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THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM
NAG HAMMADI CODEX V,5
CONSIDERED FROM ITS EGYPTIAN BACKGROUND

Per-Arne Linder
Divinus autem cultus consistit
vel in recipiendo aliqua divina
vel in tradendo aliis.

(Summa Theologiae, Tertia Pars q. 63 a.2)
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NAG HAMMADI CODEX V,5
CONSIDERED FROM ITS EGYPTIAN
BACKGROUND

av
Per-Arne Linder

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This thesis is a consideration of the Egyptian background of the Apocalypse of Adam, Nag Hammadi Codex V,5. Part I contains a presentation of the text: A new edition with all meaningful reconstructions which are highly probable, all signs as various superlinear strokes, the nomina sacra-lines and the peculiar $J$-signs, and finally all different punctuations and a new translation of the text which elucidates some obscure sections. Finally the presentation of the text contains a section with the most important words which pose some new questions, such as if the text can be considered as a baptismal text in a cultic context. Part II is a metrical analysis of the hymnic section in ApocAd. The analysis shows that the hymn was sung in its Coptic version which confirms the cultic context of the text. Part III contains some more remarks on the hymnic section but first of all a consideration of the conclusion of the apocalypse. This consideration together with the analysis of the hymnic section poses the question if the Sitz im Leben of ApocAd or the way in which ApocAd was illuminating actually was ritual, if the Sitz im Leben of ApocAd is to be understood in the Egyptian tradition which is dramatic and ritual. Part IV finally is a comparative research of ApocAd and some ancient Egyptian texts. This comparative research shows that the structure of ApocAd is very similar to ancient Egyptian dramatic texts. It is consequently possible that ApocAd is a Coptic Gnostic baptismal cultic drama and it is unlikely that the purpose of the Coptic ApocAd only was to illuminate the reader through reading the text. ApocAd seems to be a traditional Egyptian ritual text. These considerations make the text comprehensible in its Egyptian milieu. This Egyptian mode of comprehending the text is presented in the conclusion.
The Mediterranean Sea

Alexandria

Memphis

Fayum

UPPER EGYPT

Oxyrhynchos

Achmim

Nag Hammadi

Abydos

Ramesseum

The first cataract

Edfu

Philae

Abu Simbel

Luxor (Thebes)

Bubastis

LOWER EGYPT

The Red Sea
ABSTRACT
The Apocalypse of Adam
Nag Hammadi Codex V.5
Considered from its Egyptian background
Per-Arne Linder
(Lund Studies in African and Asian Religions: Vol. 7)

## CONTENTS

### Preface

#### I Presentation of the text.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Coptic language</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to the translation</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation from Coptic and an edition of NHC V,5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important words</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The structure of the text</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Briefly concerning the literary form of the Apocalypse of Adam</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper names in the Apocalypse of Adam</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Apocalypse of Adam in relation to Genesis</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Apocalypse of Adam in relation to the New Testament</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion of Part I</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### II The hymnic section, NHC V,5 77:27-83:4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The prelude to the hymnic section NHC V.5 76:8-77:26</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The hymnic section</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language and dating</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coptic poetry</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A metrical analysis of the hymnic section in the Apocalypse of Adam</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments on the metrical analysis</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions from the metrical analysis</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erman and Fecht on ancient Egyptian (as distinct from Coptic) poetry</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The structure of the hymnic section</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of water in the hymn</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The context of the hymn</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion of Part II</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III The conclusion of the Apocalypse of Adam, NHC V,5 85:19-32

The text 112
Further remarks about the hymnic section 112
The metre in the conclusion of the Apocalypse of Adam 114
The analysis of Coptic poetry 1897 by Adolf Erman 115
Nomina sacra 117
The Apocalypse of Adam and the Gospel of the Egyptians 118
Myth and rite in Egypt 121
Conclusion of Part III 123

IV Comparative research within Egypt

Religions in Egypt during the first centuries and at the time of the translation of the Apocalypse of Adam 125
Egyptian influence on the structure of ApocAd 126
The Egyptian background of Χωρήν et οὐρανός 128
Concerning dramatic cult in Egypt generally 132
An analysis by K. Sethe of a Middle Egyptian dramatic text 133
"Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien" 135
Parallels between the Ramesseum-papyrus and "Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien" 137
"Tote" in the Apocalypse of Adam 138
The structure of the Apocalypse of Adam 138
Conclusion of Part IV 145

Summary 146

Conclusion 149

Abbreviations 152

Bibliography 153

Appendix 161
PREFACE

This thesis concerning the Egyptian background of the so-called Apocalypse of Adam does not claim to be a complete presentation of the text and of previous research. It first of all considers issues which might be relevant for the consideration of the Egyptian background.

When the plan of the present work grew out of my first contact with The Nag Hammadi Library in English by James M. Robinson, little more was intended than to present the Apocalypse of Adam in Swedish, its mythology and theology and to do a short comparative study.

However, out of my studies in the Coptic language under the guidance of Dr. Bo Frid at the University of Lund an increasing interest of the ancient Egyptian influence on the Nag Hammadi texts developed. It is this issue part II-IV of the thesis deal with from different aspects after the edition, translation and presentation of the text in part I. Prof. Tord Olsson at the University of Lund gave me encouragement and confidence to consider the text in this rather original way. Without his guidance, scholarly assistance, criticism and encouragement this work would never had been completed.

The final formulation of the thesis I owe a dept of gratitude to Sr. Mary Patricia OSsS at the Birgittine Monastery of Vadstena.

There is still much more to be done in this field but I have chosen to present my work at this stage, because I think it is of considerable value to make the text available to other scholars and maybe inspire others to continue where I stopped.

Haga. Ödeshög. December 1991
I. PRESENTATION OF THE TEXT

Introduction

The Apocalypse of Adam (ApocAd) is a Coptic text which is a part of a collection of manuscripts (MSS) which were found in about 1947 in Upper Egypt in the region of Nag Hammadi near the ancient Chenoboskion. The text will be considered from its Egyptian background.

The collection of manuscripts consists of thirteen codices (52 tractates, ca 1000 pages). ApocAd is a part of Codex V. The complete collection of texts is named the Nag Hammadi Library or Nag Hammadi Codices.

Scholars have had a long wait for the texts because of dramatic events such as the revolution in Egypt 1952 and the Suez Canal crisis 1956. A complete edition of the texts became available first in the 1980's. The time has come for scholars of philology and comparative religion to start their work of analysing the texts.

In contrast to the Qumran scrolls there are no archaeological discoveries in connection with the Nag Hammadi discovery. We cannot say how or by whom the texts have been used. Nor can we say by whom or why the collection of texts has been buried near by the Nile were it was found.

The starting point of our research is consequently not the best. There are simply two facts that we may consider with confidence:

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1 The MSS are preserved at the Coptic Museum in Cairo. They are now published in facsimile: "Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices". When there is reference to the MS of Codex V it is always this facsimile edition which is intended. It might be mentioned that the disintegration of the MSS have continued even after that they were collected at the Coptic Museum. Jean Doresse who together with Togo Mina was the first scholar who studied the MSS was obviously able to read more than is possible today. The value of the facsimile edition is of course first of all that the texts now are available for scholars all over the world but also that the texts are preserved as they were when they were glazed.

2 The exact place of the discovery has not been found again. Therefore all connections between discoveries in the caves of hermits with the Nag Hammadi texts are uncertain.

3 It seems possible to connect the hermits who lived in the area of the discovery at the time when the MSS were buried with the texts, but because the difficulties in finding the exact place of the discovery it must unfortunately be maintained that there are no certain archeological discoveries in connection with the Nag Hammadi texts.

4 There are some speculations in the introduction of The Nag Hammadi Library in English by James M. Robinson as to why or by whom the texts were buried. These speculations seem to be quite possible but they remain speculations. Only two facts are certain: The MSS and that they were found near Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt. It is necessary to keep to these two facts if the texts are to be analysed with a fair amount of certainty.
1. The manuscript (MS).
   a. The language.
   b. The content of the text.
2. The place of discovery.

The purpose of this thesis is to study ApocAd only in view of these two facts and to present some conclusions from them to improve the understanding of the function, the "Sitz im Leben", of ApocAd in Upper Egypt.

The Coptic language

ApocAd is written in Coptic, the last stage of the ancient Egyptian language. It is possible to distinguish at least five Coptic dialects: Sahidic (S), Achmimic (A), Subachmimic (A2), Fayumic (F) and Bohairic (B).(Part IV of this thesis will also consider the relationships between ApocAd and some ancient Egyptian texts written in Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian, the first in early hieratic and the last in hieroglyphic writing. Some demotic signs will also be considered.) Sahidic Coptic (the southern) seems to have preserved its ancient character better than the other dialects, especially concerning the vocalization.

The relationships between the different dialects are uncertain. Usually they are mixed with each other. ApocAd for example is written in Sahidic but with a significant influence from other dialects. Let us take some examples:

- Ṣερε (S) in ApocAd Ṣερε (A,A2)
- ειε (S) in ApocAd ειε (A2)
- τηνογ (S) in ApocAd τηνογ (A,A2)
- ηνογ (S,A,F) in ApocAd ηνογ (B,F)
- ουες οανε (S) in ApocAd ουες οανε (A,B,F)
- ως ερβ (S) in ApocAd ως ερβ (A,A2)
- μαλγυ (S) in ApocAd μαλγυ (F)
- μερε (S) in ApocAd μερε (A2 ?)

A. Böhlig has argued that there is a significant Fayumic influence in the text. H.-M. Schenke on the other hand maintains that NHC V,2-5 displays a pre-classical Sahidic dialect. Here it is enough to establish that the relationships between the different dialects are complicated in ApocAd, but it must be maintained that the text is written in Sahidic and that there are influences from other dialects as Fayumic and Subachmimic.

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For general descriptions of the Egyptian language and its different phases and dialects cf:
Erman, A. Ägyptische Grammatik.
Gardiner, A. Egyptian Grammar.
Grapow, H. Vom Hieroglyphischen - Demotischen zum Koptischen.
Till, W. Koptische Grammatik (Saidischer Dialekt).
Till, W. Koptische Dialektgrammatik.

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Introduction to the translation and the edition

The MS of ApocAd is well preserved. In the introduction to "The Nag Hammadi Library in English" there is a general presentation of the manuscripts. For a more detailed codicological analysis of Codex V, cf. "Nag Hammadi Studies (NHS) XI and the article "Codicological Analysis of Nag Hammadi Codices V and VI and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502" by James M. Robinson and of course "The Facsimile Edition of Codex V".

Lacunae are indicated with square brackets in the translation and the edition. Some of the lacunae have been reconstructed by A. Böhlig and G.W. MacRae in their editions from 1963 and 1979. The translation and the edition take these reconstructions and translations into consideration, but are based on the facsimile edition of Codex V.

Is it really necessary to present a new edition and a new translation when we already have reliable editions and translations? In the introduction to "The Presentation of the Text" it was emphasized that there are simply two facts we may consider with confidence: The manuscript and the place of discovery. The conclusions of this thesis are based upon these two starting points and therefore I have considered a meticulous study of the MS necessary. The result of this study of the MS is presented in the form of a new edition which contains:

1. All meaningful reconstructions which are highly probable.
2. All signs as various super-linear strokes, the nomina sacra-lines and the peculiar \textsuperscript{T} signs.
3. Finally all different punctuations.

The further motivations of this new edition with all its details will gradually become clear for the reader but let us not forestall the conclusions of the thesis.

The translation is an improvement first of all because the philological results are closely connected to the study of the religion of ApocAd and the structure of the text as they are presented in this thesis. In this way it has been possible to elucidate some obscure sections of the text. Major divergences from earlier translations will be motivated in the notes.

Greek loanwords are placed in parentheses.\textsuperscript{1}

The lines over some names, nomina sacra, are marked in the translation because of what is said in the chapter about this Coptic custom.

\textsuperscript{1}Research concerning Greek loanwords (which are very common in Coptic) is incomplete. Examples of works in this very important issue are:
Schiller, A.A. \textit{kánon} and \textit{kánonizē} in Coptic texts in 2nd Byz. Bull. 1959 p. 175 etc..
Wessely, K. Die Griechischen Lehnwörter der Sahidischen und Boheirischen Psalmversionen in Denkschrift der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Cf. also the chapter concerning Egyptian translations where literal renderings of some Greek expressions are an important component.
Dots in the square brackets in the edition indicate missing letters. Dots under a letter indicates that the letter is visually uncertain.

English words placed in parentheses in the translation are supplied for the sake of clarity.

Coptic signs placed in parenthesis in the edition are written above the ordinary text in the MS.
1 ἡ ἡγεσία τῆς παραβάσεως
2 ἡγεσία τῆς παραβάσεως τῷ
3 οὐκ εἰρήνη οὐδὲ ερωτήθη ἡ
4 τοῦ ἡρῴδη ἐν χώρῃ ἡ
5 μόνος ἐστὶν ἐν ποιμαχεῖ πανωθεν οὔ
6 οὐκ εἰρήνη ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπολέσθαι
7 μίνια τῆς προσευχής εἰς ἐν ἀνάν
8 ποιλὸς ἡνία εὐγαία τεκμήριον
9 μὲν μοῦς ἄνθρωπος πεῖ ἐν ἀν
10 ἀργὸν εἰς τῆς ἐρωτήσεως εἰς ἐν ἀν
11 πίστιν ἐνταξιωθῇ εἰς ἐν ἀν
12 σταῦρῳ λατρείας ἐν ποιμαχεῖ
13 ἑτεροφυλον ἓτε προσευχήνες ἐν
14 πίστιν εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἡνία ἐπὶ
15 μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἄγγελος ἡνία ἐπὶ
16 ἐνοπλωτοὶ εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἡνία ἐπὶ
17 προσευχήν ἑταξιωθῇ ἑνία ἐπὶ
18 οἰκονομῇ ἑταξιωθῇ ἑνία ἐπὶ
19 τοῦτο ὄρθρον ἕναν ἕναν προσευχήν
20 τεῦχος ἕναν ἕναν προσευχήν
21 τε ἕναν ἕναν προσευχήν
22 ἡνία ἓναν ἐκ ὑγιεστεροῦ ἕναν
23 τε ἕναν ἕναν προσευχήν
24 ἡνία ἕναν ἕναν προσευχήν
25 πιστεύειν ἑταξιωθῇ ἑνία ἐπὶ
26 ἡγεσία τῆς παραβάσεως εὐγαία
27 ἡνία ἑκοιμηθῇ ἑνία ἐπὶ
28 ἐνεχθῇ ἐνεχθῇ ἐνεχθῇ ἡγεσία
29 ἐν ἑνίαν ἑνίαν ἑνίαν
30 ἐν ἑνίαν ἑνίαν ἑνίαν
31 ἐν ἑνίαν ἑνίαν ἑνίαν
32 ἐν ἑνίαν ἑνίαν ἑνίαν

9 μοουε=walk about. The same meaning as the Greek περιπατεῖω=live.
11 γιωνε=“become” in this particular text means “come into existence” as distinct from create.
20 ὧντως ἐν ὑγιεστερῷ=decide against in wrath, i.e. condemn somebody to death according to Jewish-Christian tradition.
The Apocalypse (ἀποκάλυψις) of Adam

The revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) which Adam taught his son Ἰωάννης in the seven hundredth year, saying:

Listen to my words, my son Ἰωάννης. When ὁ θεὸς the god had created me of the earth with Eve your mother, I lived with her in a glory that she had seen in the aeon (ὁ ἀιών) from which we had become. She taught me a word of knowledge (γνῶσις) of the eternal god. And we resembled the great eternal angels (ἀγγέλοι τῶν αἰώνων) for (ὅτε) we were higher than the god who had created us and the powers who were with him, whom we did not know.

Then (τότε) the god, the sovereign (ὁ θεὸς) of the aeons (ὁ θεὸς τῶν αἰώνων) together with the powers, decided (κατὰ) us in wrath. Then (τότε) we became two aeons (ὁ ἀιών), and the glory in our heart left us, me and your mother Eve along with the first knowledge (γνῶσις) that breathed in us. And it fled from us, it entered into [great] generation (γενεὰ) which

---

28 *Nīr* see 66:21.
32 65:1-9 makes sense only if 64:32 is reconstructed *ε'ρεμου* ἵνα *εἰρηκυ* = the great generation [which].
etασυγαφ in 64:32 and ασβωκ in 65:4 refer to ἰγενεα in the lacuna of 64:32. In this way the problem with 65:9 is solved. The name, the heavenly name of Seth, is the seed of the great generation. Or the seed is from him.
[had not become] from this aeon (αἰών) from which we became, I
with Eve your mother. But (ἀλλὰ)
it (the generation) entered into the seed (σπορά) of
great aeons (αἰὼν). Because of this,
I myself have called you
by the name of that man
who is the seed (σπορά) of the great generation (γενεά)
or rather (ἡ) is from him. After
those days the eternal knowledge (γνώσις)
of the god of truth
withdrew from
me and your mother Eve.
Since that time we
received wisdom about dead things
like (ὡς) men. Then (τότε)
we recognized the god who had
created us. For (γάρ) we were not
strangers to his powers. And
we served him in fear
and slavery.
And (δὲ) after that we were
in the darkness of our heart.
And (δὲ) I slept in
the thought of my heart
for (γάρ) I saw three
men before my face
whose likeness I could not know,
since (ἐπὶδὲ) they
were not from the powers
of the god who had [created]
[us.] They passed through [ And [ men [  

This presupposes identity name - generation - seed, an identity which also occurs in 83:4.
makes one think of the Hebrew בְּנֵן in Gen. 2:7, but also of the Egyptian conception where the symbol of life is the breath which the gods breathe into the nose of the king. The Egyptian word for life is consequently nsw. Cf. also the Egyptian expression ḫw:k n "nḥ nṯm w ḥ nb:ti" "Thy breath of life is sweet in my nostril". (Steindorff, G.: Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums. Section IV p. 944. Leipzig 1906-9).
[they] said to me: arise
Adam from the sleep
of death and hear
about the aeon (αλών) and the seed (σπορά)
of that man
to whom the life has come,
who came from you and
Ευε your wife (σύζυγος).
When (τότε) I had heard these
words from the great men
who were standing
before me, then (τότε) we
sighed, I together with Eve, in
our heart. And the lord, the god
who had created us, stood
before our faces. He said to us:
Adam, why were you
sighing in your heart?
Do you not know that I
am the god who created
you. And I breathed into
you a spirit (πνεῦμα) of life
in a living soul (ψυχή).
Then (τότε) darkness came upon our
eyes. Then (τότε) the god who
had created us, created a
son from himself [together] with Eve
[your mother]
[ ]
[ ]
[ ] in the
It is not possible to reconstruct 67:27 with certainty. "γενέα" has been suggested but only ἰ is visible and the years of somebody or something else might have been finished.
1 [ the] thought |
2 my [ ] I knew
3 a sweet desire (ἐπιθυμία)
4 for your mother. Then (τότε)
5 the vigour (ἀχμή) of
6 our eternal knowledge
7 was destroyed in us
8 and weakness
9 pursued (διώκειν) us.
10 Therefore the days of
11 our life were made few.
12 For (γάρ) I understood that I had
13 come under the power (ἐξουσία)
14 of death. Now
15 my son Ἴδη, I will
16 reveal to you the things
17 which were revealed by
18 those men
19 whome I first
20 saw before
21 my face:
22 After I have completed
23 the times
24 of this generation (γενεά)
25 and [the] years of
26 |
27 have been finished, [th]en (τότε)
28 |
29 |
30 |slave
1 οὐς = spill. An act of libation.
2 The meaning of this complicated sentence is that the god the almighty destroys all
3 flesh from the earth with that which the flesh seeks after, i.e. the water, and with
4 the seed of the men to whom the life of knowledge has been given, i.e. those who
5 got the name i.e. Seth.
For (γάρ) rainwater of the [god] the almighty (παντοκράτωρ) will be spilled [to] destroy all flesh (σάρξ) of the god the almighty (παντοκράτωρ) to destroy [all] flesh (σάρξ) from the earth through this (the water) which it (the flesh) seeks after, with those from the seed (σπορᾶ) [of] the men to whom the life of the knowledge (γνώσις) were given. This which came from me and Eve your mother. For (γάρ) they were strangers to him. After this great angels will come on high clouds. They will take those men to the place (τόπος) where the spirit (πνεῦμα) [of] life dwells [ ] [ ]

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Page 68 is blank in the MS. The end of page 67 and the beginning of page 69 indicate that the papyrus is a part of the tractate which therefore has a long lacuna here.
νομός είναι, όταν η φύση είναι όπως η φύση έχει είναι. 

Λέγεται ότι η φύση είναι όπως η φύση έχει είναι. 

Το άρθρο είναι ότι η φύση είναι όπως η φύση έχει είναι. 

Πολλά από τα άρθρα είναι ότι η φύση είναι όπως η φύση έχει είναι. 

Η φύση είναι όπως η φύση έχει είναι. 

Το άρθρο είναι ότι η φύση είναι όπως η φύση έχει είναι.
[ ] glory
[ ] there
[ ] come from heaven
to ea[rtth. ]
all the [people] of the flesh (σάρξ) will be left
in the [waters.] Then (τότε) the god
will rest from
his anger and he will throw
his power upon the waters.
And he will give power to his sons
together with their women through the
box (κιβωτός), together with [the] cattle
which he liked, together with the
birds of heaven which he called.
He released them upon
the earth. And the god
will say to Noah, whom
the generations (γενεά) will call
Deuca11on: Behold,
I have protected you in the box (κιβωτός)
together with your woman, your sons,
their women, their
cattle and the birds of
[heaven] which you called
[and released upon the earth]
[ ]

20 MS reads ἐπο=him.
In the presence of your wing", $\text{καρπο}$, is probably an allusion to Ps. 17 which is a lament of an unjustly accused. The wing is the wing of the cherub over the Ark on which Yahweh is enthroned. Cf. also the Egyptian $\text{πνευμη}=\text{wing}$. 
Therefore I will give the [earth] to you
and your sons.
You will reign over it as kings, you
and your sons. And no
seed (σπορά) of the men who will not step
into the presence of my face in
another glory
will come from you. Then (τότε) they will
become as the cloud of the
great light. Those
men will come who have
been thrown away from the knowledge (γνώσις)
of the great aeons (αἰῶν) and the
angels (ἀγγέλοι). They will step into
the presence of Noah and the aeons (αἰῶν).
And the god will say to
Noah: Why have you turned away from
what I told you? You have
created another generation (γενεά) so that you
can bring disgrace on my power. Then (τότε)
Noah will say: I will
testify in the presence of your
wing that the generation (γενεά)
of these men did not come into existence
[through me,] nor (οὐτε) through
[my sons
]
1. [text]
2. [text]
3. [text]
4. [text]
5. [text]
6. [text]
7. [text]
8. [text]
9. [text]
10. [text]
11. [text]
12. [text]
13. [text]
14. [text]
15. [text]
16. [text]
17. [text]
18. [text]
19. [text]
20. [text]
21. [text]
22. [text]
23. [text]
24. [text]
25. [text]
26. [text]
27. [text]
28. [text]
29. [text]
30. [text]

21 ἀνυγὴν is quite likely a miswriting of ἀνυγὴν.
knowledge (γνώσις) [those men] to bring them into their land which is worthy (and) build them their holy dwelling place. And they will be called by the name which is there and they will be there six hundred years in a knowledge of incorruption (ἀφθαρσία). And angels (ἀγγέλος) of the great light will be there. No disgusting deeds will be in their heart, only the knowledge (γνώσις) of the god. Then Noah will divide the whole earth among his sons Ham, Japheth, and Shem. He will say to them: My sons, hear my words. Behold, I have divided the earth among you, but (ἀλλὰ) serve him in fear and slavery all the days of your life. Do not let your seed (σπέρμα) turn away from the face of the god the almighty (παντοκράτωρ) | I and your |
σφός=seed, but σπέρμα is not used. A more precise meaning of σφός is "that which is prepared".

