cites examples of the singular
                  article used with ⲚⲒⲘ but the usual con-
                  struction would be without the article (Till,
                  §231).

[75],9-16   See Gen 19:24-28.

[75],11-15   ⲀⲨⲰ ⲈⲢⲈⲞⲨⲔⲰⲈⲦ... ⲚⲒⲪⲰⲤⲦⲎⲢ. The sentence
                  may be either 2nd pres. (Krause, 25) or 3rd
                  future (MacRae; Kasser, 325; Beltz, 16,1;
                  Böhlig, 107).

[75],11-16   Translators are not agreed on the meaning of
                  these lines (see Böhlig, 107; Kasser, 325;
                  Beltz, 16,1; Krause, 25 and MacRae). Appar-
                  ently the fire and mist are intended to thwart
                  the attacks of the aeons, who have cast fire,
                  sulphur and asphalt against the great men, by
                  blinding them that they may not be able to
                  see in order to continue their attack. "The
                  eyes of the powers of the illuminators" must
                  be the sun, moon and stars through which the
                  aeons have looked in order to mount their
                  attack (see Beltz [116] for parallels).

[75],17-18   "Clouds of light" ([71],9-10; [72],10-12).

[75],18   There appears to be a tiny Ⲛ inscribed beneath
                  Ⲛ in ⲚⲞⲨⲞⲈⲒⲚ .

[75],22-23   "Abrasax, Sablo and Gamaliel." In *Gos*. *Eg*.
                  (III,2)52,16-53,12 the names are listed with
                  Gabriel as "consorts" of the four great
                  lights. In (IV,2)64,10-65,5 they are called
                  "ministers of the great lights." The title
                  "ministers of the great lights" appears in
                  (III,2)64,22-65,1 (= [IV,2]75,12-19) where
                  they have the additional description of "the
                  receivers of the great race." The names also
                  appear separately. Gamaliel is mentioned
                  along with Strempsoukos and Agramas in the
                  Bruce Codex (f. 110^V, 31-112^R,3) as one of
                  three guardians who "gave aid to those who
                  believed in the spark of light." In *Zost*.
                  (VIII,1)47,1-4, Gamaliel, Strempsechos and
                  Akramas are listed as keepers of the immortal
                  soul. Abrasax appears at VIII 47,13 and
                  Samblo is called "the inheritor" at VIII 47,24.
                  In *Trim*. *Prot*. (XIII,2*)48,26-29, Kamaliel
                  and Samblo are called "the servants of the
                  great holy luminaries" who "transport." The
                  names are known from the Jewish tradition
                  (see Moïse Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'angélolo-
                  gie, d'après les manuscrits hébreux de la*

Bibliothèque nationale [Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres 1:2; Paris: Klincksieck, 1897] 151, 209, 305). Cf. Lidzbarski (*Ginza*, 250), where the three Uthras are sent to aid the faithful. The evil planets attempt to destroy them all by sword, fire and flood.

[75],26   ⲚⲤⲀⲦⲒⲦⲈ ; see Crum (313b).

[75],27-31   See Kasser ("Textes gnostiques: Remarques," 95) and Beltz (16) for two (different) possible reconstructions of the text. Another possibility is as follows.

    [75],27   ⲚⲤⲈ
           28 [ⲤⲞ]ⲦⲞⲨ · ⲈⲂⲞⲖ [ⲬⲈ ⲀⲨⲬⲰⲌⲨ Ⲙ̅ⲦⲘ]
           29 [Ⲟ]ⲞⲨ Ⲛ̅ⲰⲚⲌ Ⲁ[Ⲛ ⲌⲚⲚ ⲞⲨⲞⲨⲰⲨ]
           30 [Ⲛ̅]ⲤⲈⲬⲒⲦⲞⲨ Ⲉ[Ⲍⲣⲁⲓ ⲈⲚⲒⲚⲞ6]
           31 Ⲛ̅ⲚⲈⲰⲚ

    [75],27   And they will
           28 [rescue] them because [they have not defiled the water]
           29 of life [with desire].
           30 [And] they will take them [up to the great]
           31 aeons (αἰών).

[75],28   Either [ⲬⲒ]ⲦⲞⲨ (Böhlig, Kasser and Beltz), or [ⲤⲞ]ⲦⲞⲨ · is possible.

[76],6   ‡ [76],6-7 = redactor's comment four. See below, pp. 284-85. And [76],8 in source B below, pp. 260-61.

[83],7-[84],1   For the blessing-judgment formula, compare Wis 5:1-16 and *Thom. Cont.* (II,*7*)143,8-145,16.

[83],8   "Them"; synonymous with "those people" ([83],9). The group should be identified as the followers of Ham and Japheth ([73],25-29; [74],8-12) who, in conjunction with the rulers of the aeons ([73],30), opposed the race of great men.

[83],8   "Darkness." See Matt 24:29-30; *Sib. Or.* 5:344-350, 478-483; *Paraph. Shem* (VII,*1*)44, 2-5; 45,16ff.; *Dial. Sav.* (III,*5*)122,1-5; *2 Enoch* 67:1-2 (Charles, *APOT*, 2.462); *Orig. World* (II,*5*)126,10-15.

[83],10   "People." In Greek, λαός = "people" in singular and plural. The Coptic article here is plural.

[83],11-12   "Those men," i.e., the gnostic community.

[83],14-15   "Forever." The Greek *Vorlage* must surely
                    read: εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

[83],15-17   The translations vary: MacRae, "They have not
                    been corrupted by their desire along with the
                    angels" (so Kasser, 331?); Böhlig (115) and
                    Krause (29), "durch ihre und der Engel Be-
                    gierde." Beltz (24,1) renders the text as
                    the present translation.

[83],22-23   "Fire and blood"; see *Sib. Or.* 3:337-338,
                    5:337-380. The metaphor suggests that they
                    have successfully passed through a judgment.
                    See Joel 2:30-32.

[83],28-29   ⲁⲛⲱⲱ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲡⲧⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, following the recon-
                    struction of MacRae. For "God of truth,"
                    see *Ap. John* (II,*1*)30,4.

[84],1-2   ⲛⲉⲓⲍⲁ ⲛⲉⲛⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ, following MacRae. See Coptic
                    p. [54],11 for an example of the demonstra-
                    tive article used in an adverbial sentence.

[84],2   "Now." To use the term "now" (expressing a
                    present contemporaneous concept) with the
                    perfect tense seems contradictory. One would
                    expect it to be used with a present tense.
                    I have taken ⲁⲛⲉⲓⲙⲉ as a Boharic, Achmimic
                    or Fayumic second present (see Till, §248).

[84],3   "Surely"; literally "in death." See Gen 3:5
                    (LXX); Beltz, 185 n. 2.

[84],3   ‡ [84],4-[85],18 = redactor's comment eight.
                    See below, pp. 286-87.

[85],22   ‡ [85],22-31 = redactor's conclusion. See
                    below, pp. 286-87.

SOURCE B

[ⲍ︦ⲉ︦] 24   ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ︦ⲛ︦ⲕⲟⲧ ⲍ︦ⲙ ⲡⲙⲉ|ⲉⲩⲉ ⲛ︦ⲧⲉ
              ⲡⲁϩⲏⲧ · ⲛⲉⲓ︦|ⲛⲁⲩ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲙⲉⲧ| ⲛ︦ⲣⲱⲙⲉ
              ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ| ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲥ̄ⲙ̄ϭⲟⲙ ⲉⲥⲟⲩ|ⲱⲛ
        30   ⲡⲉⲩⲉⲓⲛⲉ· ⲉⲡⲓⲇⲏ ⲛⲉ|ϩⲉⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲉ ϩ︦[ⲛ︦] ⲛⲓϭⲟⲙ|
              ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧ[ⲁ ⲙⲓ]ⲟ ⲙ̄|[ⲙⲟ]ⲓ·
              ⲉⲛ]ⲉⲩⲟ︦[ⲟ]ⲩⲟⲧ︦ⲃ ⲉ[ⲛⲓϭⲟⲙ| ϩ︦ⲙ ⲡⲉⲩ]ⲉⲟⲟⲩ · ⲁⲩ[ⲱ ⲁ ⲭⲉ|
[ⲍ︦ⲋ︦] 1   ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛⲓ|ⲣ[ⲱ]ⲙⲉ ⲉ[ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ]// ⲉ[ⲩ]ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ̈
              ⲭⲉ ⲧ[ⲱⲱ]ⲛ︦ⲅ︦| ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲇⲁ︦ⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩ︦ⲙ ⲡⲓⲛ̄ⲕⲟⲧ|
              ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ · ⲁⲩⲱ ⲥⲱⲧ︦ⲙ| ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ
        5   ⳿ⲧⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ/ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ· ⲡⲏ| ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲓⲱⲛ︦ϩ︦
              ⲡⲱϩ ϣⲁⲣⲟϥ· ⲡⲏ| ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲉ︦ⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ︦ϩⲏⲧ︦ⲕ︦· ⲁⲩⲱ|
              ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩ︦ⲛ ⲉⲩϩⲁ ⲧⲉⲕⲅⲩⲛⲍⲩⲅⲟⲥ| ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲓⲥⲱⲧ︦ⲙ
        10   ⲉⲛⲉⲓ̈ϣⲁϫⲉ/ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ| ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·
[ⲍ︦ⲍ︦] 12   ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲁϩⲉⲣⲁ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁϩⲣⲁⲓ̈‡// ⲁⲓ̈ⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉ
              ⲁⲓ̈|ϣⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲁ ⲧⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ| ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲩ·
        15   ⳿ⲧⲛⲟⲩ ϭⲉ/ ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲥⲏ︦ⲑ ⳿ⲧⲛⲁ|ϭⲱⲗ︦ⲡ︦ ⲛⲁⲕ
              ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲓ̈| ⲉⲧⲁⲩϭⲟⲗⲡⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲉ|ⲃⲟⲗ· ⲭⲉ
        20   ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄|ⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ⲛⲁⲩ/ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ
              ⲙ̄|ⲡⲁⲙ̄ⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ· ‡ //
[ⲟ︦ⲃ︦] 8   ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ ⲟⲛ ⲩⲛⲁⲥⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲉϩ︦| ϣⲟⲙⲉⲧ
        10   ⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲡ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲡⲓⲫⲱⲥ/ⲧⲏⲣ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⳿ⲧⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ϩ︦ⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ|
        14   ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲟⲟⲩ·‡/ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲉϣ ϣ ⲙ̄ⲡ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲉⲛϣⲏⲛ|
        15   ⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥ⳿ⲧ ⲟⲩⲧⲁϩ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲩⲛⲁⲥⲱ|ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩ ⲯⲩⲭⲏ
              ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩ︦ⲙ ⲡⲉϩⲟ|ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ· ⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ|
              ⲧⲏⲣ︦ϥ ⲉⲧⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩ︦ⲙ| ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩ ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ·
        20   ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲱ/ⲡⲉ ϩⲁ ⲧⲉϫⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲟⲩ·| ⲛⲏ ⲇⲉ
              ⲉⲧⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲉ⳿ⲧⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ| ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ|
              ϩ︦ⲙ ⲡⲉⲩϩⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧⲁⲕⲟ| ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϫⲓ
        25   ⲡ︦ⲛ︦ⲁ︦/ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩ︦ⲛ ⲧⲉⲓ̈ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ︦ⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲱⲧ| [ⲁ]ⲗⲗⲁ
              ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲟⲧ︦ϥ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ[ⲕ︦ⲁ|ⲃ]ⲉ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
              ⲛ̄ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ·|
                    [ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲡ︦ⲓ︦ⲛⲟϭ] ⲙ̄ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ[ⲣ̄| ⲛ̄⳿ⲧⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ
        30   ⲩⲛ︦ⲛ̄]ϩⲟⲩ ⲉϫ︦ⲛ̄/[⳿ⲧⲕⲧⲓⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄]ⲟⲟⲩⲧ· ⲧⲏ|
[ⲟ︦ⲍ︦] 1   [ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲣⲁⲫⲁⲛ]ⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ// [ϩ︦ⲙ] ⲡ̄ [ⲭⲟ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲏ︦ⲑ·
              ⲛ̄ϥⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲉⲛ|ⲙⲁⲉⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲛ ϩⲉⲛϣⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲭⲉ
              ⲉϥⲉ|⳿ⲧ ⲥⲱϣ ⲛ̄ⲛ⳿ⲓ{ⲉⲩ}ϭⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲣⲭⲱ[ⲛ]|

[65],24   Now (δέ) I was sleeping in the thought | of
my heart, and (γάρ) I | saw three | men before me |
whose figure I was unable | to recognize since

30   (ἐπιδή) / they were not from the powers | of the
God who had [created | me]. They [were] superior
to [the powers | in their] glory. [Those men |

[66],1   spoke] // saying to me, | "Arise, Adam, from the
sleep | of death, and hear | about the eon (αἰών)

5   and the seed (σπορά) / of that man | to whom life
has come, he | who came from you (sg.) and | Eve,
your (sg.) wife (σύζυγος)." | Then (τότε), after

10   I had listened to these words / from those great
men | who were standing | before me, ‡ //

[67],12   I knew that I | had come under the authority
(ἐξουσία) | of death.

