

## (64) THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM

1 **1** The revelation (apocalypse) which Adam taught his son Seth in the seven hundredth year,<sup>a</sup> saying, "Listen to my words, my son Seth. •When God created me out of earth along with Eve your mother, I used to go about with her in a glory<sup>b</sup> which she had seen in the aeon<sup>c</sup> from which we had come. •She taught me a word of knowledge of the eternal God. And we were like the great eternal angels, for we were loftier than the God who created us and the powers that were with him, whom we did not know.

Gen 5:4(LXX)  
LAE 25:1  
Gen 2:7

### The Fall

4 "Then God, the ruler of the aeons<sup>c</sup> and the powers, separated us<sup>d</sup> wrathfully. 5 Then we became two aeons, and the glory in our hearts deserted us, me and your mother Eve, along with the first knowledge that used to breathe within us. •And the glory fled from us, entering into other great [aeons] and another great [race],<sup>e</sup> one that did not [come (65) from] the aeon that [we] came from, I and Eve your mother. •But the knowledge entered into the seed of great aeons.<sup>f</sup> •That is why I myself have called you by the name of that man who is the seed of the great race or from whom (it comes).<sup>g</sup> 9 "After those days the eternal knowledge of the God of truth withdrew from me and your mother Eve. •Since that time we have learned about dead things, like men. •Then we recognized the God who created us, for we were not strangers to his powers, and we served him in fear and subjection. •And afterward our hearts were darkened.

ApMos 20:1-2:  
21:6

Gen 5:3

Deut 6:13:  
Ps 2:11

### Adam's vision

1 **2** "Now I was sleeping in the thought of my heart, and I saw before me three men<sup>a</sup> whose appearance I could not recognize because they were not from the powers of the God who created me. They surpassed [those powers in their] glory. 2 The men [spoke], (66) saying to me, 'Rise up, Adam, from the sleep of death,<sup>b</sup> and hear about the aeon and the seed of that man to whom life has come, the one who came forth from you and from Eve your wife.'

Gen 18:2:  
TAB 6

1 a. The seven hundredth year, according to the LXX of Gen 5:4 (MT = 800), is the length of Adam's life after the birth of Seth; cf. Josephus, *Ant* 1.2.3. Thus the apocalypse is a deathbed "testament" of Adam.

b. Throughout, the word "glory" is a literal translation of the Cop. for Gk. *doxa*. It may sometimes refer to honor or dignity, sometimes to external splendor, as often in the LXX.

c. The word "aeon" in Gk., a loanword in Cop., is sometimes a temporal, sometimes a spatial concept. In addition, in gnostic literature it is also used for personal beings, whether spiritual or material. All these meanings occur in ApAdam, but the word is translated "aeon" throughout.

d. The primordial state of Adam and Eve, as often in gnostic literature, is seen as that of a single androgynous being. Here the androgyne myth is used to interpret Gen 2:21-23.

e. The Gk. word *genea*, a loanword in Cop., is variously translated here as "race," "nation," or "generation," according to the context.

f. The point may be to assert that the external splendor of Adam and Eve reverted to heavenly beings, but their knowledge (*gnōsis*) passed into the posterity of Seth. The words "glory" and "knowledge" are not in the text at this point but are inferred from the grammatical gender of the verbs. The "seed" is the posterity or offspring of Seth; two Gk. words, possibly reflecting different sources, and a Cop. word are all rendered "seed" throughout the translation.

g. The final phrase is obscure and may be an editorial gloss. Seth, perhaps a heavenly prototype of Seth, is the "man" referred to.

2 a. The appearance of three "men" is common in the Abraham legends and is frequent in gnostic literature, where it is sometimes interpreted in a trinitarian sense. In TAB 6 (rec. A) the strange appearance of the "men" is also emphasized.

b. The sleep of Adam and his awakening to a revelation of knowledge, which may be rooted in Gen 2:21, is a widespread gnostic motif.

3 "When I heard these words from those great men who stood before me, we  
 4 sighed in our hearts, I and Eve. • And the Lord, the God who created us, stood Gen 3:8  
 5 in our presence and said to us, 'Adam, why were you sighing in your hearts? • Do  
 you not know that I am God who created you, and that I breathed into you a spirit'  
 of life for a living soul?' Isa 45:5ff.  
Gen 2:7

6,7 "Then darkness fell over our eyes. • Then the God who created us created a son  
 from himself [and Eve your mother] [. . . 3 lines missing].