"They will serve" refers to the members of the seed in 73:3.

The twelve kingdoms together with another kingdom in line 29 may be the thirteen kingdoms in the following hymn. Cf. also the commentary on strophe 13 in Part. II: "The hymnic section".
son of Noah:

seed will please in your presence

and in the presence of your power.

Seal (σφραγίζεων) it with your

hand which is strong in fear and

commandment, so that all the seed

which came from me

may not turn away from you

and the god the almighty (παντοκράτωρ)

but (ἀλλά) they will serve

in humility and

fear of their knowledge.

Then (τότε) others from

the seed (σπέρμα) of Ham and

Japheth will go, namely four hundred

thousand men. They will enter

another country, they will settle down

with those men who

have come from the great

eternal knowledge (γνῶσις), so that

the shadow of their power will

protect those who have settled down

with them from every bad thing

and every desire (ἐπιθυμία) which is unclean.

Then (τότε) the seed (σπέρμα) of Ham and

Japheth will establish twelve

kingdoms. And their other

seed (σπέρμα) will enter into

the kingdom of another people (λαός).

[Then (τότε)] will consider

aeons (αἰῶν) to |

"their other seed" is referring to the four hundred thousand men who will enter
another country.
Cf. NHC III.2 62:14. It is no reason to presuppose four hundred thousand men here even if 73:12 has four hundred thousand.

The glory of Sakla is not lost but it has become a sign of something opposite.

"nwne" = change, turn. The men with gnosis and those who have settled down with them in their glory have changed the people of Sakla, the seed of Noah.
[ 74 ] who are dead of the great
2 aeons (αἰὼν) of incorruption (ἀφθαρσία).
3 And they will go to Saktā
4 their god. They will enter
5 the powers, accusing (κατηγορεῖν) the great
6 men, those who are in their
7 glory. They will say to Saktā:
8 What is the power of these men who
9 stood in your presence,
10 those who were taken from the
11 seed (σπέρμα) of Ham and Japheth,
12 who will be four hundred men?
13 They have been received in another aeon (αἰὼν),
14 from which they became. And
15 they have converted all the glory of your
16 power and the kingdoms of your hand.
17 For the seed (σπέρμα) of Noah has
18 done all your will
19 through his son together with all the powers
20 in the aeons (αἰὼν) which your power
21 reigns over. Those
22 men and those who
23 have settled down in their glory
24 have not done as you wanted.
25 But (ἄλλα) they have converted
26 all your people. Then (τὸτε) the god
27 of the aeons (αἰὼν) will give them
28 those who serve [him
29 |
30 They will come upon the land
πάντα... ἐπὶ λειτουργῶν ὑπερὶ ἀλήθειας ἡμῖν. 

τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ ἄνδρες ἤρθησαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. 

Ἀποικῆσαν οὖσε ἡ ἡμέρα. 

εἴρηται ἐν ὑμῖν Ἑκάστης ὁ οὐσιόσχολος ὑμῶν. 

καὶ τῶν ὁχήματος τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐκείνων εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν. 

τὴν ὁράσειν ἔγινεν ὧν γέγραψαν αὐτοῖς. 

τωτερον ὁμοίως ἢ οὐκώσθη 

μὴ ὁμοιοῦν ἡμῖν ὑμῶν ἡμᾶς ἐμφανίζει. 

καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ηὐθὺς ἀπῆλθεν οὕτως. 

游戏当中 ἑαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐκεῖνου καὶ τὸν ἑαυτὸν αὐτὸν. 

ἡ ἡμέρα ἤλθεν ἐκείνος ἰδίως αὐτὸν. 

ὁ οὐσιόσχολος ὑμῶν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς. 

τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ ἄνδρες ἤρθησαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. 

ᾧ ἐπὶ λειτουργῶν ὑπερὶ ἀλήθειας ἡμῖν. 

πάντα... ἐπὶ λειτουργῶν ὑπερὶ ἀλήθειας ἡμῖν.
in which the great men will be, those who have not been defiled, nor (οὐτε) will be defiled by any desire (ἐπιθυμία).
For their soul (ψυχή) has not become from a defiled hand, but (ἀλλά) it became from a great commandment of an eternal angel (ἀγγέλος).
Then (τότε) fire, sulphur and asphalt will be cast upon those men. And fire together with mist will come over those aeons (αἰών).
The eyes of the powers of the illuminators (φωστηρός) will be darkened, the aeons (αἰών) will not see with them in those days.
And great clouds of light will descend.
other clouds of light from the great aeons (αἰών) will descend upon them.
Abrasax, Sabão and Gamaliel will descend. They will bring those men out of the fire and the wrath.
They will take them beyond the aeons (αἰών) and the sovereign of the powers, they will take them away [from life]
they will take them aeons (αἰών)
In spite of the fact that the illuminator here is said to be coming for the third time, there are no other arrivals mentioned in the tractate. Cf. NHC III,2 62:24.

The illuminator gives the seed of Noah, Ham and Japheth fruit-bearing trees to redeem their souls. 73:14 ἔχειν εὐαγγελίαν seems to refer to the seed and not to the illuminator.

"To receive spirit" is not a Jewish theme but certainly a Christian.
I of the great there, together with the holy angels (ἀγγελοὶ) and the aeons (αἰῶν).

The men will be like those angels (ἀγγελοὶ) for they are not strangers to them, but (ἀλλά) they will act in the imperishable seed (σπορά).

Once again (πάλιν), for the third time, the illuminator (φωστήρ) of knowledge (γνώσις) will pass in great glory, to (ίνα) give to the seed (σπέρμα) of Noah and the sons of Ham and Japheth, to give it (the seed) fruit-bearing trees. And he will redeem their souls (τρυφεῖ) from the day of death. For all that which is moulded (πλάσµα) from the dead earth, will be under the power (ἐξονσία) of death. But (δὲ) those who think of the knowledge (γνώσις) of the eternal god in their heart will not perish. For they have not received spirit (πνεῦµα) from this kingdom only

but (ἀλλὰ) they have received from an | eternal angels (ἀγγελοὶ) | illuminator (φωστήρ) | come upon | dead |

πλάσµα, all that which is moulded refers to the distinction in the first part of ApocAd between τάμιο and ωμόν (cf. the chapter "important words"). It is therefore the body which is intended here.
MS has ἀνευσομ=their powers, but an inserted ι and dots over ε and γ indicate
the reading ἀνεισομ=the powers.

The question is not who the man is who is higher than the powers and their
sovereign but what power the man has which is stronger than the powers of the
earth, i.e., the power of the man is from the god of light whom the powers of the
earth do not know as will be seen in 77:18.
[ ] of Seth. And he will do
signs and wonders to
dishonour the powers and their sovereigns (ὢρχων).
Then (τότε) he will be worried, the god
of the powers, saying: What
is the power of the man which
is higher than ours. Then (τότε) he will arouse
a great wrath against
that man. And
the glory will leave, it will
dwell in holy houses, those
which it has chosen. And
the powers will not see it
with their eyes, nor (οὐτε) will
they see the other illuminator (φωστήρ).
Then (τότε) they will punish (κολάζειν) the
flesh (σάρξ) of the man, he whom
the holy Δραγμός (πνεῦμα) has come upon. Then (τότε)
the angels (ἀγγέλος) and
all the generations (γενεά) of the powers
will consult (χρησθαί) the name
in (their) error (πλάνη) saying:
From where has it become, or (ἡ)
where did the words
of falsity come from which
all the powers have failed to find?
The first
kingdom [says about him]
[that] he has become [from

---

15 πικεφωστήρ must mean the other illuminator referring to the illuminators in 85:28 and the two illuminators in the hymnic section 82:7.
21 χρησθαί has the meaning to consult a god or oracle about a thing, here is the name consulted, i.e. Seth.
1 ετπε ἦς εὐπνά ἀγαθανοῦ
2 ὑφ ἐν οἴνοι νεοοῦ
3 ὑμνι εὐσμαχ ἡ ἔσον ἀγει
4 ἔσον κοινίτο ὄτεκμαχ
5 ἀγεῖ ἐφε ἀγεῖ ἔσον πιμοοῦ
6 ἔσοντε (β) ἀν ἀμπερρο ἰσ
7 ἀμος εὐσμαχ ἀν ἀγεῖ
8 ἐβολ ἰν οὐνος ἀγροτίκος
9 ἀγεῖ ἐφε ἔσον εὐαλλη ἀγεῖ
10 πιμοο (κογει) ἔταγκαν ἀγεῖτγ
11 εὐσμαχ εὐτοο έεβιοε
12 ἀγεῖ ἀγαθανοῦψ εβολ ἰν
13 πιαλην ἔτε τπε ἀγεῖ
14 ἔσον εἰ εβολ ἀμαχ πελία ἱαγ
15 ἐτε ἔσον ἔποντε ἐς εὐσμαχ
16 ἀμαχ ἐφε ἀγεῖ ἔσον πιμοοῦ
17 ἔσοντε ἀμπερρο ἰσ
18 ἀμος ἐροχ ἀν ἀγεῖ
19 ἐβολ ἰν οὐνος ἀγροτίκος
20 ἐν οὐνοτρα ὄποβενος
21 ἐπονάχ εβολ ἐν τεχνολικο
22 ἐτομ ἡ ὄτεκμαχ ἀγεῖτγ
23 ἐμα ἕρμος ἀγαθανοῦ
24 ὑφ ἀμαχ ἐφε ἀγεῖ ἐφε ἱαγ
25 ἱούο οὐνος ἀγεῖ ἐφε
26 ἐτε ἐφε ἔσον πιμοοῦ
27 ἔσοντε ἀμπερρο ἰσ
28 ἀμος ἐροχ ἀν ἀγεῖ ἐφε
29 ἐβολ ἰν οὐνοπροβενος
30 ἔτ ακομσωνι
to heaven, namely a
spirit (πνεῦμα). He was nourished
in the heavens. He received the glory
of that one and the power. He came
to the bosom of his mother.
And thus he came upon the water.
And (δὲ) the second kingdom says
about him that he has become
from a great prophet (προφήτης).
And a bird came, it took
the child who was begotten, it took him
to a high mountain.
And he was nourished by
the bird of heaven. An angel (ἄγγελος)
came there, he said to him:
Arise, the god has given glory
to you. He received glory and strength.
And thus he came upon the water.
The third kingdom says
about him that he has become
from a virgin (παρθένος) womb (μήτρα).
He was cast out from his city (πόλις),
he and his mother. He was brought
to a desert (ἐρημός) place. He was nourished
there. He came, he received glory
and power. And thus
he came upon the water.
[The fourth] kingdom says
about him that he has become
[from a virgin (παρθένος)]
[Solomon]
ep bake is perhaps from the Bohairic ep boki which means become pregnant. 
ww is written above in the MS and is a synonym to ep boki.
13 ꧋꧋꧋=stake, a stake which was used to stay canal banks. The stakes were thus the border of the desert.
[sought] after her, he together with Phersatio
and Saul and his armies (στρατιά)
which had been sent out. Solomon
himself sent out his army (στρατιά)
of demons (δαίμων) to seek after
the virgin (παρθένος). And they did not find
the one whom they sought after, but (άλλα)
the virgin (παρθένος) who was given to them,
she whom they brought
took Solomon. The virgin (παρθένος) became pregnant,
she gave birth
to the child at that place.
She nourished him at a boundary mark
of the desert (ἔρημος). When
he had been nourished, he received
glory and power from the seed (σπορά)
from which he had been begotten.
And thus he came upon the
water. And (δέ) the fifth
kingdom says about him that
he has become from a
drop of the heaven. He was thrown
into the sea (θάλασσα). The depths
received him, gave birth to him,
brought him to the heaven. He received
glory and power. And
thus he came upon the water.
And (δέ) [the] sixth kingdom
[says] that a []
down to the aeon (αἰών)
1 ηττηςαρηιτε εε ϛετητλαλτε γ
2 τσεναρηε ηηςωη εβοι εη
3 τεπιπηυια νηιπερε αη
4 μεστη (αηποι) μηπτοπν ετθηυηγ
5 ανηηςειοιιος σαμοηυθ η
6 τε πιππθεθυοι αηηι η
7 ουεουη ηπηθη ετθηυηγ
8 ηηπν ουθοην αηι ιηπε αηηι
9 εηη ηηπθογη ηηεη γ
10 ηηευε ηε ηηηθηππρο χω η
11 μος εροη χε ουγθθηε ηε
12 αηηι εβοι εηη τε αηη ηκαη
13 αηηι ηεαηι εεεκη ηιη
14 γηεηαηκιηι οηνθηε ηηογ
15 αηηοη αηπηα ει εηωθ αη
16 χιη επκειε εηηα εηη αηη
17 επθθηε ηυηε εβοι εηηθηγ
18 αηηι ηηπθοηο ηηπ ουθοην
19 ηπηθη ετθηυηγ ηηι ιηπε αηηι
20 αηηι εηη ηηπθογη ηηεη γ
21 ηηπθογη ηε ηηηθηππρο χω η
22 μος εροη χε οηθλλοοκε ει
23 εηη ηκαη αηκπητε ηηογ
24 πετη ηεζοημ αηηθηπε
25 λελκο ηεγηη ηησαιοηυθ
26 νηει ηηιαηγεηθο ηη ετηθηγ η
27 ηκΟοοκεη ηηηι ηηπθοηοηγ
28 ηπι ουθοην ηπηθη ετθηυηγ
29 αηι ιηπε αηηι εηη ηηπθογη

1 MacRae has reconstructed the lacuna in line 1 τοογτε=gather. A synonym is written above in the MS but it is also impossible to read. According to Crum τοογτε is rare in Sahidic and it is not enough space for τοογτε. The proposal of Böhlig, τατε=spread, is more likely.

2 The genitive ηηιπερε express the desire for the flowers.
which is below, to spread
flowers. She became pregnant of
her desire (ἐπιθυμία) for the flowers. She
gave birth to him at that place (τόπος).
The angels (ἄγγελος) of
the floral splendour (ἀνθεωνος) nourished him. He received
glory at that place
and power. And thus he came
upon the water. And (δέ) the
seventh kingdom says
about him that he is a drop.
It came from the heaven to the earth.
Dragons (δράκων) brought him down into caves.
He became a
child. A spirit (πνεῦμα) came upon him,
brought him to the high place from which the
drop had come.
He received glory and power
at that place. And thus
he came upon the water. And (δέ) the
eighth kingdom says
about him that a cloud came
upon the earth, it surrounded a
rock (πέτρα). He was begotten
from it.
The angels (ἄγγελος) who were above
the cloud nourished him. He received glory
[and] power [at that] place.
And thus he came upon the water.
Obviously a cosmic copulation between a god and desire.
And (δέ) the [ninth] kingdom says
about him that from the nine
Muses (πιριδες) one separated.
She came upon a high mountain, she
spent some time there, so that (δοστε)
she desired (ἐπιθυμείν) herself
to become man-woman.
She fulfilled her desire (ἐπιθυμά) and
became pregnant from her desire (ἐπιθυμά)
He was born. The
angels who were over the desire (ἐπιθυμά) nourished him.
He received glory at that place
and power. And
thus he came upon the water. The
tenth kingdom says about him
that his god loved a cloud
of desire (ἐπιθυμά). He brought him forth
in his hand. And he threw out
from the drop to the cloud hear him
And
he was born. He received glory
and power at that place. And
thus he came upon the water.
And (δέ) the eleventh
kingdom says that the father
desired (ἐπιθυμείν) his [own] daughter.
She became pregnant herself by
her father. She threw |
1 ἱβολος ἦ τερινος ἀπαγέ
2 λος σαμούς ἐμνά ἐ
3 τνήμαν νησε ἄσε ἂσε
4 ἱν πιμοού της ἄβ
5 τν τοσοούς τετράρραν ἁμ
6 νιος ερο π χε ἀνυσε πεμποκο
7 ἰν χω στυρ σκλη (θ) νησα
8 καγυς ἐμμαγ ἀνγκι καγεοκο
9 ἰν νογον νησε ἂσε ἂσε
10 ἱν πιμοού της ἄβ
11 τντωντε ἰε τετράρραν ἁμ
12 νιος ερο π χε ἀνυσε πεμποκο
13 ἱντ πεγαρκών νογοκοο πε
14 ἰν νησε ἂσε ἂσε ἱν πιμοο
15 ἱν ἰε εγετώ ἱντπια π
16 ἱν καγεοκο ἰν νογον
17 ἰν νησε ἂσε ἂσε ἱν πιμοο
18 ἱν ἰε εγετώ ἱντπια π
19 τν ἱν τε νεσον τημεν ἰε
20 τετράρραν προ εργάτερκο κβ κβ
21 νιος κε ἐπκούτε κκτππ
22 νιος εβολο κκ κκ νισο χηρον
23 καγκττε καγκάκοσ κκτ νισ
24 καγκττε κκτ τε καγκττε νη
25 καγκττε κε τανς καγκττο εκβολο
26 καγκττο νογοκο κκ κκ νισ εκβολο
27 καγκττο κκ κκτ κε κκτππ
28 καγκττο καγκττο εκβολο

18 τω πι means to conjoin the desire of the powers, i.e. the destiny of the word of their sovereign is to bring the desire of the powers in union, to mingle the desire with each other.
in the desert (ἐρήμος). The angel (ἀγγελός) nourished him at that place.
2 And thus he came
3 upon the water. The
4 twelfth kingdom says
5 about him that he has become
6 from two illuminators (φωστήρ). He
7 was nourished there. He received glory
8 and power. And thus he came
9 upon the water. And (δέ) the
10 thirteenth kingdom says
11 about him that every birth
12 of their sovereign (ἀρχων) is a word (λόγος).
13 And this word (λόγος) received a destiny
14 at that place. He
15 received glory and power.
16 And thus he came upon the water
17 to conjoin the desire (ἐπιθυμία)
18 of those powers. And (δέ)
19 the generation (γενεά) without a king over it says
20 that the god chose
21 him from all the aeons (αἰῶν).
22 He caused knowledge (γνώσις) of the
23 undefiled of truth to come
24 [in his heart.] He said that he came
25 [from] foreign air (ἀήρ), [from]
26 a great aeon (αἰῶν), namely [the
great] illuminator (φωστήρ). And |
The result of the hymnic section is the resistance of the seed and the unification of all who received the name upon the water. The identity between those who received the name and the name (Seth) refers to 65:9.
the generation (γενεά) of those men
shone, those whom he had chosen for him,
so that (ὡστε) they should shine upon the
whole aeon (αἰων). Then (τότε) the seed (σπορά) will
resist the powers, those who will receive his
name upon the water and unite
all of them. And a dark
cloud will come upon them. Then (τότε)
the peoples (λαός) will cry with a loud voice
saying:
Blessed is the soul (ψυχή) of those
men, they knew
the god with a knowledge (γνώσις)
of truth. They will live till
the aeons (αἰῶν) of the aeons (αἰῶν), because they have not been
corrupted in their desire (ἐπιθυμία)
with the angels. Nor (οὔτε)
have they fulfilled the works of the
powers. But (άλλα) they have stood
in his presence in a knowledge (γνώσις)
of god as light
and blood. But (δὲ) we
have done everything in the heartlessness
of the powers. We have praised in
the transgressions (παράβασις)
of our works
}. We have cried against [the god]
of [truth] because all his works

The translation "the water which is life" express the identity water-life.

The translation "the water which is life" express the identity water-life.

Ἡπειτὴν ἦμεραν must be a dittography. Here translated as negative first perfect.
eternity. Those are against our

spirit (πνεῦμα). For (γάρ) now we have known that

our souls (ψυχή) will die in a death.

Then (τότε) a voice came to them

saying: Mīchēu and

Mīchar and Mnesinou, those

who are over the bath which is holy

and the water which is life, why

were you crying against the god

who is life with lawless (ἀνομος) voices

and tongues without law (νόμος)

and souls (ψυχή)

full of blood and defiled

works. You are full of

works, not from the truth,

but (ἄλλα) your ways are full of

mirth and jollity. You have

defiled the water of life,

you have drawn it in

the will of the powers,
those whom you have been given to serve.

And your

thought

is not like (the thought) of

those men whom

you persecute

]}

[ | desire (ἐπιθυμία)]
1 ἵμαρεπέγευσα ἀμώμια.
2 σελασμῆς εὐσεουμ ἀναγούμενοι.
3 υἱὸς ἰερομῶν ἀνεγείρετο, ἐποίησεν τοὺς ναοὺς ἐπάνω αὐτῶν.
4 ἐτάξατος εὐσεοὺς ὀρθοῦ ἐποίησεν τιτανίαν Ῥιδίαν.
5 ὑπὸ ἀναγομένου ἐποίησεν τοὺς ναοὺς ἐπάνω αὐτῶν.
6 εὐσεβῶς ὁ ἀνεγειρόμενος ἀπελέξατο.
7 ἰερικὸς ἐκκλησίας ἐποίησεν τιτανίαν.
8 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
9 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
10 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
11 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
12 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
13 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
14 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
15 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
16 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
17 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
18 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
19 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
20 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
21 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
22 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
23 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
24 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
25 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
26 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
27 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
28 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
29 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
30 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
31 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.
32 ὡς εἴτε ἰερικὸς ἐποίησεν, ἀπελέξατο εὐσεβῶς.

[4] ἰερικὸς here means that the unwritten words were hidden and protected by the seed who have received the name. The words were not proclaimed but kept in secret by the seed, Seth.
Their fruit does not wither. But (ἄλλα) they will become known to the great aeons (αἰών), because the words, which they protected, of the god of the aeons (αἰών), were not put in the book, nor (οὐτέ) were they written. But (ἄλλα) angelic beings (ἄγγελοι) will bring them, whom all the generations (γενεὰς) of men will be ignorant of.

For (γὰρ) they will be upon a high mountain, on a rock (πέτρα) of truth. Therefore they will be named: The words of incorruption (ἀφθαρσία) and truth of those who know the eternal god in wisdom (σοφία) of knowledge (γνῶσις) and teaching of eternal angels (ἀγγέλοι): He knows everything:

These are the revelations (ἀποκάλυψις) which Adam showed Seth his son. And his son taught his seed (σπορά). This is the secret (ἀπόκρυφος) knowledge (γνῶσις) of Adam which he gave to Seth, which is the bath which is holy, for those who know the eternal knowledge (γνῶσις) through the logosborn (λογογενής) and the incorrupted illuminators (φωστήρ) [who] came from the holy seed (σπορά): Jesseus, Mazæus. [Jesse-] δεκεus. The water which is life.

The apocalypse (ἀποκάλυψις) of Adam.
Important words

Even the translation reveals to a considerable extent the dominating content of the text. So far we do not need any further commentary. Sentences such as "And we resembled the great eternal angels for we were higher than the god who had created us and the powers who were with him, whom we did not know", in the introduction, speak for themselves. Nor is it my intention to make the mythological content of ApocAd to the essential theme of this thesis. Nevertheless I think that it might be of considerable value by way of introduction to look at some of the obviously most important words and see how they are used in the tractate. Through the application of these important words we might see what views the tractate has of cosmos and man, but here the purpose is to get further clues to the research of the function of the text, the "Sitz im Leben" of the text. The page and line references refer to the Coptic text but is usually in accordance with the translation.