15   So now / my son, Seth, I shall | reveal to you
these (things) | that those men, | whom I | saw /

20   before me, | revealed to me. ‡ //

[76],8   Once again (πάλιν) for the | third time the

10   illuminator (φωστήρ) / of knowledge (γνῶσις) will

14   pass through in great | glory ‡ / in order to

15   leave behind for himself fruitbearing / trees.
And he will redeem | their souls (ψυχή) from the
day | of death--because every | product (πλάσμα)

20   that has come from | the dead earth will be / under
the authority (ἐξουσία) of death. | But (δέ) those
who reflect on the knowledge (γνῶσις) | of the
eternal God | in their heart will not perish, |

25   for they have not received spirit (πνεῦμα) / from
this same sovereign authority, | but (ἀλλά) it is
from a [wise] | eternal angel (ἄγγελος) that they
have received (spirit). |

           [Then (τότε) the great] illuminator (φωστήρ) |

30   [of knowledge (γνῶσις) will come] upon / [the] dead
[creation (κτίσις), | that will be destroyed

[77],1   (ἀφανίζειν) // through] the [sowing] of Seth: And
he will perform | signs and wonders in order | to
scorn the powers and their ruler (ἄρχων). |

5   ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲩⲛⲁϣⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ̄ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ/ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
       ⲛⲓϭⲟⲙ· ⲉⲩ ⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ⲁⲩ|ⲧⲉ ⲧϭⲟⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
       ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧ|ϫⲟⲥⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲛ · ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲩⲛⲁⲧⲟⲩ|ⲛⲟⲥ
       ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̄ϭⲱⲛⲧ̄ ⲉ ϫ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓ|ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ· ⲁⲣⲱ
10   ⲉⲩⲉ/ⲟⲩⲱⲧⲃ̄ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲡⲓⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲩϣⲱ|ⲡⲉ ⲍ̄ⲛ
       ⲍⲉⲛⲏⲉⲓ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲛⲏ| ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲧⲡⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲩ· ⲁⲣⲱ
       ⲛ̄|ⲕⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛⲓϭⲟⲙ| ⲍ̄ⲛ ⲛⲉⲩⲃⲁⲗ·
15   ⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲉⲛⲁ/[ⲛ]ⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲉⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ·|ⲧⲟⲧⲉ
       ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲕⲟⲗⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲁ|ⲣⲁⲝ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ
       ⲉⲧⲁⲡⲓⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ| ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉ ϫⲱⲩ· ⲧⲟⲧⲉ|
20   ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲭⲣⲁⲥⲉⲁⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ/ ⲛⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ
       ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ|ⲑⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϭⲟⲙ ⲍ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩ|ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲏ
       ⲉⲩ ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ| ⲁⲥϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲏ̄
25   ⲛ̄|ⲧⲁⲩⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲱⲛ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛⲓϣⲁ/ϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲛⲟⲩϫ·
       ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲉ|ⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϭⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛⲓϭ[ⲟⲙ]|ⲑⲏⲣⲟⲩ·

       ⲧ̄ⲍ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ| ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ|ⲟ ϫⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ|ϫⲉ]
30   [ⲁ]ⲩϣⲱⲡ[ⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍ̄ⲛ   ]/[......]ⲛ̄ⲧ[   ][.....]
[ⲟ̄ⲏ̄] 1   ϭⲁ.[   ]//ⲉⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲟⲩⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ
       ⲁ[ⲧⲥ]ⲁⲛⲟⲩ|ⲩ̄ⲩ ⲍ̄ⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲏⲩⲉ
       ⲁⲩ ϫⲓ ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ| ⲙ̄ⲡⲏ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧ̄ϭⲟⲙ·
       ⲁⲩⲉ̄ⲓ| ⲉ ϫ̄ⲛ̄ ⲕⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̄ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲁⲁⲩ·/
5   ⲁⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉ ϫ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·|

       ⲧ̄ⲙⲉⲍⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ϫⲱ|ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ
       ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧ̄ⲩ ϫⲉ
       ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ|ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍ̄ⲛ ⲟⲩⲛⲟϭ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ·|
10   ⲁⲣⲱ ⲁⲩⲉ̄ⲓ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲟⲩⲍⲁⲗⲏⲧ ⲁⲩⲩⲓ/ ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲟⲩ
       ⲉⲧⲁⲩ ⲭⲡⲟⲩ ⲁⲩ ϫⲓⲧ̄ⲩ| ⲉ ⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲩⲧⲟⲟⲩ
       ⲉⲩ ϫⲟⲥⲉ·|
       ⲁⲣⲱ ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩϣⲩ̄ⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍ̄ⲙ̄| ⲡⲓⲍⲁⲗⲏⲧ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲉ·
       ⲁⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉ|ⲗⲟⲥ ⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲡⲉ ϫⲁⲩ ⲛⲁ[ⲩ]/
15   ϫⲉ ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧ̄ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ † ⲉⲟⲟⲩ| ⲛⲁⲕ·
       ⲁⲩ ϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲭⲣⲟ|
       ⲁⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉ ϫ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·|

5   Then (τότε) the God of the powers / will be
             disturbed, saying, "What sort of (power) | is the
             power of this man, who | is loftier than we?"
             Then (τότε) he will arouse | great wrath against |
10   that man, and the glory / will withdraw so that it
             may dwell | in holy houses | that he has chosen
             for it. And | the powers will not see it | with
15   their eyes, nor (οὔτε) will they / see the illumi-
             nator (φωστήρ) either. | Then (τότε) they will
             punish (κολάζειν) the flesh (σάρξ) | of the man
             upon whom | the holy spirit (πνεῦμα) has come.
20   Then (τότε) | the angels (ἄγγελος) and all / the
             generations (γενεά) of the powers | will use
             (χρᾶσθαι) the name in | error (πλάνη) saying, |
             "Where did it (i.e., error) come from or (ἤ) |
25   whence have come these deceiving / words that |
             all the [powers] failed to discover?" |

             And (δέ) the first | kingdom [says about him]: |
[78],1   "He came [from   ] ** // A spirit (πνεῦμα)
                   [   ] to heaven.
             He was nourished | in the heavens.
             He received the glory | and the power in
                   that place.
                   He came | to the bosom of his mother. /
5   And in this way he came to the water." |

             And (δέ) the second kingdom says | about him:
             "He came | from a great prophet (προφήτης). |
10   And a bird came and took the / child
                   who was born. He brought him | to a
                   high mountain. |
             And he was nourished by | the bird of heaven.
                   An angel (ἄγγελος) | came forth there.
15   He said to [him]: / 'Arise! God has
                   glorified | you.'
             He received glory and strength. |
             And in this way he came to the water." |

ⲧⲙⲉϩϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ ‹ⲇⲉ› ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̅ⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ|ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ
ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ

20 ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ/ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲙⲏⲧⲣⲁ ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ|
ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲭϥ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲧⲉϥⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ| ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲧⲉϥⲙⲁⲁⲩ ⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧϥ̄|ⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ·
ⲁ‹ⲩ›ⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩϣⲩ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·
ⲁⲩⲉⲓ

25 ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ/[ⲟ]ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϭⲟⲙ·
ⲁⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ϯ|[ⲍⲉ] ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲭ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ· |

[ϯ]ⲙⲉϩ[ⲩⲧⲟ]ⲉ̣ ‹ⲇⲉ› ⲙ̄ⲙ̣̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̅ⲣⲟ ⲭ[ⲱ]ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ
ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲭ]ⲉ̣

30 ⲁⲩϣⲱ[ⲡⲉ] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣ]ⲑⲉ[ⲛⲟⲥ /]ⲧ̣
[ⲑⲑ] 1 ·ⲁⲥ[ ]//[ⲕ]ⲱⲧⲉ̣ [ⲛ̄]ⲥⲱⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
ⲫⲏⲣⲥⲁⲗ̄ⲱ| ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲥⲁⲩⲏⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁ|
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟⲟⲩ· ⲁⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ| ϩⲱⲱϥ ⲧⲁⲣⲟ

5 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲥⲧⲣⲁⲧⲓⲁ ⲛ̄/ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ ⲉⲕⲱⲧⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ ϯ|ⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ· ⲁⲣⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩϭⲙ̄|ⲧⲏ
ⲉⲧⲟ|ⲩⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲥ· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ| ϯⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ
ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ| ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲥ̄·

10 ⲁⲩⲭⲓⲧⲥ̄/ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲥⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ˙ ⲁⲥⲉⲣ ⲃⲁⲕⲉ| ⲛ̄ϭⲓ
ϯⲡⲁⲣⲑⲉⲛⲟⲥ ⲁⲥⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲙ̄|ⲡⲓⲁⲗⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ
ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·|ⲁⲥⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩϣⲩ̄ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϣⲱⲗ̄ϩ|ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ·

15 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ/[ⲣ]ⲟⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩϣϥ̄
ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟ|ⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϭⲟⲙ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ϯⲥⲡⲟ|ⲣⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲭⲡⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲥ̄|
ⲁⲣⲱ ⲛ̄ϯⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲭ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓ|ⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

20 ϯⲙⲉϩϯ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄/ⲧⲣ̅ⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ|
ⲁⲩϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲗ̄|ϯⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲡⲉ·
ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲧϥ̄| ⲉⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ| ϣⲟⲡϥ̄ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ

25 ⲁⲩⲭⲡⲟⲩ/ⲁⲩⲟⲗⲩ̄ ⲉⲧⲡⲉ
ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉ|ⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϭⲟⲙ·
ⲁⲣⲱ| ⲛ̄ϯⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲉ[ⲓ] ⲉⲭ̄ⲙ̄ [ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·]|

```
              <And (δέ)> the third kingdom says │ about him:
    20    "He came from / a virgin (παρθένος) womb (μήτρα). │
              He was cast out of his city (πόλις) │
              --he and his mother--and was taken │ to
              a desolate (ἔρημος) place.
          He <was> nourished │ there.
              He came (forth),
    25    and received glory / and power.
          And in this │ [way] he came to the water." │

              <And (δέ)> [the] fourth kingdom says │
              [about him]:
    30    "He came │ [from a virgin (παρθένος)    ] / * //
[79],1        [sought] her, he and Phersalo │ and Sauel and
              his armies (στρατία), │ that had been sent.
              Solomon │ also sent his army (στρατία)
     5        of / demons (δαίμων) to seek the │ virgin
              (παρθένος). And they did not find │ the
              one whom they <sought>, │ but (ἀλλά) the
              virgin (παρθένος) who had been given to
              them │ was the one that they brought.
    10        Solomon / took her, and the virgin
              (παρθένος) │ conceived. She gave birth
              to │ the child in that place, │ and nourished
              him on a border │ of the desert (ἔρημος).
    15    When / he had been nourished,
          he received glory │ and power
              from the seed (σπορά) │ from which he
              was born. │
          And in this way he came to the │ water."

    20        And (δέ) the fifth kingdom / says about him: │
          "He came from a drop │ of heaven.
              He was cast │ into the sea (θάλασσα).
              The abyss │ received him, gave birth to
    25        him, / and brought him to heaven.
          He received glory │ and power.
          And │ in this way he came to [the water]." │
```

[†]ⲙⲉⲍⲥⲟ ⲁ[ⲉ] ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̅ⲣ̅ⲣ̅ⲟ | ϫⲱ] ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ
[<ⲉⲣⲟⲩ> ϫⲉ
30   ⲟ]ⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲟ/[ⲁⲥ† ⲙ]ⲉⲧ[ⲉ ⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉⲍⲣ]ⲁ̈ⲓ
[ⲡ̄]   1   ⲉⲡⲓⲉ̄ⲱⲛ// ⲉⲧ·ⲥⲁⲍⲣⲁ̈ⲓ ϫⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲧ[ⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ
ⲛ̄|ⲍⲉⲛⲍⲣⲏⲣⲉ· ⲁⲥⲱⲱ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍ̄ⲛ̄|ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲍⲣⲉⲣⲉ
ⲁⲥ|ⲙⲉⲥⲧ̄ϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ/
5   ⲁⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲩ̄ϥ̄ ⲛ̄|ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲑⲉⲱⲛⲟⲥ
ⲁⲩϫⲓ ⲛ̄|ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ| ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϭⲟⲙ·
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄†ⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲉ̄ⲓ| ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

10   †ⲙⲉⲍ ⲍ̄/ⲥⲁⲩⲩⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄[ⲧ̄]ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ϫⲱ
ⲙ̄|ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉ
ⲟⲩⲧ̄ⲗ̄†ⲗⲉ ⲡⲉ|
ⲁⲥⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲕⲁⲍ|
ⲁⲩ ϫⲓⲧ̄ϥ̄ ⲉⲍⲣⲁ̈ⲓ ⲉⲍⲉⲛⲃⲏⲃ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ| ⲍⲉⲛⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ
15   ⲁⲩⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ/ⲁⲗⲟⲩ· ⲁⲩⲡ̄ⲛ̄ⲁ ⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉϫⲱⲩ
ⲁⲩ|ϫⲓⲧ̄ϥ̄ ⲉⲡϫⲓⲥⲉ ⲉⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁ†| ⲧ̄ⲗ̄†ⲗⲉ
ⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ|
ⲁⲩ ϫⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϭⲟⲙ| ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·
20   ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄†ⲍ[ⲉ]/ⲁⲩⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

†ⲙⲉⲍ ⲏ̄|ⲩⲙⲟⲩⲛⲉ ⲁⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣⲣⲟ ϫⲱ
ⲙ̄|ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ϫⲉ
ⲁⲩⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ ⲉ̄ⲓ| ⲉϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲍ ⲁⲥⲕⲱⲧⲉ
ⲛ̄ⲟⲩ|ⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ
25   ⲁⲩⲩⲱⲡⲉ/ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲍⲏⲧⲥ̄·
ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⲩ̄ϥ̄| [ⲛ̄]ϭⲓ [ⲓ ⲛ̄ⲁⲅⲅ]ⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲍ̄ⲓ[ϫ̄ⲛ̄|
†ⲕ]ⲗⲟⲟⲗ[ⲉ·]
ⲁⲩ[ϫⲓ] ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟ[ⲟⲩ]| ⲙ̄[ⲛ̄] ⲟⲩϭⲟ ⲙ [ⲙ̄]ⲡⲙⲁ [ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·]|
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄[†ⲍⲉ ⲁⲩ]ⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉ[ϫⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·]//

                    And (δέ) [the] sixth kingdom | [says <about
                    him>]:
     30   "[A] kingdom / [consented to come down]
[80],1   to this eon (αἰών) // below so that he
                    might [gather] | flowers (for her). She
                    conceived from | the desire (ἐπιθυμία) for
                    the flowers and |
             gave birth to him in that place (τόπος). /
      5   The angels (ἄγγελος) of the flower garden
                    (ανθεῶνος) | nourished him.
             He received | glory and power | in that place.
             And in this way he came | to the water."

