

# The Apocalypse of Adam

Stephen E. Robinson

In 1945 a collection of thirteen leather-bound volumes, containing fifty-three separate compositions, was discovered in the vicinity of the small town of Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt. Since that time this collection has generally been referred to as the Nag Hammadi Library. These manuscripts, written in Coptic, the language of Egypt during the first centuries of the Christian era, are the literary remains of a group of Egyptian Christians who practiced a form of Christianity called Gnosticism. While Gnosticism was not confined to Egypt, it was there that the dry climate and a healthy distance from the watchful eyes of later orthodoxy worked together to preserve this remarkable collection of Gnostic scriptures.

In contrast to the Dead Sea Scrolls, discovered two years later, there has been relatively little excitement over the Nag Hammadi find. Until recently, with the exception of the Gospels of Thomas and Philip, the Nag Hammadi materials had remained inaccessible and relatively unknown even to students of early Christianity. This is due partly to unsettled political conditions in the Near East which have made it difficult to obtain authoritative copies of the manuscripts, but it is equally a result of the scarcity of scholars in New Testament and early Church history who read Coptic confidently. Only in the last few years have authoritative texts for many of the documents become available and the value of Coptic for primary research in early Christian literature and the New Testament been recognized. Thus, thirty years after their discovery, the Nag Hammadi documents are gradually receiving the attention they deserve, although most are still not available in English. In the future these documents will prove to be of increasing importance to biblical scholars and historians in general, and to LDS scholars in particular.

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The Nag Hammadi Library is important to students of early Christian literature primarily because it represents an early type of Christianity completely unlike what has long been called "orthodoxy." Walter Bauer demonstrated long ago that the traditional picture of Christian history is one from which the victorious fourth century Church carefully erased all traces of its earlier competition.<sup>1</sup> Actually, in the first three centuries there were several brands of Christianity all competing for the title of "orthodoxy." These were often as large as, if not larger than, the Universal Church, and equally powerful and influential. The rediscovery of these varieties of Christianity and their extraordinary doctrines is forcing scholars to take another look at the nature of earliest Christianity.

Although Gnosticism has long been known to scholars in a less complete form through the writings of the Church Fathers and through an occasional manuscript, it has usually been treated as a form of aberrant Christianity having only secondary significance. The discovery of the Nag Hammadi Library has reemphasized the fact that Gnosticism was not merely the "heretic fringe" of the Universal Church, but that in large areas of the ancient world Gnosticism *was* the Church.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of the Nag Hammadi texts to LDS scholars is that they not only witness an early Christianity significantly different from the orthodox tradition, but that they witness the existence of certain peculiar doctrines and bits of tradition in very early Christianity that in modern times are found almost exclusively among the Mormons. The following few examples will demonstrate some of these teachings and traditions.

The term Gnostic comes from the Greek word for knowledge (*gnosis*). Fundamental to Gnosticism was the belief that the principle of knowledge is the principle of salvation and that it is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance.<sup>3</sup> Personal revelation was crucial. The knowledge necessary for salvation consisted, according to many Gnostic writings, of higher teachings and ordinances taught by Jesus and his disciples and transmitted in oral tra-

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<sup>1</sup>Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971).

<sup>2</sup>It should be understood, however, that Gnosticism is itself only a general term used to identify a variety of sects which shared the same general approach to religion, but which did not necessarily agree on specific tenets. The term Protestantism is used in much the same way to denote an approach to Christianity which differs from that of Catholicism.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1968), p. 297; see also *Doctrine and Covenants* 131:6.

ditions which were most often too secret and sacred to be written down or to be discussed with any who were not worthy of them. On those occasions when they were written down, they appear to have been closely held and committed to writing only in an effort to preserve them for future generations. Although orthodox Christianity has emphatically denied that any such esoteric teachings ever existed, Gnosticism insisted not only that they were an important part of earliest Christianity, but also that they were the *most* important part.

Quite often this secret teaching included a knowledge of certain passwords, signs, and seals that made it possible for the Gnostic to escape from the earth, to pass by angelic beings who barred the way, and to return to God. This was a literal return, for the Gnostics believed in the preexistence of man and even in his coeternity with God. The beautiful Gnostic "Hymn of the Pearl" portrays man as a spirit child of his Heavenly Father who lived as a prince in the palace of the Heavenly King before descending to the earth.<sup>4</sup>

Gnosticism frequently divides mankind into three categories: pneumatics, who are spiritual; hylics, who are not; and psychics, who are a little of both. Although psychics can be saved, usually it is only the pneumatics who can be saved in the highest degree of glory.<sup>5</sup>

According to the Gnostic Gospel of Philip, the highest ordinance of Christianity is eternal marriage.<sup>6</sup> This ordinance must be performed in this life, and the "bridal chamber" where it is performed is called the holy of holies. We read from the Gospel of Philip 117:24-25, "But the holy of the holy ones is the bridal chamber," from 118:17-20, "But the woman is united to her husband in the bridal chamber. But those who have united in the bridal chamber will no longer be separated," and from 134:4-8, "If anyone becomes a son of the bridal chamber, he will receive the light. If anyone does not receive it while he is in this world, he will not receive it in the other place." There is also mention made of heavenly garments and names which must never be spoken by those who know them.<sup>7</sup> Gnosticism knows a married Christ, or at least

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<sup>4</sup>Albertus Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), pp. 120-25.

<sup>5</sup>*On the Origin of the World* (CG II,5) pl. 125-6. The "CG" in this and subsequent citations shows the text to be part of the Nag Hammadi Coptic Gnostic Library now located in Cairo (*Cairensis Gnosticus*). The Roman numeral is the codex number, and subsequent Arabic numerals indicate treatise, page, and line.