8 (67) "[Then I was defiled] in the thought of my heart. I recognized a sweet  
 9 desire for your mother. • Then the vigor of our eternal knowledge perished in us,  
 10 and feebleness pursued us. • For this reason the days of our life became few, for Gen 6:3  
 I knew that I had become subject to the power of death. Gen 3:19

### The Flood

1 **3** "Now then, my son Seth, I will reveal to you what was revealed to me by those  
 2 men whom I once saw before me. • After I have completed the times of this  
 generation and the years of [the generation] have been fulfilled, then [. . . 3 lines  
 3 missing]. (69)<sup>a</sup> • Rain showers of God the Almighty will be poured forth so that Gen 6:17  
 he may destroy all flesh from the earth because of the things it seeks after,<sup>b</sup>  
 including [those who] come from the seed of the men to whom the life of knowledge,  
 which went out from me and Eve your mother, was passed on. For they were  
 strangers to him.

4 "Afterward great angels will come on high clouds to bring those men to the  
 place where the spirit of life dwells [. . . 7 lines missing] (70) from heaven to Gen 6:17  
 5 earth. • [But] the whole [multitude] of flesh will be left behind in the [waters].  
 6,7 Then God will rest from his wrath. • He will cast his power upon the waters, and  
 he will give power to (Noah and his wife and)<sup>c</sup> his sons and their wives by means Gen 6:18  
 of the ark, together with their animals, whichever he pleased, and the birds of Gen 7:2-3  
 heaven, which he called<sup>d</sup> and placed upon the earth.

8 "And God will say to Noah—whom the nations will call Deucalion<sup>e</sup>—'Behold,  
 I have guarded you in the ark, together with your wife and your sons and their  
 wives and their animals and the birds of heaven, which you called [and placed  
 9 upon the earth . . . 4 lines missing]. (71) • For this reason I shall give the [earth] Gen 9:1-3  
 to you and your sons. In sovereignty you shall rule over it, you and your sons.  
 10 And from you no seed will come forth of the men who will not stand in my  
 presence in another glory.'<sup>f</sup>

11,12 "Then they will be like the cloud of great light. • Those men will come, the ones  
 13 who were sent forth from the knowledge of the great aeons and the angels. • They  
 14 will stand in the presence of Noah and the aeons. • And God will say to Noah,  
 15 'Why have you departed from what I told you? • You have created another race  
 in order that you might scorn my power.'

16 "Then Noah will reply, 'I shall bear witness before your might that it is not  
 from me that the race of these men has come, nor from [my sons . . . 5 lines  
 missing] (72) knowledge.'

17 "And [he]<sup>g</sup> will release those men and bring them into their proper land and

c. Or "breath," as in Gen 2:7.

3 a. P. 68 was left entirely blank by the copyist.

b. The Flood is prompted by the desires and pursuits of humanity.

c. The words "Noah and his wife and" are not in the text but are required if the creator God is the subject of the verb "will give power."

d. The verb for "called" (i.e. summoned) might be rendered "named," in which case the allusion would be to the naming of the animals, which in Gen 2:19-20 is the task of Adam, not Noah.

e. Deucalion, son of Prometheus, is the mythical

hero of the Greek flood story; see Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 1.7.2; Pseudo-Lucian, *De dea Syria* 12-13.

f. Alternate rendering: "the men who will not also stand in honor before me" (Krause-Wilson). The awkward double negative may be an error on the part of the Cop. translator.

g. The antecedent of the pronoun is unclear because of the preceding lacuna; it would make most sense if it were Seth or some other heavenly figure. For the 600-year sojourn in tranquillity, see Josephus, *Ant* 1.3.9.

1 3 (The Prophecy)<sup>a</sup>

Adam said to Seth, his son, "You have heard, my son, that God is going to come into the world after a long time, (he will be) conceived of a virgin and put on a body, be born like a human being, and grow up as a child. He will perform signs and wonders on the earth; will walk on the waves of the sea. He will rebuke the winds and they will be silenced. He will motion to the waves and they will stand still! He will open the eyes of the blind and cleanse the lepers. He will cause the deaf to hear, and the mute to speak. He will straighten the hunchbacked, strengthen the paralyzed, find the lost, drive out evil spirits, and cast out demons.