     10   And (δέ) the / seventh kingdom says | about him:
                    "He is a drop. |
             It came from heaven to earth. |
                    Dragons (δράκων) brought him down to |
     15   caves, and he became a / child. A
                    spirit (πνεῦμα) came upon him, and | took
                    him above to the place where the | drop had
                    come forth. |
             He received glory and power | in that place.
     20   And in this way / he came to the water."

                    And (δέ) the | eighth kingdom says | about him:
                    "A cloud came | to the earth, and enveloped
                    a | rock (πέτρα).
     25   He came / from it.
             The angels (ἄγγελος) | who were above the cloud |
                    nourished him.
             He [received] glory | [and] power [in that] place. |
             And in [this way he] came to [the water]." //

[ⲡⲁ] 1   [ⲧⲙⲉⲉⲯ[ⲓ]ⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̅ⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ ⲙ̄|ⲙⲟⲥ
                 ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲭⲉ
                 ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲯⲓⲧⲉ| ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲣⲓⲇⲱⲛ ⲁⲟⲩⲉ̄ⲓ
                 ⲡⲱⲣ̄ⲝ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ| ⲁⲥⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉ ⲝ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉϥⲭⲟⲥⲉ
     5   ⲁⲥⲣ̅/ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓϣ ⲉⲥⲍⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ· ⲍⲱⲥ|ⲧⲉ
                 ⲛ̄ⲥ{ⲉ}ⲣ̅ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲁⲁⲥ| ⲭⲉ
                 ⲉⲥⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̄ⲍⲟⲟⲩⲧ̄ⲥⲍ̄ⲓⲙⲉ| ⲁⲥⲭⲱⲕ
                 ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲥⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ| ⲁⲥⲱ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍ̄ⲛ̄
                 ⲧⲉⲥⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ/
    10   ⲁⲩ ⲭⲡⲟⲩ
                 ⲁⲩⲥ[ⲁ]ⲛⲟⲩϣ̄ϥ̄ ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲛⲓ[ⲁ]ⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲍ̄ⲓ ⲝ̄ⲛ̄
                 ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ|
                 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ| [ⲉ]ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄
                 ⲟⲩϭⲟⲙ᾿
                 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄|[ⲧⲍ]ⲉ ⲁⲩⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉ ⲝ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

    15   ⲧⲙⲉⲍ ⲧ̄/[ⲙ]ⲏⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲣ̅ⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ
                 ⲉⲣⲟϥ| ⲭⲉ
                 ⲁⲡⲉϥⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙⲉⲣⲉ ⲟⲩϭⲏⲡⲉ| ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ
                 ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲁⲩⲭⲡⲟ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ| ⲉⲍⲣⲁ̈ⲓ
                 ⲉⲧⲉϥϭⲓⲭ᾿ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ| [ⲉ] ⲝ̄ⲛ̄ ⲧⲕⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ
    20   ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ/ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲛ̄ ⲧⲧⲁⲧⲗⲉ
                 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲣ| ⲭⲡⲟⲩ·
                 ⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩ|[ϭ]ⲟⲙ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·
                 ⲁⲩⲱ| ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉ ⲝ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·|

    25   ⲧⲙⲉⲍ ⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄/ⲧ̄ⲣⲣⲟ ⲭⲱ
                 ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ <ⲉⲣⲟϥ> ⲭⲉ
                 ⲁⲡⲓⲱⲧ|[ⲣ̄ⲉⲡ]ⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓ ⲉ[ⲧ]ⲉϥϣⲉⲉⲣⲉ
                 [ⲟⲩ|ⲁⲁ]ⲧ̄ⲥ ⲁⲥⲱ̄ⲱ̈ ⲍⲱⲱⲥ ⲉⲃⲟ[ⲗ| ⲙ̄ⲡⲉ]ⲥⲉⲓⲱⲧ
                 ⲁⲥⲛⲟⲩⲭⲉ ⲙ̄[ⲙⲟϥ| ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲗⲟ]ⲩ ⲛ̄[ⲟ]ⲩⲙ̄ⲍⲉⲟⲩ
[ⲡⲃ] 1   [ⲛ̄ⲥⲁ]//ⲛ̄ⲃⲟⲗ ⲍ̄ⲓ ⲧⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ
                 ⲁⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉ|ⲗⲟⲥ ⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩϣ̄ϥ̄ ⲙ̄ⲡⲙⲁ ⲉ|ⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ·
                 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲍⲉ ⲁⲩⲉ̄ⲓ ⲉ| ⲝ̄ⲙ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ:

[81],1   And (δέ) [the] ninth kingdom says │ about him:
                    "From the nine │ Pierides (πιεριδῶν) one
                    separated, │ and came to a high mountain.
5   She spent / time seated there so that
                    (ὥστε) │ she desired (ἐπιθυμεῖν) her own
                    self │ in order to become androgynous. │
                    She fulfilled her desire (ἐπιθυμία), │ and
                    conceived from her desire (ἐπιθυμία). /
10   He was born.
            The angels (ἄγγελος) │ who were over the desire
                    (ἐπιθυμία) nourished him, │
            and he received glory and power │ in that place.
            And in │ [this] way he came to the water."

15   And (δέ) / the tenth kingdom says about him: │
                    "His God loved a cloud │ of
                    desire (ἐπιθυμία). He begat it │
                    in his hand and cast │ onto
20   the cloud near him / (some) of the drop.
            And │ he was born.
            He received glory and │ power in that place,
            and │ in this way he came to the water." │

25   And (δέ) the eleventh kingdom / says <about
                    him>:
                    The father │ desired (ἐπιθυμεῖν) his [own] │
                    daughter, and she also conceived from │ [her]
                    father. She put │ [the child in a] cavern
[82],1   out // in the desert (ἔρημος).
            The angel (ἄγγελος) │ nourished him in that │ place.
            And in this way he came to │ the water."

5   ⲧⲙⲉϩ ⲓ̅ⲃ̅/ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲥⲛⲟⲟⲩⲥ <ⲇⲉ> ⲙ̅ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲣ̅ⲣⲟ
         ϫⲱ| ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ
         ⲁϥϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ| ϩⲙ̅ ⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ ⲥⲛⲁⲩ·
         ⲁⲣⲥⲁ|ⲛⲟⲩϣϥ̅ ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ
         [ⲁ]ϥϫⲓ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ| ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲟⲩϭⲟⲙ·
10   ⲁⲩ[ⲱ] ⲛ̅ϯϩⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ/ ⲉϫⲙ̅ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ·

         ⲧⲙⲉϩ ⲓ̅ⲅ̅| ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧϣⲟⲙⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̅ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲣ̅ⲣⲟ
         ϫⲱ| ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ϫⲉ
         ϭⲓⲛⲙⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ| ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲅⲟ[ⲥ ⲡⲉ·]|
15   ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥϫⲓ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲧⲱϣ ⲙ̅ⲡⲙ[ⲁ]/ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ
         ⲛ̅ϭⲓ ⲡⲉⲓ̈ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ·
         ⲁϥ|ϫⲓ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲟⲩϭⲟⲙ·|
         ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̅ϯϩⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉϫⲙ̅ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ|‡/

19   ϯⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲇⲉ| ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲧⲣ̅ ⲣ̅ⲣⲟ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉϫⲱⲥ
         ϫⲱ| ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ
         ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲡ̅| ⲙ̅ⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲛ̅ ⲛⲓⲉⲱⲛ
         ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ| [ⲁ]ϥⲧⲣⲉⲟⲩⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲧ|[ϫ]ⲱϩⲙ̅
25   ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲉ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲛ̅/ϩⲏⲧϥ̅· ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ϫⲉ ⲁϥⲉⲓ
         ⲉ[ⲃⲟⲗ| ⲛ̅]ⲟⲩⲁⲏⲣ ⲛ̅ϣⲙ̅ⲙⲟ ⲉ[ⲃⲟⲗ| ϩⲛ̅ ⲛ̅|ⲛⲟϭ
         ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲱⲛ ⲛ̅ϭⲓ [ⲡⲓ|ⲛⲟϭ] ⲙ̅ⲫⲱⲥⲧ[ⲏ]ⲣ· ⲁⲩⲱ
[ⲡ̅ⲅ̅] 1   ⲁⲩⲧⲣⲉ]//ϯⲅⲉⲛ[ⲉ]ⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ|
         ⲣ̅ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲟⲧⲡⲟⲩ ⲛⲁϥ| ϩⲱⲥⲧⲉ
         ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲣ̅ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲉϫⲙ̅ ⲡⲓ|ⲉⲱⲛ ⲧⲏⲣϥ̅ ‡/

    5   <And (δέ)> the twelfth / kingdom says | about
                 him:
             "He came from | two illuminators (φωστήρ).
             He was nourished | there.
             He received glory | and power.
    10   And in this way he came / to the water." |

                 And (δέ) the thirteenth kingdom says | about
                 him:
             "Every birth | of their ruler (ἄρχων) is a word
                 (λόγος). | And this word (λόγος) received
    15   a mandate / in that place.
             He | received glory and power. |
             And in this way he came to the water. | ‡ /

    19   But (δέ) the | kingless generation (γενεά)
             says: |
             "God chose | him from all the eons (αἰών), | and
             caused a knowledge (γνῶσις) of the undefiled one |
    25   of truth to come to be / [in him. He] said:
             '[from] | foreign air (ἀήρ) [out of] | the great
             eons (αἰών) has [the | great] illuminator (φωστήρ)
[83],1   come.' [And he caused] // the generation
             (γενεά) of those men | that he had chosen for
             himself to shine, | so that (ὥστε) they might
             shine over the | whole eon (αἰών)." ‡ /

SOURCE B

[65],24-33   See A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster: The Prophet of Ancient Iran* (New York: MacMillan, 1901) 65. Three archangels come from heaven as witnesses from Ahura Mazda to the message of Zarathustra.

[65],31-32   Böhlig (97), Beltz (7) and Kasser ("Textes gnostiques: Nouvelles remarques," 304) have all reconstructed the *status pronominalis* of ⲦⲀⲘⲓⲟ (ⲀⲨⲦⲀⲘⲓⲟⲚ, [65],18) under the influence of the many occurrences of the expression in source A. The first person pronoun seems required by the subject of Ⲙⲡⲓ6Ⲙ6ⲟⲘ ([65],28) and the absence of Eve as an actor in this segment.

[65],32-34   An early photo taken by Jean Doresse has preserved parts of the first half of lines [65],32-34. Two letters on p. [65],32 (ⲈⲨ) were identified by the author in the fragments of Codex V. The rest of the fragment has been lost since Doresse took his picture.

[66],4-5   ⲧⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ Ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲘⲉ; or, "the seed, namely, that man."

[66],12   ‡ See [66],12-31 in source A above, pp. 232-33. Note that [65],24-[66],12 has been inserted by the redactor between [65],23 and [66],12.

[67],12   Text reads Ⲁⲓ̈ⲈⲓⲘⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲬⲈ Ⲁⲓ̈ⲩⲱⲡⲉ . ⲅⲁⲣ is attributed to the redactor, and hence does not appear in the B source.

[67],20   Text reads ⲈⲣⲟⲟⲨ Ⲛⲩⲟⲣⲡ̄ . Ⲛⲩⲟⲣⲡ̄ appears to be a redactional device intended to recall the revelation of the three men ([65],24-[66],12) that from the perspective of the redacted text had taken place earlier.

[67],21   ‡ See [67],22 in source A above, pp. 232-33.

[76],8   See [76],6 in source A above, pp. 240-41, and [76],6-7 in the redactor's comments, below, pp. 284-85.

[76],8-9   "Third time." See *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)63,4ff. where the great Seth "passes through" three parousiai: the flood, the conflagration, and the judgment of the archons and powers. Cf.

Ap. John (II,*1*)30,11-31,31; *Treat. Seth*
(VII,*2*)58,13-59,11; *Trim. Prot.* (XIII,*1**)
47,1-35; *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)63,4-64,9; CH,
Asclepius 3.26a.

[76],9   "Illuminator." Cf. Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 4.6.2
(where Bar Kochba claims to be a luminary
[φωστήρ] from heaven enlightening those in
misery) and 5.24.2.

[76],11   "Glory"; literally, "glories."

[76],11   ‡ [76],11-13 = redactor's comment five. See
below, pp. 284-85.

[76],18   "Product." Translators are not agreed on the
best way to translate πλάσμα: MacRae, "crea-
tion"; Böhlig and Beltz, "Geschöpf"; and
Krause, "Gebild." Kasser translates "toute
la (substance) modelée." Compare *Ep. Pet.
Phil.* (VIII,*2*)136,11-19 for a translation of
ⲡⲗⲁⲥⲙⲁ as product.

[76],25   "Same sovereign authority"; i.e., the same
sovereign authority that produced from the
dead earth "creatures" that came under the
power of death.

[76],31   [ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁ̂ⲣⲁ̂ⲫⲁⲛ]ⲓⲍⲉ . The reconstruction of
the Greek verb is not certain. There are
many possibilities. The text that follows
([76],28-[77],27) suggests that the Greek
verb should reflect the idea of struggle or
combat with the dead creation, represented by
the "powers and their ruler." See *Gos. Eg.*
(III,*2*)51,5-14. MacRae suggests in a foot-
note that one might reconstruct
[ⲉⲧ̂ⲩⲛⲁⲣⲥⲫⲣⲁⲅ]ⲓⲍⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟ[ⲍⲱ]ⲡ[ⲣⲁⲛ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲑ --
"[which he will seal with] the [name] of
Seth."

[77]1   [ⲍⲱ] ⲡ[ⲭⲟ] ⲛ̄ⲥⲏⲑ. Beltz (18) conjectures
[ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲛ]; Kasser ("Textes gnostiques:
Nouvelles remarques," 305) conjectures
[ⲍⲱ ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲛ].

[77],2   "Signs and wonders." See *Great Pow.* (VI,*4*)
45,4-15.

[77],5   ⲛ̄ⲛⲓⲅⲟⲙ. Text reads ⲛ̄ⲛⲩ'{ⲉⲩ}ⲅⲟⲙ . The
scribe dotted ⲉⲩ, thus indicating that the
letters are to be removed, and has written
iota above the line.