<sup>6</sup>See Abraham 3:22.

<sup>7</sup>*The Gospel of Philip* (CG II,3), 117:24-25, 118:17-29, 134:4-8, 124:6-8, 105:21-22, 102:10-12. (R. McL. Wilson, trans., *The Gospel of Philip* [London: Mowbray & Co., 1962]).

a Christ with a sexual nature, as opposed to the asexual Christ of orthodoxy.<sup>8</sup> The apostles also are married, and in the Second Book of Jeu the resurrected Jesus has them form a circle around an altar with their wives at their left in order to teach them the true mysteries.<sup>9</sup> The Marcionites, a Gnostic sect, practiced a form of vicarious baptism for the dead, an ordinance that has since dropped out of orthodoxy although it is attested in the New Testament.<sup>10</sup>

In most forms of Gnosticism the secret oral tradition mentioned above is often associated with accounts of the creation of the world, the experiences of Adam and Eve in the Garden, and the fall of man. It is usually in this creation setting or in a temple or on a mountaintop<sup>11</sup> that Gnosticism places the revelation of the esoteric mysteries and the knowledge needed to thwart the archontic powers and return to God. Gnosticism is primarily concerned with the questions, Who am I? Where am I from? and What is my destiny? That the answers to these questions are often associated with the creation, the Garden, and the fall of man is probably due to the Gnostic presupposition that the end of all things is to be found in their beginning.<sup>12</sup> Of those documents which manifest this concern, the Nag Hammadi Apocalypse of Adam is perhaps the prime example.

#### SUMMARY OF THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM

The Apocalypse of Adam (CG V, 5) purports to record the revelation which Adam taught to his son Seth. According to the text, Adam first explains to Seth that after being created out of the earth, he and Eve possessed in unity a great glory, that Eve taught him a word of knowledge of the Eternal God, and as a result of this they were like the great eternal angels and were higher than the evil Creator God who made them. It is then told how the Creator God divided them into two aeons,<sup>13</sup> apparently an allusion to the

<sup>8</sup>*The Gospel of Philip* (CG II,3), 107:8-9, 111:32-37. Also, *The Gospel of Thomas* (CG II,2), 91:25-28).

<sup>9</sup>Carl Schmidt and Walter Till, *Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften*, I 303, 1-11 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962).

<sup>10</sup>See Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, v. 10 and *De resurrectione carnis*, xlvi; see also 1 Corinthians 15:29 and Hugh Nibley, "Baptism for the Dead in the Ancient Times," in *Improvement Era*, 51-52 (December 1948-April 1949).

<sup>11</sup>For mountains as temples see Hugh Nibley, *What is a Temple? The Idea of the Temple in History* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1968), p. 231.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. *The Gospel of Thomas* (CG II,2) 84:9-18.

<sup>13</sup>An aeon in a gnostic context is "one of the group of eternal beings that together form the fulness of the supreme being from whom they emanate and between whom and the world they are intermediaries" (*Webster's Third New International Dictionary* [unabridged], s.v. "aeon.")

myth of the androgynous creation of Adam. Thus separated, their original glory and first knowledge leave them and enter into their seed to be manifest in future generations through the lineage of Seth. Seth himself is named after the great Savior figure who will be the manifestation of the lost knowledge and glory of Adam and Eve in some future generation. Adam and Eve, having lost their original glory and knowledge in the fall, now learn as men about dead things. They also now recognize the evil Creator God, who is roughly equivalent in Gnosticism to the Satan of Christianity.

Adam then falls into a sleep during which three men come to him whom he does not recognize, because they are not from the Creator God, but presumably from the Great Eternal God. Saying "Adam, arise from the sleep of death . . ." they restore some of Adam's knowledge and tell him about the Savior/Illuminator who will eventually be born from his and Eve's seed.

When Adam and Eve hear these things they give a sigh in their hearts which is overheard by the evil Creator God. He then appears before them and insists that he is their god, the god who made them. He somehow causes Adam to lust after Eve (the text is broken here) and there is a second fall.

Adam now reveals to Seth the things that the three men taught him, which consist of a vision of the future and of the appearance of the Savior/Illuminator. Adam prophesies that the Creator God will bring the Flood upon the world and destroy all men in order to kill the seed of Seth into whom the original knowledge and glory of Adam have entered.

But angels from the Great Eternal God come on clouds and, plucking the seed of Seth from the flood, transport them to the place of the spirit of life. The Creator God has in the meantime made a covenant with Noah and his sons,<sup>14</sup> promising to save them and give them kingship over all the earth if they will bear no seed of those who will not worship him. When the seed of Seth reappears, Noah is accused by the Creator God of breaking this covenant, which Noah denies. The seed of Seth then go into a land by themselves and establish a utopian community where there is no evil for 600 years, where angels of the Great Eternal God dwell with them, and where they are called by "the Name."

Noah then divides the earth among his sons and charges his posterity to serve the Creator God in fear and slavery. But from the seed of Ham and Japheth 400,000 men join themselves with the

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<sup>14</sup>See Genesis 9:9-17.

seed of Seth. The remainder of the seed of Ham and Japheth form twelve kingdoms and serve their god Sakla, the Creator God. Inevitably friction arises between the twelve kingdoms on the one hand and the seed of Seth with their 400,000 converts on the other. To vindicate his power in the eyes of the twelve kingdoms the Creator God sends some of his angels to rain fire, sulphur, and asphalt upon the seed of Seth. But again, the Great Eternal God sends his angels Abrasax, Sablo, and Gamaliel in clouds of light to descend upon the seed of Seth, lift them out of the fire, and take them away.