τάμιο=create

The word occurs in the following lines: 64:6,17 65:18,31 66:15,20,26 71:19. τάμιο is only used concerning creation of the human body by god the creator, and when Noah is accused of creating another generation by god the creator. When the tractate otherwise describes "coming into existence" of different kinds, γυνα is used, which usually is translated "become". The text itself makes a clear distinction between the creation of the human body from earth which is mentioned in 64:6 and all other becoming.

γυνα is used in the following lines: 64:11,23,32 65:2 70:3 71:24 73:19 74:14 75:5,6 76:18 77:29 78:7 80:14,17,24 82:6,24. γυνα is never used concerning the creation of the human body except in 76:18. The Greek πᾶσιμα however, makes it clear that it is a question of a creation from the earth.

The closest equivalents to the Coptic τάμιο are the Hebrew בַּשׁ rather than בּ, and the Greek κτίζω or πλάσω.

This consistent distinction of "the ways of becoming" is an essential element in the view of human existence of the text. Through this linguistic distinction between different ways of becoming, the text makes a clear distinction between the human body which is created from earth and the other faculties of man which come from other sources. Man himself is divided, which the tractate expresses in a mythological way through the description of the origin of the different parts of the human being. The text consequently describes a fundamental experience in human existence, namely that the human body is bound to the earth which the other faculties of man are not.
\( \text{\( \text{pwme} \)=man} \)

The word occurs in the following lines: 65:7,16,27 66:5,10 67:18 69:12,22 71:6,11,24 72:2 73:16 74:6,8,12,21 75:2,11,24 76:4 77:6,9,17 83:1,11 84:25 85:9. These references show that the text divides men in two groups (disregarding the illuminators): Those whom we might call ordinary people and those (fewer) who possess a special quality which usually is called \( \gamma \nu \omega \sigma \iota \zeta \). The result of possessing that quality is that this minority is persecuted. The text itself gives no reason to suppose a historical process or event in the tractate. What the use of the word \( \text{pwme} \) shows thus far is only that the generation of men is divided in two groups and that the one who possess \( \gamma \nu \omega \sigma \iota \zeta \) suffer persecution because they own \( \gamma \nu \omega \sigma \iota \zeta \). This division of men is not peculiar. We have a similar division, even if it is on different principles, in the New Testament, between those who have faith and those who are without faith. They who possess the special quality, faith, also suffer persecution.

As the individual man in himself is divided, as we have seen in the comparison between \( \text{ta\( \text{hio} \) and pwme} \), the generation of men is similarly dual.

\( \gamma \nu \omega \sigma \iota \zeta \)=knowledge

The word occurs in the following lines: 64:13,27 65:12 69:15 71:12 72:14 73:20 76:10,21 82:23 83:13,20 85:16,22,26. Here we have one of the most important words in the tractate. 85:23 goes very far in emphasizing the word gnosia saying: "This (i.e. the whole ApocAd) is the secret knowledge (\( \gamma \nu \omega \sigma \iota \zeta \)) of Adam".

What interests us here is what this specific text means by the word, not what other parts of the so called gnostic movement mean. This however is extremely difficult to grasp. The text speaks about "a word of knowledge, the knowledge that breathed in us, the eternal knowledge, the life of knowledge, the knowledge of the great aeons, the knowledge of the god, the illuminator of knowledge, a knowledge of truth, in wisdom of knowledge, a secret knowledge". What we might say with certainty is that it is gnosis that separates people who belong to the earth from people who belong to the light, that separates the god of creation from the eternal god. Furthermore, the disappearance of gnosia that breathed in Adam and Eve leads to that they will come under the power of death. It is also said that this gnosia is not written anywhere according to 85:6. Gnosis is consequently inexpressible, indescribable and indispensable. In spite of that, gnosia is transmittable. Adam transmits the revelation (which is gnosia) to Seth, Eve to Adam, the three men to Adam. Seth on his part gave it to his seed. The illuminator passed with the knowledge to give it to the seed of Noah.

So far gnosia seems to be an experience which is indescribable, inexpressible and indispensable, but at the same time it is possible to
transmit it, either from divinities or the aeons of light to men, or from man to man. The transmitability of gnosis is an important idea in the text and we will have opportunity to return to this theme several times.

It might also be mentioned that at the same time as gnosis is transmittable, there are no signs in the text that it is possible to obtain gnosis. It is always passed on from person to person. The description in the text of what gnosis is may be poor considering the important place the word has. On the other hand it is explicitly said how gnosis is given. ApocAd 85:22 etc.: "This is the secret knowledge of Adam which he gave to Seth which is the bath which is holy (an expression which we will deal with below), for those who know the eternal knowledge through the logosborn and the incorrupted illuminators, who came from the holy seed, Jesseus, Mazareus, Jessedekeus. The water which is life. The Apocalypse of Adam".

The bath in the water of life is the giving of the inexpressible, indescribable and indispensable experience which ApocAd calls gnosis. One might speak about identity gnosis - the bath which is holy. This holy bath is obviously something of the most central in the religion which ApocAd is a part of. In this bath man is separated from the earth, from death, from the authority of god the creator, and in the same bath man is brought back to the world of light. But that which is given in the bath which is holy remains inexpressible.

\( \text{ἐπιθυμία} = \text{desire} \)

The word occurs in the following lines: 67:3 73:24 75:4 80:3 81:6,8,9,11,17 82:18 83:16. The text describes desire as the exact opposite of gnosis. Desire leads to gnosis being destroyed and man's coming under death. It is not desire of something particular which leads to this disastrous result but the desire in itself, even if sexual desire is mentioned. Adam knew a sweet desire for the mother of Seth in 67:2.

ApocAd gives no clear definition of gnosis, but through the description of the antithesis of gnosis in the text, a conception of what gnosis is may be obtained. The opposite of desire which the tractate deals with is absence or lack of desire, non-desire, emptiness. ApocAd should consequently express a classical state of opposition between the desire which binds man to the earth and an exalted emptiness, completely without desire. This exalted liberation from all desire that binds man to earth and death is given in the bath which is holy which washes away desire. The exalted liberation is named gnosis in ApocAd.

\( \text{πάν} = \text{name} \)

The word occurs in the following lines: 67:3 73:24 75:4 80:3 81:6,8,9,11,17 82:18 83:6. Note also 85:12: "Therefore they will be named: The words (γάζει not λόγος) of incorruption and truth of those
who know the eternal god in wisdom of knowledge and teaching of eternal angels". By this can be seen that the name is the word of incorruption and truth, i.e. gnosis. Consequently it is a question of identity gnosis - name in so far as the receiver of gnosis is also bearer of the name.

Another identity can also be seen in 65:5: "Because of this, I myself have called you by the name of that man who is the seed of the great generation or rather is from him". Furthermore in 83:4: "Then the seed will resist the powers, those who will receive his name upon the water and unite all of them". By this we can see an identity between the seed of the generation and the name, i.e.: the name is the seed of the generation which possesses the indescribable experience gnosis.

The name, i.e. Seth, is in itself bearer of the essence of the whole message in ApocAd, a kind of mythological personification of the exalted emptiness. To go through the bath which is holy, to see the great light, implies that man becomes a part of the seed which is bearer of the name, which is to participate in the bearing of the name, i.e. Seth. The community of those who have gnosis is Seth.

The word occurs in the following lines: 64:18,22 65:30 74:5,19 75:14,27 77:3,5,13,21,26 82:19 83:19,25 84:20. The powers of god the creator persecute those with gnosis. It is also the powers who will punish the flesh of the man (the illuminator) whom the spirit which is holy has come upon. The powers are always against the spirit as Thomas Mann said.

ApocAd makes it quite clear that it is the powers who have the authority upon earth and that they therefore are subject to god the creator. They always try to exterminate those who bring gnosis, i.e. the illuminator and the seed of Seth. They have also tried to get power over the water of life which is given in the bath which is holy, they have defiled the water. ApocAd considers that all earthly power has its legitimacy from god the creator and that these earthly powers always are against gnosis, the water of life, the spirit which is holy, the illuminators, the seed of Seth and the bath which is holy.

By mentioning the powers and their destructive work led by Sakkâ, god the creator, the text is expressing an experience by those who have received gnosis, namely that all the powers on earth are destructive and full of desire, i.e. empty of gnosis. The powers in ApocAd are a kind of mythological creatures formed out of the experience of the reality on earth which those who possess gnosis make.
αλών

The word occurs in the following lines: 64:11,21,23 65:1,5 66:4 71:13,15 73:31 74:2,13,20,27 75:13,16,21,31 76:3 79:30 82:23,27 83:4,14-15 85:3. There is no description of cosmos in the text, but the tractate uses cosmological ideas to explain the message, the experience which proclaims to be the utmost value of life, gnosis. In the same way as the mythological characters scarcely have any dominating function in the text, the conception of cosmos arranged in different spheres of space and time with their sovereigns has no function worth mentioning. The tractate draws very freely from the mythological material of its culture and uses it for its special purpose. In the same way it makes use of the cosmology of its time to present the most important issue of human existence. To look for a particular cosmology or doctrine about the aeons in ApocAp is therefore a rather useless occupation. But we might ask for what purpose ApocAd uses the word aeon.

An aeon is first of all a conception concerning space and time, an instrument used to describe physical reality, but ApocAd uses the word to describe events in the spiritual world. Space and time dimensions are simply what is at hand to describe the indescribable. Through dividing human existence into different spheres it is possible to describe human origin and goal, to reach the great light away from desire of the earth. And through using this idea of aeons it is possible for the author of the tractate to describe the actions of the light, whose purpose is to take man up to the light and to protect those with gnosis through descending illuminators.

Briefly: The spiritual existence which ApocAd deals with can only be described allegorically, and ApocAd makes this description by means of the dimensions of space and time. There is consequently not any particular cosmology in ApocAd.

ΜΟΟΥ, ΜΟΥ=water

The word occurs in the following lines: 69:3 70:6,9 78:5,17,26 79:19,27 80:9,20,29 81:14,23 82:4,10,17 83:6 84:8,18 85:31. Furthermore we have the expression χωκή ετ οὐλάα"the bath which is holy", which in spite of its great importance in ApocAd only is mentioned twice, in 84:7 and 85:24.

First of all we have the problem of translating this expression. The Coptic synonym to the Greek βάπτισμα (which is used in NHC III.2, The Gospel of the Egyptians,GEgypt) is primarily ωμε. In ApocAd however, χωκή ετ οὐλάα is used. This can mean bath, but also and perhaps first of all washing. ApocAd does not make it quite clear if "bath" is a mere washing or total immersion. Support for the immersion theory could possible be found in NHC III.2 where similar mythological material can be found. The other version of GEgypt, NHC IV.2, unfortunately
fragmentary but older than NHC III.2, has sometimes ωμε and sometimes χωκ, where NHC III.2 has βαπτισμα. Guided by this I have chosen the translation "the bath which is holy", but "the washing which is holy" is also possible.

Water has an extraordinary important function in the text, both water as symbol of death and the water of life which is given in the bath which is holy. Apart from the introduction (64-67) I maintain that ApocAd is a text which first of all deals with the water, the water of death and life. The god tries to drown all the people to exterminate gnosis. he throws his power upon the water, the kingdoms answer the question how the illuminator came upon the water and at the end of the text there is mention of the water of life and the bath which is holy. Through water, life and death are given. It is difficult to free oneself from the thought that the way in which the text deals with water, the bath as giver of the utmost experience of life, gnosis, connects the text with some kind of baptism. The connection between γνῶσις and μοόγ might very well lead to the conclusion that the text belongs in a context concerning baptism.

Conclusion of "important words":

This brief analysis of the important words shows that ApocAd considers man to have two origins, one heavenly (from the eternal god) and one earthly (from god the creator, i.e. Sakla). This is emphasized by the use of the word ῥαμιο. 

Similarly human beings are of two kinds, those with gnosis and those without. Those who are without gnosis live under the powers (γον) of god the creator, and are full of dark desire which in itself exclude gnosis which is the experience of illuminated, exalted emptiness. Those who have gnosis are the seed of Seth, they are the name (παν), Seth.

Gnosis is given through water, the bath which is holy. It may even be considered that the bath which is holy is the secret knowledge (γνῶσις) of Adam which is ApocAd according to ApocAd 85:22 etc..

By this may be concluded that ApocAd is a Coptic Gnostic text which has water (and the bath which is holy) as the dominating theme, water as giver of life and death. This suggests that this Coptic text belongs to a kind of baptismal context.

Cf. Crum W.E. A Coptic Dictionary, the words ωμε and χωκ Cf also the chapter "The Egyptian background of χωκ et μοόγ."
The structure of the text

Even if no definition of the form of ApocAd has been attempted, it might be of some help for the further research to analyse the structure of the text. For practical reasons we presuppose that it is a prosaic text.¹

Part A:
64:1-6 Introduction.
64:6-19 The condition of man when his two origins coexisted.
64:20-29 The condemnation in wrath by god the creator.
64:30-65:5 Glory flees.
65:5-9 The giving of the name.
65:9-21 Gnosis leaves Adam.
66:14-25 The second condemnation by god the creator.
66:25-67:14 God the creator generates a son and man experiences desire.
67:14-68: The revelation of the three men.

Part B:
69:1-18 The flood comes.
69:19- The great angels save those with the life of knowledge.
70:4-16 All flesh is drowned and god the creator rests from his wrath.
70:16-71:8 God the creator gives the earth to Noah and his sons.
71:8-15 Those with gnosis return.
71:16- God the creator accuses Noah; the defense of Noah.
72:1-14 Those with gnosis get their land and dwell there 600 years.
72:15- Noah divides the earth among his sons and tells them to serve god the creator in fear.
73:1-12 One of the sons of Noah speaks. Shem?
73:13-24 400 000 men of the seed of Ham and Japheth go to them with gnosis.
73:25 The seed of Ham and Japheth establish twelve kingdoms and another kingdom is established by their other seed.
74:3-26 The seed of Ham and Japheth go to Sakla and accuse him.
74:26-75:16 Sakla tries to exterminate the undefiled with fire, sulphur and asphalt (cf. Sodom and Gomorrah).

¹ Cf. the structural analysis by A. Böhlig in his presentation of the text 1963: Koptisch Gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi.
Great clouds of light come and save those without desire from fire and wrath and bring them to the place of the holy angels.

Part C:

76:8-20  The illuminator comes for the third time to save the souls of men from death.
76:21-77:1  Those who contemplate gnosis will not be destroyed.
77:1-7  The illuminator does signs and wonders in order to disturb god the creator.
77:7-18  The flesh of the illuminator is punished.
77:18-28  The name is consulted concerning whence the illuminator came.
77:27-83:4  The hymnic section with the answers of the kingdoms.
83:4-84:3  The people start their resistance against god the creator and cry out their lamentation.
84:4-85:18  A voice declares.
85:19-32  Conclusion. This is the revelation.

It is obvious that the text is in three large sections: first an introduction, a mythological description of man and his situation, secondly the story of the flood and thirdly the salvation of men by the illuminator. Worth mentioning in the first part (A) are the three disasters which god the creator causes man:

1. Man loses glory and gnosis and is given death as destiny.
2. The eyes of man becomes darkened. Previously they saw the great light.
3. Man comes under the power of death, affected by desire his life is shortened.

One might say that these three condemnations or disasters concern most people: they are blind and full of desire and they will die after a short life. This description of the human situation is clearly an important issue of part A.

In part C those who have gnosis are described, who are quite the opposite of those in part A. They are liberated from the authority of Sakla:

1. They stand in the gnosis of the eternal god.
2. They shine.
3. They will live to the aeons of the aeons.

Nothing can be said about the conclusive section of part A since page 68 is unwritten.

The story of flood, part B, is independent. It begins with water being spilled and is completed when Abrasax, Sablo and Gamaliel save those without desire from the disaster of fire, sulphur and asphalt. The story of the flood describes the generation of men in a mythological way but primarily the great dividing line through the generation of men, namely
the difference between those with gnosis and those without. If part A deals with the relationship of the individual man to the eternal god and god the creator, to the light and darkness, to gnosis and desire, it might be said that part B deals with the same issue but now regarding the whole generation of men. Part C finally presents a mythological story about the salvation of men by the illuminator and the bath which is holy.

Consequently there is the same pattern here when the text is dealt with as a whole as when the separate important words were analysed. First of all concerning the idea that there have always been people who have had the indescribable gnosis and when their existence has been discovered by Sakla and his earthly powers they will be persecuted, but in this persecution they can always trust in the help of the eternal god and his messengers, the illuminators.

**Briefly concerning the literary form of ApocAd**

The main issue of this thesis is the form of ApocAd. Therefore this issue will be dealt with below, but there are some matters which might be worth mentioning in the presentation of the text. As we have seen ApocAd uses myths, mythological persons and cosmologies in a rather free way. Therefore one should be very cautious and not see ApocAd as a complete mythological cosmology in which a soteriology has been incorporated. The purpose of ApocAd is to transmit the inexpressible experience, gnosis, which is given in the bath which is holy. But there is a paradox in the text. On one hand the text wants to lead the reader to a hidden inner secret, on the other hand it is hiding the same secret. ApocAd is an apocalyptic text but to the same extent it is apocryphal. Its purpose is therefore to help the reader to reach the meaning, but at the same time to hide its meaning.

This character of transmission of the text together with the hymnic section and the mentioning of the bath which is holy might indicate that ApocAd with its revealing and hiding belongs to a cultic context and in that case a baptismal cult. We will return to this issue in part II.

**Proper names in ApocAd**

We leave the more known names: Adam, Eve, Seth, Noah, Shem, Ham, Japheth, Solomon, Saul and Phersalo.

74:3,7 ἡτταμ Sakla

Occurs also in NHC II,1 11:17 NHC II:4 95:7 NHC III,2 57-58. Sakla is according to all these texts god the creator, Yaldabaoth.

70:19 ἑψεύω=make wet, rain and καλέω=call on, summon to do something.
75:22-23 Ἀβράαχ, Σαβλο, Γαμαλίε. Occur also in NHC III.2 52-53 where they are the servants of the illuminator together with Gabriel. They have a similar function in Zostrianos, Codex Brucianus and the Trimorphic Protennoia.

84:5-6 Μικραῖος Μικράρι Μνησίνος Micheu, Michar, Mnesinous. Mnesinous from the Greek μνησίος =remind and νοῦς =mind. Occur also in Codex Brucianus, NHC III.2 64:14-20 NHC XIII.1 48:18-21. In all these texts they are concerned with the water of life. Note that they seem to have a negative function in ApocAd (they defile the water of life) unlike the other texts. (Cf. also the Mandaean Ginza L.).

85:30 Ἰησοῦς Ἰακώβ, Ἰακώβει, Ἱζακέ. Jesseus, Mazareus, Jessekeus. Occur also in NHC VIII.1 47:5-6 NHC III.2 65:10-11. In Zostrianos they are called immortal spirits and in GEgypt παραστάτης.

**ApocAd in relation to Genesis**

ApocAd seems to be very free in its relations to the mythology of the Old Testament. But the text is more consistent than it seems at first sight. ApocAd consistently uses the tradition which usually is called the Yahvist tradition (J) and ignores the Priestly tradition (P). This becomes apparent from the following examples:

1. ApocAd 64:6 etc.: ὅταν ὄρθος ὁ θεύς ἐπέτεινεν το ἀνθρώπον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. "When the god had created me of the earth with Eve your mother". Here it is obvious that the way in which ApocAd uses the word ὄρθος corresponds to the Hebrew ṣāḇ in Ge 2:7 (J) and not ἀνθρώπος in Ge 1:27 (P).

2. ApocAd 64:28 66:21. That ApocAd uses the J-tradition is also confirmed by the use of μικρά, the Hebrew שֵׁבֶר in Ge 2:7 (J).

3. ApocAd takes also up the J-tradition in Ge 4:25 where the birth of Seth means that there are two generations of men in mankind from the first man, namely the generation of Seth and the generation of Cain. But the P-tradition incorporates Cain in the generation of Seth. This tradition is of course unacceptable for ApocAd. It would spoil the whole meaning of the text.

The genealogical table of Ge 5 (P): Adam, Seth, Enos, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah. Because ApocAd keeps to the J-tradition and not incorporate Noah in the generation of Seth it is possible for ApocAd to use the story of the flood in its own way and with its own purpose.

4. ApocAd 65:26 etc. 75:9 etc. have their parallel in Ge 18:1-19:38 (J) even if it was Abraham who met the three men in Ge and not Adam as in ApocAd.

5. The woman gives knowledge to the man in ApocAd 64:12 as in Ge 3:6 (J) and the unity between man and woman came to an end in ApocAd 64:23 and in Ge 3 (J) because of this knowledge.
7. The story of the sons of Noah in Ge 9:18-27 (J) is taken up by ApocAd in 72:15 etc.

It seems that ApocAd is consistent in keeping to the J-tradition. How that was possible or in what purpose it chose this tradition is difficult to say but it can be noted that the final redaction of Genesis was completed long before ApocAd was written. Is there a preference for the name of God, Yahweh?

**ApocAd in relation to the New Testament**

From 76:6 there are elements in the text which are not parallel to the New Testament, but there are subjects, thoughts and expression which we might associate with the New Testament and the early church.

1. The illuminator descends to the earth in 76:8-17 to save the generation of men.
2. The illuminator performs signs and wonders according to 77:1-15 to dishonour the powers of the earth.
3. The flesh of the man (whom the illuminator has come upon) is punished by the powers of the earth.
4. The hymnic section contains themes which we also can find in the New Testament:
   a. 78:7-8 The illuminator has become from a prophet.
   b. 78:18 etc. The illuminator has become from a womb of a virgin and he was cast out from his city and was taken to a desert place.
   c. 80:14 The illuminator became a child and a spirit came upon him and brought him to a high place where he received glory and power.
   d. 82:10 etc. The sovereign gave birth to a word and the word received a destiny, a mission.
   e. The god chose him and because of that gnosis came into his heart. Furthermore the illuminator chose men for himself so that they should shine upon the whole aeon.
5. Another example of an early Christian theme might be the end of the whole apocalypse where the bath which is holy and those who know gnosis through this bath and the illuminator are identified with the first bearer of the name and gnosis, i.e. Seth.

But neither these examples, nor any other sections of the apocalypse represent any certain Christian influence. The text itself does not exclude any of at least two possible relations to the New Testament and the early Christianity:

1. ApocAd is a syncretistic product from the second century which has been influenced by the early Christian preaching on salvation.
2. ApocAd is a product from an apocalyptical movement in Judaism. During the first centuries it was possible for the spirituality of ApocAd to
coexist with and perhaps be united with other apocalyptic movements in Judaism or/and Christianity. The subject of ApocAd is an experience which was not unfamiliar to early Christianity or to the growing monastic movement in Egypt and it is not unfamiliar to esoteric monastic movements of our days. But ApocAd can never coexist with a State religion. The gnosis of ApocAd is always against the powers of the earth.¹

**Conclusion of Part 1**

ApocAd is a Coptic Gnostic² text. Its purpose is to transmit and express an experience which is indescribable and to inform how and where one might get this ultimate experience. This experience is usually called gnosis and means non-desire, exalted emptiness, great formless light, purity. This gnosis liberates man from the earth and the powers of the earth and unites him with his real origin, the light. Man receives gnosis from the illuminator and through the bath which is holy. The water of life washes away destructive desire and gives gnosis.