[77],7   "Loftier"; following a suggestion by MacRae
                           which captures both concepts of ϪΙϹΕ , that
                           of higher elevation in a spatial sense and
                           superiority in a qualitative sense.

[77],7-9   See F. Max Müller (ed.), *Sacred Books of the
                           East* (trans. James Darmesteter; 2nd ed.; 50
                           vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1879-1910) 4.224-
                           225. In the Zend-Avesta, the demons are dis-
                           turbed at the birth of Zarathustra.

[77],11   "Holy houses." See *Treat. Seth* (VII,*2*)51,
                           5-24; *Zost.* (VIII,*1*)130,5-7; *Ap. John* (I,*1*)
                           9,4-8; see Beltz (133).

[77],12   "Chosen for it," or, "that it has chosen for
                           itself."

[77],16   "Punish the flesh." See 1QpHab 9,1, commen-
                           tary on Hab 2:7-8a.

[77],21   "The name": CD 2:9,6:2 (Charles, *APOT*, 2.804,
                           808); Sir 23:10; Hipp. *Ref*. 5.6.5, 8.12.5;
                           Testim. Truth (IX,*3*)34,6; Rev 19:12.

[77],23   What appears to be writing at the end of line
                           23 is actually blotting from p. [76],24--the
                           first two letters in the line: ϪΝ . If one
                           looks closely, parts of the first eight let-
                           ters of p. [76],24 are visible as blotting
                           on p. [77].

[77],23   ϪϹⲨⲱⲡⲉ . MacRae, Böhlig (109) and Krause
                           (27) understand the antecedent of the 3rd
                           sing. fem. pronoun to be ⲠⲖⲀⲚⲎ   (error) in
                           [76],22. Schenke (col. 39) and Beltz under-
                           stand it to be ⲦϬⲟⲙ (power) at [77],6.

[77],27-[78],5   See Müller (*Sacred Books*, 23.231-38). In the
                           Zend-Avesta Verethraghna appears to Zara-
                           thustra in ten incarnations with the refrain:
                           "thus did he come bearing the good glory,
                           made by Mazda, the glory made by Mazda, that
                           is both health and strength."

[77],27   ✝ⲍⲟⲣⲉⲓⲧⲉ (see Kasser, "Textes gnostiques:
                           Nouvelles remarques," 305). This is the
                           logical reading on the basis of the form of
                           this section. However, it is based on the
                           assumption that the top stroke of Ⲧ is longer
                           than usual.

[77],28   "Kingdom." The identity of the kingdoms is
                           not certain. Beltz (141-43) has suggested
                           various possible parallels; see above, pp.
                           137-41.

[77],28   "About him," or, "to him."

[78],2-3   "The glory and the power." In the Sahidic
                   and Fayumic textual traditions, the familiar
                   doxology at the conclusion of Matt 6:13 at-
                   tests to "power and glory." Kingdom is
                   lacking.

[78],3   "In that place." Böhlig, Krause, Beltz and
                   MacRae translate, "of that one."

[78],5   The final ЄX̄N could also be translated
                   "over" or "upon." Translators are not agreed
                   as to how the expression should be trans-
                   lated: Beltz, Schottroff, and Krause, "auf
                   das Wasser"; Böhlig and MacRae, "to." How-
                   ever, see Kasser's ambiguous "sur." See the
                   discussion above, pp. 141-47. See also the
                   vision of the man arising from the sea in
                   2 Esdr 13:1-4,25,26,32.

[78],6   The number B̄ is written above the line over
                   ⳿ⲙⲉⳅⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲉ. It appears to have been written
                   by the same scribe.

[78],6-17   See Epiph. *Pan.* 40.7.1-3.

[78],10   ⲕⲟⲩⲉⲓ is written above the line over ⲡⲓⳗⲗⲟⲩ.
                   It appears to have been written by the same
                   scribe.

[78],11   "To a high mountain." See *Gos. Heb.* in
                   Hennecke-Schneemelcher, 1.164.

[78],19   "About him," or, "to him."

[78],22   The scribe has drawn a line under ⲧⲟ in N̄ⲧⲟⲩ.

[78],23-24   ⲁ⟨ⲩ⟩ⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⳗⳗ. Text reads ⲁⲩⲥⲁⲛⲟⲩⳗⳗ.
                   The 3rd masc. sing. is a problem since it in-
                   troduces another actor into the text. Who is
                   the indefinite "he" that nourishes the illu-
                   minator? Beltz simply regards it as a 3rd
                   plural and translates as passive--without
                   emending the text. This is basically what
                   MacRae has done. Krause translates as reflex-
                   ive although there are no such examples in
                   Crum. I have emended the text in the interest
                   of harmonizing the verb with the two preceding
                   passive constructions and this stanza with the
                   rest of the stories.

[78],24   Beltz (19) has emended the text by removing
                   ⲁⲩⲉⲓ which he regards as a "prolepsis."
                   MacRae also suggests that it may be a scribal
                   error because it breaks the pattern of the
                   refrain.

[78],25   There is a stroke resembling a supralinear
                   stroke clearly inscribed over the lacuna at
                   the beginning of [78],25.

[79],2   ⲤⲀⲨⲎⲖ; cf. ⲓⲤⲀⲞⲨⲎⲖ (*Gos. Eg.* [III,2]64,14).

[79],2-5   Solomon's Army of Demons. The tradition of
                   Solomon's control over demons is known else-
                   where in antiquity: Joseph. *Ant.* 8.45-49;
                   Testim. Truth (IX,3)70,5-8; *Testament of
                   Solomon* (C. C. McCowan, *Testament of Solomon*
                   [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1915]). See
                   also Atkinson ("The Shâh Nâmeh by Firdusi,"
                   11, 110) for a parallel motif in the Iranian
                   tradition.

[79],6-9   See *Orig. World* (II,5)116,25-117,15.

[79],7   ⲈⲦⲀⲨⲨⲔⲰⲦⲈ. The text reads ⲈⲦⲞⲨⲔⲰⲦⲈ.
                   The emendation from present to perfect seems
                   necessary to reconcile the time of this
                   phrase with its context. There is no appar-
                   ent reason for this verb to be present and
                   the context to be perfect.

[79],10   The scribe has written ⲱ̂ⲱ̂ above ⲈⲢⲂⲀⲔⲈ.
                   These omegas are written slightly differently
                   from the usual form and could reflect a dif-
                   ferent hand.

[79],13   "Border." The word has posed a problem for
                   translators: Krause (27) "an einer be-
                   stimmten Stelle"; Böhlig (111) "in einer
                   Schlucht"; Kasser (327) "en un (camp) re-
                   tranché" (see his note in "Textes gnostiques,
                   Remarques," 95); Schenke (col. 33) and Beltz
                   (20,1) "in einem Bezirk" and MacRae, "on a
                   border."

[79],19-27   Hipp. *Ref.* 5.19.17-22; *Orig. World* (II,5)
                   113,21-31.

[79],22   The ink above [79],22 is blotting from the
                   first ten letters of [78],22.

[79],24   The ink above [79],24 is blotting from the
                   first four letters of [78],24.

[79],28   The number Ⲋ̄ has been written above ϮⲘⲈⲞⲞ.

[79],28-[80],6   See *Orig. World* (II,5)111,8-20.

[79],28-30   The difference from Böhlig's text is due to a
                   new fragment having been placed at [79],28-30.

[80],1   ⲉⲩⲉⲧ[ⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ. The lacuna renders uncertain the
              verb and what must be a synonym written over
              it by the scribe. Schenke (col. 33) argued
              against Böhlig's ⲧ[ⲁⲁ]ⲧⲉ for ⲧ[ⲟⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ. MacRae
              has conjectured the word to be ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲧⲉ, rare
              in Sahidic. Because of the lack of space in
              the lacuna, he suggests that here the word is
              written ⲧ[ⲟⲩ]ⲧⲉ . He further suggests that
              the synonym written above the word could be
              ⲥⲱ[ⲱⲗ]ⲉ or ⲥⲱ[ⲟⲩ]ⲍ. The dark area to the
              right of the first ⲧ may be discoloration in
              the papyrus.

[80],2   "Flowers." See Siegfried Morenz and Johannes
              Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona:
              Artibus Asiae, 1954).

[80],4   The scribe has written the synonym ⲁⲡⲟⲩ
              (begat, bring forth) over ⲙⲉⲥⲧⲩ (bear, bring
              forth).

[80],5   "Flower garden." The Greek genitive (ἀνθεῶν,
              ἀνθεῶνος) rarely occurs in Coptic. The word
              has been translated differently. Krause (28)
              transliterates, "Antheōnos"; Böhlig (112),
              "Pantheon"; Kasser (328), "Anthéon"; Beltz
              (21,1), "Blume."

[80],11-20   See Epiph. *Pan.* 40.7.1. The Archontic narra-
              tive bears a close similarity to the state-
              ments by kingdoms 2, 5 and 7.

[80],12   "From heaven." Cf. *Apoc. Pet.* 8:24 (Hennecke-
              Schneemelcher, 2.307), where Jesus is said not
              to have been born but to have come from a
              heavenly place.

[80],12-15   Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.6 and Hes. *Theog.* 468-480
              report that Zeus was born in a cave, and that
              he received "nourishment" from the Curetes and
              and the nymphs. See *Prot. Jas.* 19:2, where
              Jesus is born in a cave and nourished at the
              breast of his mother.

[80],16   "Above"; literally, "to the height."

[80],25   "It" could refer to the cloud or the rock
              since both are feminine.

[80],27-29   The difference from Bohlig's text is due to a
              new fragment having been placed at [80],27-29.
              I have followed MacRae's reconstruction.

[81],1-14   Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.5. Hera is said to
              have given birth to Hephaestus without inter-
              course. J. G. Frazier reports that belief in
              the impregnation of women without the male

was a widespread phenomenon in antiquity
(J. G. Frazier, ed., *Apollodorus: The Library*
[LCL; 2 vols.; New York: G. P. Putnam, 1921]
1.21 n. 5). Cf. Hes. *Theog*. 925. See also
Hipp. *Ref*. 6.30.6-8; *Ap. John* (II,*1*)9,25-
10,1 and *Ep. Pet. Phil.* (VIII,*2*)135,10-136,10,
where Sophia produces offspring without a
partner.

[81],2   The number ⊖ has been written over ψιτє .

[81],3   πєριλωΝ appears to be the Greek ablative
of πιεριδες. It is not uncommon for the
spelling of Greek words used in Coptic to
differ from the customary Greek spelling.
In this instance, the loss of iota in
Pierides can probably be attributed to it
having been assimilated into the sound of the
initial π rather than pronounced as a dis-
tinct sound. In Greek mythology, the
"Pierides" are the nine muses, daughters of
Mnemosyne and Zeus, who were born in Pieria
(πιερία), a district in southwest Greece near
Olympus. Hence, they were called αἱ πιεριδες.
Originally they were the goddesses of music,
song and dance. See Hes. *Theog*. 53-76. The
text does not suggest which of the nine muses
produced the child, and Beltz (164) could
discover no Greek tradition about the muses
that corresponds to *Apoc. Adam*.

[81],6   N̄ϲρ̄єπιθγμєι . Text reads N̄ϲєρ̄єπιθθγμєι .
The scribe has both dotted and crossed out є
following N̄ϲ. The use of є with the *status
nominalis* of єιρє , i.e., ρ without supra-
linear stroke, seems to be a variant for ρ̄ .
See [79],10. In this instance, the scribe
did not need both є and the supralinear
stroke.

[81],14-23   See Beltz (166) for the motif of divine
masturbation in the Egyptian religion. Com-
pare also *2 Enoch* 25:1-3.

[81],16   Above 6ηττє ([81],16), the scribe has written
κλοολє. This entry is somewhat different
from the other instances. Both words are
written in smaller letters. 6ηττє falls
slightly below the line and κλοολє is
slightly above the line, as if the scribe
wanted to give them equal weight.

[81],17   "It," i.e., the sperm.

[81],18   The scribe has written 6 above λ in Νογχє
([81],18).

[81],19   Above ⲔⲖⲟⲟⲖⲉ has been written ⳋ ⲎⲠⲉ
                 ([81],19).

[81],19   "Near him." The text has posed a problem to
                 translators. Böhlig (113) and MacRae (in *The*
                 Nag Hammadi Library) have not emended the
                 text, but translated ⲈⲌⲞⲨⲉ ⲉ′ as "above him."
                 Beltz (22,1), following Schenke, has trans-
                 lated: "which was far from him." Schenke
                 ("Zum Gegenwärtigen Stand," 132) analyzes the
                 expression as a perfect relative of ⲞⲨⲉ ⲉ′.
                 The element ⲈⲌ′ he regards as an (unattested)
                 dialectal variant of the perfect relative
                 particle ⲀⲌ′. The analysis is apparently
                 accepted by Krause (28) who translates: "die
                 fern von ihm war," and gives Böhlig's trans-
                 lation as a possibility. He also suggests
                 that one might translate: "die grösser als er
                 war." The present translation follows the
                 analysis of Peter Nagel ("Marginalia Coptica,"
                 Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-
                 Luther-Universität 20 [1973] 111-15). Nagel
                 argues that the Greek *Vorlage* of ⲈⲌⲞⲨⲉ ⲉ′
                 read παρ᾽ αὐτόν (= near him) which the Coptic
                 translator incorrectly understood to have a
                 comparative meaning and translated it by a
                 Coptic expression of comparison, ⲈⲌⲞⲨⲉ ⲉ′.
                 However, it is also possible that ⲈⲌⲞⲨⲉ ⲉ′
                 is simply the result of a scribal error where
                 the copyist has incorrectly written ⲈⲌⲞⲨⲉ ⲉ′
                 for ⲈⲌⲞⲨ⟨Ⲛ⟩ ⲉ′, which translated the original
                 Greek *Vorlage* πρὸς αὐτῷ (= near him). In
                 either case, the translation is the same.
                 MacRae follows Nagel in *Nag Hammadi Codices*
                 V 2-5 and VI.