Some time after this the Illuminator of knowledge himself appears in order to leave for himself fruit-bearing trees (i.e., men who have the gnosis) and to redeem their souls from death. This is the Savior promised to Adam and Eve. He performs great signs and wonders and mocks the powers of the Creator God. Because the origin and power of the Illuminator is something that the Creator God and his angels cannot explain, they "punish his flesh." Nevertheless, they use "the Name" in error, and ask, "Where did it come from?" In answer to this question the twelve kingdoms of Ham and Japheth attempt to explain in short enigmatic statements how he was conceived, born, nourished and thus "came to the water." These statements follow the pattern of the first which is, in part:

He was from . . . a spirit . . . to heaven. He was nourished in the heavens. He received the glory and the power of the one who is there. He came to the bosom or womb of his mother. And thus he came to the water.

After the twelve kingdoms, a thirteenth adds its account. Then finally the fourteenth, the generation without a king, gives the correct answer which is

God chose him from all the aeons. He caused a gnosis of the undefiled one of truth to be in him. She said: "He came from a foreign atmosphere (*aer*). From a great aeon the great Illuminator came forth. He makes the generation of those men whom he has chosen for himself to shine, so that they shine upon the whole aeon."

A great conflict follows between the seed of Seth, here referred to as "those who will receive his name upon the water" and the thirteen kingdoms. Finally the peoples cry out that the seed of Seth is truly blessed and that they themselves are in error, that they have perverted the truth and will die as a result.

In answer to this mass confession of the kingdoms, a voice is heard (a *bath kol*) addressed to the three aeons Micheu, Michar, and Mnesinous, who are over the holy baptism, condemning them for persecuting the seed of Seth, for fighting against the truth, and for polluting the waters of life in order to serve the Creator God. The voice then praises the seed of Seth (Gnostics) and assures them of their reward which they have earned by keeping the words they received and by *not* writing them down. The voice further declares that the truth will be borne through the generations by angelic beings and that the words of truth will be upon a high mountain upon a rock of truth and that those who know the Great Eternal God know all things.

In the conclusion of the document, which follows the proclamation of the heavenly voice, we are told that Seth passed these revelations on to his posterity. We are further informed that the secret gnosis is the holy baptism which is administered by the seed of Seth. Appended are the three names Jesseus, Mazareus, and Jessedekeus.

#### CRITICAL ANALYSIS

The Apocalypse of Adam is not, strictly speaking, an apocalypse, since it is only indirectly an account of the revelation to Adam. Rather, it is an account of Adam's final instructions to his son Seth. Since the 700th year (64:4) should be understood as the 700th year of Seth's life, it is also, according to the Septuagint chronology, the last year of Adam's life. This would indicate that the document is not an apocalypse, but rather a testament in the pattern of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, where the fathers also call their sons together just before their deaths for a last word of instruction and exhortation.<sup>15</sup>

The date of at least the major portions of the Apocalypse of Adam is very early. This is attested by the noticeable lack of an elaborate cosmogonic myth like those of demonstrably later Gnostic systems. The emanation of the archons, the fall of Sophia, and other characteristic elements of a more developed Gnosticism do not appear in the Apocalypse of Adam. It was the tendency of later Gnostic systems to continually refine the details of the creation and operation of the world in an effort to put distance between the highest God, the Absolute Good, and the actual created physical world, in which evil is undeniable. In the Apocalypse of Adam,

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<sup>15</sup>Cf. The Testament of Levi 1:1-2.

however, the shift from a purely mythological to a philosophical cosmogony has not yet taken place, and we do not find any such philosophical abstractions as *Sophia*, *Nous*, *Sige*, or *Ennoia*. The Apocalypse of Adam is consistently anthropomorphic and literal, showing nothing of the philosophical veneer of a more entangled Gnosticism.<sup>16</sup> The only exceptions to this occur in the excursus on the fourteen kingdoms which, as Hans-Martin Schenke and Charles Hedrick have suggested, may be an addition to the original text.<sup>17</sup> Attempts to date the document precisely have been only partially successful. Jean Doresse has suggested that the Gospel of the Egyptians is to a degree dependent upon the Apocalypse of Adam.<sup>18</sup> If this is correct, the Apocalypse of Adam is at least earlier than the Gospel of the Egyptians, which is usually dated before the third century A. D.

The text shows unmistakable signs of dependence on a tradition sympathetic to that of the Old Testament, and there is in all probability a Jewish source behind the Apocalypse of Adam. Evidence of this can be found in the testimonial form of the document, the Jewish angelology, the myth of the androgynous creation of Adam and Eve, the heavenly voice (*bath kol*), the importance placed on "the Name," and the fact that in this text Adam and Eve commit a real sin and experience a real fall. Likewise the account of the destruction of the Sethian city in 75:9-11 almost certainly draws upon the Old Testament account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, Josephus, a first century Jew, is already familiar with the tradition found in our text of Sethians who live apart in their own land, believe that the earth will be destroyed by water and fire, and who write their knowledge on pillars of stone.<sup>20</sup>

In contrast to these Jewish elements, the Apocalypse of Adam does not contain any elements which are necessarily Christian. All of the apparent Christian references can easily be explained from

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<sup>16</sup>Cf., for example, Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, Book 1, and The Apocryphon of John (CG II,1).