This can be accepted without any doubt so far. After this general presentation of the text a more detailed analysis of some sections will now be dealt with. First of all we have to consider if the text belongs in a context of baptism, a baptismal cult. ApocAd itself takes up this question through its content, the hymnic section and the very important functions given to the water and the holy bath.

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¹ J.M. Robinson has considered the oppositional character of the Nag Hammadi texts toward the established society and the state in the introduction of the Nag Hammadi Library in English. Considering ApocAd it is easy allow Robinson’s theory. It is not possible to integrate ApocAd into a society as the religion of the state. It is, in its essence hostile to earthly power. Cf. also Pagel. E. The Gnostic Gospels. General remarks on the relations between the Nag Hammadi texts and the New Testament cf. Pearson, B.A. De nyfunna gnostiska texterna och nya testamentet and Cahiers Evangile 58, 1987.

² The word “Gnostic” is used without any further definition. Cf. Eltester. W Vorschläge des Messina Kongresses von 1966 zur Gnosisforschung. According to the consideration of the most important words in ApocAd it is evident that this is a Gnostic text in the sense of the Messina Conference. There is a conception of man in ApocAd which implies a divine origin and an origin from the lower god the creator. The descending illuminator brings gnosis back to man, liberates man from earth and unites him with the light, his real origin and essence.
II. THE HYMNIC SECTION NHC V,5 77:27 - 83:4

Introduction

A great deal of attention has been paid to ApocAd since it became accessible for scholars 1963, eighteen years after its discovery. This has been caused by Alexander Böhlig who in his presentation of the text 1963 (Koptische Gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi) argues that ApocAd contains a non-Christian and maybe a pre-Christian redeemer myth. The redeemer came from heaven to earth to establish a community of men who are saved. The redeemer performed this through a temporary union with a man whose flesh is punished by the powers of the earth, son. This hypothesis has received support in all essentials from scholars as MacRae, Rudolph, Schenke and Smithals. G.M. Shellrude argues in favour of the opposite opinion in "The Apocalypse of Adam: Evidence for a Christian Gnostic Provenance". The discussion has not been particularly fruitful. In any case it is obvious that nobody has been able to present conclusive evidence in favour of their opinion.

Very little has been said up to now about the text itself in spite of the recommendation by Rudolph to study the poetry in the Nag Hammadi texts. The present work offers more detailed studies of the text to find out if that might be a way to understand the "Sitz im Leben" of ApocAd. The hymnic section in ApocAd which Rudolph commented: "Dieser stück ist eines der merkwürdigsten und nicht einfach zu deuten", has been chosen first.

The prelude to the hymnic section NHC V,5 76:8-77:26

"Once again, for the third time, the illuminator of knowledge will pass in great glory, to give the seed of Noah and the sons of Ham and Japheth, to give it fruit-bearing trees. And he will redeem their souls from the day of death. For all that which is moulded which has become from the dead earth, will be under the power of death. But those who think of the knowledge of the eternal god in their heart will not perish. For they have not received spirit from this kingdom only but they have received from an eternal angels illuminator come upon dead of Seth. And he will do signs and wonders to dishonour the powers and their sovereigns. Then he will be worried, the god of the powers, saying: What is the power of the man which is higher than ours.

1 Rudolph has not presented a detailed analysis of any Nag Hammadi texts, but he emphasizes that detailed studies of the texts remain to be undertaken.
Then he will arouse a great wrath against that man. And the glory will leave, it will dwell in holy houses, those which it has chosen. And the powers will not see it with their eyes, nor will they see the other illuminator. Then they will punish the flesh of the man, he who the holy spirit has come upon. Then the angels and all the generations of the powers will consult the name in error saying: From where has it become, or where did the words of falsity come from which all the powers have failed to find?"

**The hymnic section**

**Strophe 1.**
The first [ ] kingdom says about him that he has become from [ ] to heaven, namely a spirit he was nourished in the heavens he received the glory of that one and the power he came to the bosom of his mother and thus he came upon the water.

**Strophe 2.**
And the second kingdom says about him that he has become from a great prophet and a bird came it took the child who was begotten it took him to a high mountain and he was nourished by the bird of heaven an angel came there he said to him: arise the god has given glory to you he received glory and strength and thus he came upon the water.

**Strophe 3.**
The third kingdom says about him that he has become from a virgin womb he was cast out from his city, he and his mother he was brought to a desert place he was nourished there he came, he received glory and power and thus he came upon the water.

**Strophe 4.**
The fourth kingdom says about him that he has become from a virgin Solomon sought after her
he together with Phersalo and Sael and his armies which had been sent out
Solomon himself sent out his army of demons
to seek after the virgin
and they did not find the one whom they sought after
but the virgin who was given to them
she whom they brought took Solomon
the virgin became pregnant
she gave birth to the child at that place
she nourished him at a boundary mark of the desert
when he had been nourished he received glory and power
from the seed from which he had been begotten
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 5.
And the fifth kingdom says about him
that he has become from a drop of the heaven
he was thrown into the sea
the depth received him
gave birth to him, brought him to the heaven
he received glory and power
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 6.
And the sixth kingdom says
that a [ ] down to the aeon which is below to spread
flowers
she became pregnant of her desire for the flowers
she gave birth to him at that place
the angels of the floral splendour nourished him
he received glory at that place and power
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 7.
And the seventh kingdom says about him
that he is a drop, it came from the heaven to the earth
dragons brought him down into caves
he became a child, a spirit came upon him
brought him to the high place from which the drop had come
he received glory and power at that place.

Strophe 8.
And the eighth kingdom says about him
that a cloud came upon the earth
it surrounded a rock
he was begotten from it
the angels who were above the cloud nourished him
he received glory and power at that place
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 9.
And the ninth kingdom says about him
that from the nine Muses one separated
she came upon a high mountain
she spent some time there
so that she desired herself
to become man-woman
she fulfilled her desire
and became pregnant from her desire
he was born, the angels nourished him
those who were over the desire
he received glory at that place and power
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 10.
The tenth kingdom says about him
that his god loved a cloud of desire
he brought him forth in his hand
and he threw out to the cloud near him
from the drop and he was born
he received glory and power at that place
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 11.
And the eleventh kingdom says
that the father desired his own daughter
she became pregnant herself by her father
she threw [ ] tomb
[ ] in the desert
the angel nourished him at that place
and thus he came upon the water:

Strophe 12.
The twelfth kingdom says about him
that he has become from two illuminators
he was nourished there
he received glory and power
and thus he came upon the water.

Strophe 13.
And the thirteenth kingdom says about him
that every birth of their sovereign is a word
and this word received a destiny at that place
he received glory and power
and thus he came upon the water
to conjoin the desire of those powers.

Strophe 14.
And the generation without a king over it says
that the god chose him from all the aeons
he caused knowledge
of the undefiled of the truth
to come in his heart
he said that he came
from a foreign air
from the great illuminators
great aeon
and the generation of those men shone
those whom he had chosen for him
so that they should shine upon the whole aeon.

Language and dating

The MSS which are accessible today were written ca. 350-375 A.D..
This dating is based on the fragments of papyrus which were used to pad
the leather covers of the MSS, and the fact that the different Codices seem
to have been written in order to be bound in these covers.¹

Palaeographic research of ApocAd comes to the same result.² The
letters in ApocAd differ apparently from the Greek letters of the third
century and they are obviously before the Coptic writing of the fifth
century. The MS were consequently written during the fourth century
and hardly during its first half.

Coptic literature is to a great extent translations. This is probably
also the case with the Nag Hammadi texts even if it is somewhat
uncertain. The frequency of Greek loanwords and words like γάρ, ἦν,
tότε, δέ, οὔτε etc. are not an indication of that a particular text is
translated but that the Coptic language was created for translation.³ The
dating of the Coptic ApocAd below (300-350 A.D.) makes it unlikely that
the text was written in Coptic but as will be shown, the border between
translations and real authorship is diffuse. In this thesis the creation of the
Coptic ApocAd is considered to be a translation but the reader must bear
in mind that this standpoint first of all depends on the dating of the texts

¹ Cf. The introduction to the Nag Hammadi Library in English.
Barnes, J. Greek and Coptic Papyri from the Covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices: A
Preliminary Report in NHS VI p. 9 etc.
Wisse, F. Codicological Introduction in NHS VI p. 225 etc.
The introductions in the Nag Hammadi Studies.
² Cf. Stegeman, V. Koptische Paliographie.
and that Coptic was a language for translations. The construction of the text also indicate that it is a translation, for example the frequent use of ἔστι.

The translations of the Nag Hammadi texts were probably made before 350-375 A.D. when our MSS were written. How long the texts were transmitted in Coptic before our MSS were written is uncertain. Some scholars argue that the considerable amount of scribal errors in the text have occurred during the Coptic transmission and that these scribal errors are a sign of a long Coptic transmission. The scribal errors are however difficult to distinguish from known and unknown variants of the dialects. Moreover, errors in the Coptic text are not necessarily due to a long Coptic transmission. These errors might as well be due to lack of education of the scribes.

The Coptic language was created for and with the translation of the Bible into Coptic. The whole Bible was translated into Sahidic ca. 300. The books of the New Testament were translated ca 270. The Gospel according to Matthew was translated as early as 250. The beginning of the translation of the Bible cannot be dated earlier than 200. The translation into Bohairic is probably later. The need of an Egyptian Bible must have been more acute in Upper Egypt than in Lower Egypt where Greek was well known.1

By these chronological facts concerning the origin of the Coptic language and the dating of the MS we have access to. it follows that ApocAd hardly can have been transmitted in Coptic very long. The so called scribal errors cannot depend on a long Coptic transmission of the text but rather the incompetence of the scribe or dialectal variants. Some uncertainty remains of course concerning the original Coptic version of ApocAd, but the text cannot have been transmitted in Coptic for a longer period than 75 years. This is not an unessential fact. Errors in the transmission of the text are very important for a metrical analysis of a poetical text.

Scriptio continua is used in ApocAd and in all the Nag Hammadi texts and has nothing to do with the literal form of the text. This makes it especially difficult for a metrical analysis of poetical texts because one should be able to separate the verses and the strophes.

The dominating point of view today is that all the Nag Hammadi texts are translations from Greek even if there seems to be some uncertainty concerning ApocAd which might be of Aramaic origin. It is however not likely that the Egyptians were able, as early as 300 A.D., to translate a text such as ApocAd directly from another Semitic language into Coptic. On the other hand we have the possibility that ApocAd was written in Aramaic, translated into Greek from which the text was translated by the Egyptians into their own language. This possibility is not

1Cf. Steindorf, G. Bemerkungen über die Anfänge der Koptische Sprache und Literatur.
Till. W. Koptische Grammatik (Saidischer Dialekt).
uninteresting in connection with a metrical analysis of the text. Translations of poetry often preserve the metre of the original language even if the translation is relatively free.

Translations from Greek into Coptic were absolutely not a word by word. The translators were obviously so free that translations of poetry demanded an independent poet just as translations of poetry between modern languages demand a poet. A Coptic hymn is therefore never a copy of the Greek original. The Greek original is according to Junker almost a starting point for the Coptic writer and translator. A metrical analysis of Coptic hymns and poetry is therefore relevant even if it always is translated poetry. It is then possible to consider if the translator has preserved the metre of the Greek poetry, or if he has created a Coptic metre, or if he has transferred a foreign metre from an original Semitic language. We have also the possibility that the poetry has been translated without any thought of the metre.

Coptic poetry

Erman, Junker and Säve-Söderbergh have established the fundamental rule of Coptic poetry† (ancient Egyptian poetry will be dealt with after the metrical analysis): Only stressed syllables are of account. Unaccented syllables are of no importance in order to establish the measure of a hymn. The verses in Coptic poetry may therefore vary in length though they have the same number of stressed syllables, the same number of beats. The difficulty is consequently to know if a word should be stressed or not. There are many poetical deviations from the grammatical accentuation, but to describe all these deviations here would distract from the subject.

There is also the difficulty of separating each verse or stichoi in a metrical analysis and sometimes even the strophes because of the lectio continua in the Nag Hammadi texts. The strophes are however easy to separate in the hymnic section of ApocAd.

There are simply three dominating difficulties in a metrical analysis of the hymnic section of ApocAd:

1. It cannot be completely certain that the text is original. It could have been altered during the Coptic transmission even if this was short. The text might also have been misconstrued because of the scribe’s incompetence and there might also be dialectal variants which have influence on the metre.

† Cf. Allberry, C.R.F. A Manichaean Psalm-Book Part II.
Erman, A. Bruchstücke Koptischer Volksliteratur.
2. The separation of each stichoi is not evident. Punctuation is a poetical instrument in Coptic poetry but it is used rather freely and irregularly (cf. the chapter on Egyptian poetry).

3. The rules of accentuation in Coptic poetry contain many possibilities of deviations from the grammatical accentuation and gives the poet/translator much freedom and the scholar great agony.

In spite of these difficulties a metrical analysis of the hymnic section of ApocAd will be attempted. The poetical sections in the Nag Hammadi texts are the oldest Coptic poetry known, older than the hymns and psalms of the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-book which was analysed by Säve-Söderbergh 1949 on the basis of the poetical rules presented by Erman and Junker at the turn of the century. Despite this, these rules are used here in this attempt at metric analysis. There is scarcely any reason to suspect any changes in the rules governing Coptic poetry during the time which separate the Coptic Manichaean Psalmbook from the text under consideration. In this way may the poetical sections in the Nag Hammadi texts become an important link between later Coptic poetry and ancient Egyptian poetry.

**A metrical analysis of the hymnic section in ApocAd**

A. Böhlig as well as G.W. MacRae defined the hymnic section in ApocAd to NHC V.5 77:27-83:4. This definition is reliable. The structure of the hymn is clear. It consists of 14 strophes. Each strophe is an answer of a kingdom to the question where the illuminator came from. All strophes are structured in the same way. First there is an introduction. For example: "And the third kingdom says about him ...". This introduction seems to have a common metre as will be shown. After the introduction follows a varying number of stichoi, but usually they are four. In all the strophes except the last strophe 14, there is as conclusion a refrain: "and thus he came upon the water".

The sign -- between two words means that they are connected and shall be read with one accent only. The sign .. between two words means that they may be read with one accent only.
Strophe 1: 77:27-78:5

1 ησαειτε Ἰ Ἰτωττρον θω--θμοσ--ερον
2 ήη--ἀγυσφε--εβοξ ἀν Ἰ
3 Ἰ Ἰπὲ ἦςι--αύππη
4 ἄχασιουμι ἀν--ἲπνυε
5 ἄχι πεοού--ἠπι έθινιαγ--ην--τομι
6 ἄχει--ἐξ ἄκουτο ἄτεχνικαγ
7 ἄχω--ἄτε σα ἄχει εχς--πινοογ
Strophe 1: 77:27-78:5

1 The first [ ] kingdom says about him
2 that he has become from [ ]
3 to heaven, namely a spirit
4 he was nourished in the heavens
5 he received the glory of that one and the power
6 he came to the bosom of his mother
7 and thus he came upon the water.

Probably a 7-line strophe. Verse 4 deviates since it seems to be read with two beats only. We have the same deviation in strophe 3. Is it possible to read λυγηνογενεστι with two beats in order to preserve the metre? All the verses after the introduction begin with α. The punctuation confirms the division of the verses.

Metre:
Introduction 3:?
Verses ?:2:3:3
Refrain 3
Strophe 2: 78:6-17

1 ἐνεσάντε-ἀφ Ἀνδρέοι Ἰω-ἀμος-ετβίντητ
2 Ἳ-αὐχύστε-εβολ Ἐ-ούκιος Ἡ-προφίτης
3 Ἰω-αὐτοὶ Ἡ-εί-ουγάλνη
4 αὐτοὶ πίλχοι εὐκύρποι
5 αὐτοὶ-εςούν εὐτοοῦ ἑ-χοῦντε
6 Ἰω-αὐχύστεοϋ-εβολ Ἐ-πιλχάλη Ἡ-τε-τπημ
7 Ἰω-γεγρας κέ-εβολ-ἀ-μᾶμ
8 πεσαμ μὰρ Ἴ-ε-τσώοντη
9 ἀνατσάτε ἦ-εςού-μᾶκ
10 αὐτοὶ Ἡ-μοεόου Ἡ-ο-ουρο
11 Ἰω-ηφαμ αὐτοὶ Ἡ-εί-εν-πιλχοῦ
Strophe 2: 78:6-17

1 And the second kingdom says about him
2 that he has become from a great prophet
3 and a bird came
4 it took the child who was begotten
5 it took him to a high mountain
6 and he was nourished by the bird of heaven
7 an angel came there
8 he said to him: arise
9 the god has given glory to you
10 he received glory and strength
11 and thus he came upon the water.

The second verse of the introduction is obviously to be read with four beats. It is possible to stress ἐβολα but it is more likely that προφητης has two stresses. The first is the original Greek accent and the second the new Coptic one. All the verses after the introduction begin with ἀ except verse 8 which however is a so called πεξαυ-verse which often has metrical deviations in Coptic poetry. The punctuation confirms the division of the verses based on the contents of each verse.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 2:3:3:3:3:3:3:3:3
Refrain 3
Strophe 3: 78:18-26

1 ομευομενει ἡμιτρο ἡω--ηιθος--τροχ
2 ἥε--ἀκουσθε--εβολ ἂν--ομιτρα ἁπαρϊνος
3 ἀνοιξι--εβοικ ἃν--τεχνοχις ἡτοι--ἀν--τεχνιλβο
4 ἄριστο ευμα θεριμος
5 ἄριστοις θεωρο
6 ἀκει ἀκει ἠθεοοου--ἀν--ουσον
7 ἄνω--ητε ἄκει εκη--πηθοου.
Strophe 3: 78:18-26

1 The third kingdom says about him
2 that he has become from a virgin womb
3 he was cast out from his city, he and his mother
4 he was brought to a desert place
5 he was nourished there
6 he came, he received glory and power
7 and thus he came upon the water.

Once again a 7-line strophe. Verse 5 diverges with two beats but may have three if ἀγαθός can have double accent (cf. strophe 1). All verses after the introduction begin with ά. The punctuation confirms once again the division of the verses.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 3:3:3:3
Refrain 3
Strophe 4: 78:27-79:19

1 ἡμετερός καὶ ἡμος-ἐρωθ  
2 ἔκακος ὑπαρχον  
3 ἀσώμων κωτε ἢςως  
4 ἔτοικ-μην-φύρσαλ ἢς-ἐκμα-μη-μεκατράτια  
5 ἀσώμων--ώνω ἔμο-μεκατράτια ἢτο--μιδάνων  
6 εκώτε--ήςα ἡπαρθενος  
7 ἔκω-ηπογεί-τη ἐτούκωτε ἢςως  
8 ἐλλὰ ἡπαρθενος ἐταυτας--νας  
9 ἔτοικ-πενταυγής ἑυξίς ἢςι--ἀσώμων  
10 ἀκερ παξε ἢςι--ἥπαρθενος  
11 ἀκμίς ᾧπαιλος ἢπας--ἐτας  
12 ἀκατανυμ ἢς-ἀγωγάδ ἢτε--τερμος  
13 ἀτερογκατανυμ ἢχι ἢπεσου--ἡς--ἀγομ  
14 ἐκατο--ἀν-τερίζα ἐταυτοκ-ἐκατο, ἢςικτε  
15 ἔκω-ὕτε ὁκει ἢςεο-πνεος.
Strophe 4: 78:27-79:19

The fourth kingdom says about him
2 that he has become from a virgin
3 Solomon sought after her
4 he together with Phersalo and Suel and his armies
   which had been sent out
5 Solomon himself sent out his army of demons
6 to seek after the virgin
7 and they did not find the one whom they sought after
8 but the virgin who was given to them
9 she whom they brought took Solomon
10 the virgin became pregnant
11 she gave birth to the child at that place
12 she nourished him at a boundary mark of the desert
13 when he had been nourished he received glory and power
14 from the seed from which he had been begotten
15 and thus he came upon the water.

Through its length a very complicated strophe (the fact that strophes have varying length is mentioned briefly in the chapter on ancient Egyptian poetry). It is twice as long as the usual 7-line strophes. Several separations of the verses may be discussed, but the punctuation supports to some extent the proposed division. The accentuation in several verses is also uncertain. In spite of that it is possible that the metre of three feet is applicable even here. Verse 8 and the first part of verse 9 may be one verse and would in that case lose its accent. Accordingly all verses after the introduction except 13-14 begin with ə.

A very uncertain metre:
Introduction 3:?
Refrain 3
Strophe 5: 79:19-27

1 θνεατ-τεο θω-νιος-εροχ
2 θε-αγψωπε-εποχ ἤν-αυτοις ὑπε-τπε'
3 αυσωτα εβαλοσα
4 αποιου γοπι-εροχ
5 αυχποχ αυχαχ ετпе
6 αυχι ποιεονυ ἢν-ουεον'
7 αυσ-νιςε αυει αχη-πινοου
Strophe 5: 79:19-27

1 And the fifth kingdom says about him
2 that he has become from a drop of the heaven
3 he was thrown into the sea
4 the depth received him
5 gave birth to him, brought him to the heaven
6 he received glory and power
7 and thus he came upon the water.

Once again a very regular 7-line strophe. The second verse of the introduction has four beats provided that ΕΠΩΑ is stressed. Verse 3 has three beats because the Greek accent of ΕΛΕΝΕ is kept and is completed with a Coptic accent. All verses after the introduction begin with ά. The infrequent punctuation is of no help in the division of the verses.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 3:3:3:3
Refrain 3
Strophe 6: 79:28-80:9

1 ἓνεκο -- ὅ τι ἐκτίθη ἕως ἔμοιο
2 ἰερῷ ἐσφαλμένοι εὑρήσεις εὐσεβεῖαν
  ἐνεκτάτῳ ἡμερῶι
3 ἅσωμεν εὐὼ ἐν τῇ-τεπισωμίᾳ ἡμερῶι
4 ἁσιστόν σταίνετε ἐκθέμαυτο
5 ἀναγεγοςε σαμουήν ὅτε πιστάνωσιον
6 ἁγιοί ποιεῖτε ἡμεῖς ἐν-ἐκκλησια
7 ἄλαυ ἐπεί οὗ δικαίον ἐν-πίστευον
Strophe 6: 79:28-80:9

And the sixth kingdom says

2 that a [ ] down to the aeon which is below
to spread flowers

3 she became pregnant of her desire for the flowers

4 she gave birth to him at that place

5 the angels of the floral splendour nourished him

6 he received glory at that place and power

7 and thus he came upon the water.

Probably another 7-line strophe. Because of the lacuna in the second verse of the introduction it is impossible to say anything concerning the number of metrical feet there. Another uncertainty is verse 6 which according to the metrical analysis has four beats. It is possible that it was originally constructed as verse 6 in strophes 7 and 8. *MN oýeýom* is in that case placed incorrectly in this verse, which originally may have had three beats. All the verses after the introduction begin with a. The punctuation confirms the division of the verses.