[81],24   The number ⲓⲀ̄ has been written above
                 ⳁ ⲙⲉⲌ ⲙ̄ⲚⲦⲞⲨⲉ.

[82],7   Above ⲤⲚⲀⲨ has been written the number ⲃ̄.

[82],12   Ⲭ is written above ⳋ in ⳋⲓⲚⲘⲓⲤⲉ.

[82],13   "Their ruler," i.e., the gnostic community.

[82],17   ‡ [82],18-19 = redactor's comment six. See
                 below, pp. 284-85.

[82],20-21   "Kingless generation." See *Jub.* 15:32; *Soph.*
                 Jes. Chr. (III,*4*)99,18-20; *Eugnostos* (V,*1*)
                 5,3-5; *Hyp. Arch.* (II,*4*)97,3-5; *Orig. World*
                 (II,*5*)127,13-14, and Kasser ("Textes gnos-
                 tiques: Remarques," 95).

[82],23-24   "Undefiled one of truth"; *Treat. Seth* (VII,*2*)
                 53,3-4.7; 54,6-8.

[83],3-4   "Shine over the aeon"; see *Paraph. Shem*
                    (VII,*1*)28,24-25.

[83],4   ‡ [83],4-7 = redactor's comment seven. See
                    below, pp. 284-85.

THE REDACTOR

1: [65],3-9. See above, p. 230.

[ⲍ̅ⲉ̅] 3 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ| ⲁⲥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲧⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ| ⲍⲉⲛⲛⲟϭ
         ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲱⲛ· ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈| ϩⲱ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲁⲉⲓⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ
         ⲉⲣⲟⲕ| ⲙ̅ⲡⲣⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ| ⲉⲧⲉ
         ⲧⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̅ⲅⲉⲛⲉⲁ| ⲏ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧϥ̅·

2: [69],10-17. See above, p. 232.

[ⲍ̅ⲑ̅] 10 ϩ̅ⲛ̅ [ⲛⲓⲉⲃ]ⲟⲗ| ϩ̅ⲛ̅ ⲧⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲛ̅[ϭⲓ] ⲛⲓⲣⲱ|ⲙⲉ· ⲛⲏ
           ⲉⲧⲁ̣[ⲩⲟⲩ]ⲱ̣ⲧⲃ̅ ⲉ|ϩⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ [ⲛ̅ϭⲓ ⲡ̅]ⲱⲛϩ̅
        15 ⲛ̅|ⲧⲉ ⲧⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ [ⲡⲁ]ⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩ/ⲉⲓ̅ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧ
           ⲙ̣̅[ⲛ̅] ⲉⲩϩⲁ| ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲁⲁⲩ· ⲛⲉⲩⲉ ⲅⲁⲣ| ⲛ̅ⲩ̅ⲙⲙⲟ
           ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲩ ⲡⲉ·

3: [71],4-8. See above, p. 234.

[ⲟ̅ⲁ̅] 4 ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙ̅ⲛ̅| ⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲛ̅ⲛⲏⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ϩⲏⲧⲕ̅| ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
         ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲁϩⲉ|ⲣⲁⲧⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲙ̅ⲧⲟ
         ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩ̅ⲛ̅| ⲕⲉⲉⲟⲟⲩ·

4: [76],6-7. See above, p. 240.

[ⲟ̅ⲥ̅] 6 ⲁⲗⲗⲁ| ⲉⲩⲣ̅ ϩⲱⲃ ϩ̅ⲛ̅ ⲧⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲛ̅ⲁⲧⲧⲁⲕⲟ·

5: [76],11-13. See above, p. 260.

[ⲟ̅ⲥ̅] 11 ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲩ̅ⲱⲝ̅ⲡ̅|<ⲛ̅ϩⲉⲛⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲣⲉ> ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩ̅ⲙ̅
           ⲡⲓⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ⲱ̅ϩⲉ| ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲛⲓⲩⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
           ⲭⲁⲙ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲓ̈ⲁⲫⲉⲑ|

6: [82],18-19. See above, p. 270.

[ⲡ̅ⲃ̅] 18 ϩⲓⲛⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲩⲉⲧⲱⲧ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩ|ⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲓ̈ϭⲟⲙ·

7: [83],4-7. See above, p. 270

[ⲡ̅ⲅ̅] 4 ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲧⲥⲡⲟⲣⲁ ⲛⲁⲧ| ⲟⲩⲃⲉ ⲧϭⲟⲙ <ⲛ̅>ⲛⲏ
         ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲭⲓ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉⲩ|ⲣⲁⲛ ϩⲓⲭ̅ⲙ̅ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ<...>
         ⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲧⲟⲩ| ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ·

1: [65],3-9. See above, p. 231.

[65],3   But (ἀλλά) | it (i.e., knowledge) entered into the
    5   seed (σπορά) of / great eons (αἰών). For this
            reason | I myself have called you (sg.) | by the
            name of that man | who is the seed (σπορά) of the
            great generation (γενεά), | which (ἥ) is from him.

2: [69],10-17. See above, p. 233.

[69],10   (and) by [those] from | the seed (σπορά), [namely]
            those men | to whom passed | [the] life of | the
    15   knowledge (γνῶσις) that / came from me [and] Eve |
            your mother, for (γάρ) they were | strangers to him.

3: [71],4-8. See above, p. 235.

[71],4   And no | seed (σπορά) of those men | will come
            from you that they not stand | before me in |
            another glory.

4: [76],6-7. See above, p. 241.

[76],6   But (ἀλλά) | they labor with the imperishable seed
            (σπορά).

5: [76],11-13. See above, p. 261.

[76],11   in order to (ἵνα) leave behind <witnesses> | from
            the seed (σπέρμα) of Noah | and the sons of Ham
            and Japheth.

6: [82],18-19. See above, p. 271.

[82],18   in order that (ἵνα) the desire (ἐπιθυμία) of these
            powers | might be satisfied.

7: [83],4-7. See above, p. 271.

[83],4   Then (τότε) the seed (σπορά) will fight | against
            the power <of> those who will receive his | name
            upon the water and <...> with them | all.

8: [84],4–[85],18.22–31. See above, p. 240.

[ⲡ̅ⲁ̅] 4   ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲏ ϣⲱⲡⲉ ϣⲁⲣⲟⲟⲩ| ⲉⲥⲭⲱ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲥ
           ⲭⲉ ⲙ̅ⲓⲭⲉⲩ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅| ⲙⲓⲭⲁⲣ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲙ̅ⲛⲏⲥⲓⲛⲟⲩⲥ · ⲛⲏ|
           ⲉⲧⲍ̅ⲓ ⲭ̅ⲛ̅ ⲡⲓⲭⲱⲕ̅ⲙ̅ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ| ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ
           ⲉⲧⲟⲛ̅ⲍ̅ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ| ⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲧⲉⲧ̅ⲛ̅ϣⲩ ⲟⲩⲃⲉ
     10   ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲛ̅ⲍ̅ ⲍ̅ⲛ̅ ⲍ̅[ⲉ]ⲛⲥⲙⲏ ⲛ̅ⲁⲛⲟ|ⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅
           ⲍⲉⲛⲗⲁⲥ ⲉⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲛⲟⲙⲟ[ⲥ]|ⲧⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅
           ⲍⲉⲛⲯⲩⲭⲏ| ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲍ ⲛ̅ⲥⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲍⲉⲛⲍ̅[ⲃⲏⲩⲉ]|
     15   ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩ · ⲉⲧⲉⲧ̅ⲛ̅ⲙⲉⲍ ⲉ[ⲃⲟⲗ]/ ⲍ̅ⲛ̅ ⲍⲉⲛⲍⲃⲏⲩⲉ
           <ⲁⲛ> ⲉⲛⲁ ⲧⲙⲉ {ⲁⲛ} ⲛⲉ| ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲉⲧ̅ⲛ̅ⲍⲓⲟⲟⲧⲉ
           ⲙⲉⲍ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲡⲧⲉⲗⲏⲗ · ⲉⲁⲧⲉ|ⲧ̅ⲛ̅ⲭⲉⲍ̅ⲙ̅
           ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲱⲛ̅[ⲍ̅]| ⲁⲧⲉⲧ̅ⲛ̅ⲥⲱⲕ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲩ
     20   ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲛ/ ⲉⲡⲟⲩⲱϣ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲓϭⲟⲙ| ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧ̅
           ⲑⲏⲩⲧ̅ⲛ̅ ⲉⲧⲟⲟ|ⲧⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧ̅ⲛ̅ⲉⲩ̅ⲙ̅ϣⲉ| ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲟⲩ·
     25   ⲁⲩⲱ ⲙ̅ⲡⲉ{ⲡⲉ}|ⲧ̅ⲛ̅ⲙⲉⲉⲩⲉ ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲙ̅ⲡⲁ ⲛⲓ/[ⲣ]ⲱⲙⲉ
           ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛⲏ| [ⲉ]ⲧⲉⲧ̅ⲛ̅ⲡⲱⲧ ⲛ̅ⲥ̅ⲱⲟ[ⲩ]| ⲭⲉ
           ⲙ̅]ⲡⲟⲩⲥ[ⲱⲧ̅ⲙ̅] ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ ⲛⲉ|[ⲧ̅ⲛ̅]ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙ[ⲓⲁ· ⲟ]ⲩⲧⲉ//
[ⲡ̅ⲉ̅] 1   ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲡⲉⲩⲟⲩⲧⲁⲍ ⲗⲱϣⲙ · ⲁⲗⲗⲁ| ⲥⲉⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ
           ⲉⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙ̅ⲙⲟⲟⲩ| ϣⲁ ⲛⲓⲛⲟϭ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲱⲛ · ⲭⲉ
           ⲛⲓϣⲁⲭⲉ| ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲣⲉⲍ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ/
     5   ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲱⲛ ⲙ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲍ̅ⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉ|ⲡⲭⲱⲱⲙⲉ ⲟⲩⲧⲉ
           ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲥⲍⲟⲩⲧ̅ ⲁⲛ·|
                ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲍⲉⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲕⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛ̅ⲧⲟⲩ| ⲛⲁⲓ̈ ⲉⲧⲉ
           ⲛ̅ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲙ̅ⲙⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲛ ⲛ̅|ϭⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲁ ⲧⲏ[ⲣⲟ]ⲩ
     10   ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲣⲱⲙⲉ· ⲥⲉ/ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲅⲁ[ⲣ ⲉ]ⲭ̅ⲛ̅ ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲩ|ⲭⲟⲥⲉ
           ⲍ̅ⲓ ⲭ̅ⲛ̅ ⲟⲩⲡⲉⲧⲣⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲧⲙⲉ · | ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲧ̅ ⲣⲁⲛ
           ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ| ⲭⲉ ⲛⲓϣⲁⲭⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲫⲑⲁⲣⲥⲓⲁ|[ⲙ̅ⲛ̅
     15   ⲧ̅|ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲧⲙⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ/ [ⲙ̅]ⲡ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̅ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉⲍ
           ⲍ̅ⲛ̅ ⲟⲩ|[ⲥ]ⲟⲫⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅| ⲟⲩⲥⲃⲱ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ
           ⲍⲉⲛⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ <ⲛ̅>ϣⲁ|ⲉⲛⲉⲍ ⲭⲉ ⲩⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̅ⲍⲱⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ:‖ⲋ/
     22   ⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⲧⲉ ⲧ̅ⲅⲛⲱ|ⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲡⲟⲕⲣⲩⲫⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲁⲇⲁⲙ|
     25   ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛ̅ⲥⲏⲑ · ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲭⲱ/ⲕ̅ⲙ̅ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲡⲉ
           ⲛ̅ⲛⲏ ⲉⲧⲥⲟ|ⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧ̅ⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̅ⲉⲛⲉⲍ ⲉⲃⲟ[ⲗ]|
           ⲍ̅ⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲛⲓⲗⲟⲅⲟⲅⲉⲛⲏⲥ ⲙ̅[ⲛ̅]| ⲛⲓⲫⲱⲥⲧⲏⲣ   ·
           ⲛ̅ⲁⲧ̅ⲧⲁⲕⲟ ⲛⲏ [ⲉⲧⲁⲩ]|ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍ̅ⲛ̅ ⲧ̅ⲥⲡ[ⲟ]ⲣⲁ
     30   ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁ[ⲁⲃ]/ ⲓ̈ⲉⲥⲥⲉⲩⲥ ⲙ̅ⲁ̅[ⲍ̅]ⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥ̅ [ⲓ̈ⲉⲥⲥⲉ]ⲇⲉⲕⲉⲩⲥ̅
           [ⲡⲓ]ⲙ̅ⲟ̅ⲟⲩ ⲉⲧⲟ̅[ⲛ̅ⲍ̅]

[65],4

"It." The feminine pronoun must refer back to γνῶσις (64,27) since it is the only feminine noun in the immediate context. The text of source A explains how the lost "glory" of Adam and Eve is preserved in the race of the great men, but fails to indicate that knowledge of the eternal God is also preserved, or where it is preserved. The redactor "corrects" this "oversight" in his *Vorlage* by indicating that it is preserved in the "seed" of great aeons. Since Adam "names" his son Seth after this "seed," the "seed" must also be named "Seth." This Seth (i.e., the seed) appears to be some sort of Ur-Seth, or semidivine being, who does in the primordial drama what the "earthly" Seth does in the world when he preserves the knowledge of the eternal God by receiving such a revelation from Adam. The fact that Seth is chosen as bearer of a revelation from Adam is known from other sources (*Adam and Eve* 25-29; 38,4-5; Epiph. *Pan.* 39.1.3; 2,4-3,1.5; *Steles Seth* [VII,5]118,10-121,17). The preference for Seth apparently stems from the Old Testament tradition. After Cain killed Abel, he was banished from the presence of the Lord (Gen 4:16). His descendants were, therefore, a "rejected" race. Adam's final son, Seth, was born "in his own likeness, after his image" (Gen 5:4), that is, in the likeness and image of God (Gen 1:27).