<sup>17</sup>Charles Hedrick, "The Apocalypse of Adam: A Literary and Source Analysis," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Literature*, 108 (1972): 586; and Hans-Martin Schenke, "Zum Gegenwärtigen Stand der Erforschung der Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften," *Koptologische Studien in der DDR* (Halle-Wittenberg: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität, 1965), pp. 124-35.

<sup>18</sup>John Doresse, "Le Livre sacre du grand Esprit invisible ou l'Evangile des Egyptiens II: Commentaire," *JA* 256 (1968):370-76.

<sup>19</sup>Genesis 19:24-28; see also Pheme Perkins, "Apocalyptic Schematization in the Apocalypse of Adam and the Gospel of the Egyptians," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Literature* 108 (1972):593.

<sup>20</sup>Josephus, *Antiquities*, 1.2.3.

pre-Christian or non-Christian sources. Hellenistic mystery religions had many revealer/redeemer figures who taught their chosen followers the mysteries of salvation. Pre-Christian Judaism had a doctrine of a suffering Messiah as Jeremias has shown,<sup>21</sup> and thus George MacRae suggests that the section from the Apocalypse of Adam that deals with the suffering Illuminator is in essence a midrash on Isaiah 53.<sup>22</sup> If this is true, the suffering-Messiah passage does not establish a Christian origin for the document, but rather strengthens the contention that it rests on a Jewish *vorlage*. The same result obtains in respect to the apparent reference to baptism. The refrain of the thirteen kingdoms "and thus he came to the water," is, to begin with, something of a riddle. Schenke goes back to an older Egyptian meaning for *MOOY* to get the translation "and thus he came into appearance," making the refrain refer to an epiphany.<sup>23</sup> While this makes the phrase understandable, it relies on a meaning for *MOOY* which is not attested in Coptic. It is more likely that "and thus he came to the water" refers to the baptism of the gnosis (85:24-25) and would therefore have the sense of "and thus he came (at baptism) to knowledge and power." Since initiatory baptism was not an exclusively Christian rite, there is no reason to insist that these passages were written by a Christian or that they refer to the baptism of Jesus. In the final analysis, however, the conviction that the Apocalypse of Adam is pre-Christian is based on an argument from silence, and MacRae cautions us with the reminder that while *The Concept of Our Great Power* (CG VI,4) also contains no single indisputably Christian passage, the combined weight of its allusions and parallels makes its Christian origin certain. In summary, it can be fairly stated that the Apocalypse of Adam is early, that it reflects a Jewish *vorlage*, and that it may be an example of pre-Christian Gnosticism.

#### THE APOCALYPSE IRANIAN?

Alexander Böhlig has suggested more specifically that the Apocalypse of Adam may be an example of pre-Christian Gnosticism under the influence of Iranian religion.<sup>24</sup> In evidence he offers

<sup>21</sup>Walter Zimmerli and Joachim Jeremias, *The Servant of God*, Studies in Biblical Theology, no. 20, (London: SCM Press, 1957), pp. 57ff.

<sup>22</sup>George MacRae, "The Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam," *The Heythrop Journal* 6 (1965):33.

<sup>23</sup>Hans-Martin Schenke, "Gegenwärtigen Stand," p. 133 (from Worterbuch, II, 52/53 [D]).

<sup>24</sup>Alexander Böhlig and Pahor Labib, *Koptisch-gnostische Apikalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo* (Halle-Wittenberg: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität, 1963), p. 90.

some Iranian parallels to the Apocalypse of Adam. For example, Böhlig notes that the three men who come to Adam at 65:26 correspond to the three Uthras in the eleventh book of the Mandaean *Ginza*. The descent of holy angels and the polluting of holy waters are also found in the same book of the *Ginza*. Surely the fact that all three of these motifs from the Apocalypse of Adam are found in the same book of the *Ginza* is striking and must be given due consideration. But at the same time, it remains that all three of these motifs have Jewish and Hellenistic parallels as well. As Böhlig himself points out, it is likely that the reference to the three men in 65:26 is ultimately derived from the three angels who appear to Abraham in Genesis 18:1ff. Pheme Perkins has drawn attention to a similar passage in *The Death of Adam*, vv. 15-22, where Eve sees three men enthrone Adam after his death.<sup>25</sup> The three descending angels, Abrasax, Sablo, and Gamaliel are also found in the Gospel of the Egyptians. Although they are not accused of polluting the waters, the aeons Micheu, Michar, and Mnesinous are specifically said to be over the living waters in Codex Brucianus.<sup>26</sup>

The scheme employed in the Apocalypse of Adam of three world ages separated by flood and fire also appears typically Iranian. But first century Judaism was already familiar with the same idea, even though it may ultimately have been borrowed. Josephus speaks of the Sethians setting their knowledge up on pillars of brick and stone that would survive these twin cataclysms.<sup>27</sup>

Böhlig has further suggested that the formulas of kingdoms seven, eight, ten, and eleven in the excursus on the fourteen kingdoms refer explicitly to the birth of the savior/illuminator Mithra. However, all fourteen formulas are vague at best, and while it is true that some of them contain elements identified with Mithra, these elements are also found in connection with a number of other Hellenistic saviors. If the allusions were more specific we would probably find that the statements of the thirteen kingdoms represent various "counterfeit" saviors from the Hellenistic mystery religions, including Mithraism, while that of the fourteenth, the generation without a king, represents the "true" understanding of the Savior professed by the Gnostics who produced the Apocalypse

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<sup>25</sup>Pheme Perkins, "Apocalyptic Schematization," p. 594; see also Michael Stone, "The Death of Adam—An Armenian Adam Book," *Harvard Theological Review* 59 (1966):283-91.