Vita 29:2-8  
ApAdam 76:8  
ApEl 3:5-11

2 "He spoke to me about this in Paradise after I picked some of the fruit in which death was hiding: 'Adam, Adam do not fear. You wanted to be a god; I will make you a god,<sup>b</sup> not right now, but after a space of many years. I am consigning you to death, and the maggot and the worm will eat your body.' \* "And I answered and said to him, 'Why, my Lord?' And he said to me, 'Because you listened to the words of the serpent, you and your posterity will be food for the serpent. But after a short time there will be mercy on you because you were created in my image, and I will not leave you to waste away in Sheol. For your sake I will be born of the Virgin Mary. For your sake I will taste death and enter the house of the dead. For your sake I will make a new heaven, and I will be established over your posterity.

ApMos 13:26

4 " "And after three days, while I am in the tomb, I will raise up the body I received from you. And I will set you at the right hand of my divinity, and I will make you a god just like you wanted. And I will receive favor from God, and I will restore to you and to your posterity that which is the justice of heaven."

5 "You have heard, my son Seth,<sup>d</sup> that a Flood is coming and will wash the whole earth because of the daughters of Cain, your brother, who killed your brother Abel out of passion for your sister Lebuda,<sup>e</sup> since sins had been created through your mother, Eve. And after the Flood there will be six thousand years (left) to the form of the world, and then its end will come."

6 And I, Seth, wrote this testament. And my father died, and they buried him at the east of Paradise opposite the first city built on the earth, which was named (after) Enoch. And Adam was borne to his grave by the angels and powers of heaven because he had been created in the image of God. And the sun and the moon were darkened, and there was thick darkness for seven days. \* And we sealed the testament and we put it in the cave of treasures<sup>f</sup> with the offerings Adam had taken out of Paradise, gold and myrrh and frankincense. And the sons of kings, the magi, will come and get them, and they will take them to the son of God, to Bethlehem of Judea, to the cave.<sup>g</sup>

Vita 45:2  
Jub 4:29

ApMos 33:35  
Vita 46:1

ApMos 29:5f.

The End of the Testament of Our Father Adam.

3 a. The widespread tradition of Adam's prophecy of future world history is also found in *Ant* 1.2.3; *ApAd* 64:2-6 and 85:19-31; *Vita* 25:1f.; and in the Armenian Death of Adam (M. Stone, "The Death of Adam—An Armenian Adam Book," *HTR* 59 [1966] 283-91).

b. The explicit promise of deification to Adam is unexpected but not without precedent. Cf. *Jn* 10:33-36.

c. Here rec. 2 adds, "And I, Seth, said to my father, Adam, 'What is the name of the fruit you ate?' And he said to me, 'The fig, my son, was the gate by which death entered into me and my posterity, and by it life shall come to me and to my children when our Lord becomes a man through the virgin and puts on a holy body at the end of the ages.'"

ning" or "you have heard, my son Seth," although the word division and diacritical marks clearly intend the latter. In rec. 2 these indicate the former, in a clear example of a variant which could arise only in Syr.

e. See also *GenR* 22.7 and *PRE* 21; L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1928) vol. 1, pp. 180f.; vol. 5, pp. 138f.

f. See E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures* (London, 1927) pp. 72f.

g. Here rec. 3 adds, "Your father David sang psalms to you before you came, only begotten God; for he sang to you about the gold of Ophir in his prophecy. And behold, the literal meaning of your psalm has stood firm. Behold gold and myrrh and frankincense heaped before you, little child. Gold for your royalty, frankincense for your divine