Metre:
Introduction 3:?
Verses 3:3:3:4(3?)
Refrain 3
Strophe 7: 80:9-20

1 ἔνεςσύμφωνοι Ἰωάννης—Ἰωάννης—ἐρωτ
2 ἑκοτίθειε—πε—ἀκεπεὶ—εἰσόχατε—ἐν—τῷ—ἐν—πνε
3 ἄνατικ—ειραὶ—ἐγενεῖς—ἀπὶ—ἐγενεῖς—ἀνακρίβως
4 ἄνατικ—ἀοιδοὺ—δύναμὶ—ἐὶ—ἐξωκ
5 ἄνατικ—ἐπισκεψ—εἰς—ἐπισκεψ—έφατο—ἐφασ—εἰσόχατε—ἀνάγκα
6 ἄνατικ—ἀοιδοὺ—ἀπὸ—ἀνάγκα—ἐπισκεψ—εἰς—ἐπισκεψ
7 ἄνατικ—ἐν—πνεούμ.
Strophe 7: 80:9-20

And the seventh kingdom says about him
2 that he is a drop, it came from the heaven to the earth
3 dragons brought him down into caves
4 he became a child, a spirit came upon him
5 brought him to the high place from which the drop had come
6 he received glory and power at that place
7 and thus he came upon the water.

Another 7-line strophe even if the division of the verses is somewhat uncertain, especially because of the punctuation in verse 4 and the four beats in verse 4 and 5. All the verses after the introduction begin with a.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 3:4:4:3
Refrain 3
Strophe 8: 80:20-29

1 ἠνεώνυμε· ἔν ὅντρο Ἰω· Ἰμος· ἐροῦ·
2 ἔν· ἀυκλαολε· εἰ· εἴιδ· πκε·
3 ἀκώυτε· ἤνουδε· ἐγοῦμ·
4 ἀγουμε· ἤβολ· ἁντς·
5 ἀγονουργν· ἔν· νιαργαυς· ὁμ· ἐβαξιν· ἀυκλαολε
6 ἀχι· ἤνουδε· ἠμ· ὁγικο· ἔνημ· ἐτήνηπ·
7 ἀγω· ητα· ἄγει· εἴιδ· πνιοο.
Strophe 8: 80:20-29

And the eighth kingdom says about him
2 that a cloud came upon the earth
3 it surrounded a rock
4 he was begotten from it
5 the angels who were above the cloud nourished him
6 he received glory and power at that place
7 and thus he came upon the water.

Once again a 7-line strophe. All the verses after the introduction begin with ə.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 3:3:3:3
Refrain 3
Strophe 9: 81:1-14

1 ημεσήσετε--δε ἤμνητρο Ἰω--ήνοος--ερός
2 κε--ετοξ--ας--ψυχε ἅπεριασι ἄουει πυρξ--εβοι
3 ἄσει εκτη--ούτοου εὐχασε
4 οἰροιοι εἰςαιοος--ημίτω
5 αἰσθείης ηπειριαμείνῃ ερός--ουξας
6 κε--εκειενηνε ηπωογεύ εαίμε
7 ἄχωκ ηπειριαμια--εβοι
8 ἄσω--εβοι ηπειριαμια
9 αὔρηπος ηλικοούοντα ἅνει--ημπηγεασος--ης
10 εταϊνη ηπειριμα
11 οὐρ--αχσι οὐεςου ἄμνη--ητήμαυ ηπη--ουξούν
12 οὐρ--πτας ἄχει εκτη--ηνοου.
And the ninth kingdom says about him

2 that from the nine Muses one separated
3 she came upon a high mountain
4 she spent some time there
5 so that she desired herself
6 to become man-woman
7 she fulfilled her desire
8 and became pregnant from her desire
9 he was born, the angels nourished him
10 those who were over the desire
11 he received glory at that place and power
12 and thus he came upon the water.

Through its length a very complicated strophe. Not even the division of the verses is certain. In verse 6 is ηλεόγυςαίνε presupposed to have two accents. In the verses 7,8 and 10 have ἐπισύμιο both Greek and Coptic accents by the inversion of the rule concerning accentuation of Greek loanwords in Coptic poetry. Verse 11 may originally be constructed as verse 6 in strophe 7 and 8. In that case it had three beats in the original version.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses: 3:3:3:3:3:3:3:4(3?)
Refrain 3
Strophe 10: 81:14-23

1 τνεαγιτε ἀνατρρητω ἱω---ήνοσ---ἐνοθ
2 ἰε---ἀπείκουτε ἑρε ὁὕνε ἦτε---ἐπιθυμία
3 ἄχρο---ήνοσ ἐσραήτ ἐθεῖσ
4 ἄγω---ἀναγενέ ἔγνω---τκλοολε ἐζούε---ἐροχ
5 ἑβολι ἐγ---τκλετε ἄγω ἄχρογ
6 ἄχρο ἀνεοαγ---ἀκ---αὐσομ ἀπε---ἐθμαχα
7 ἄγω---ντε ἄχρι ἔγνα---πισογ

Strophe 10: 81:14-23

1 The tenth kingdom says about him
2 that his god loved a cloud of desire
3 he brought him forth in his hand
4 and he threw out to the cloud near him
5 from the drop and he was born
6 he received glory and power at that place
7 and thus he came upon the water.

Another 7-line strophe, but the separation of the verses 5-6 is uncertain. The division of the other verses is confirmed by the punctuation and the structure of the strophes. All the verses after the introduction begin with ā except verse 5.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 3:3:3:3
Refrain 3
Strophe 11: 81:24-82:4

1 θησιντούγε---αε θησιντρό τω--ήμος
2 με--απιστ ήπιούμι ετεχυερε υαατο
3 ἀσάω εςωσ--εβοι ἀμ--πεσειση
4 ἄσπούξη ι ἔηλ ἄσπούξη
5 ι ἀσαξ αι τηρμος
6 ἀπαγγελος σαμπούξα ἀπνα--ετίμας
7 ἄσω--ηςας αχει ερν--πινούσα
And the eleventh kingdom says

2 that the father desired his own daughter

3 she became pregnant herself by her father

4 she threw | tomb

5 | in the desert

6 the angel nourished him at that place

7 and thus he came upon the water.

Once again a 7-line strophe whose metre however is incomplete because of the lacunae in the verses 4 and 5. The verses after the introduction begin with a. Note the peculiar punctuation after verse 7 which only occurs here and in 85:18.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 3:?:?:3
Refrain 3
Strophe 12: 82:4-10

1 त्येनन्तस्मादसु सन्तिर्मो ज्व-इमोस-एरोः
2 ज्व-अच्याेपे-इबोः अयम्-फॉर्म सन्यः
3 अुस्मोहषु-अंगियः
4 अर्जि नौसेया-मिं-मुबोः
5 अव-प्ते अचेि एतिं-पिभयः
Strophe 12: 82:4-10

The twelfth kingdom says about him
2 that he has become from two illuminators
3 he was nourished there
4 he received glory and power
5 and thus he came upon the water.

This strophe is different from the preceding, firstly because of its length, it has only five verses and secondly because the hymn seems to have a different metre here. According to Böhtig the hymn with strophe 12 is at a new and higher level. Here is for the first time a divine origin of the illuminator mentioned. This may confirm the change of metre. The change of metre is also confirmed by the peculiar double punctuation at the end of strophe 11. Verse 2 may have four beats if ἐβοξ is stressed or if φωστήρ has two accents, one Coptic and one Greek. All the verses after the introduction begin with α. The division of the verses is confirmed by the punctuation.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 2:2
Refrain 3
Strophe 13: 82:10-19

1 τιμαύητουμε... ἡμῖν ἔναν--ήνοσ--εροχ
2 ἀκούσας... ὑμῖν ἔγειραρχῶν οὐλογοσ--περ' ᾧ
3 ἄρω... ἄρχης Ποιτίῳ--ἀπὸ προσφυγείς ἔφη--πειλογος
4 ἄρχης Ποιεοῦ--ἄν--οὐσον
5 ἄρω... Ἀχι... έχθρος--πίνομοι
6 ἔπαινοι... ἔγειρόν ὑμῖς ἔγειρόμεν...
Strophe 13: 82:10-19

And the thirteenth kingdom says about him
2 that every birth of their sovereign is a word
3 and this word received a destiny at that place
4 he received glory and power
5 and thus he came upon the water
6 to conjoin the desire of those powers.

This strophe diverges from the other through the addition of a verse after the refrain. This verse has three or four beats. It may be an extension of an original shorter version of the hymn together with strophe 14 which has a very irregular metre. The fact that only thirteen kingdoms are mentioned at page 73 (and in Egypt are only thirteen aeons mentioned) may indicate that the end of strophe 13 and strophe 14 are an extension of the hymn. The division of the verses is rather certain because of the punctuation. The verses after the introduction begin with a except verse 6 after the refrain.

Metre:
Introduction 3:4
Verses 3:2
Refrain 3
Verse 6 3(4)
Strophe 14: 82:19-83:4

1 ἑγείρεις ἃς ἑιματρό ἐπὶ εἰσὶ σεῖς ἐστὶ ἄμος
2 ἂν ἀποτεῖνε σωτῆρ ἄμοι εὐπορ ὀμιῳπαισὶ τήραι
3 ἄρτρε οὐρνωσίς
4 ὄτε πιατάκαι ὄτε τὸ
5 οὐσί πιάτα
6 πεζαῖς ἂν ἀχεῖ εὐπορ
7 ὀμιῳπαισὶ ἄμοι ἐπορ ἄμοι εὐπορ
8 ὀμιῳπαισὶ ἄμοι ἐπορ
9 ὄτε πιάτα οὐρνωσίς ἄρτρε
10 ἄμοι ἃς ἑγείρεις ἃς ἀποτεῖνε ἀχεῖ εὐπορ
11 ἐτύρινκος ἃς σωτεῖ οἰσερ ὀμιῳπαισὶ ἐπορ
Strophe 14: 82:19-83:4

And the generation without a king over it says
2 that the god chose him from all the aeons
3 he caused knowledge
4 of the undefiled of the truth
5 to come in his heart
6 he said that he came
7 from a foreign air
8 from the great illuminators
9 great aeon
10 and the generation of those men shone
11 those whom he had chosen for him so that they should shine upon
the whole aeon.

This strophe is very different from all the others. It deals with the
answer of the generation without a king, i.e. those who possess gnosis.
The introduction is different, the strophe is without refrain and the
division of the verses is uncertain. The end of the strophe is however
confirmed by the following τότε. It is possible that all the verses have
two beats. Verses 6-7 may be one verse with diverging metre which is
common for μεξιαυ-verse in Coptic poetry. The end of the strophe
seems to stand by itself as far as metre is concerned.

Very much is uncertain concerning strophe 14 but the following
metre is most likely:
  Introduction ?:4
  Verses 2:2:2:2:2:2:2
  The end ?::?
Comments on the metrical analysis

The separation of the strophes is certain. Each verse is usually a natural unity. The content of each verse shows where the verse begins and ends. Punctuation has no grammatical function in Coptic but is used in a free way as a poetical instrument. The division of the verses in the hymn is confirmed by the punctuation. Where punctuation is used a verse ends. The double punctuation at the end of strophe 11 confirms that the hymn changes character and metre from strophe 12.

The verses usually have three beats and the strophes with four verses have therefore the metre 3:3+3:3. This regularity cannot be accidental. Finally, the strophes form an unsophisticated kind of achrostichon since all verses usually begin with α.

Conclusion from the metrical analysis

1. The metre in the hymn is regular. The introductions to each strophe have the metre 3:4, the verses have three beats with a few exceptions which have two or four beats. From strophe 12 when the answers of the strophes are given at a new level the metre is changed. The refrain follows after the first thirteen strophes and has three beats. The hymn is concluded by a strophe whose metre seems to diverge from the earlier variants.

2. The analysis of the prosody of the hymn makes it probable that the hymn was in cultic use in its Coptic form. According to the rules of liturgical use of Coptic hymns which have been presented by Junker and Säve-Söderbergh in their analysis of Coptic hymns and poetry, one or two alternate cantors sang the introduction of the strophes and the verses and then the whole community answered with the refrain.

3. The hymnic section belongs intimately to the rest of ApocAd. The answer in the strophes of the hymn presuppose the question before the hymn: Where did the illuminator come from? The question on its part presupposes the text at least from 76:8, i.e. where the third part of ApocAd begins with: "Once again, for the third time, the illuminator of knowledge will pass ...". Consequently the hymn places the whole ApocAd in a cultic context.

4. The metre 3:3+3:3 together with verses of two beats is a common metre in Mandaean prayers and hymns, but it also occurs in early Aramaic and Syrian poetry. This metre occurs also in ancient Egyptian hymns. It is consequently also an Egyptian metre and the hymn might be an Egyptian composition. It cannot be certain that the metre followed the hymn in the translation from Greek into Coptic.

5. The length of the strophes 2, 4, and 9 are obviously different from the length of the other strophes. It might also be argued that the content of these strophes diverge from the other through the biblical
characters and the Greek divinities. At least strophe 2 has also linguistic peculiarities as етвмнч and оуярп. It is not impossible that these strophes are an extension of an original hymn of eleven strophes if strophe 14 is included. Strophe 14 describes the answer of the chosen generation and in strophes 12 and 13 there is no desire involved in the coming of the illuminator. There remain eight strophes in this hypothetical consideration. Is there a connection here with the atmosphere and the seven planet spheres with their sovereigns, the seven archons. Is there any allusion to the seven planets in the strophes 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11? Strophe 1 has a lacuna in the beginning. Strophe 3 should correspond to the moon. The strophe has a parallel in the apocalypse of the New Testament 12:1 etc., where the woman appeared in the sky with the moon under her feet. The woman fled into the desert where she was nourished during 1260 days. Strophe 5 should correspond to Venus, Astraphio in the Apocryphon of John, the guardian of all water. Strophe 6 has a lacuna in verse 2. Strophe 7 could correspond to the sun, Sabaoth in the Apocryphon of John, which has a face of a dragon. This hypothesis has almost no importance in our research but it might be mentioned in passing.

Erman and Fecht on ancient Egyptian (as distinct from Coptic) poetry

All archaic Egyptian literature can be divided into short sentences. In the New Kingdom these sentences are separated with dots which also are used as punctuation in prosaic texts. These short sentences, lines, verses, are a sign of a metrical construction of the text according to Adolf Erman. Often three or four sentences are connected with each other and constitute a strophe. The poems have often the peculiarity that each strophe begins with the same word. This custom does not appear in late Egyptian poetry. The strophes may have different number of verses and still be regarded as poetical strophes. The constructions of the strophes are more free than in the classical poetry we are familiar with.

Erman was however unable to say anything about the metre in ancient Egyptian poems. He thought that each essential word (noun, adjective and verb) may have had one stressed syllable (as in Coptic). In that case the ancient Egyptian verses had 2-4 beats. This free prosody might according to Erman be the prosody which the early Coptic poetry took over.¹

Gerard Fecht has developed Erman’s theory and in convincing articles he has elaborated the metrical rules of ancient Egyptian poetry.² Egyptian verses have two or three beats according to these rules, in

¹ Cf. Erman, A. Die Literatur der Ägypter.

² Cf. Fecht, G. Die Form der altägyptischen Literatur: Metrische und stilistische Analyse.
exceptional cases one or four beats. A number of verses constitute a group and more than one group of verses constitute a strophe if the text is long enough. To describe all the rules of ancient Egyptian poetry would distract from the subject, it is enough to establish that the metrical analysis of the hymnic section in ApocAd is compatible with the possibility that the metre in the hymn is an ancient Egyptian metre. The analysis does not prove that this is the case, nor does it make it more plausible than other alternatives, but there is nothing against the possibility that the metre of the hymn is an ancient Egyptian metre. The hymn in ApocAd is in that case the utmost link between Coptic poetry and ancient Egyptian poetry.

The structure of the hymnic section

Böhlig showed that there is a rising line in the different answers of the kingdoms in his presentation of the text 1963. The answers to the question where the illuminator came from.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strophe</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>? because of the lacuna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>From a great prophet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>From a virgin womb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>From the virgin of Solomon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>From a drop of heaven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>From somebody who became pregnant of her desire for the flowers, the lacuna unfortunately conceals the being who became pregnant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The illuminator is a drop from the heaven.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>From a cloud which surrounded a rock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>From one of the nine Muses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>From his god who loved a cloud of desire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>From the daughter who became pregnant by her father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>From two illuminators.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>From the sovereign who gave birth to a word.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>The god chose him from all the aeons.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The strophes (1)2-4 mention a human origin, 5-9 a heavenly origin, 10-13 a divine origin and 12-13 without any desire involved. Strophe 14 is the summit, the god chose the illuminator.

The GEgypt (NHC III,2 and NHC IV,2) mentions 13 aeons in 63:18 and 64:4 and the fragmentary Marsanes (NHC X,1) contains mention of a journey to the highest heavenly reality through explanations of 13 seals. Accordingly the answers of the kingdoms in the hymn may be an expression for a stratified reality of 13 aeons with different participation.

in the light of truth. The answers to the question about the origin of the light are mythological. That the man whom "the spirit which is holy" has come upon should be a historical person as G.M. Shellrude argues is not confirmed by the hymn, which in a mythological way describes different levels of self-consciousness, different degrees of knowledge about the divine origin of the soul. The illuminator in the sense of the hymn is hardly a light which came upon a historical person, it is rather a matter of divine light in each man. Complete participation in the light cannot be reached by man, it is a pure gift, a matter of election as strophe 14 says. The light in itself is a gift, the knowledge of the divine origin of the soul is varying and it is this variation which is described through the 14 kingdoms. Passing through the hymn one gets higher and higher knowledge of the light through the answers and maybe also through the baptismal expression Δ\gamma\nu\ θε\ όι\ e\ χε\ εκ\ θε\ νι\ νο\ νογος, "and thus he came upon the water". The question before the hymn probably has the origin of the inner light in view, which worries the powers. The powers try to destroy this inner light by punishing the flesh of man. This interpretation of the fourteen answers shows that the illuminator is a mythological character as Adam is in the introduction of the tractate.

Significance of water in the hymn

Water has a very important function in ApocAd, both the water of death and of life. Water has also a conspicuous function in the hymnic section. The refrain runs: "and thus he came upon the water". This expression occurs also in Zostrianos (NHC VIII,1) 18:2-3 and is probably a reference to baptism (cf. also NHC VIII,1 17:1-5). Each strophe in the hymn (except strophe 14) is concluded with an expression which might be a baptismal expression!

We have also the peculiar sign Τ between the strophes. Similar hieratic and demotic signs are discussed below. Note also the Egyptian expression ων \ η\ ρ \ έ\ ι\ ν=being upon the water, i.e. being loyal subjects, from Dyn. XVIII.¹

The context of the hymn

The limits of the hymn are clear. The section which follows the hymn begins with τότε as the section before the hymn which contains the question which is answered by the kingdoms. Despite the clear limits of the hymn it is obvious that the hymn belongs to the original ApocAd. The hymnic section is an essential element of the third part of ApocAd. The different answers of the kingdoms are answers to the question which according to the tractate is most essential for man: where did the light of knowledge which now has come for the third (and last) time, come from?

After the hymn follows the mythological story about the recognition by the people of those with the knowledge of truth, i.e. the generation without a king in the hymn.

From this it follows that the hymn is an essential part of ApocAd and that it continues the text. Neither does the language of the hymn separate it from the rest of the text. The fact that the hymn is inseparable from the rest of the text is an important conclusion in our effort to understand ApocAd and its Sitz im Leben.

Böhlig suggested in his presentation of the text 1963 that the hymn might be an excursus of the real apocalypse. If that is the case, the conversion of the people comes directly after the punishment of the flesh of the man by the powers and not as now, after the answer of the fourteenth kingdom. This is hardly possible. 83:6 is also a direct allusion to the recurrent refrain in the hymn. The hymn is simply impossible to understand without the preceding story about the third arrival of the illuminator and the following section is impossible to understand without the hymn. It is only in one way the hymn is different from the preceding text. It is an extension of the mythological material, it moves away from the world of Genesis.

**Conclusion of Part II**

The papyrus used to thicken the leather covers of the Nag Hammadi Codices, the palaeographic studies of ApocAd and the chronological facts we have concerning the origin of the Coptic language show that ApocAd cannot have been in use for long in its Coptic version. The metrical analysis is therefore quite certain. I.e., there is no reason to doubt that the text we have access to is more or less identical with the original version.

The metrical analysis of the hymnic section shows that the hymn has a regular metre. The dominating metre after the introduction (3:4) is 3:3+3:3, an Mandaean, Syrian, Aramaic and ancient Egyptian metre. It

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1 The metrical form of the hymnic section is consequently a common Mandaean metre. Micheu, Michar and Mnesinous are destructive characters in NIC V.5 84:5 as they are in Mandaeism and finally have the bath which is holy, baptism, important functions in ApocAd and in the Mandaeism. Consequently there are at least three independent factors which indicate a connection between ApocAd and the Mandaeans. Here the Egyptian background is considered but the Mandean question is worthy of mention.


Drower, E.S. The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans.

Drower, E.S. The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran.

Drower, E.S. The secret Adam. A study of Nasoraean Gnosis.

Rudolph, K. Der Mandäismus in der neueren Gnostiforschung in Gnosis, Festschrift für Hans Jonas p. 244 etc.

Rudolph, K. Coptica-Mandaica. Zu einigen übereinstimmungen zwischen Koptisch-Gnostischen und Mandäischen Texten in NHIS VI p. 191 etc.

is therefore possible that the hymnic section in ApocAd is the utmost link between Coptic and ancient Egyptian poetry.

The strophes, which from a metrical point of view are similar, might be a shorter original version of the hymn, but on the other hand the length of the strophes is insignificant in for example ancient Egyptian poetry.

From the metrical analysis follows with certainty that the hymn was in cultic use in its Coptic version. The context of the hymn indicates that the whole tractate is connected with a cult. The cult which ApocAd must have been connected with is probably a form of baptism if we consider the function of the water in the text. The question which now remains and which is the issue of part III and IV is if it is possible to find out how the text was used in the cult.

Segelberg, E. The pihta and nambuha prayers. To the question of the liturgical development among mandaens in Gnosis. Festschrift für Hans Jonas p. 464 etc.
III THE CONCLUSION OF APOCAD

NHC V,5 85:19-32

The text

85:
19 These are the revelations which
20 Adam showed Seth his
21 son. And his son taught
22 his seed. This is the
23 secret knowledge of Adam
24 which he gave to Seth, which
25 is the bath which is holy, for those who
26 know the eternal knowledge
27 through the logosborn
28 and the uncorrupted illuminators who
29 came from the holy seed:
30 Jesseus, Mazareus, Jesc-
31 dekeus. The water which is life.
32 The Apocalypse of Adam.

Further remarks about the hymnic section

It is almost certain that the hymn is prosodic. The most common metre in the hymn is 3:3+3:3. The conclusion from that is that the hymn has been sung in its Coptic version.

We have also the peculiar sign \(\tau\) which the scribe put in the margin between the strophes,\(^1\) at least from the end of strophe 4. The sign might

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\(^1\) This thesis deals with the sign \(\tau\) first of all as a division between the strophes. The \(\tau\)-sign has the same function in Papyrus Berolinensis 8502,1 15:11 \(\alpha\pi\beta\varepsilon\iota\upsilon\phi\varepsilon\alpha\delta\iota\varepsilon\iota\\) THEΣMΟΝΤΕ ΚΕΓΟΥΣΑ "Once again it came, the third power ...". It is more difficult to know if it has this function in NHC V.3 39:8 because of the lacunae.