<sup>26</sup>Codex Brucianus, Baynes Papyrus LXI 18-21.

<sup>27</sup>Josephus, *Antiquities*, 1.2.3.

of Adam. In any event, it is unlikely that all or most of them refer to Mithra, since Mithra himself is never pictured as a suffering Savior as is the Illuminator in this text.

It has also been suggested that the fourteen kingdoms may be paralleled in Iranian religion by the fourteen light aeons of Mani.<sup>28</sup> But it seems more probable that we are presented here with a contrast of thirteen false kingdoms against the one true generation,<sup>29</sup> since we are specifically told in 75:18-22 that the generations of the powers use the name, whatever it may be, erroneously.

While there are solid Iranian parallels to the Apocalypse of Adam, it may be that the traditions found in the Apocalypse are just as likely to have their antecedents in Jewish and Hellenistic literature and ideas. But, while it may be unnecessary to draw on Iranian religion for ideas that are already found in the Mediterranean world, the fact that parallels can legitimately be called up from both the East and the West suggests that the mythical and religious preconditions of Gnosticism were more ubiquitous in the ancient world than is generally thought.

#### THE APOCALYPSE AND THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS

To Latter-day Saints, interest in the Apocalypse of Adam lies particularly in the following parallels to LDS religion. The document is a testament which Adam in the last year of his life leaves to his righteous posterity, the seed of Seth. Adam says that he and Eve were originally created with glory and knowledge. Eve brings knowledge to Adam and as a result "we were as the great eternal angels," (64:14-16). The Creator God (Satan) separates them, thus bringing about a fall. Their original knowledge and glory leave them, and they become mortal. Now they recognize the Creator God. Adam falls into a sleep during which three men come to him and say "Arise, Adam" (66:1-2).<sup>30</sup> They then instruct Adam and Eve and promise them that a Savior shall come into the world who shall suffer in the flesh. The content of their revelation to Adam consists of a vision of world history, which when combined

<sup>28</sup>Kephalia, 10.42ff.

<sup>29</sup>There are also thirteen aeons in the *Pistis Sophia*. See G. R. S. Mead, *Pistis Sophia* (London: John Watkins, 1947), p. 156ff. It should be noted here that if we are correct in interpreting the formulas of the thirteen kingdoms as representing inaccurate or false utterances, then the formula of the ninth kingdom which may be a reference to the fall of Sophia, may also be the polemic of one Gnostic sect against another.

<sup>30</sup>The "awakening of Adam" occurs elsewhere. See The Apocryphon of John 70:20-21 and 79:4-25.

with what Adam has already told Seth, makes the Apocalypse of Adam an account of this world from the creation to the consummation, with emphasis on the role and fate of the seed of Seth. The climax of world history is the coming of the Savior/Illuminator.

The power of the gnosis is bound up with "the Name" at three points in the text (72:5-7, 77:20, and 83:6), although we are never told what the name is. The Gnostics will be rewarded for *not* writing down the words of the secret knowledge for they are to remain oral and secret (85:5-6). In the epilogue to the Apocalypse all of this is placed in a ritual setting, and the secret gnosis of Adam is identified with a ritual baptism or anointing (85:22-28).

Much of this has a familiar ring due to similar constructs in the book of Moses, the Book of Mormon, and LDS ritual. But easily the most striking parallel is to the account of Adam-ondi-Ahman in D&C 107:41-57. Here we are told that three years before his death Adam called his righteous posterity to him to receive his final blessing; in the Apocalypse of Adam this occurs in the last year of Adam's life. In D&C 107:53, all of the patriarchs mentioned by name are of the seed of Seth; in the Apocalypse the revelation is given to Seth and is about his seed. In D&C 107:42 Seth is told by his father that "his seed should be the chosen of the Lord and that they should be preserved unto the end of the earth"; in the Apocalypse, the glory of Adam passes into the seed of Seth, they are designated as the seed through whom the Savior will come, and their miraculous preservation from the attacks of the Evil One is foretold. In the Apocalypse there is an appearance of three angels; in D&C 107:54 it is the Lord himself who appears. In the Apocalypse the history of the world to the final consummation is portrayed; in D&C 107:56 Adam is said to have "predicted whatsoever should befall his posterity unto the latest generation."

A final caveat to this study must recognize, however, that parallels of themselves are neutral; they prove nothing. While it is hoped that Latter-day Saints will become excited and enthusiastic about such parallels as can be found between ancient literature and the beliefs of the Church, it is even more to be hoped that this enthusiasm will lead to an increased participation by Latter-day Saints in the competent study of this literature for its own sake and not merely for the sake of those parallels.

## TEXT

Plate 64

1. The Apocalypse of Adam
  2. The revelation which Adam
  3. taught his son Seth in
  4. the seven hundredth year,  
saying:
  5. "Listen to my words my
  6. son Seth. When God
  7. had created me from
  8. the earth along with Eve  
your mother
  9. I walked about with her in a
  10. glory which she had seen from
  11. the aeon we were from.
  12. She taught me a word
  13. of knowledge of the
  14. eternal god. And we were as
  15. the great eternal angels.
  16. For we were higher than
  17. the god who made us and
  18. the powers with him whom
  19. we did not know.
  20. Then the god, the ruler
  21. of the archons and the power
  22. separated us in wrath.
  23. Then we became two aeons.
  24. And the glory that was in
  25. our heart left us,
  26. me and your mother Eve
  27. along with the first knowledge
  28. that breathed in us. And
  29. it fled from us
  30. and went into
  - 31.
  32. which did not come