[65],9

H̄ ЄBOΛ N̄ZHT̄Ӌ . This awkward phrase ([65],9) has posed a problem for translators: Böhlig (97) translated "oder von dem (es stammt)"; Krause (21) "oder (stammt) aus ihm." Beltz (7,1) presumes the expression to be a gloss intended to show that the great race descends from the great Seth. MacRae also regards it as a gloss and translates "or from whom (it comes)." He understands it to be a reference to Seth from whom the great race descended.

It seems better to understand it as a quite literal translation of the Greek *Vorlage*: ὅς ἐστιν ἡ σπορὰ τῆς γενεᾶς μεγάλης ἢ ἐξ αὐτοῦ (see James Hadley and Frederic Allen, [*A Greek Grammar for Schools and Colleges* (rev. ed.; New York: D. Appleton, 1884) 205, 314] for the omission of the verb in the relative clause). Rather than supplying the understood verb in the second relative clause, the Coptic translator simply misunderstood the relative ἢ

289

to be the disjunctive particle ⲏ̄, and trans-
lated very literally, ⲏ̄ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ̄, rather
than ⲧⲏ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ̄ .

[69],11   ⲛ̄ϭⲓ . MacRae, Böhlig (101), Kasser (321) and
                 Beltz (10) all reconstruct ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ .

[69],13   Böhlig (101) and Beltz (10) reconstruct
                 [ⲛ̄ϭⲓ ⲡⲓⲟⲩ]ⲱⲛϩ̄. However, the lacuna will not
                 accommodate more than four letters. The
                 present reconstruction follows MacRae ([65],
                 14).

[69],14   Beltz (10) and Böhlig (101) reconstruct ⲧⲁⲉⲓ .
                 However, because of the masculine pronoun in
                 the relative, it must be ⲡⲁⲉⲓ .

[71],4-8   The meaning of the statement is difficult to
                 grasp. To begin with, it anticipates the
                 arrogance (from the perspective of the great
                 creator) of the great men and their refusal
                 to acknowledge the lordship of the creator.
                 This act actually follows at [71],8-20! The
                 great men are mentioned earlier in the text
                 (see below) in what are identified in this
                 paper as redactional comments and those re-
                 dactional comments simply assume what is here
                 stated. From the perspective of the text, it
                 is confusing. Seth is named after the "man"
                 who is the "seed" from whom the great genera-
                 tion has come ([65],3-9). This great genera-
                 tion is attacked by the creator with the
                 flood ([69],10-17) although no reason is
                 given for the attack (also noted by Beltz
                 [78]). The reason for the attack is not
                 mentioned until later. From the perspective
                 of the redactor, however, there is no confu-
                 sion since he already knows of the conflict
                 that surfaces later.
                      The negative is also confusing. For the
                 text to say, "You will produce no seed of
                 those men who will not stand before me in
                 another glory," means that the seed produced
                 will be of those men who *will* stand before
                 him in another glory! In other words, Noah's
                 descendants will be those that oppose the
                 creator and that will be done by the creator's
                 order. Surely, this is not what one would
                 expect! The confusion is caused by the double
                 negative. To achieve the sense one expects,
                 only one of the clauses should be negated,
                 either the main clause or the relative clause.
                 Thus, for example, the creator would say: "No
                 seed will come from you of those men who dare
                 to stand before me in another glory"; that is,
                 you will not produce men who will disrespect

me or, conversely, you will produce those who
will not disrespect me. But certainly it
should not say: "You will not produce those
who will not disrespect me." The latter is
certainly a contradiction of the intent of
the text. But this is precisely the meaning
of the text when it says: "There shall not
come from you (any) seed of those men who
will not stand before me in another glory."

Beltz has apparently recognized this
problem because he translates the relative
clause as an affirmative without emending the
text or explaining why he translates it as an
affirmative (12,1).

I suggest that the Coptic scribe has
translated his *Vorlage* literally and in so
doing loses its meaning. The *Vorlage* used a
Greek relative clause to express purpose
(Hadley-Allen, *Greek Grammar*, 288). The
Coptic scribe translated the relative faith-
fully but missed the use of the relative
clause to express purpose. His *Vorlage* (τῶν
ἀνθρώπων οἳ μὴ στήσουσιν ἔμπροσθέν μου ἐν
ἑτερῇ δοξῇ) should have been translated with
ϪⲈⲔⲀⲀⲤ and the third future: ϪⲈⲔⲀⲀⲤ
ⲚⲚⲈⲨⲀϨⲈⲢⲀⲦⲞⲨ ⲘⲠⲀⲘⲦⲞ ⲈⲂⲞⲖ ϨⲚ ⲔⲈⲈⲞⲞⲨ. Hence,
the present text ought to be translated:
"That they not stand before me in another
glory."

[76],6-7   The sentence is obscure in its context. For
example, translators are divided on whether a
new sentence begins with ⲀⲖⲖⲀ (so MacRae and
Böhlig) or not (so Beltz, Krause and Kasser),
and most translators have left open the iden-
tification of the subject of the sentence.
Beltz, however, correctly suggests the sub-
ject is probably the angels (121), rather
than the "great men," and connects the sen-
tence with its context.

> The men will become like those angels
> for they (the angels) are not
> strangers to them (the men), but
> they (the angels) work with the
> imperishable seed (the men).

This identification of the men in the A nar-
rative as "the seed" is a concern of the
redactor ([65],3-9; [69],10-17) and the motif
of the angels working with the seed is met
again in the redactor's conclusion ([85],7-9;
[85],14-18).

[76],11   "<Witnesses>." An object of the verb ⲩⲱ ϪⲠⲠ
appears to have been omitted through scribal
error. This observation is suggested by the

translators: MacRae, leave (something) of the
seed; Böhlig (108), er (etwas) von dem Samen
Noahs übriglasse; and Kasser (325), afin
qu'il <fasse> subsister <quelque chose>.   On
the other hand, Krause is not bothered by
what others have sensed as a problem and
translates (26) "damit er übriglasse vom
Samen Noahs," and Beltz translates (17,1),
rather freely, "damit er von dem Samen des
Noah...einen Rest erhalte." Krause's trans-
lation overlooks the problem and Beltz's
translation ignores the text. (Beltz appears
to be translating something like ⲍⲓⲛⲁ ⲭⲉ
ⲉ4ⲕⲱ ⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲩ4ⲱ ⲭⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲍⲙ ⲡⲓⲥⲡⲉⲣⲙⲁ
rather than what actually appears in the
text.) Any emendation is, of course, open to
question, but by following, of what hints one can
observe in the text, the probability of a
given emendation might be increased. Observe
first that the redactor has modelled this
statement on that which immediately follows
in [76],14-15. With the exception of the ob-
ject in the first statement, the form of the
statements reflect a remarkable similarity.

[76],11-13 ⲍⲓⲛⲁ ⲭⲉ ⲉ4ⲉⲩⲱⲭⲧ [   ]
[76],14-15   ⲭⲉ ⲉ4ⲉⲩⲱⲭⲧ ⲛⲁ4 ⲛⲍⲉⲛⲩ⳽ⲏⲛ
ⲛ̄ⲣⲉⲩ† ⲟⲩⲧⲁⲍ

Observe next the problem facing the redactor.
He had just indicated that the great men had
been removed by "divine" intervention and had
been taken to a place of safety "above the
aeons and the rulers of the powers" ([75],
23-27). Presumably by this act he has re-
moved all "knowledge" of the eternal God from
the "world." This interpretation is in fact
suggested by the second statement ([76],14-
15) because the illuminator of knowledge
needs "fruitbearing trees" to continue his
work of illumination. It appears that the
redactor has clarified the source from which
those "disciples" will come: the seed of Noah.
The word omitted is probably something like
ⲍⲉⲛⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ (cf. [71],22). There are natural-
ly other possibilities that would render a
similar meaning.

[81],19   "Satisfied"; understanding ⲧⲱⲧ as a transla-
tion for κεραννύναι; the meaning is literally
"to temper" or "to cool."

[82],18-19   "The desire of these powers." See above p.
54 n. 74.

[83],4-7   The antecedent of the ΝΗ clause ([83],5) has
                  posed a problem to translators. Böhlig (115)
                  has not attempted to clarify the relationship
                  of the clause to its two possible antecedents
                  †ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ and †ϬⲞⲘ. He simply translates the
                  clause in the order that it appears in the
                  text. However, he flags the problem of the
                  antecedent by indicating that his *die* is
                  plural and not the singular feminine. This
                  only emphasizes the difficulty of it refer-
                  ring to either †ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ or †ϬⲞⲘ, which are
                  both singular. Krause (29) also leaves the
                  antecedent of ΝΗ in doubt, translating it in
                  the same order that it appears in the text,
                  but solves the problem of the indefinite *die*
                  by using the plural *diejenigen*. In both in-
                  stances, one cannot be certain whether the
                  positioning of the clause after ϬⲞⲘ is in-
                  tended to indicate that ϬⲞⲘ is the antece-
                  dent or whether the translator is simply
                  following the order of the Coptic text. The
                  same uncertainty is true for Beltz's trans-
                  lation (24,1).
                      Kasser (330) takes the antecedent of ΝΗ
                  to be ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ, inferring a generic use of
                  ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ with a translation *ensemencement* and
                  understanding the ΝΗ clause as "les hommes
                  faisant partie de cette semence (= ensemence-
                  ment)." MacRae implies the same identifica-
                  tion by breaking the Coptic word order and
                  placing the ΝΗ clause after ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ, effec-
                  tively setting it in apposition to "the seed."
                  H.-M. Schenke (col. 33) takes the punctuation
                  mark following †ϬⲞⲘ seriously. Linking it
                  with the obscure statement at [83],6-7
                  (ⲚⲦⲞⲦⲞⲨ ⲦⲎⲢⲞⲨ), he begins a new sentence
                  with the ΝΗ clause and assumes that a line
                  has been lost after ⲀⲨⲰ ([83],7) containing,
                  among other things, the main verb that de-
                  scribed the action of the ΝΗ clause.

                      Diejenigen, die seinen Namen annehmen
                      werden auf dem Wasser und <...werden
                      gerettet werden (?)> vor ihnen allen.

                  Schenke is correct that it is possible to
                  translate the passage as a two-part nominal
                  sentence (Till, §247), and I agree that text
                  has probably been lost following ⲀⲨⲰ. But
                  his solution does not resolve the problem of
                  the antecedent of ΝΗ. It could still be
                  either ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ or ϬⲞⲘ. It is more likely
                  that the antecedent is ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ since ⲤⲠⲞⲢⲀ,
                  although singular, can also be conceived
                  generically. In [83],4, the redactor writes
                  "the seed" in the singular but in the latter
                  instance ([83],5) he conceives of "the seed"

as all those who make up the group identified
as "the seed" (cf. [85],22). Had Ϭⲟⲙ been
intended as the antecedent, one would have
expected Ⲛ̄Ϭⲟⲙ, since Ϭⲟⲙ has not been used
generically in the text. Ϭⲟⲙ is used as
another word for strength and to describe the
semi-divine associates of the demiurge, and
in the latter instance it is never used gen-
erically. Unfortunately, this does not re-
solve the problem. If ⲤⲠⲞⲣⲁ is to be iden-
tified as "those who receive his name upon
the water," one must explain this sudden pro-
baptism motif on the part of the redactor.
In other sections, the redactor has shown a
marked anti-baptism bias (cf. [82],18-19;
[84],4-8; [85],22-31).

The simplest solution that seems to fit
the situation is to assume that haplography
has occurred. Some scribe simply failed to
transcribe the genitival Ⲛ̄ when he was writ-
ing Ⲛ̄ⲚⲎ. A later scribe, noting the confu-
sion created by the loss of Ⲛ̄, could have
easily supplied the sentence divider.

[83],5   "The power <of> those." The text reads
                  ϯϬⲟⲙ· ⲚⲎ.

[84],5-6   "Micheu, Michar, Mnesinous." In the Bruce
                  Codex (f. 136^V, 18-21) and *Zost*. ([VIII,*1*]
                  6,8-17), Michar and Micheu are listed without
                  Mnesinous as "the powers who are over the
                  living water." In *Zost*. (VIII 47,4), Mnesi-
                  nous also appears, but as a "keeper of the
                  immortal soul." In *Gos*. *Eg*. (III,*2*)64,14-20
                  = (IV,*2*)76,2-10, the three names are found
                  together as "they who preside over the spring
                  of truth." At the same location, Micheu and
                  Michar are also called: "they who preside
                  over the gates of the waters." The Bruce
                  Codex seems to conflate both of these titles
                  given to Michar and Micheu in *Zost*. and *Gos*.
                  Eg. It reads (136^V, 15-21):

                       And in that place were powers
                       appointed over the Source (πηγή) of
                       the Living Waters (*sic*!) which
                       straightway(?) were brought forth.
                       These are the names of the Powers
                       which are over the Living Water:
                       Michar and Micheu. (Baynes, *A Cop-
                       tic Gnostic Treatise*, 180)

                  In *Trim*. *Prot*. (XIII,*2**)48,18-21, they are
                  called "the baptists" who immerse in the
                  "spring of the water of life" (cf. XIII 45,
                  17-18).

[84],11   ⲈⲨⲚ ⲚⲞⲨⲞⲕ] ([84],11). One wonders why the
                   Coptic translator did not use ⲈⲨⲚⲦⲞⲨ
                   ⲚⲚⲞⲨⲞⲤ .

[84],11-12   H.-M. Schenke (col. 34) is correct in identi-
                   fying ⲦⲈ as an Achmimic qualitative of ϯ .