It is worth noting that it is a hieratic sign which reminds of the \(\tau\)-sign in ApocAd, namely the hieroglyphic \(\hat{\tau}\) which in the second century A.D. was written \(\tau\) in hieratic writing, or \(\tau\) at the beginning of the Christian era. In Demotic \(\tau\) or \(\tau\)

A similar sign \(\tau\) means libation. This becomes interesting if the meaning of these signs is considered. \(\hat{\tau}\) is determinative in \(\hat{\tau}\) = hst. which means water-pot.\(^1\) \(\hat{\tau}\) sibt has the same meaning.\(^2\) is also determinative in \(\sigma\,\gamma\,\alpha\,\rho\,\ell\) kbb which means libation.\(^2\) is also phonogram in \(\dot{\alpha}\,\dot{\lambda}\,\omega\,\rho\) hsi=sing, praise, singer and in \(\alpha\,\gamma\) n.
have been used earlier in the text but it is impossible to say anything certain because of the lacunae. From the end of strophe 4 the sign is written between all strophes where the papyrus is intact. NHS has not observed all of them. First between strophes 13 and 14. The MS shows a faint but clear $\tau$. NHS has also missed the sign between the strophes 9 and 10. There is also a faint line between 83:3 and 4 which might be a $\tau$-sign after strophe 14.

Lectio continua is used in the Nag Hammadi library and these signs ($\tau$) must have helped the singer to notice the change of strophe. The sign confirms the result of the metrical analysis: the hymn has been sung in its Coptic version. The sign might also have had another liturgical function as suggested in note 1 at page 109.

In the metrical analysis of the hymnic section double punctuation between the strophes 11 and 12 is mentioned. There is another double punctuation in ApocAd, namely at the end of 85:18 and from 85:19 the conclusion of the whole apocalypse begins. Moreover, the sign $\tau$ is written in the margin between 85:18 and 85:19. It is not clear but perceptible. The double punctuation between 85:18 and 85:19 and the sign $\tau$ in the margin and the rhythmical character of the conclusion makes it very plausible that another short hymnic section occurs here.

Erman showed in his metrical analysis of Coptic poetry at the turn of the century that prosaic texts were given metrical form in the sections of the text which was especially important. The text was recited, but the important sections were sung, perhaps as an antiphon. This argumentation by Erman is very applicable to ApocAd and its hymnic sections. The conclusion of ApocAd is a concentration of the whole text, this is the revelation. It could be said that it is the most important section of the whole apocalypse. If any section was sung because of its importance it was 85:19 etc.

From Erman's reasoning we may also draw some conclusions concerning the hymnic section. The writer and the readers cannot have considered the hymnic section as something peripheral to the tractate. On the contrary they considered the hymnic section so important that the answers of the kingdoms were given metrical form and therefore the hymnic section was sung by a cantor and a community. The hymnic section must be placed side by side with the conclusion of the apocalypse in consideration of its importance. The conclusion is a concentration of the whole tractate.

At least two sections in the text have consequently been sung. This is not an unimportant achievement in this effort to understand the Sitz im Leben of the text.

hst=perform the cult. Is the $\tau$-sign in ApocAd a hieratic/demotic instruction to the singer to sing or an instruction to use the water in the water-pot?

1 Cf. Erman, A. Bruchstücke Koptischer Volksliteratur.
At least two sections in the text have consequently been sung. This is not an unimportant achievement in this effort to understand the Sitz im Leben of the text.

The metre in the conclusion of ApocAd

The metrical analysis of the hymn as presented earlier, rests on relatively firm ground as we have access to several strophes whose metre can be compared and thus come to a probable common metre. The conclusion of ApocAd is rather more difficult. There is nothing with which any possible metre can be compared but the suggestion given here could eventually give the only logical metre. This metrical analysis does not however prove that the material under observation is metrically bound. Various factors, i.e. double punctuation after 85:18 and the \( \text{T} \)-sign before 85:19 plus the fact that there is nothing to hinder a metrical conclusion being construed, makes it very likely that the text is metrical and also is to be sung.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1} & \; \text{Μάραθι} \cdot \text{πε-} \text{Μίαπόκαλυψις} \\
\text{2} & \; \text{ετβάλαμ} \; \text{βλ} \cdot \text{που} \; \text{εβοα} \; \text{πσε-} \text{πέχυρέ} \\
\text{3} & \; \text{βυω} \; \text{-} \text{πέχυρέ} \; \text{ταμε} \; \text{τέχνη} \; \text{πορα-} \text{εροου} \\
\text{4} & \; \text{τα} \cdot \text{τε+} \text{ερωσις} \\
\text{5} & \; \text{Μιαπόκρυφος} \; \text{ιτε-} \text{αλαμ} \\
\text{6} & \; \text{ετε-} \text{ττωκς} \text{πορο} \\
\text{7} & \; \text{ετε-} \text{πιωκω} \; \text{ετουαβ-} \text{πε} \\
\text{8} & \; \text{Μια-} \text{ετόουυ} \; \text{ι+ερωσις-} \text{νεμες} \\
\text{9} & \; \text{εβοα-} \text{ετοοότου} \; \text{μιαλογογενις} \\
\text{10} & \; \text{Μια-} \text{νιφωστηρ} \; \text{ματόκο} \\
\text{11} & \; \text{Μια-} \text{ετβαπα}- \text{εβοα} \; \text{ζει-} \text{σπορά-} \text{ετούαβ} \\
\text{12} & \; \text{τεςεύες} \; \text{μασρεύες} \; \text{τεςεδεκεύες} \\
\text{13} & \; \text{πιμοου-} \text{ετομε} \\
\text{14} & \; \text{Ταποκαλυψις Μακαμ} 
\end{align*}
\]
These are the revelations
2 which Adam showed Seth his son
3 and his son taught his seed
4 this is the knowledge
5 the secret of Adam
6 which he gave to Seth
7 which is the bath which is holy
8 for those who know the eternal knowledge
9 through the logosborn
10 and the incorrupted illuminators
11 who came from the holy seed:
12 Jesseus, Mazareus, Jessedekeus
13 the water which is life
14 the apocalypse of Adam.

The first three verses serve as an introduction to the conclusion. Each of them have three beats. Then there are four verses which have two beats and four verses with two or three beats. It is impossible to be certain. The three last verses seem to be completely independent. The metre of the conclusion seems to be similar to the metre of the hymnic section. A possible metre is consequently:

- Introduction 3:3:3
- Verses 4-7 2:2+2:2
- Verses 8-11 2:2+2:2 or 3:3+3:3
- Conclusion ?

The analysis of Coptic poetry 1897 by Adolf Erman

Erman did a work of epoch-making importance at the turn of the century when he succeeded to elucidate the rules of Coptic poetry from the tenth century. It was also Erman who came to the conclusion that Coptic texts with a metrical form certainly have been sung. From the fact that we have a prosaic Coptic text in which one or several poetical sections are integral parts he also drew the conclusion that such a text
constituted a drama,¹ that the text becomes understandable only together with a dramatization. Song was, according to Ermann, used to emphasize important sections in the text, in the drama.² In the text under consideration the conclusion at least was sung and also the answers of the kingdoms. Whether there are any more hymnic sections in the apocalypse is an open question, but in part C there are another two sections which have rhythmical character.

Accordingly ApocAd may be considered as a dramatic text, a text accompanied by a dramatic performance which elucidates the text and vice versa. The drama of ApocAd may be a presentation and illustration of the Adam and Noah mythology and the salvation through the illuminator and the bath which is holy. In this way premaeval states and "future" salvation are made present. It is easy to imagine ApocAd in a dramatic context. There are many monologues and dialogues interrupted by what might be changes of scenes and explanations of them. For the moment this remains a theory. If this statement is to be proved it would be necessary to compare the structure of ApocAd with ancient Egyptian dramatic texts. It seems however very plausible that the text has been used in connection with some cultic action and regarding the content of the text, this cult must have had a close connection to Gnostic baptism. There are three essential elements of baptism in the text; water, fire and spirit. The first part of the tractate consists of a mythological description of man which is the background, the reason why salvation through the bath which is holy is necessary. It is possible that ApocAd is a Gnostic drama of baptism, a primitive stage of formalized liturgy. The hypothesis of Ermann that a prosaic text with poetical sections indicates that the text has been used in a cultic drama, makes this possible.

Two facts from the introduction of this research remain:
1. The manuscript.
   a. The language.
   b. The content of the text.
2. The place of discovery.

Up to now, the MS has been almost exclusively dealt with. The place of the discovery, i.e. Upper Egypt, will now be approached. Many scholars seem to have forgotten that ApocAd and the rest of the Nag

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¹ One might discuss if the word drama is appropriate as definition of the ancient Egyptian cult. There are obviously contradictory opinions concerning the ancient Egyptian cult, if it can be described as a drama or not. It is not necessary to take part in that discussion here. It is ancient Egyptian cult and the structure of ancient Egyptian texts with connection to the cult which are relevant here and by practical reasons the words drama and dramatic are used. The word drama has therefore nothing to do with drama in a modern sense as a theatrical performance produced in all details. We will return to this issue in the conclusion.

² Cf. Ermann, A. Bruchstücke Koptischer Volksliteratur.
Hammadi library was found in Upper Egypt and that it obviously was translated and used there.

To undertake a comparison in Egypt itself and to analyse whether there are any similarities between ApocAd and ancient Egyptian dramatic texts might be a help in understanding how ApocAd was used in Egypt. What function did the drama have for the performance of different cults up until the second and third century? What function did the community have, did they participate in the drama or were they just audience in the modern meaning? Did the priests participate in the mythological performance? Was the Egyptian drama a way to make the myth present? Which function had the song, the music and the dance? All these questions are important if a more complete understanding of the function of ApocAd in Egypt during the fourth century is to be reached, but here the consideration will be limited to the structure of ancient Egyptian dramatic texts and if this structure is applicable to ApocAd.

Nomina sacra

To return to the Nag Hammadi texts before continuing the consideration of the Egyptian background of our text: Nomina sacra in Coptic are marked with a horizontal line above them. First of all frequent nomina sacra which are abbreviated. For example ṭε, ὑπ and ῥοκ as in ApocAd. The nomina sacra-line is however used in a quite different way in the rest of ApocAd and in other texts in the Nag Hammadi library. Here the nomina sacra-line is also used above non-abbreviated names. In this way it is possible to see which of the mythological characters the writer considered as "holy", for example χο, δευκάλων, Ṿήμ, ἀναμ and who had not this status, for example ὥοι (except in 76:12 where the seed of Noah received the gifts of the illuminator) and ἀρηκ

There is however a peculiar phenomenon in the tractate concerning the important human characters Adam and Eve which is worth mentioning. Sometimes they have the nomina sacra-line above their names. sometimes not, and it seems that the scribe did not use the nomina sacra-line in an accidental way.

Adam occurs in the following lines in ApocAd: 64:1,2 66:2,17 and 85:20,23 and 32. Neither in the title, nor in the first line of the tractate there is any nomina sacra-line. But in 66:2,17 after Adam saw the three

1 According to Erman Coptic texts with a metrical form have been sung. The hymn in ApocAd has almost the same number of beats in all verses of the strophes. It is impossible to be certain concerning the function of music when the hymn was sung, but that a hymn with this regular metre has been performed without use of the Egyptian instrument sistrum seems unlikely, especially if the close connection between sistrum and cult during the Greek-Roman period in Egypt is considered.

Cf. Bonnet, H. Reallexikon Der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte.
Heck, W und Otto, E. Lexikon der Ägyptologie.
great men in 65:25, the line is used. There are also nomina sacra-lines above the name of Adam in the conclusion, also in the last line of the conclusion. MacRae has not the nomina sacra-line in this last line but it is visible in the MS and Böhlig marked it in his edition from 1963. So far it could be a coincidence that there is no nomina sacra-line above Adam in the introduction but after the revelation of the three great men.

Eve occurs in the following lines: 64:8,26 65:3,12 66:8,13,27 (27 however very fragmentary) and in 69:16. Here the same pattern occurs as in the nomina sacra-line above Adam. After the revelation of the three great men the nomina sacra-line is used. However 64:26 and 69:16 diverge. This pattern, even if it is not completely clear, might indicate that the nomina sacra-line is used after Adam and Eve received gnosis (cf. also the nomina sacra-line above Noah in 76:12). This might also explain why the nomina sacra-line is used in the conclusion but not in the introduction.

The Nag Hammadi texts show a very varying carefulness concerning the nomina sacra-lines. If the two versions of GEgypt, i.e. NHC III.2 and NHC IV.2 are compared, it will be found that NHC III.2 uses the nomina sacra-line with great arbitrariness while NHC IV.2 uses it very carefully and very accurately. NHC IV.2 is also an older and more reliable version even if it is very fragmentary. The purpose of the peculiar way in which ApocAd uses the nomina sacra-line may be discussed but it is very plausible that the way in which it is used has a particular meaning. Adam has obviously gone through a fundamental transformation during the text so that he becomes worthy the nomina sacra-line. However, it is not possible to know for certain if the use of the nomina sacra-line is an indication of how the text has been used.

**ApocAd and the Gospel of the Egyptians**

The mythological elements which constitute the conclusion of ApocAd are also found in the conclusion of GEgypt. The parallel to the end of the conclusion (ApocAd 85:30 etc.) however, is not in the conclusion of GEgypt but in NHC III.2 64:10 etc. and 66:10 etc.: "Jesseu, Mazareu, Jessedekeu, the water which is life".

The conclusion of NHC III.2 translated from Coptic

68

Truly (ἀλέθως), truly (ἀλεθῶς). This is the book (βίβλος)

2 which the great Seth wrote. He put

3 it on high mountains over which
the sun has not risen. Nor (οὔδέ) is it possible. And since the days of the prophets (προφήτης) and the apostles (ἀπόστολος) and the preachers (κήρυκτις) has not the name at all (ὁλως) risen over their heart, nor (οὔς) is it possible. And their ear has not heard it.

The great Seth wrote his book (βίβλος) with letters in one hundred and thirty years. He put it at the mountain, it is called Charaxio: to come forth (προεπελθεῖν) at the end of the times (χρόνος) and the opportunities (καιρός) according to the will (θέλημα) of the divine Autogenes (αὐτογενής) and the whole fullness (πλήρωμα), through the gift of the fatherly love, untraceable, unthinkable.

It will be revealed for this incorruptible (ἀφθαρτος) holy generation (γενεά) of the great saviour (σωτήρ), and for those who dwell with them in love (αγάπη), and the great invisible (ἀφθαρτος) eternal spirit (πνεῦμα) and his only begotten (μονογενής) son and the eternal light

and his great incorruptible (ἀφθαρτος) wife (σύζυγος) and the incorruptible (ἀφθαρτος) wisdom (σοφία) and Barbelon and all fullness (πλήρωμα) in eternity.
5 Amen (ἀμήν).
6 The gospel (ἐὐαγγέλιον) of Egyptians.
7 The godwritten, holy (ἱερά),
8 secret hook (βίβλος). The grace (χάρις).
9 understanding (σύνεσις), perception (αἰσθησις), prudence (φρόνησις) and
10 the one who wrote it, Eugnostos.
11 the beloved (ἀγαπητικός) in spirit (πνεῦμα), in the flesh (σάρξ) is
12 my name Gongessos, and my
13 light-friends in incorruptibility (ἀφθαρσία)
14 Jesus Christ (Ἰησοῦς χριστός), son of god,
15 the saviour (σώτηρ), Ἰησοῦς. Godwritten (θεόγραφος)
16 is the holy (ἱερά) book (βίβλος) of the great
17 invisible (ἀδιάφατον) spirit (πνεῦμα).
18 Amen (ἀμήν).

Once again the text which precedes the conclusion of ApocAd, i.e. NHC V,5 85:1 etc. should be considered:
"Their fruit does not wither. But they will become known to the great aeons, because the words, which they protected, of the god of the aeons, were not put in the book, nor were they written. But angelic beings will bring them, whom all the generations of men will be ignorant of. For they will be upon a high mountain, on a rock of truth. Therefore they will be named: The words of incorruption and truth of those who know the eternal god in wisdom of knowledge and teaching of eternal angels. He knows everything".

ApocAd is older than GEgypt (NHC III.2). This is indicated by the Greek loanwords which are more frequent in GEgypt than in ApocAd. Greek loanwords are almost twice as many in GEgypt as in ApocAd. In the conclusion of GEgypt Coptic words are very few and Greek loanwords in the majority. It is most likely that the knowledge of the Greek language was less spread in the Sahidic-speaking area when ApocAd was written than when GEgypt was written.
It could be said that GEgypt is a development of the mythology and the soteriology which is found in ApocAd. The conclusion of GEgypt which was rendered above is consequently a conclusion of the same soteriology which is met within ApocAd. In spite of that the conclusions of the two tractates apparently diverge from each other, as regards language and content: ApocAd speaks about the words of god of the aeons which were not put in the book, nor were they written, and angelic beings will bring them to a high mountain. In GEgypt the words are written by Seth with letters and the book was put on the Charaxio mountain to come forth at the end of time and be revealed to the incorruptible holy generation. In ApocAd the holy words are an inner undescrivable and unwritten experience of those who have gnosis, and who have received the bath which is holy.

Briefly: GEgypt claims to be something which ApocAd considers as impossible to show with letters. ApocAd points to an experience which is possible to undergo in the bath which is holy. GEgypt claims to be that experience, it is godwritten. It might also be mentioned that Jesus occurs several times in GEgypt and as we saw he also occurs in the conclusion, but ApocAd has no clear Christian features. Because of linguistic arguments, because there is no clear Christian influence and because of the fact that ApocAd as a text does not claim to be the divine message as GEgypt does, it seems very plausible that ApocAd is an older expression of the soteriology which it has in common with GEgypt.

It has been mentioned several times that it is most likely that ApocAd is to be understood from the fact that its function was in a cultic context. From what has been said above follows that this cultic context must be very early in the Nag Hammadi chronology, perhaps so early that it has coexisted with the christianizing of Upper Egypt and with the last phase of the ancient Egyptian religion.

Myth and rite in Egypt

The fact that ApocAd was discovered in Upper Egypt has not been considered by scholars, but the Egyptian background to the movement which used ApocAd cannot be unimportant. Therefore as an introduction to the further analysis of the tractate some brief remarks concerning the relationships between myth and rite in Egypt must be made. Eberhard Otto showed that there is no close connection between myth and rite in ancient Egyptian cult, i.e., a mythology in for example a hymn, was not bound to a particular rite and a particular rite did not presuppose a particular mythology. The explanation of this according to Otto is that the rites are much older than the mythologies which later changed the

1Cf. The introductions to the texts in NHS XI and NHS IV.
meaning of the rites. These free relationships between rite and myth are according to Otto obvious inasmuch as:

1. That there are ritual texts which do not have any myths. These are according to Otto very old.
2. That myth and rite often change, i.e. a rite has not always the same myth and vice versa.
3. That an action in a rite does not need to be followed by an event in the myth and vice versa.

Consequently Otto means that the Egyptian rites and myths originally were separated from each other and during history they have been united, the rites have been mythologized. Moreover, the connection between a mythical picture and a particular god is very weak in Egypt. Otto also argues that an Egyptian rite in itself works out a similar event in the future but the mythologized rite works in the opposite direction, i.e. the text and the rite bring a primeval situation to the fore, make a recurring primeval situation or action present. He speaks about a "mythische Präzedenzfall" which is present in the mythologized rite.

Otto’s theory concerning the relationships between myth and rite in Egypt has been questioned later but as far as we are concerned the theory is based on firm ground, i.e. that there was no close connection between myth and rite in Egypt, that a particular rite did not presuppose a particular mythology. Is this ancient Egyptian excursus relevant for this analysis of ApocAd? At least it poses some new questions. The opportunities for a positive reception of the message in ApocAd cannot have been better than in Egypt. The Gnostic adaptability fits very well in the Egyptian relationships between myth and rite. Rites are often hard to kill. New movements hence often choose to change the meaning of the rites through new mythological material which they connect with the old rites rather than fight against them.

There is so far no reason to presume that this was the case when ApocAd was introduced into Egyptian culture. But we may say that the Egyptian relationships between myth and rite have not been any obstacle concerning possible Gnostic attempts to connect ApocAd to ancient Egyptian rites or structures of mythological texts. It is of course impossible to maintain that ApocAd has been connected to a complete ancient Egyptian rite, but it might be concluded:

1. That the hymnic section and the conclusion of ApocAd through their metrical form and the fact that they have been sung indicate that ApocAd belongs in a cultic, or a dramatic context.

2. This cultic context might be of Egyptian origin because of the Egyptian tradition concerning the relationships between myth and rite and the Gnostic adaptability.

3. That ApocAd in its older Greek version was bound to a non-Egyptian cultic context and that the cultic context and mythology was transferred to the native Egyptians as a unity seems to be less plausible if we consider Egyptian and Gnostic freedom concerning the relations between myth, rite, god and outlook on life.

Briefly: A comparative research within Egypt seems to be very urgent, and that fits very well in this starting point: to keep to the MS, the language and the content, and the place of the discovery.

Conclusion of Part III

It was showed in part I, the presentation of ApocAd, that ApocAd is a Coptic Gnostic text which gives the water of life and the bath which is holy a most significant role. In part II it was shown that the hymnic section has been used in some sort of cult in its Coptic version and that the context of the hymn indicates that the whole ApocAd belongs to a baptismal cultic context.

It is now possible to go further: The conclusion of ApocAd has also been sung, which means that at least two sections in ApocAd have been sung. According to Erman this might indicate that ApocAd is a dramatic text, a drama. Even if it is impossible to draw such conclusions at this stage of research it must be admitted that Erman’s analysis of Coptic poetry poses the question if ApocAd can be a dramatic text. The peculiar way of using the nomina sacra-line which is found in ApocAd might also be an indication of explaining scenes parallelly with the text.

The Coptic version of ApocAd is from ca. 300 A.D. It is obviously older than G-Egypt. It has been kept and used in a Coptic monastery before it was buried near by the Nile at Nag Hammadi. It is impossible to say if the Coptic monastery used the text in a cultic way, but it must be remembered that the conception of the oldest Coptic monasteries as bastions for what later on was called Orthodox Christianity is questioned. 1

Finally there is Eberhard Otto’s argument concerning the relationships between myth and rite in Egypt. In other words:

1. ApocAd, one of the oldest among the Nag Hammadi texts, has been used in a cultic context in its Coptic version at the same time as Christianity was spread in Upper Egypt and during the last phase of the ancient Egyptian religion.

1 Concerning early Coptic Christianity and its relations to the so-called Orthodox Christianity cf.
Atiya, A. A History of Eastern Christianity.
Bauer, W. Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Earliest Christianity.
Grant, R.M. Gnosticism and Early Christianity.
Ivanka, E., Tycia, J., Wiertz, P. Handbuch der Ostkirchenkunde.
Wisse, F. Gnosticism and Early Monasticism in Egypt in Gnosis. Festschrift für Hans Jonas p 431 etc..
Säve-Söderbergh, T. Holy Scriptures or Apologetic Documentations
2. Erman’s analysis of Coptic poetry poses the question: Is ApocAd a cultic dramatic text?