Plate 65

1. forth from this aeon which  
2. we were from, I  
3. and Eve your mother, but  
4. it went into the seed of  
5. great aeons. For this reason  
6. I myself have called you  
7. by the name of that man  
8. who is the seed of the  
great generation  
9. or from whom it comes. After  
10. those days, the eternal  
11. knowledge of the god  
12. of truth was far from  
13. me and your mother Eve.  
14. From that time on we  
15. were taught about dead  
16. works like men. Then  
17. we recognized the god who  
18. had created us. For we  
were not  
19. strangers to his power and  
20. we served him in  
21. fear and bondage. And after  
22. these things we were  
23. darkened in our heart.  
24. And I was sleeping in the  
25. thought of my heart.  
26. And I saw three  
27. men before me  
28. whose likeness I was  
29. not able to recognize because  
30. they were not from the powers  
31. of the god who made  
32. us. They surpassed  
33.  
34.

Plate 66

1. said to me: "Arise,
2. Adam, from the sleep
3. of death and hear
4. concerning the aeon and  
the seed
5. of that man, the one to
6. whom life has come, the one
7. who came from you and
8. from Eve your wife."
9. Then, as I listened to  
these words
10. from those great men,
11. who stood
12. before me, then we gave a
13. sigh in our heart, me and
14. Eve and the Lord God
15. who created us stood
16. before us. He said
17. to us "Adam, why have
18. you sighed in your heart?
19. Don't you know that I
20. am the god that created
21. you? And I breathed into
22. you a spirit of life,
23. a living soul." Then
24. there was a darkness upon our
25. eyes. Then the god who
26. created us created
27. from him
28. I am
- 29.
- 30.
- 31.

Plate 67

1. in my thought and
2. my heart I knew
3. a sweet desire
4. for your mother. Then
5. the bloom of our
6. eternal knowledge
7. was lost to us.
8. And weakness
9. plagued us.
10. For this reason the days
11. of our life became few.
12. And I realized that
13. I was under the power
14. of death. And now
15. my son Seth I will
16. reveal to you those things
17. which were revealed to me
18. by those men
19. whom I saw
20. at first
21. before me:
22. "After I complete
23. the times
24. of this generation,
25. and the years
26. of this generation
27. are gone
- 28.
- 29.
- 30.

Plate 68

(Plate 68 is blank.)

Plate 69

- 1.
2. For torrents of rain
3. from God the Almighty
4. shall be raised up
5. that he might
6. destroy all flesh from
7. God the Almighty that
8. he might destroy
9. all flesh \* from the earth
10. by means of that which was
11. round about them  
together with
12. some of the seed of
13. those men into whom
14. has passed the life of
15. the knowledge which
16. came from Eve
17. your mother. For they were
18. strangers to him.
19. After these things
20. great angels will come
21. on high clouds.
22. They will take those
23. men to the place
24. where the spirit
25. of life is
- 26.
- 27.
- 28.
- 29.

---

\* ditto

Plate 70

- 1.
  2. which are there
  3. from heaven
  4. to the earth and the entire
  5. multitude of flesh will be
  6. left behind in the water. Then
  7. God will rest from
  8. his wrath and he will put
  9. his power upon the waters
  10. and he will spare Noah
  11. and his sons
  12. and their wives by means
  13. of the
  14. ark together with the animals
  15. which he allowed them and
  16. the birds of heaven which he
  17. called and released
  18. on the earth. And God
  19. will say to Noah—he
  20. whom the generations will
  21. call Deucalion: "Behold
  22. I have watched over you in
  23. the ark
  24. together with your wife
  25. and your
  26. sons and their wives,
  27. with their
  28. animals and the birds of
  29. heaven which you called
  30. and released on the earth .\*

Plate 71

1. Because of this I will give the earth to you,
  2. to you and your sons. In
  3. royalty you will rule over it, you
  4. and your sons. And none of
  5. that seed will come from you
  6. of those men from another
  7. glory who will not stand
  8. before me. Then they will
  9. be like the cloud of the
  10. great light. Those men
  11. will come who were
  12. cast forth from the knowledge
  13. of the great aeons and
  14. angels. They will stand
  15. before Noah and the aeons.
  16. And god will say to
  17. Noah: "Why have you
  18. departed from what I told you?
  19. You have created another generation that
  20. you might scorn my power." Then
  21. Noah will say: "I will
  22. testify in the presence of your
  23. might that the generation of
  24. these men came neither from
  25. me nor from

\* cf. 1. 14-16 above.

Plate 72

1. the knowledge
2. those men
3. and he will bring them into their proper land
4. and he will build them
5. a holy dwelling place and
6. they will be called by that
7. name and they will dwell there
8. six hundred years in an
9. incorruptible knowledge.
10. And angels of the great light
11. will dwell with them.
12. Nothing abominable shall
13. dwell in their heart
14. only the knowledge of God.
15. Then Noah will divide the
16. whole earth between his sons
17. Ham and Japheth and Shem.
18. He will say to them:  
"My sons,
19. hear my words. Behold, I have
20. divided the earth between you. But
21. serve him in fear and
22. bondage all the days
23. of your life. Let not
24. your seed depart from the face
25. of God the Almighty
26. I and your
- 27.