[84],14   "You are <not> full." All other translators
                   leave ⲀⲚ as it appears in the text and under-
                   stand the negative ⲀⲚ to negate the converted
                   (circumstantial) nominal sentence: ⲈⲚⲀ ⲦⲨⲈ
                   ⲀⲚ ⲚⲈ ([84],15). However, the result is less
                   than satisfactory when the adversative con-
                   junction ⲀⲖⲖⲀ puts the following sentence in
                   contrast to the statement: "You are full of
                   works which do not belong to truth, but your
                   ways are full of pleasure and merriment."
                   What is the contrast? The first sentence
                   asserts, "You are full of untruthful works,"
                   and the second sentence asserts, "Your ways
                   are full of pleasure and merriment." The
                   usual form of contrast is to oppose a nega-
                   tive statement with an affirmative, but here
                   we have two unnegated statements. It is true
                   that in a contrast the negative statement can
                   be an unnegated statement, but it must be
                   negative or critical in thrust; for example:

                        You are a beautiful woman (affirma-
                        tive), but today you look horrible
                        (a negative [critical] statement
                        although affirmative in form).

                   If one tries to understand the present text
                   in that way, the first statement must be the
                   negative assertation: "You are full of un-
                   truthful works." The second statement is
                   forced into the role of positive assertion as
                   follows:

                        You are full of untruthful works
                        (and that's bad), but your ways are
                        full of pleasure and merriment (and
                        that's good).

                   This makes a good contrast, but unfortunately
                   seems to violate the intent of the text. It
                   is not clear that the "voice" would be paying
                   a compliment to Micheu, Michar and Mnesinous.
                   However, if the ⲀⲚ could negate the entire
                   first sentence, the problem is resolved.
                   There is a good contrast between "not being
                   full of truthful works, but being full of
                   pleasure." Till reports (§403) that the
                   negative ⲀⲚ floats rather freely with re-
                   spect to its position in the sentence. Thus,
                   it could come immediately after the verb or
                   at the end of the sentence (cf. [84],23-25).

In this case, like [84],23-25, it comes at
the end of the sentence, but unlike [84],23-
25, the sentence ends with a converted (cir-
cumstantial) nominal sentence. In every ex-
ample I have seen of a negated nominal sen-
tence, when the ⲁⲛ comes at the end of the
sentence, it always comes before the demon-
strative; cf. Till, §403; C. C. Walters, *An
Elementary Coptic Grammar of the Sahidic
Dialect* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972) §47; cf.
2 Apoc. Jas. (V,4)[53],14; [55],15; 58,2;
61,10; and in the present tractate: [65],18;
[65],30; [76],6. What has apparently hap-
pened is that the scribe simply followed the
normal procedure of following the negative ⲁⲛ
by the demonstrative, although he intended it
to negate the entire sentence. Therefore I
have emended the text in the interest of
correcting what appears to be a scribal error.
However, I have not placed the negative ⲁⲛ
at the end of the sentence, since this posi-
tion is excluded because of the demonstrative,
but I have placed it before the converted
circumstantial clause in order to negate the
main sentence. Another possibility for clear-
ing up the confusion is that the scribe has
incorrectly written ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ([84],16) for ⲁⲣⲱ .
This correction would render a good sense to
the text.

> You are full of works which do not
> belong to truth <and> your ways are
> full of pleasure and merriment.

[84],19   "Within," i.e., "under the control of."

[84],23-24   ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲉⲉⲧⲉ . Text reads ⲙⲡⲉ{ⲡⲉ}ⲧⲛ̄ⲙⲉⲉⲧⲉ .
                 MacRae suggests that the error can be attrib-
                 uted to the negative ⲁⲛ being so far from
                 the verb that the scribe was led to think of
                 a 1st perfect negative.

[84],24   What appears to be writing above ⲙ̄ⲡⲁ ([84],
                 24) is blotting from ϯ in ϯⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ ([85],26).

[84],27   Following the reconstruction of Beltz (25).

[84],28   Contrary to Beltz's assumption (25), [84],28
                 seems to be the last line of the page on the
                 basis of profile with p. [85].

[85],5   The scribe has changed ⲉ̄ⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ to ⲉ̄ⲓⲧⲟⲩ
                 by marking out ⲧⲟⲟ with supralinear dots.
                 The translation "have not been gathered"
                 understands ⲉ̄ⲓⲧⲟⲩ to be a translation of
                 συνάγειν. MacRae understands the *Vorlage* to
                 read ἐπιβάλλειν. ⲙ̄ⲡⲟⲩⲉ̄ⲓⲧⲟⲟⲧⲟⲩ, the word

first written by the scribe, would be trans-
lated as: "They did not have hand laid to
them." The difference between "not gathered
into the book" and "not written" is not
clear. One would expect that "being gathered
into the book" would be an equivalent of
"being written."

[85],10-11   "Upon a mountain, upon a rock." Josephus
reports that the Sethians preserved their
traditions by inscribing them on two pillars:
one of brick and the other of stone. If the
brick pillar were destroyed in the great
flood predicted by Adam, the pillar of stone
would remain (*Ant*. 1.70-71). In *Adam and Eve*
50,1-2, Seth is instructed to make tables of
stone and others of clay containing the rev-
elations of Adam and Eve. Should the earth
be destroyed by water, the tables of clay
would be dissolved, but those of stone would
be preserved. Should the earth be destroyed
by fire, the tables of stone would be broken
up, but the tables of clay would be baked
hard and thereby preserved (cf. Joseph. *Ant*.
1.115-116). The motif of preservation upon a
mountain is known elsewhere in the Nag Ham-
madi Library: *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)68,1-26;
Allogenes (XI,*2*)72,1-6. The title: "The
Three Steles of Seth" (VII,*5*) should also be
noted in this respect. See also *Jub*. 8:3 and
Zost. (VIII,*1*)130,1-4. Cf. W. Bousset, "Die
Beziehungen der ältesten jüdischen Sibylle
zur chaldäischen Sibylle und einige weitere
Beobachtungen über den synkretistischen
Charakter der spätjüdischen Literatur," *ZNW* 3
(1902) 23-49. See also the Greek *Life of*
Pachomius, §126.

[85],17-18   ⟨N̄⟩ψ λ ΕΝΕ2. MacRae suggests the emendation
in a footnote. Cf. [64],15-16; [75],8; [76],
27; [85],15. It is also possible to take
ψλ ΕΝΕ2 as an adverb, but it is somewhat
awkward since it is separated so far from the
verbal element (ϹΟΟΥΝ, [85],14).

[85],18   "He knows everything," i.e., the eternal God.

[85],18   ‡ See [85],19 in source A above, pp. 240-41.

[85],22-26   Knowledge as baptism: *Paraph. Shem* (VII,*1*)
30,21-27; 31,14-19; 37,19-35; *Testim. Truth*
(IX,*3*)69,15-28.

[85],30   "Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekeus." The names
appear in *Zost*. (VIII,*1*)47,5-6 as "the living
spirits." In *Gos. Eg.* (III,*2*)66,10-12 (=
[IV,*2*]78,10-16), they appear in an ecstatic
chant.

> Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekeus,
> O living water, O child of the
> child, O glorious name.

They are also called "the great attendant,
Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekeus, the living
water (sing.)"; cf. *Gos*. *Eg*. (III,*2*)64,9-12
(= [IV,*2*]75,24-27, where they are referred to
in the plural as "the great attendants"). The
name Mazareus appears at *Zost*. (VIII,*1*)57,5-6.

[85],13   "[The Living Water]." As reconstructed by
Beltz (26) and MacRae on the basis of *Gos*.
Eg. (III,*2*)64,10-11.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, A. *Texte zum Manichäismus*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1954.

Allberry, C. R. C. *A Manichaean Psalm Book*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938.

Altaner, Berthold. *Patrology*. Trans. Hilda Graef from the 5th German ed. New York: Herder and Herder, 1960.

Anderson, B. W. "Water." Pp. 806-10 in *Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible*. Vol. 4. Ed. George A. Buttrick, et al. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.

Atkinson, James. "The Sháh Námeh by Firdusi." Pp. 3-338 in *Persian and Japanese Literature*. Rev. ed. 2 vols. New York: Colonial Press, 1900.

Baltzer, Klaus. *The Covenant Formulary in Old Testament, Jewish and Early Christian Writings*. Trans. David Green. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971.

Bauer, Walter. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Trans. William F. Arndt and F. William Gingrich. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957.

Baynes, Charlotte. *A Coptic Gnostic Treatise contained in the Codex Brucianus*. Cambridge: University Press, 1933.

Beltz, Walter. "Die Adam-Apokalypse aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi: Jüdische Bausteine in gnostischen Systemen." Dr. Theol. dissertation; Berlin: Humboldt-Universität, 1970.

_____. "Bemerkungen zur Adamapokalypse aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex V." Pp. 159-63 in *Studia Coptica*. Ed. Peter Nagel. Berlin: Akademie, 1974.

_____ with P. L. Márton. "A gnósiz-Kutatás jelenlegi állása. Az Adám-Apokalipszis a Nag Hamadiban talált V. Codexben." *Theologiai Szemle* 12 (1969) 266-70.

_____. "NHC V, 5/p.64,1-85,32: Die Apokalypse des Adams (ApocAd)." Pp. 46-47 in *Gnosis und Neues Testament*. Ed. Karl-Wolfgang Tröger. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973.

Bianchi, Ugo (ed.). *Le origini dello gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina 13-18 Aprile 1966; Testi e discussioni*. Supplement to *Numen* 12. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.

Böhlig, Alexander, and Labib, Pahor. *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*. Halle-Wittenberg: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität, 1963.

Böhlig, Alexander, and Wisse, Frederik. *The Gospel of the Egyptians: The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975.

Böhlig, Alexander. "Die Adamapokalypse aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi als Zeugnis jüdisch-iranischer Gnosis." *OrChr* 48 (1964) 44-49.

_____. "Jüdisches und iranisches in der Adamapokalypse des Codex V von Nag Hammadi." Pp. 149-61 in *Mysterion und Wahrheit: Gesammelte Beiträge zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968.

Bonnet, Maximilianus (ed.). *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha.* 2 vols. in 3. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1959.

Bousset, Wilhelm. *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907.

_____. "Die Beziehungen der ältesten jüdischen Sibylle zur chaldäischen Sibylle und einige weitere Beobachtungen über den synkretistischen Charakter der spätjüdischen Literatur." *ZNW* 3 (1902) 23-49.

_____. "Gnosis." Col. 1535 in *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Vol. 7.2. Ed. A. F. Pauly, G. Wissova, and W. Kroll. 24 vols. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1893-1972.

_____. *Kurios Christos.* Trans. John Steely from the German 5th ed. Nashville: Abingdon, 1970.

Bowman, John. *The Samaritan Problem: Studies in the Relationships of Samaritanism, Judaism, and Early Christianity.* Trans. A. M. Johnson, Jr. Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1975.

Bultmann, Rudolf. "Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis der Johannesevangeliums." *ZNW* 24 (1925) 100-46.

Buttrick, George A. et al. (eds.). *Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible.* 4 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.

Charles, R. H. *Ascension of Isaiah.* London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917.

_____. *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.* 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913.

Ciasca, Augustini. *Sacrorum bibliorum fragmenta Copto-Sahidica Musei Borgiani.* 2 vols. Rome: Typis eiusdem s. congregationis, 1885.

Colpe, Carsten. *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule: Darstellung und Kritik ihres Bildes vom gnostischen Erlösermythes.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961.

Cross, F. L., and Livingston, E. A. (eds.). *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. 2nd ed. London: Oxford University, 1974.

Crum, Walter. *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1939.

Cullmann, Oscar. *The Earliest Christian Confessions*. Trans. J. K. S. Reid. London: Lutterworth, 1949.

Daniélou, Jean. "Histoire des Origines Chretiennes." *RSR* 54 (1966) 285-93.

Dibelius, Martin. *From Tradition to Gospel*. Trans. B. L. Woolf. 2nd ed. rev. New York: Scribner's, n.d.

Doresse, Jean. "'Le Livre sacré du grand Espirit invisible' ou 'L'Evangile des Egyptiens': Texte copte édité, traduit et commenté d'après la Codex I de Nag'a-Hammadi/ Khénoboskion: II. Commentaire." *JA* 256 (1968[1971]) 289-386.

_____. *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics: An Introduction to the Gnostic Coptic Manuscripts discovered at Chenoboskion*. Trans. P. Mairet. New York: Viking, 1960.

Eliade, Mircea. *Patterns in Comparative Religion*. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958.

Fischer, Karl Martin. "Der Gedanke unserer grossen Kraft (Noēma): Die vierte Schrift aus Nag Hammadi - Codex VI." *TLZ* 98 (1973) cols. 169-75.

Foerster, Werner (ed.). *Gnosis*. Trans. and ed. R. McL. Wilson. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1972-1974.

_____. *Gnosis*. 2 vols. Zurich: Artemis, 1971.

Frazier, J. G. (ed.). *Apollodorus: The Library*. 2 vols. In the Loeb Classical Library. New York: Putnam's, 1921.

Fuller, Reginald. *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*. New York: Scribner's, 1965.

Goedicke, Hans. "An Unexpected Allusion to the Vesuvius Eruption in 79 A.D." *American Journal of Philology* 90 (1969) 340-41.

Haardt, R. "Böhlig, Alexander und Labib, Pahor, Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo." *WZKM* 61 (1967) 153-59.

Hadley, James and Allen, Frederic. *A Greek Grammar for Schools and Colleges*. Rev. ed. New York: Appleton, 1884.

Hammond, N. G. L. and Scullard, H. H. (eds.). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1970.

Hanson, R. P. C. *Tradition in the Early Church*. Philadelphia:
    Westminster, 1962.

Harnack, Adolf. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*.
    2 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904.

Harris, James. *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv in Syriac
    and English*. 5 vols. Cambridge: University Press, 1911-
    1916.

Hatch, Edwin and Redpath, Henry A. (eds.). *A Concordance to
    the Septuagint*. 2 vols. Graz: Akademischer Druck-V.,
    1954.