3. The emphasizing by Otto of the weak connection between myth and rite in Egypt might be an indication that the cultic context to which ApocAd belongs is Egyptian. Consequently a comparative study within Egypt is most urgent in the further research of ApocAd.
IV COMPARATIVE RESEARCH WITHIN EGYPT

Religions in Egypt during the first centuries and at the time for the translation of ApocAd

Before the problems of Egyptian translations and a comparative study of the structure in Egyptian dramatic texts and in ApocAd are approached it is of great value to make a brief survey of the situation in Egypt at the time for the translation of ApocAd. The Ptolemaic period was especially in religious matters a period of great national revival in Egypt. The religious centres as Thebes, Memphis and Bubastis were restored and new building projects were undertaken as at Dendera, Edfu and Philae. The elaborate rites of the old religion were carried on during this period. It was significant that all the ceremonial connected with the various cults was described in detail on the temple walls as will be seen in an example in the structural study of dramatic texts from the temples at Edfu, Dendera and Philae.

The population at large became more and more worshippers of a few favourite gods as Isis, Horus and Osiris. The cult of Osiris, the corn-god, the water-god and the god of life-in-death, became more and more dominating in Egypt. In Osiris centred all the ideas connected with the springing up of new life from decay and corruption. Around the end of the second century the knowledge of writing hieroglyphs decreased but some priests in the temples had a complete mastery of the art of writing. Osiris was still the god through whom immortality was to be obtained but Osiris and Serapis had been closely identified at this time. The ceremonies at Edfu and Philae were recalled rituals which had their origins in the first Egyptian dynasties. The Graeco-Roman cult of Osiris and Isis were culminating while the Egyptians especially in Upper Egypt still clung to their ancient beliefs.

At the same time, at the end of the second century, Christianity, already a flourishing institution appears in the history of Egypt and it had already spread as far south as Oxyrhynchus. Almost nothing is known about the history of Christianity in Egypt before 180 A.D. except that there is such a history. It is also known that there seems to have been little or no attempts to influence the non-Hellenic community. The natives were still uninfluenced by Hellenism and Christianity, and the gospels, canonical and uncanonical, were written in Greek. During the rapid growth of Christianity in the third century the old religion was still fairly vigorous and the cult of Osiris and Isis was just slightly influenced by Hellenism. But, of course, many converts to the new religion came from the old religion. The practice of mummifying their dead by the early Christians indicates an influence of the old religion’s belief in a concrete continuation of life after death, in which the cult of Osiris was an

1 Cf. Scott-Moncrieff, P.D. Paganism and Christianity in Egypt.
important part. It is natural to suppose that when the new faith began to replace the old, much of the outward character and symbolism should still be retained. An example is the persistence with which the Egyptian Christians clung to the use of their ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic of life as a form of the Christian cross. The worship of ancient gods continued during the third century, at Philae until the sixth century.

The Bible was translated into Coptic and the translation was finished in about 300 A.D.. During this third century when Christianity was spread even among native Egyptians in Upper Egypt, the esoteric Christian movement made great headway in Egypt. Both these closely connected movements in Egypt had strong sacramental character. Harnack goes very far. He said: Pistis Sophia places before our eyes very clearly the pre-history of the catholic sacramental doctrine. There was also another movement during this third century which became of world wide importance. The ascetic movement which occurred among "orthodox" Christians, Gnostics, Hellenic influenced and native Egyptians. But it was the natives who carried out this way of life in its extremest degree and who under Pachom's rule organized a community of monks near Chenoboskion and Dendera.

As a conclusion of this short survey it might be said, that at the time for the translation of ApocAd from Greek into Coptic in Upper Egypt around 300 A.D. there was a degenerated but still living old pagan religion and cult, plus the Greek religion influenced by the old Egyptian religion, and the Christian-Gnostic movement as well as the ascetic movement. It was at this very time that Christianity and Gnosticism were spread also among native Egyptians and many of them joined the ascetic movement. This is important to bear in mind when comparing texts from pagan cult with ApocAd. At the time of the translation many people in the Gnostic movement in Upper Egypt must have had knowledge of the pagan and Christian cult, in Coptic and in Greek as well. It was in this extremely mixed world ApocAd was transmitted and translated from Greek into the Egyptian language.

Egyptian influence on the structure of ApocAd

The purpose of the comparative study within Egypt is to consider if there are any signs of an Egyptian influence on ApocAd, whether the cultic context of ApocAd is Egyptian. Briefly, has ApocAd passed an Egyptian structural adaption? If the Greek version of ApocAd was written in Egypt, which is possible but not certain, nothing hindered that the author adopted an Egyptian structure of the text but kept the mythology and soteriology of the foreign Gnostic movement. But on the other hand, if the Greek ApocAd was not written in Egypt, but yet has an Egyptian structure, it is only when it was translated from Greek into

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1 Cf. Craemer, M. Das Altägyptische Lebenzeichen in Christlichen (Koptischen) Ägypten.
Coptic, or during the time the Coptic version was used that it could have adopted an Egyptian structure. The first of these two possibilities is most likely but we cannot exclude the second alternative which however needs some further consideration.

Translations of poetry from Greek into Coptic have already been discussed and the fact that a translator had great freedom emphasized, so great that he must have been an independent poet. A Coptic hymn is consequently never a copy of the Greek original. The Greek hymn is, according to Junker, almost a source of inspiration for the Coptic poet and translator. Let us now consider the Egyptian tradition concerning translations of prosaic texts which can be relevant for the translation of ApocAd because of the early dating of ApocAd.¹

1. First of all there is a great deal of uncertainty in the Egyptian language. At the risk of being misunderstood one might say that the Egyptian language lacks for example Greek means of expression, way of specification. This uncertainty is also present in Coptic, but is more apparent in Egyptian. This linguistic uncertainty in Egyptian translations implies a lot of opportunities for variations and is certainly one of the reasons to the free Egyptian translating tradition.

2. Another factor of uncertainty in Egyptian texts which is also met in the Coptic Nag Hammadi library is the frequency of scribal errors. According to Adolf Erman this is the result not only of the carelessness of the scribes but also of their lack of education. Hermann Junker suggested that the issue is more complicated. Some "scribal errors" in "Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien" are impossible to understand. For example the change of $\equiv$ with $\equiv$ or $\equiv$ with $\equiv$, especially as these signs also are very different in hieratic and demotic. These "scribal errors" are sometimes difficult to identify. They may be an unknown variation of the language which the scribe has used, sometimes a dialectal variation.² The same problem is met within the Nag Hammadi library. It is tempting to consider a peculiar way of writing as a scribal error so that the text becomes comprehensible. Briefly: The so called "scribal errors" are a factor of uncertainty in translations of Egyptian literature into modern languages but they are also a source of uncertainty in Egyptian literature.

3. Finally the confusion of the numerous Egyptian signs is to be considered. Parallel texts are written rather differently. A scribe had consequently several possibilities of expressing what he wanted. Through the great number of signs and ways of expression the translator was extremely free in his translation.³

These three factors are certainly contributory causes to the free Egyptian way of translating which means that the translator first of all

¹ Cf. Leipoldt, J. und Morenz, S. Heilige Schriften.
³ Cf. Gardiner, A. Egyptian Grammar.
tried to understand the content of the text, and then it was possible to begin with the translation, a translation which had little or nothing to do with our modern faithful translations word by word. The method implies of course a great freedom for the translator, but on the other hand there is a method which means a literal rendering of for example Greek technical terms (cp. Greek loanwords in for example the Nag Hammadi texts) and sentence-constructions. The mixing of translation methods make the Egyptian texts very difficult to understand and translate. The ancient Egyptian free way of translating is also found to a considerable extent in Coptic. The texts in the Nag Hammadi library are sometimes so difficult to understand and translate that it cannot be explained by the fact that Coptic is less expressive than Greek or that the translator’s knowledge of Greek was so bad that he hardly understood the text. The ancient Egyptian way of translating foreign texts might be the reason why Coptic texts sometimes are incomprehensible. The free Egyptian way of translating makes it plausible that the Coptic ApocAd is far removed from the Greek original, both the hymnic sections and the prosaic text, perhaps so far that it is possible to speak of a new text.

Consequently there are two possibilities of an Egyptian structural influence on ApocAd, first of all and most likely during the composition of the Greek ApocAd in Egypt. There is also a possibility that the structure of the text was changed during the translation or during the time the text was in use in Egypt. It this is the case it is “only” the mythology, the important words and the Gnostic outlook on life which are non-Egyptian. In other respects ApocAd could be an Egyptian text.

The Egyptian background of χωκη ετ ογδαο

The importance of the expressions χωκη ετ ογδαο and θυη ιε ιεθη πινος in ApocAd has been emphasized again and again in this thesis. The significance of water generally has also been stressed. In spite of that it seems necessary to return to this most essential theme once more.

Bath or purification in water is not an unknown phenomenon in the ancient Egyptian cult. It had obviously an important function for example at Phile. In the eastern colonnade of the House of Birth, nearest the entrance, there is an ornamentation where Thot and Horus are standing at each side of the king pouring the water of the vessels of libation over him. From the vessels are signs of Ι, flowing over the king mixed with Π, heads of Seth, here probably meaning death and corruption.

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1 The issue is considered by Wilhelm Spiegelberg in “Des Verhältnis des Griechischen und Ägyptischen texts in den Zweisprachigen Dekreten von Rosette und Kanopus” Papyrosinstitute, Heidelberg 1922.
Horus says among other things:

Words spoken: I purify your ka in this water.

And Thot:

I inundate the vessel of libation with the water of the river's inundation. I purify your ka.¹

And Hathor is purified at her arrival to Phile when she came to Egypt from Bwgm:

She purified her limbs at the pure island.

This must have happened before she entered the entrance hall in the Hathor temple of Phile where she met her father Re and the hymn was sung:

Your face is beautiful
you are pleased in your heart
when you appear in splendour.

Your father Re jubilates at your appearance.

Your brother Shu jubilates before your face.

Thot calls on the sovereign close to her ear.

The great ennead jubilates
when the protecting lotus comes.

The sacred baboons are in your presence
at your majesty's dance.

Biting the skin
of your ka's tambourine.
You great Djeded,
you ba in Bwgm.

The mistress of the sistrum,
the mistress of the necklace.¹

The ancient Egyptian bath of purification exemplified here was
described with the word wɛb. The word has survived in Coptic: mouseleaveth
and means here to be clean. The Greek synonymous is Ĥγίος, solete consequently means priest, Christian or pagan and was written ăr or ăr
in ancient Egyptian. In Demotic 2 1

This word is extremely important in ApocAd, where there is an
identity between Seth, gnosis, the name, they who have gnosis and χωκά
et 木耳, the bath which is holy (木耳 is Sahidic and Subachmimic
of 木耳). This holy bath is the Gnostic baptism. It is remarkable that the
author of ApocAd and of NHC IV.2 use the word wɛb. to define the bath. There were alternatives which were suitable and not so saddled as wɛb.
First of all we have 木耳(=βάπτισμα) which is a Semitic loanword and
which NHC IV.2 alternate with χωκά et 木耳 where NHC III.2 has
βάπτισμα.

Instead of βάπτισμα and 木耳 the author of ApocAd chose a word
which for all native Egyptians at the time of the origin of the Coptic
ApocAd was associated with the ancient Egyptian cult, still prevalent in
Upper Egypt. The author of our text must have known this but he still
considered that this word with all its meanings and allusions best
corresponded to the act by which a person received gnosis, washed away
the old desire (cf. Hathor who after her bath enters her temple without
desire to meet her father Re) and reached identity with Seth. It becomes
more remarkable if we consider that the community which used ApocAd
as a holy book during the fourth century probably had good knowledge
of the ancient Egyptian meaning of the word.

With this note about the word wɛb I want to emphasize the
importance of studying the ancient Egyptian mythology and cult if we
want to understand the early Coptic Gnostic literature. The ancient
Egyptian background of the early Coptic literature is of considerable
value in understanding the function and meaning of for example ApocAd.

**Concerning dramatic cult in Egypt generally**

Holy scriptures in Egypt were primarily intended for temples and
funeral ceremonies. This is also the case with the Coptic translation of
biblical literature and the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book. It is possible
that ApocAd belongs to this tradition where temple and holy scripture are

¹ Cf. Junker, H. Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien
intimately connected with each other. The connection was so close that the holy scripture was preserved in the temple, close to the place of the cult and the statue of the god (for example in Edfu and the Isis temple in Corinth), a tradition which is also found in Christian monasteries where the libraries (and the armarium) are near the Church.

Knowledge of how the Egyptian cult was performed is very limited. There are dramatic texts from different dynasties with a description of the cult parallely with the text. In spite of that it is almost impossible to imagine how the cult or drama was performed. It is known, however, that Egyptian dramatic texts had a common structure which will be exemplified from different dynasties:

Clause 1. Describes what is happening in the scene of the drama.
Clause 2. Explains the inner meaning of the events of the scene.
Then there are one or several speeches which are sung.¹
Finally sometimes one or several "stage directions".

An analysis by K. Sethe of a middle Egyptian dramatic text

In 1928 K. Sethe presented an analysis of the so-called dramatic Ramesseum-papyrus (RP), a manuscript found west of Thebes 1895-96. Gardiner dates it 12th or 13th dynasty.² This text has been chosen here because of the fact that it is almost certainly a dramatic text. There are many texts with a dramatic character, but the RP has a clear dramatic character. It is therefore suitable to use in order to illustrate the structure of ancient Egyptian dramatic texts.

RP is a drama which was performed at the succession to the throne of Sesostris I. The old king is dead and the successor fits out his ship. The text is written with early hieratic signs, almost cursive hieroglyphs.³ The drama contains 46 separate scenes and each scene has a fixed structure:

1. A description of what is happening. This part is often very short. The description contains an episode, an event which is the cultic action.
2. The event is given an explanation. First a divinity is mentioned and thereafter comes an act which explains the following.
3. The speech of a god, sometimes several, and each one of them is followed by number 4.
4. "Stage directions" (two or three).
   I. A divine person is mentioned in connection with an act.
   II. An earthly parallel to I.
   III. A place, a concluding event and/or persons outside the drama are mentioned. The "stage directions" are separated from each other by a

¹ Cf. Leipoldt, J. und Morenz, S. Heilige Schriften.
² Cf. Sethe, K. Dramatische Texte zu Altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen.
³ Cf. Gardiner, A. The Ramesseum Papyri (especially "Hymns to Sobk") Müller, G. Hieratische Paläographie.
horizontal line. Scene 2 can be taken as an example. It is quite free from lacunae.

Scene 2 of the dramatic Ramesseum-papyrus:

1. [Diagram of hieroglyphs]

2. [Diagram of hieroglyphs]

3. [Diagram of hieroglyphs]

4. [Diagram of hieroglyphs]
1. The scene begins with **hpr**, happen, become, come into existence (Coptic *wyne*). All the scenes in RP begin in this way. The text runs: "It happened that eight (*mns*b) jars were taken to the front of the ship by the descendants of the king". This is consequently what happens in this scene.

2. The explaining sentence always begins with **pw** (demonstrative), to be translated "that is" or "that means". The text runs: "It is Thot, Osiris on the back of Seth, to raise him" or in a free translation: "It is Thoth who placed Osiris on the back of Seth in order to raise him".

3. The divine speech which always has **gd** as introduction, i.e. the Coptic *xw*. The text runs: "Thoth (to) Seth says: You cannot hold out under (the one who is) greater than you".

4. After the divine speech follows the "stage directions". In the first a divinity is mentioned and here it is Osiris. In the second there is usually an earthly parallel to the first, but in this scene the text is unfortunately damaged. What remains is only: "the elders' payment ...".

3. Then there is another divine speech which is introduced with **gd**. The text runs: " Thoth (to) Osiris says: His heart shall not (receive) a libation (there) under".

4. Finally it follows "stage directions". The first: "Seth". The second may be: " elder go to libation" but the text is badly damaged here.¹

This brief presentation of a scene in RP is sufficient to illustrate the structure of RP. It is clear that the pattern is the same as was established from dramatic cults in general in the chapter "About dramatic cult in Egypt generally". A text, ca. 1500 years later than RP, might still more illustrate the structure of ancient Egyptian cultic dramatic texts.

**Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien**

The text is from the temples in Edfu, Dendera and Philae.² The whole text is not available. We have only the sections which were used as decorations on the temple walls at the place where the vigil over Osiris was held. It is evident that this cult has been performed in Egypt before, during and after the time ApocAd was translated into Coptic because of the fact that it also was performed in Philae, a fact which might have some

¹ Concerning etymological facts cf.:
Gardiner. A. Egyptian Grammar.
significance for the understanding of ApocAd. The drama is divided in 24 hours. Each hour has a common structure:

1. The hour is described.
2. The divinity is mentioned (i.e. the god who has the duty to watch over Osiris at this hour).
5. Lamentation.
This structure is accompanied by pictures illustrating what could be closely connected with the rite:
1. The protecting god.
2. The action of the hour, usually gifts being brought to Osiris.
3. A goddess or Horus.
4. During the day: mourners
   At night: libation or incense.
The third hour of the night might serve as an example.

The third hour of the night in "Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien" (SO):

1. [Image of hieroglyphs]
2. [Image of hieroglyphs]
3. [Image of hieroglyphs]
1. Each hour is introduced by wn, which express existence. The text runs: "The third hour of the night".

Then is the hour, the scene, explained which is introduced by pw, "that is" as in RP. The text continues: "It is the hour Horus (and) Thot enter for the temple-purification of Osiris".

2. The protecting god of the hour is mentioned: "The protecting god this hour, (who) protects the god (is) Duamutef".

3. Then follows the speech which as in RP always is introduced by dd. The text runs: "The third libation is spilled by the priest, saying:". Thereafter follows a long speech.

**Parallels between RP and SO**

The structure of ancient Egyptian dramatic cults is clear. The two texts which are separated by 1500 years have a common structure:

1. In RP there is the introduction of a narrative section which describes something which has happened, an event which at the same time is the cultic action of the scene. In SO there is the introduction of a description of what is happening at this hour. The introduction in both these texts consequently describes the cultic event in the scene.

2. An explanation of the continuation of the scene follows in RP. This part is introduced by mentioning a divinity and then the action of this divinity follows. The text begins with pw. In SO this pw comes a little earlier, after the hour has been described. After the description the protecting god who will watch over Osiris at this hour is mentioned.

3. Then the speech follows both in RP and SO and it is introduced by dd. In SO the speech is often connected with a libation, incense or ointment.

4. Finally RP gives the "stage directions" where a divine person and his action is mentioned, further an earthly parallel to the divine action and finally a concluding action. In SO there are often mourners coming forth, sometimes Isis and Nephtllys.

There are consequently two Egyptian cultic dramas, separated in time and content. In spite of that they have a common structure, i.e. they are divided into short scenes and each scene has a common structure. It is obviously that there is a common long-lived structure in ancient Egyptian cultic dramatic texts. It is also certain that this structure was used in the cult before, during and after the coming into being of the Coptic version of ApocAd. Is there any influence of this structure in ApocAd which could be the case if the Greek original was written in Egypt? Or is it possible that ApocAd was translated in a classical Egyptian manner, i.e. very freely, and that the translation was given the structure of ancient Egyptian dramatic texts? If this is the case ApocAd is mainly an Egyptian text, and the dramatic structure would also indicate that ApocAd is a
dramatic cultic text. But such a structure in ApocAd is not final evidence. There is also a possibility that the translator used a dramatic structure without any thought of dramatic performance of ApocAd.

"Tote" in ApocAd

In part II concerning the hymnic section it was shown that the Greek word τότε is used in the Nag Hammadi texts to separate different sections of the texts. F. Wisse has pointed out this function of the word. In GEgypt for example it is obvious that τότε has this function, i.e. to separate large prosaic sections of the text. In ApocAd however the function of the word is another. The fact that the word occurs 20 times in 14 Coptic pages indicates that. Moreover τότε often occurs at such short intervals as one or a few sentences. At the same time it retains its function of separating different sections of the text. After τότε something quite new always follows. For example 70:4: "Then (τότε) all the people of the flesh will be left in the waters. Then (τότε) the god will rest from his anger". It is obviously not a question of separating prosaic sections. The separated sections are simply so short that it cannot be a question of ordinary prose.

The reason why the peculiar way of using τότε in ApocAd is mentioned here is that it might be explained by that the text is not prosaic but dramatic and cultic. A dramatic Egyptian text demands separations with short intervals. In any case the use of τότε in the Nag Hammadi texts in general and ApocAd especially calls for further attention, but one cannot ignore the narrative character of the text beside the cultic dramatic character which I emphasize. In Egyptian narrative texts there are often stereotyped repeated verbal constructions in which for example ḫpr and ḫnn can be included. An often repeated τότε is not enough to define the form of the text. This issue is dependent upon the content of the text. In the following structural analysis of ApocAd however, it is indicated that the content of the sentence or sentences which follow the 1 - 3 τότε after each speech is a sign of a common structure in the text which reminds of a dramatic structure.

The structure of ApocAd

The question is if it is possible to find the typical ancient Egyptian dramatic structure in ApocAd. An analysis of plausible scenes in ApocAd might help to answer this question. It is necessary to remember that ApocAd is a Coptic text. The immense concentration of the content which is significant in the ancient Egyptian dramatic texts is at least to some extent caused by the ancient Egyptian language and is not necessary in a Coptic text. Coptic is a more differentiated language than the ancient Egyptian language.
The structure which is sought is:

1. Introductory narrative.
2. Explanation to the scene. One or several divinities are mentioned and an act is performed which explains what follows in the scene. In Egyptian texts this part is introduced by pw.
3. Speech. In Egyptian texts introduced by dd (Coptic Χω). This part is often followed by "stage directions". In Egyptian texts this part is introduced by psw.
4. "Stage directions". I. Mention of gods and their spiritual actions. II. An earthly parallel or response to I. III. Sometimes a conclusion of the scene.
5. Further speeches may follow and thereafter "stage directions".

I. 65:22-67:14

1. "And after that we were in the darkness or our heart. And I slept in the thought of my heart".
Commentary: This might be an introduction to a scene.
2. "For I saw three men before my face whose likeness I could not know, since they were not from the powers of the god who had created us. They passed through [ ]."
Commentary: Three men are mentioned. A possible parallel is the divine revelation to Abraham in Mamre. It is plausible that the ancient Egyptian dramatic components are present here: The divine persons are mentioned and their action explains what follows in the scene, i.e. they pass down to Adam and Eve in order to give them the revelation.
3. "And [ ] men [ ] they said to me: Arise, Adam from the sleep of death and hear about the aeon and the seed of that man to whom the life has come, who came from you and Eve your wife".
Commentary: The speech of the divine persons is introduced by Χω НΗΝΟΣ, i.e. the Egyptian dd, which also introduces the speeches in the Egyptian dramatic texts.
4. I. "When (τότε) I had heard these words from the great men who were standing before me. II. then (τότε) we sighed, I together with Eve, in our heart."
Commentary: This might be two "stage directions" separated by the Greek τότε. In the first the divine men are mentioned and their action. In the second Adam and Eve sighed in their heart, i.e. an earthly response to the first "spiritual experience".
3. "And the lord, the god who had created us, stood before our faces. He said to us: Adam, why were you sighing in your heart? Do you not know that I am the god who created you. And I breathed into you a spirit of life in a living soul".
Commentary: The second speech is also introduced by Χω.
4. I. "Then (τότε) darkness came upon our eyes. II. Then (τότε) the god who had created us created a son from himself together with Eve your mother [ ] in the [ ] the thought [ ] my [ ] I knew a sweet desire for your mother. III. Then (τότε) the vigour of our
eternal knowledge was destroyed in us and weakness pursued us. Therefore the days of our life were made few. For I understood that I had come under the power of death".