Plate 73

1. son of Noah: "The
2. seed will be pleasing before you
3. and before your power.
4. Seal it in your sharp
5. hand with fear and
6. commandment, that
7. all the seed which came from me
8. will not turn away from you
9. and God the Almighty
10. but they will serve
11. in humility and
12. fear of their knowledge."
13. Then others will come forth
14. from the seed of Ham and
15. Japheth. Four hundred thousand
16. men will go and enter
17. into another land and they will dwell
18. with those men who
19. were from the great
20. eternal knowledge because
21. the shadow of their power will
22. protect those who have dwelt
23. among them from every
24. evil thing
25. and from every abominable
26. desire.
27. Then the seed of Ham and
28. Japheth will form twelve
29. kingdoms and the
30. Seed will enter into
31. another people
- 30.
31. for

Plate 74

1. who are dead  
the great
2. aeons of incorruptibility.
3. And they will go to Sakla
4. their God. They will enter
5. into the powers, accusing  
the great
6. men who are in their
7. power. They will say to Sakla
8. "What is the power of  
these men
9. who stood before you,
10. those who were taken  
away from
11. the seed of Ham and Japheth
12. who will amount to  
400,000 men?
13. They were received into  
another aeon
14. from which they came and
15. they have turned away from  
all the glory of
16. your power and the rule  
of your hand,
17. because the seed of Noah  
through
18. his son has complied with your
19. every wish, and also all  
the powers
20. in the aeons over which your
21. power rules. But neither those
22. men nor those who
23. dwell in their glory
24. have done what you want.
25. But they have turned your
26. whole multitude." Then  
the God
27. of the aeons will give them  
some of
28. those who serve him
- 29.
30. they will come upon that land

Plate 75

1. where the great men
2. will be, those who
3. neither have been defiled nor
4. will be defiled by any lust
5. because their soul was not
6. in a defiled hand but it
7. was from a great command-  
ment
8. of an eternal angel.
9. The fire and sulphur and
10. asphalt will be cast upon
11. those men and
12. fire and a mist will come upon
13. those aeons and the eyes  
of the powers
14. of the Illuminators will  
be darkened.
15. And the aeons will not see
16. them in those days.
17. And great clouds of light
18. will descend and
19. other clouds of light from the
20. great aeons will come down
21. upon them. And Abrasax,
22. Sablo, and Gamaliel will
23. descend and lift those
24. men out of the
25. fire and the wrath and they
26. will carry them above  
the angels
27. and rules of the powers.  
And they
28. will take them out
29. of life
30. they take them to
31. aeons

Plate 76

1. of the
2. there with holy
3. angels and aeons. The
4. men will be like
5. those angels because they
6. are not strangers to
7. them. But
7. they work in the incor-
- ruptible seed.
8. And again the Illuminator
9. of knowledge will pass by
10. a third time in great
11. glory that he might leave
12. some from the seed of Noah
13. and the sons of Ham
- and Japheth
14. that he might leave for
- himself some
15. fruit bearing trees.
- And he will
16. redeem their souls from the
17. day of death. For everything
- which
18. was created from the
19. dead earth will be
20. under the power of death.
21. But those who ponder
- the knowledge
22. of the eternal God
23. in their heart will not perish.
24. For they did not receive
- the spirit
25. from this kingdom only
26. but they received it from
27. one of the eternal angels.
28. Illuminator
- 29.
30. dead
- 31.

Plate 77

1. of Seth. And he will
- perform
2. signs and wonders to put
- to shame
3. their powers and their archon.
4. Then the God of the
- powers will
5. be troubled, saying: "What
6. is the power of this
- man who is
7. exalted above us?"
- Then he will
8. stir up a great wrath against
9. that man. And the glory
10. will transfer itself
- and will abide
11. in holy houses which
12. it has chosen for itself and
13. the powers will not see him
14. with their eyes. Nor will they
15. even see the Illuminator.
16. Then they will buffet
- the flesh
17. of the man upon whom the
18. Holy Spirit descended. Then
19. the angels and all the
20. generations of the powers
21. will use the name in
22. error, saying:
23. "Where did it come from?"
24. or "Where did the words
25. of falsehood come
- from, which
26. all the powers could not
27. find?" Therefore the first
28. kingdom says of him
29. that he was from
- 30.
- 31.

Plate 78

1. A spirit to heaven.  
He was
2. nourished in the heavens.  
He received the glory
3. and the power of the one  
who is there. He came
4. to the bosom of his mother.
5. And thus he came to the water.
6. But the second kingdom says
7. of him that he came
8. from a great prophet.
9. And a bird came and  
carried the
10. child which was begotten  
and took him
11. onto a high mountain
12. and he was nourished by
13. the birds of heaven. An angel
14. came forth there. He  
said to him:
15. "Arise! God has given you
16. glory. And he received a  
glory and a strength.
17. And thus he came to  
the water."
18. The third kingdom says of him
19. that he came from
20. a virgin womb.
21. He was cast out of his city,
22. he and his mother. He  
was taken
23. to a place in the  
wilderness. He
24. nourished himself there. He  
came and he received
25. glory and power. And thus
26. he came to the water.
27. The fourth kingdom says
28. of him that he came
29. virgin
- 30.