Hedrick, C. W. "The Apocalypse of Adam: A Literary and Source
    Analysis." Pp. 581-90 in *The Society of Biblical Litera-
    ture One Hundred Eighth Annual Meeting Book of Seminar
    Papers*. Vol. 2. Ed. Lane C. McGaughy. Missoula, MT:
    Society of Biblical Literature, 1972.

Heinisch, Paul. *Theology of the Old Testament*. Trans. William
    G. Heidt. St. Paul: North Central Publishing, 1955.

Hengel, Martin. *Judaism and Hellenism*. Trans. John Bowden.
    2 vols. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974.

Hennecke, Edgar and Schneemelcher, Wilhelm (eds.). *New Testa-
    ment Apocrypha*. Trans. and ed. R. McL. Wilson et al.
    2 vols. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959-1964.

Holl, Karl (ed.). *Die Griechischen Schriftsteller der ersten
    drei Jahrhunderte*. 3 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915-1933.

"Instructions for Contributors." *JBL* 95 (1976) 330-46.

Jackson, A. V. Williams. *Researches in Manichaeism*. New York:
    Columbia University, 1932.

_____. *Zoroaster: The Prophet of Ancient Iran*. New York:
    MacMillan, 1901.

Jonas, Hans. *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*. 2nd ed.
    Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955.

_____. *The Gnostic Religion*. 2nd ed. rev. Boston: Beacon
    Hill, 1963.

Kasser, Rodolphe. "Bibliothèque gnostique V: Apocalypse
    d'Adam." *RTP* 17 (1967) 316-33.

_____. "Böhlig, Alexander und Labib, Pahor, Koptisch-
    gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im
    Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo." *BO* 22 (1965) 163-64.

_____. "Textes gnostiques: Nouvelles remarques à propos de
    Apocalypses de Paul, Jacques et Adam." *Le Muséon* 78
    (1965) 299-306.

Kasser, Rodolphe. "Textes gnostiques: Remarques à propos des éditions récentes du Livre secret de Jean et des Apocalypses de Paul, Jacques et Adam." *Le Muséon* 78 (1965) 71-98.

Kelly, J. N. D. *Early Christian Doctrines*. 2nd ed. New York: Harper and Row, 1960.

Kittel, G. and Friedrich, G. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Trans. and ed. G. W. Bromiley. 9 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-1974.

Klijn, A. F. J. *Seth in Jewish, Christian and Gnostic Literature*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977.

_____. *The Acts of Thomas*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962.

Krause, Martin. "The Apocalypse of Adam." Pp. 13-23 in *Gnosis*. Vol. 2. Ed. Werner Foerster. Oxford: Clarendon, 1974.

_____ (ed.). *Gnosis und Gnosticism*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977.

_____. "Der Stand der Veröffentlichung der Nag Hammadi Texte." Pp. 66-88 in *Le origini dello gnosticismo*. Ed. Ugo Bianchi. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.

_____, and Labib, Pahor (eds.). *Die drei Versionen des Apocryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Koptische Reihe 1. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1962.

Kuhn, H.; Schnackenburg, R.; and Huber, C. "Logos." Cols. 1119-28 in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 6. Ed. Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner. 10 vols. 2nd ed. rev. Freiburg: Herder, 1957-1965.

Kümmel, Werner Georg. *Introduction to the New Testament*. Trans. Howard Clark Kee. Nashville/New York: Abingdon, 1975.

Lake, Kirsopp. *Eusebius: The Ecclesiastical History*. 2 vols. In the Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann, 1965.

Lampe, G. W. H. (ed.). *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.

Liddell, H. G. and Scott, R. A. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Rev. and aug. H. S. Jones and Roderick McKenzie. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.

Lidzbarski, Mark. *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1915.

_____. *Ginza: Der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925.

Luzarraga, J. *Las tradiciones de la nube en la biblia y en el judaísmo*. Rome: Biblical Institute, 1973.

McCowan, C. C. *Testament of Solomon*. Chicago: University
     Press, 1915.

MacDermot, Violet. *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in
     the Bruce Codex*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.

_____. *Pistis Sophia*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.

MacRae, George. "The Apocalypse of Adam." Pp. 256-64 in *The
     Nag Hammadi Library in English*. Ed. James M. Robinson.
     San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1977.

_____. "The Apocalypse of Adam." Pp. 151-95 in *Nag
     Hammadi Codices V,2-5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis
     8502, 1 and 4*. Ed. Douglas M. Parrott. Leiden: E. J.
     Brill, 1978.

_____. "The Apocalypse of Adam Reconsidered." Pp. 573-77
     in *The Society of Biblical Literature One Hundred Eighth
     Annual Meeting Book of Seminar Papers*. Vol. 2. Ed. Lane
     C. McGaughy. Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Litera-
     ture, 1972.

_____. "The Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam." *HeyJ* 6
     (1965) 27-35.

_____. "Sleep and Awakening in Gnostic Texts." Pp. 496-
     507 in *Le origini dello gnosticismo*. Ed. Ugo Bianchi.
     Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.

Marxsen, Willi. *Introduction to the New Testament*. Trans.
     G. Buswell. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1968.

Morard, Françoise. "L'*Apocalypse d'Adam* de Nag-Hammadi: un
     essai d'interpretation." Pp. 35-42 in *Gnosis und Gnosti-
     cism*. Ed. Martin Krause. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977.

_____. "L'*Apocalypse d'Adam* du Codex V de Nag Hammadi et sa
     polémique anti-baptismale." *RevScRel* 51 (1977) 214-33.

Morenz, Siegfried and Schubert, Johannes. *Der Gott auf der
     Blume*. Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1954.

Müller, F. Max (ed.). *Sacred Books of the East*. Trans. James
     Darmesteter. 2nd ed. 50 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1879-
     1910.

Nagel, Peter. "Marginalia Coptica." *Wissenschaftliche Zeit-
     schrift der Martin-Luther-Universität* 20 (1973) 111-15.

Nock, A. D. and Festugière, A.-J. *Corpus Hermeticum*. 4 vols.
     Paris: Société d'édition, Les Belles Lettres, 1945.

Nyberg, H. S. *Die Religion des Alten Iran*. Leipzig: Hinrichs,
     1938.

Orbe, A.   "Alexander Böhlig und Pahor Labib, Koptisch-
      gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im
      Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo." *Greg* 46 (1965) 170-72.

Parrott, Douglas M. (ed.). *Nag Hammadi Codices V,2-5 and VI
      with Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 1 and 4*. Leiden: E. J.
      Brill, 1978.

Pearson, Birger A. "Jewish Haggadic Traditions in *The Testi-
      mony of Truth* from Nag Hammadi (CG IX,3)." Pp. 452-70 in
      Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren. Supplement to
      Numen 21. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972.

Perkins, Pheme. "Apocalypse of Adam: The Genre and Function of
      a Gnostic Apocalypse." *CBQ* 39 (1977) 382-95.

_____. "Apocalyptic Schematization in the Apocalypse of
      Adam and the Gospel of the Egyptians." Pp. 591-95 in *The
      Society of Biblical Literature One Hundred Eighth Annual
      Meeting Book of Seminar Papers*. Vol. 2. Ed. Lane C.
      McGaughy. Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature,
      1972.

_____. "Gnostic Periodization of Revelation and the
      Apocryphon of John." Paper presented to the Nag Hammadi
      section of the Society of Biblical Literature, 1970
      (mimeo).

Polotsky, H. J. (ed.). *Manichäische Homilien*. Stuttgart:
      Kohlhammer, 1934.

Pope, M. H. "Number." Pp. 564-66 in *Interpreters Dictionary
      of the Bible*, vol. 3. Ed. G. A. Buttrick, et al. 4 vols.
      Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.

Puech, H.-Ch. "Archontiker." Cols. 634-43 in *Reallexikon für
      Antike und Christentum*, vol. 1. Ed. Theodore Klauser.
      8 vols. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950-.

Quasten, Johannes. *Patrology*. 2 vols. Utrecht/Antwerp:
      Spectrum, 1953.

Robinson, James M. *Introduction to the Facsimile Edition of
      the Nag Hammadi Codices*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972.

_____. "Logoi Sophon." Pp. 71-113 in *Trajectories through
      Early Christianity* by James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester.
      Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971.

_____. "On the *Gattung* of Mark (and John)." Pp. 99-129 in
      Jesus and Man's Hope, vol. 1. Ed. D. G. Buttrick.
      2 vols. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 1970.

[_____.] "The Coptic Gnostic Library." Pp. 81-85 in *Essays
      on the Coptic Gnostic Library*. Offprint Novum Testamentum
      12.2. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970.

Robinson, James M.(ed.). *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Codex V.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975.

_____ (gen. ed.). *The Nag Hammadi Library in English.* San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1977.

Robinson, Stephen E. "The Apocalypse of Adam." *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (1977) 131-53.

Rohde, Joachim. *Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists.* Trans. D. M. Barton. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1968.

Rudolph, Kurt. "Böhlig, Alexander und Pahor Labib: Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo." *TLZ* 90 (1965) cols. 361-62.

_____. "Gnosis und Gnostizismus, ein Forschungsbericht." *TRu* 34 (1969) 160-69.

Russell, D. S. *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic.* Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964.

Sabourin, Leopold. "The Biblical Cloud: Terminology and Traditions." *BTB* 4 (1974) 290-311.

Sanders, Jack T. *The New Testament Christological Hymns: Their Historical Religious Background.* Cambridge: University Press, 1971.

Sanders, J. N. "The Word." Pp. 868-72 in *Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible.* Vol. 4. Ed. George A. Buttrick, et al. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.

Sandmel, Samuel. "Parallelomania." *JBL* 81 (1962) 1-13.

Schenke, Gesine. "Die dreigestaltige Protennoia." *TLZ* 99 (1974) cols. 731-46.

Schenke, Hans-Martin. "Alexander Böhlig und Pahor Labib, Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo." *OLZ* 61 (1966) cols. 23-34.

_____. "Das sethianische System nach Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften." Pp. 165-73 in *Studia Coptica.* Ed. Peter Nagel. Berlin: Akademie, 1974.

_____. *Die gnostischen Schriften des Koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502.* Berlin: Akademie, 1972.

_____. "Zum Gegenwärtigen Stand der Erforschung der Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften." Pp. 124-35 in *Koptologische Studien in der DDR: Zusammengestellt und herausgegeben vom Institut für Byzantinistik der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg.* Halle-Wittenberg: Martin-Luther-Universität, 1965.

Schmidt, Carl. *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften; Erster Band: Die Pistis Sophia. Die beiden Bücher des Jeû, Unbekanntes alt-gnostisches Werk.* 3rd ed. Ed. Walter Till. Berlin: Akademie, 1962.

Schottroff, Luise. "Animae naturalitur salvandae. Zum Problem der himmlischen Herkunft des Gnostikers." Pp. 68-83 in *Christentum und Gnosis.* BZNW 37. Ed. Walther Eltester. Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1969.

Schwab, Moïse. *Vocabulaire de l'angelologie, d'après les manu-scrits hebreux de la Bibliothèque nationale.* Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1:2. Paris: Klincksieck, 1897.

Scott, Walter. *Hermetica.* 4 vols. London: Dawsons, 1924-1936.

Seston, W. "De l'authenticité et la date de l'édit de Dioclé-tien contre des Manichéens." *Mélanges de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes offerts à Alfred Ernout.* Paris: Klincksieck, 1940.

Sister, Moses. "Die Typen der prophetischen Visionen in der Bibel." *Wissenschaft des Judentums* 78 (1934) 399-430.

Stone, Michael. "The Death of Adam--An Armenian Adam Book." *HTR* 59 (1966) 283-91.

Strack, H. L. and Billerbeck, Paul. *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch.* 5th ed. 4 vols. in 5. München: C. H. Beck, 1969.

Tardieu, Michel. *Trois mythes gnostiques: Adam, Eros et les animaux d'Egypt dans un écrit de Nag Hammadi (II,5).* Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1974.

Thackery, H. St. J. *Josephus.* 8 vols. In the Loeb Classical Library. London: William Heinemann, 1930.

Thomas, Joseph. *Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie.* Gembloux: J. Duclot, 1935.

Till, Walter. *Koptische Dialektgrammatik.* München: C. H. Beck, 1961.

_____. *Koptische Grammatik: Sahidic Dialect.* 3rd ed. rev. Leipzig: VEB Verlag, 1966.

Tisserant, Eugene. *Ascension d'Isaie.* Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1909.

Tröger, Karl-Wolfgang (ed.). *Gnosis und Neues Testament.* Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1973.

Vermes, Geza. *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961.

Walters, C. C. *An Elementary Coptic Grammar of the Sahidic Dialect*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1972.

Westermann, Claus. "Sinn und Grenze religionsgeschichtlicher Parallelen." *TLZ* 90 (1965) cols. 489-96.

Wevers, J. W. "Septuagint." Pp. 273-78 in *Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible*. Vol. 4. Ed. George A. Buttrick et al. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962.

Widengren, Geo. *Die Religionen Irans*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1965.

_____. *Mani and Manichaeism*. Trans. Charles Kessler. New York/Chicago/San Francisco: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

Wisse, Frederik. "The Nag Hammadi Library and the Heresiologists." *VC* 25 (1971) 205-23.

Wright, A. G. *The Literary Genre: Midrash*. New York: Alba House, 1967.

Hedrick, Charles W.
    The apocalypse of Adam : a literary
and source analysis / Charles W.
Hedrick. -- Missoula, MT. : Scholars
Press, 1980, c1979.
    xv, 308 p. ; 22 cm. -- (Dissertation
series - Society of Biblical Literature
; no. 46 ISSN 0145-2770)
    Bibliography: p. 299-308.

    1. Apocalypse of Adam.
2. Gnosticism.   I. Title   II. Series:
Society of Biblical Literature.
Dissertation series ; no. 46.