Commentary: Here follows three "stage directions" separated by the Greek τότε. I. Darkness came upon the eyes of Adam and Eve, i.e. the spiritual event. II. God created a son and Adam knew a sweet desire for Eve, i.e. the earthly response/parallel. III. Adam came under the power of death, which is the conclusion of the whole scene.

Is this an ancient Egyptian dramatic structure?

II. 76:8-77:26

1. "Once again, for the third time, the illuminator of knowledge will pass in great glory, to give to the seed of Noah and the sons of Ham and Japheth, to give it fruitbearing trees. And he will redeem their souls from the day of death".

2. "For all that which is moulded which has come from the dead earth, will be under the power of death. But those who think of the knowledge of the eternal god in their heart will not perish. For they have not received spirit from this kingdom only but they have received from an [ ] eternal angels [ ] illuminator [ ] come upon [ ] dead [ ] of Seth. And he will do signs and wonders to dishonour the powers of their sovereigns".

Commentary: After the introductory events where the illuminator gives fruitbearing trees to the seed of Noah and to the sons of Ham and Japheth the divine persons are mentioned: the angels, the illuminator and Seth. The action in the scene, i.e. Seth dishonours the powers, explains what follows: the god of the powers punishes the illuminator, the flesh of the heavenly Seth. Consequently the ancient Egyptian dramatic components are present. There is an introductory narrative. The divine persons are mentioned and their actions explain what follows in the scene. Then follows the speech.

3. Then (τότε) he will be worried, the god of the powers, saying: What is the power of the man who is higher than ours".

Commentary: The speech of the god is introduced by ἔως.

4. Then (τότε) he will arouse a great wrath against that man. And the glory will leave, it will dwell in holy houses, those which it has chosen. And the powers will not see it with their eyes, nor will they see the other illuminator". II. "Then (τότε) they will punish the flesh of the man, he who the holy spirit has come upon". III. "Then (τότε) the angels and all the generations of the powers will consult the name in error saying: From where has it become, or where did the words of falsity come from which all the powers have failed to find"

Commentary: The first τότε is followed by a spiritual event, i.e. the glory will leave. The second is followed by an earthly parallel, i.e. the flesh of the man will be punished. The third and last τότε is followed by
the conclusion of the section/scene, i.e. the powers ask where the illuminator came from and then follows the large hymnic section with the answers of the kingdoms. After the hymnic section there are no other sections with this pattern, instead there are two concluding monologues which are followed by the conclusion of the whole apocalypse.

If the story of the flood has the same structure as these both examples is more uncertain because of the lacunae. In spite of that it is necessary to analyse the structure of this part of the text to see if it is possible to find signs of the ancient Egyptian dramatic structure. Because of the blank page 68 the beginning of this part of the text is uncertain. It is plausible that a new scene begins with 69:2.

III. 69:2-70:6 (71:26)

1. "For the rainwater of the god the almighty will be spilled to destroy all flesh from the earth through this which it seeks after, with those from the seed of the men to whom life of the knowledge were given. This which came from me and Eve your mother".

Commentary: This might be the introduction or a part of the introduction to the scene where it is described what is happening in the scene.

2. "For they were strangers to him. After this great angels will come on high clouds. They will take those men to the place where the spirit of life dwells".

Commentary: Here divine persons are mentioned, i.e. the angels and the spirit of life, and their action is the cause of what follows.

3. The speech might be in the lacuna.

4. It is uncertain but possible that 70:3 begins with тóтε and that the lacuna in line 4 also contains the word тóтε. If this is the case the scene continues: I. "Then (тóтε) come from heaven to earth". II. "Then (тóтε) all the people of flesh will be left in the waters". III. "Then (тóтε) the god will rest from his anger and he will throw his power upon the waters. And he will give the powers to his sons together with their woman through the box, together with the cattle which he liked, together with the birds of heaven which he called. He released them upon the earth".

Commentary: The first stage direction describes a spiritual event, something comes from heaven to earth. The second an earthly response/parallel, i.e. all the people will be left in the waters. And the third is a conclusion of this part of the scene, the god will rest from his anger etc.

3. "And the god will say to Noah, whom the generations will call Deucalion: Behold. I have protected (you) in the box together with your woman, your sons, their women, their cattle and the birds of heaven
which you called and released upon the earth. Therefore I will give the earth to you and your sons. You will reign over it as kings, you and your sons. And no seed of the men who will not step into the presence of my face in another glory will come from you”.

Commentary: A second speech in this section is followed by one "stage direction" and a dialogue between god the creator and Noah.

4. "Then (τότε) they will become as the cloud of the great light. Those men will come who have been thrown away from the knowledge of the great aeons and the angels. They will step into the presence of Noah and the aeons”.

3. "And the god will say to Noah: Why have you turned away from what I told you? You have created another generation so that you can bring disgrace on my power”.

3. "Then (τότε) Noah will say: I will testify in the presence of your wing that the generation of these men did not come into existence through me, nor through my sons [ ]”.

IV. 72:1-74:2

The scene begins in a lacuna.

1. "| knowledge | those men to bring them into their land which is worthy and build them their holy dwelling place. And they will be called by the name which is there and they will be there six hundred years in a knowledge of incorruption”.

Commentary: This might be the introduction to this scene, i.e. those men are brought to a holy place and receive the name.

2. "And angels of the great light will be there. No disgusting deeds will be in their heart, only the knowledge of the god. Then Noah will divide the whole earth among his sons Ham, Japheth and Shem”.

Commentary: This might be the explanatory part of the scene. Divinities are mentioned, i.e. the angels of the great light. The division of the earth explains the rest of the scene.

3. "He will say to them: My sons, hear my words. Behold, I have divided the earth among you, but serve him in fear and slavery all the days of your life. Do not let your seed tum away from the face of the god the almighty | I and[ ] your | son of Noah: [ ] seed will please in your presence and in the presence of your power. Seal it with your hand which is strong in fear and commandment, so that all the seed which came from me may not tum away from you and the god the almighty but serve in humility and fear of their knowledge”.

Commentary: There are some lacunae in the speech and it is therefore uncertain if it is an entirety.

4. I. Then (τότε) others from the seed of Ham and Japheth will go, namely four hundred men. They will enter into another country, they will settle down with those men who have come from the great eternal knowledge, so that the shadow of their power will protect those who have
settled down with them from every bad thing and every desire which is unclean". II. Then (τότε) the seed of Ham an Japheth will establish twelve kingdoms. And their other seed will enter into the kingdom of another people". III. Then (τότε) I will consider | | | aeons to | | who are dead of the great aeons of incorruption.

V. 74:3-76:7

1. "And they will go to Sakla their god".
2. "They will enter the powers, accusing the great men, those who are in their glory".
3. "They will say to Sakla: What is the power of these men who stood in your presence, those who were taken from the seed of Ham and Japheth, who will be four hundred men? They have been received in another aeon from which they became. And they have converted all the glory of your power and the kingdoms of your hand. For the seed of Noah has done all your will through his son together with all the powers in the aeons which your power reigns over. Those men and those who have settled down in their glory have not done as you wanted. But they have gone away from all your people".
4. I. Then (τότε) the god of the aeons will give them those who serve him | | |. They will come upon that land in which the great men will be, those who have not been defiled, nor will be defiled by any desire. For the soul has not become from a defiled hand, but it became from a great commandment of an eternal angel". II. Then (τότε) fire, sulphur and asphalt will be cast upon these men. And fire together with mist will come over those aeons. The eyes of the powers of the illuminators will be darkened, the aeons will not see with them in those days".

Commentary: The last "stage direction" continues with a long conclusion of the whole story of the flood.

ApocAd has a quite different structure from this Egyptian dramatic perspective than it has if it is considered as a prosaic text.

The introduction 64:1-65:21

The introduction has almost the same structure as the other sections of the apocalypse:
1. "The Apocalypse of Adam. The revelation which Adam taught his son Seth in the seven hundredth year".
2. "Saying: Listen to my words my son Seth. When the god had created me of the earth with Eve your mother, I lived with her in a glory that she had seen in the aeon from which we had become. She taught me a word of knowledge of the eternal god. And we resembled the great
eternal angels for we were higher than the god who had created us and the powers who were with him, whom we did not know”.

4. I. Then (τότε) the god, the sovereign of the aeons together with the powers, decided us in wrath. II. Then (τότε) we became two aeons, and the glory in our heart left us, me and your mother Eve along with the first knowledge that breathed in us. And it fled from us, it entered into great | the great generation | which had not become from this aeon from which we became, I with Eve your mother. But it entered into the seed of great aeons. Because of this, I myself have called you by the name of that man who is the seed of the great generation or rather is from him. After those days the eternal knowledge of the god of truth withdrew from me and your mother Eve. Since that time we received wisdom about dead things like men. III. Then (τότε) we recognized the god who had created us. For we were not strangers to his powers. And we served him in fear and slavery”.

Commentary: The structure is almost the same as can be find in the other "scenes". First there is an introduction and a speech. Finally three τότε which we here call "stage directions": In the first is a god and his spiritual act mentioned. In the second is an earthly parallel or consequence mentioned and the third is a conclusion of the scene, the consequence of what happened in the scene.

The dramatic structure of ApocAd:

64:1-65:21 Introduction to the apocalypse.
65:22-67:14 The first dramatic scene.
67:14-? Introduction to the second dramatic scene. Page 68 is however blank.

The story of the flood 69:1-76:7
69:1-70:6 (71:26) The third dramatic scene with the dialogue between the god the creator and Noah.
72:1-74:2 The fourth dramatic scene.
74:3-76:7 The fifth dramatic scene with the conclusion of the story of the flood.
76:8-77:26 The sixth dramatic scene.
77:27-83:4 The hymnic section.
83:4-84:3 The lamentation of the people. (According to ancient Egyptian tradition lamentsations in the cultic dramas were sung by a choir.)
84:4-85:18 The Voice speaks to the people.
85:19-32 Hymnic conclusion of the whole apocalypse.
Conclusion of Part IV

The possibility that ApocAd (the text, poetry and structure) is a genuine Egyptian text has been considered in this concluding part of the thesis. It is most likely that the text received its Egyptian character during the composition of the Greek original in Egypt but the possibility that ApocAd is a part of the classical Egyptian translation tradition has also been considered. The text, poetry and structure are according to this hypothesis genuine Egyptian. The mythology, the important words and the Gnostic content are however non-Egyptian.

The structure of ancient Egyptian dramatic texts has also been considered and the fact that this structure was used in the cult in Egyptian temples when ApocAd was translated into Coptic has been emphasized. This ancient Egyptian dramatic structure might be applicable to ApocAd. The function of the Greek word τότε indicates a division of the text which coincides with the structure of ancient Egyptian dramatic texts. The question is consequently if ApocAd is a Gnostic Coptic baptismal cult-drama.

When the Nag Hammadi texts were found many scholars hoped to gain insight into the Egyptian Gnostic cult. The way of analysing the text which is indicated in part IV makes it possible to form an idea of the cult which might be behind the text. From the Egyptian background it is known which section of the dramatic text which contains the rite, i.e. which text is recited when the ritual is performed.
SUMMARY

The purpose of this analysis of ApocAd was mentioned in the introduction: to consider the function of ApocAd in Egypt because it is only in Egypt that the text has been used with certainty. Everything else is speculation, and it is from the function of the text it might become comprehensible. In order to throw light on the text the MS, the Coptic language, the content and the Egyptian background is considered. The starting points have been limited to these certain facts in order to concentrate the discussion on the conclusion.

The translation and the important words show with certainty that ApocAd is a Gnostic text. They who have gnosis are the seed of Seth. There is certainly identity between the seed - the generation - the name and Seth.1 Gnosis and the name are received through the bath which is holy which is ApocAd according to the conclusion of the apocalypse. These certain conclusions place the text in a kind of baptismal context. So far we cannot say if this context is cultic or not but the content of the text poses this question. Neither the peculiar relation of ApocAd to Genesis, nor the allusions to the New Testament, throw any light on this issue.

ApocAd was translated from Greek into Coptic ca. 300 A.D.. Consequently the text in the MS from ca. 375 A.D. had not been transmitted in its Coptic version for long. The hymnic section is certainly in metrical form. Consequently it was sung. This poetry might be the oldest Coptic poetry we know, the utmost link between Coptic and ancient Egyptian poetry. Because of the metrical form of the hymn it is certain that the hymn had a cultic function in its Coptic version. The Gnostic ApocAd has consequently quite certainly been used in a baptismal cult in Egypt in the fourth century A.D.. The punctuation and the sign also indicate a metrical form of the hymn and that it was sung. The hymn and the conclusion are consequently the most important parts of the text.

According to Adolf Erman prosaic texts with sections of poetry are probable dramatic texts. This has been questioned, but the mixing of prose and poetry confirm the conclusion that ApocAd has had a cultic function in Egypt. It might also be said that the work by Erman at the turn of the century, concerning Coptic poetry and prose, makes the question as to whether ApocAd is a dramatic baptismal cultic text, to one of the most important issues in the study of the Nag Hammadi texts. The use of nomina sacra lines is also a fact which indicates that the text had a cultic function.

The brief comparison between ApocAd and GEgypt shows that ApocAd is an early text in the Nag Hammadi chronology. Probably so early that it coexisted with the christianizing of Upper Egypt and with the last phase of the ancient Egyptian religion. All this is perhaps a weak indication that ApocAd is an Egyptian baptismal dramatic and cultic text.

1 Cf. Schenke, H.-M. Das Sethianische System nach Nag Hammadi Handschriften.
but it makes it necessary to consider the Egyptian background and to look for Egyptian dramatic signs in the text.

The relationship between myth and rite in Egypt was no obstacle concerning possible Gnostic attempts to connect ApocAd to ancient Egyptian rites or structures of dramatic texts. The weak connection between myth and rite and between mythological picture and a particular god is in itself no reason to presume that ApocAd has been connected to ancient Egyptian rites but it indicates that nothing concerning the relationship between myth and rite has hindered such close connection. The opportunities for a positive reception of the message in ApocAd cannot have been better than in Egypt. The Gnostic adaptability fits very well in the Egyptian relationship between myth and rite. There were no obstacles to a connection between ApocAd and ancient Egyptian dramatic structures.

The free Egyptian tradition of translations, first of all concerning poetry but also prosaic texts, makes it very plausible that the translation of ApocAd from Greek into Coptic was very free. It is possible that ApocAd received its Egyptian character from this translation or during the time it was used, but it is more likely that the text had this Egyptian character at the time of the composition of the Greek original in Egypt. The Coptic ApocAd, as well as Coptic poetry, might be a genuine Egyptian text even if it has a Greek original.

In the concluding part of the thesis it has been shown that the Egyptian adaption of ApocAd also might have been structural. ApocAd seems to have an ancient Egyptian dramatic structure which Egyptian dramas had at the time for the translation of the text.\(^1\) The analysis of the details of the structure makes it unlikely that the text is prosaic. The structure is very similar to the structure of ancient Egyptian dramatic texts. The text contains a long lamentation which also fits very well in a cultic dramatic pattern.

Briefly: ApocAd is a genuine Coptic Gnostic text from ca. 300 A.D. intended for a cultic function, a baptismal cultic function. Structurally the text is very similar to ancient Egyptian dramatic texts. It is consequently possible that ApocAd is a Coptic Gnostic baptismal cultic drama whose purpose was to receive the divine gnosis (for the individual who received the name through the bath), or to give it to somebody (which was the task of the community, i.e. the bearer of gnosis, Seth).\(^2\)

I have tried to show that it is unlikely that the purpose of ApocAd was only to illuminate the reader by reading the text. The detailed study of some parts of the text indicates that the way of illuminating was Egyptian, i.e. ritual. This is confirmed by signs of an ancient Egyptian structure of the text. The ancient Egyptian tradition was ritual and it is

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\(^1\) Cf. Bergman, J. Ich bin Isis as an example of free adaption of ancient Egyptian religious elements to a foreign culture/religion.

\(^2\) Cf. The quotation of Thomas in the introduction.
probable that the "Sitz im Leben" of ApocAd is to be understood in this context.¹

¹ Cf. Podemann Sorensen, J. Ancient Egyptian Thought and the XVIth Hermetic Tractate. Especially the conclusion of the article pp. 55-56.
CONCLUSION

After the summary it is high time to return to the starting point of this thesis. It was said in the introduction of the "Presentation of the text" that "we cannot say how or by whom the texts have been used" and further: "the purpose of this thesis is to study ApocAd only in view of these two facts (the MS and the place of discovery) and to suggest some conclusions from them to improve the understanding of the function, the Sitz im Leben of ApocAd in Upper Egypt". In what way can the conclusions in the thesis help us to answer these questions? In what way can the conclusion that the text belongs to a cultic context with a significant Egyptian character help us to understand the content of the text?

That the text had an illuminating function for the reader only through the reading of the text; that it was the text and only the text which supplied the reader with gnosis through some sort of mysterious illumination of the inner life when the text was read, is a very unegyptian way of transmitting knowledge, insight, life, power or whatever. The Egyptian way of transmitting is concrete and ritual. The cult demonstrates this and is that which is transmitted. But at the same time as the Egyptian way of transmitting is ritual, Egyptian rites also include mythological prototypes and these prototypes are present in the ritual, cultic, dramatic texts.

Realism is significant for Egyptian culture and this realism is also manifested in such an abstract matter as knowledge, even knowledge is an object. Egyptian knowledge is ritual knowledge. The mythology in the text leads to the essential cultic act which is the knowledge.

This fundamental Egyptian way of transmitting essential vital gifts helps us to understand ApocAd and how it was used, not in every detail, but in broad outline. And this understanding and insight is possible because it has been shown that ApocAd belongs to an Egyptian cultic dramatic baptismal context. The mythology of part A and B in ApocAd, i.e. the Adam and Noah mythology, has probably an Egyptian dramatic structure. It is this mythology which leads towards the essential cultic action which is an incarnation of the present mythology. The dramatic mythology leads to the hymn, the Adam and Noah mythology is a prototype of the ritual which must have taken place when the hymn with its repeated refrain which is a baptismal expression was sung. Consequently dramatic scenes do not occur after the hymnic section because their function in Egyptian cult is to lead towards the purpose of the cult, in this text i.e. the holy bath or baths. After the hymn follows a lamentation and the explanatory voice before the conclusion.

There is no sense in a detailed speculation about what was going on parallellly with the text. We have no reason to believe that a particular performance was prescribed. It could have been the text and not the rites
which gave the cult an established form. The illustration of the Adam and Noah mythology might have been very free. Perhaps it was not always necessary to illustrate the mythology in spite of the dramatic structure of the text. Much in the cult might have varied from time to time dependent upon those taking part and the place of the cult, but essential sections have probably been performed with great carefulness. First of all the holy bath during the hymnic section. During the hymn the candidate was moved closer and closer towards the light and finally he became one of the elected, completely free from desire.

It is out of the scope of this thesis to look for more specific Egyptian parallels, for example that the hymn in ApocAd is a parallel to the twelve hours of the night. It is possible to begin to see dawn already at the tenth hour, but the clear light of the sun is seen at the first hour of the day, the thirteenth kingdom in the hymn when the word is born. The diverging strophe 14 must in this pattern be a Gnostic extravagance. The gradually increasing knowledge in the strophes of the hymn might have the nightly journey of the sun in the Egyptian mythology as prototype. The content of the hymn is certainly not without Egyptian allusions, for example the father who desired his own daughter in strophe eleven. Such speculations are not necessary here. It is enough to keep to the conclusion that the text has a cultic function and an Egyptian dramatic structure. The scenic sections in the Adam and Noah mythology leads towards the hymn and the holy bath in which man is purged from all dark desire and remembers his true origin, receives the name and becomes one of the elected. Out of this concrete Egyptian cultic perspective it is possible to reach a more complete understanding of ApocAd.

Let us finally return to the scenic sections which according to the Egyptian dramatic pattern lead the participants and the listeners towards the essential rite:

1. 64:1 - 65:21. An introduction which describes the true origin of man and how the knowledge concerning that origin was lost. How man came under the power of death.

2. 65:22 - 67:14. The revelation of three men. They reveal the true origin of man, but god the creator keeps man under his power.

3. 67:14 -. Adam gives the revelation of the three men to his son Seth.

4. 69:1 - 71:26. The rainwater is spilled to drown all flesh on earth together with everybody with gnosis. Noah and his sons receive the earth from god the creator.

5. 72:1 - 74:2. A generation builds a holy dwelling place in their country and Noah divides the whole earth among his sons. Some of the sons of Ham and Japheth move to the other country and settle down together with the great generation.

6. 74:3 - 76:7. The generation under the power of death complains to Sakla that some of the sons of Ham and Japheth have been received into
another generation. Sakla tries to kill this generation with fire, asphalt and sulphur but Abrasax, Sablo and Gamaliel save them.

7. 76:8 - 77:26. The illuminator arrives to save man and the powers ask where the word came from.

When the participants have been led to this essential question the illumination through the strophes of the hymn and the holy bath begins. This is ApocAd together with the following lamentation and the explanatory voice according to ApocAd 85:19 etc.  

1 Cf. Assman, J. Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott. The way in which the hymn in ApocAd illuminates the participants, the listeners, in which it reveals the secret knowledge, reminds of how the ancient Egyptian hymns of the sun revealed the secret knowledge of the sun in the underworld.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>A</td>
<td>Achmimic</td>
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<td>Yahvist tradition</td>
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APPENDIX

An example of ancient Egyptian metres is a hymn to Re from the end of Dyn. XVIII. (From the door-jamb of the tomb of king Haremhab, now in British Museum.)

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

5. 

6. 

7. 

8. 

9.
Translation:

1 Recitation of the words by prince Haremhab, justified.
2 He adores Re at his rising,
3 saying:
4 Praise to you who come into existence every day
5 who gives birth to yourself every morning
6 who comes from the womb of your mother without cessation
7 the two halves come to you in bowing
8 they give praise to you at your rising
9 you have made the land dazzling through the splendour of your body
10 you are divine as Sakhlme which is in heaven
11 beneficent god
12 king of eternity
13 lord of light
14 sovereign of brightness
15 who is on his seat in the bark of dusk
16 great appearance in the bark of dawn
17 divine stripling
18 heir of eternity
19 who begot himself
20 who gives birth to himself
21 the great ennead adores you
22 the little ennead celebrates you
23 they adore you in your beautiful forms.

A metrical analysis of the hymn to Re:

1. dd--mdw--in.Hr--m--hh mtr--hrw
2. dwst--lf--Rf m--wbn--f
3. dd--l
4. iw--nk hpr--rf--nb
5. mss--sw tnw--dwst
6. pr--m--h吐--mwt--f nn--sbw
7. iw--nk--trty m--ksw
8. di--sn--nk--iw n--wbn--k
9. sthn--nk--m--mwt--hwk
10. ntry--ti--m--Shm imy--pt
11. ntr mnh
12. nsw hh
The metrical structure of this hymn to the sun is quite certain. After the introduction there are twenty verses with two or three beats. This part of the hymn is an example of the ancient Egyptian metre which we also find in the hymnic section of ApocAd. Consequently it is possible that the hymnic section of ApocAd has got its metre from ancient Egyptian hymns and not from the Greek original.

This hymn to the sun is also an example of the performative function of the ancient Egyptian hymns.¹ The hymnic section of ApocAd is to be understood in this ancient Egyptian performative tradition. The mythology in ApocAd and the hymn together with the cultic action give the listener communion with the community of Seth. of the name, with Seth himself and the participant in the dramatic event receives the life-giving gnosis.

¹ Cf. Assman, J. Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott. Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I.