Plate 79

1. her, he and Phersalis
2. and Saul and his armies
3. which were sent.  
And Solomon
4. himself sent his army of
5. demons to seek after the
6. virgin. And they  
did not find
7. the one they sought after, but
8. the virgin who was  
given to them.
9. She was the one they  
brought. Solomon
10. took her and the virgin
11. conceived. She brought forth
12. the child in that place.
13. She nourished him on the edge
14. of the wilderness. After  
he had
15. been nourished, he  
received glory
16. and power from the seed
17. which was begotten by him.
18. And thus he came to the
19. water." But the fifth
20. kingdom says of him:
21. "He came from a
22. drop from heaven. He  
was sown
23. in the sea. The deep
24. received him, gave him birth,
25. and raised him to heaven.  
He received
26. glory and power. And thus
27. he came to the water.
28. The sixth kingdom
29. says of him: "He
30. came into existence on  
account of

Plate 80

1. Which is above that he  
2. might spread  
3. flowers. She conceived from the  
4. desire for the flowers. She  
5. brought him forth in  
6. that place.  
7. Angels of the flower-garden  
8. nourished him. He received  
9. a glory in that place  
10. and power. And thus he came  
11. to the water." But the  
12. seventh kingdom said  
13. of him: "He is a drop.  
14. He came from heaven to earth.  
15. He was carried down to  
16. caves of  
17. dragons. He became a child  
18. A spirit came upon him. He  
19. took him to the height,  
20. to the place  
21. where the drop was from.  
22. He received glory and power  
23. in that place. And thus  
24. he came to the water."  
But the  
25. eighth kingdom says  
26. of him: "A cloud came  
27. over the earth. It wrapped  
28. around  
29. a rock, and he came  
30. from it. The angels  
31. in the heaven nourished  
32. him. He received glory and  
33. power in that place and  
34. thus he came to the water."

Plate 81

1. But the ninth kingdom says  
2. of him: "From the nine  
3. Muses one divided off.  
4. She came to a high  
5. mountain. She  
6. spent awhile sitting there in  
7. order to desire herself alone  
8. that she might be both male  
9. and female.  
10. She fulfilled her desire and  
11. conceived by her desire.  
12. He was born. He was  
13. nourished by  
14. the angels who are over  
15. the desire.  
16. And he received glory in that  
17. place and power. And then  
18. he came to the water." The  
19. tenth kingdom says of him:  
20. "His God loved a cloud  
21. of desire. He ejaculated  
22. into his hand and cast  
23. some of the drops into  
24. the cloud beyond him.  
25. He was born. He received  
26. glory  
27. and power in that place. And  
28. thus he came to the water."  
29. But the eleventh kingdom  
30. says of him: "The father  
31. desired his own daughter.  
32. She herself conceived by  
33. her father. And she cast  
34. a tomb

Plate 82

1. out in the wilderness. The
2. angel nourished him in that
3. place and thus he came to
4. the water." The twelfth
5. kingdom says
6. of him: "He came from
7. two Illuminators. They
8. nourished
9. him there. He received glory
10. and power. And thus he came
11. to the water." But the
12. thirteenth kingdom says
13. of him: "Every birth
14. of their archon is a word.
15. And this word spoke a
16. command in that place. He
17. received glory and power
18. And thus he came to the
19. water
20. that the desire of these
21. powers
22. might be satisfied." But
23. the generation
24. without a king over it says:
25. "God chose him
26. from all the aeons.
27. He caused a knowledge
28. of the
29. undefiled one of truth to be
30. in him." She\* said:
31. "He came
32. from a foreign atmosphere.
33. From a great aeon the
34. great Illuminator came forth.

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\*i.e., the knowledge

Plate 83

1. He made the generation
  2. of those men
  3. whom he has chosen for
  4. himself to shine
  5. so that they shine upon the
  6. whole aeon." Then the seed
  7. will fight
  8. against the power, those
  9. who will receive
  10. his name upon the waters
  11. and by means of
  12. them all.\* And a cloud
  13. of darkness will cry out in
  14. a loud voice saying:
  15. "Blessed is the soul of those
  16. men because they have known
  17. God with a true knowledge.
  18. They shall live forever and
  19. ever because they did not
  20. perish in their lust
  21. along with those angels.
  22. Nor did
  23. they fulfill the works of the
  24. powers. But they stood
  25. before him in a knowledge
  26. of God like light
  27. which has come forth from
  28. fire and blood. But we
  29. have mindlessly done every
  30. deed of the powers. We
  31. have taken pride in the
  32. transgressions of our works.
  33. his works
  34. black
- 

\*i.e., all the waters

Plate 84

1. is eternal. But these are
2. spirits. For now we have realized
3. that our souls shall die in death.
4. Then a voice came to them
5. saying: "Micheu, and
6. Michar and Mnesinous, who are
7. over the holy baptism
8. and the water of life, why
9. have you been crying out against
10. the living God in lawless voices
11. and tongues which have
12. no law with souls
13. full of blood and abominable
14. deeds? You are full of
15. deeds which are not those of the truth
16. but your ways are full of
17. gladness and joy, even though you
18. have defiled the water of life.
19. You have brought it under
20. the will of the powers
21. to whom you have
22. been given, to worship
23. them. And your thought
24. is not like that of
25. those men whom
26. you persecute
- 27.
28. desire

Plate 85

1. their fruit does not wither. But
2. they will be known
3. to the great aeons because the words
4. of the god of the great aeons which
5. they have kept, they have not put
6. in the book, nor have they written them down.
7. But angelic ones will bring those
8. which all the generations of men
9. will not know. For
10. they will be on a high
11. mountain upon a rock of truth.
12. For this reason they will be named
13. "The words of incorruptibility
14. and truth of those who know
15. the eternal God in
16. wisdom of knowledge and
17. teaching of angels forever,
18. for he knows all things."
19. These are the revelations which
20. Adam revealed to Seth his
21. son. And his son taught them to
22. his seed. This is the knowledge
23. of the hidden things of Adam
24. which he gave to Seth, which
25. in the holy baptism of those
26. who know the eternal knowledge
27. by those born of the word and
28. the imperishable Illuminators who
29. came from the holy seed.
30. Jesseus, Mazareus,
31. Jessedekeus
32. The Apocalypse of Adam