- 1 **4** Also from the Testament of Our Father Adam<sup>a</sup>  
 The heavenly powers: what they are like and how each of their orders is occupied in the service and the plan of this world. Listen, my beloved,<sup>b</sup> as they are set in order one after another from the bottom, until we reach those who carry our Lord Jesus the Messiah and bear him up. The lowest order is the angels.<sup>c</sup> And the plan has been revealed to it by God concerning every human being whom they watch over, because one angel from this lowest order accompanies every single human being in the world for his protection. And this is its service.
- 2 The second order is the archangels. This is the service: directing everything in this creation according to the plan of God, whether powers or animals, birds, or creeping things, or fish, and to speak briefly and in short, whatever exists in this creation, besides human beings, they care for it and guide it.
- 3 The third order, which is the archons. This is its service: moving the air so that a cloud rises from the ends of the earth, according to the words of David the prophet, and rain falls upon the earth. And this (order) makes all the variations in the atmosphere, sometimes rain and sometimes snow and sometimes hail and sometimes dust and sometimes blood. And it varies them. These also belong to this (order): thunder and the fire of lightning.
- 4 The fourth order, which is authorities. This is its service: the administration of the lights, of the sun and the moon and the stars.
- 5 The fifth order, which is the powers. This is its service: they keep the demons from destroying the creation of God out of their jealousy toward human beings; for if the cursed nature of the demons were allowed to accomplish the lust of its will, in an hour and a moment they would overthrow the whole creation. But the divine power stops them, for a watch is set over them lest they succeed in achieving the lust of their will.
- 6 The sixth order, which is the dominions. This is its service: they rule over kingdoms, and in their hands are victory and defeat in battle. And this is shown (to be) so by (the example of) the Assyrian king. For when he went up against Jerusalem, an angel descended and ravaged the camp of the wicked, and one hundred eighty-five thousand died in one moment. \*And also the blessed Zechariah saw the angel in the form of a man riding on a red horse standing among the trees of the tabernacle, and following him (were others on) white and red horses with lances in their hands. And Judah the Maccabee also saw the angel riding on a red horse all decked out with gold trappings. When they saw him, the camp of Antiochus the wicked fled before him. And wherever there is victory or defeat, these bestow it at the prompting of the living God, who commands them in the hour of battle.
- 8 These other orders, thrones and seraphim and cherubim, stand before the majesty of our Lord Jesus the Messiah and serve the throne of his magnificence, glorifying him hourly with their "holy, holy, holy." The cherubim bear up and reverence his throne and keep the seals; the seraphim serve the inner chamber of our Lord; the thrones guard the gate of the holy of holies. This is truly the explanation of the services according to the plan of the angels in this world.
- By the Power of Our Lord's Help the End of the Writing, the Testament of Our Father Adam.

4 a. This section is found in only one Syr. MS.

b. The use of the plural here indicates that this is no longer Adam speaking to Seth.

3:7f. Angelologies similar to that which follows are found in the Book of the Bee, ch. 5, in the hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, in

# THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

And the Lord said again to the angels Michael and Uriel: 'Bring me three linen clothes of yssus and spread them out over Adam and her linen clothes over Abel his son and bury dam and Abel his son.'

And all the 'powers' of angels marched before Adam, and the sleep of the dead was unseparated. And the angels Michael and Uriel buried Adam and Abel in the parts of paradise, before the eyes of Seth and his mother and no one else], and Michael and Uriel said:

And he stayed there three hours, lying down, xxxvii. 4 and thereafter the Father of all, sitting on his holy throne stretched out his hand, and took Adam and handed him over to the archangel Michael saying: 'Lift him up into Paradise unto 5 the third Heaven, and leave him there until that fearful day of my reckoning, which I will make in the world.' Then Michael took Adam and left 6 him where God told him.

But after all this, the archangel asked concerning the laying out of the remains. And God 2 commanded that all the angels should assemble in His presence, each in his order, and all the angels assembled, some having censers in their hands, and others trumpets. And lo! the 'Lord 3 of Hosts' came on and four winds drew Him and cherubim mounted on the winds and the angels from heaven escorting Him and they came on the earth, where was the body of Adam. And 4 they came to paradise and all the leaves of paradise were stirred so that all men begotten of Adam slept from the fragrance save Seth alone, because he was born 'according to the appointment of God'. Then Adam's body lay there in 5 paradise on the earth and Seth grieved exceedingly over him.

Then God spake to the archangel(s) Michael, xl. 1 (Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael): 'Go away 2 to Paradise in the third heaven, and strew linen clothes and cover the body of Adam and bring oil of the 'oil of fragrance' and pour it over him. And they acted thus did the three great angels and they prepared him for burial. And God said: 'Let the body of Abel also be 3 brought.' And they brought other linen clothes and prepared his (body) also. For he was unburied 4 since the day when Cain his brother slew him;

xlviii. 4. and bury . . . his son. II III only.

5. the sleep. So II III. I has *dormitatio* = 'resting-place'. According to Schatzhöhle (Christian), Ibn Ater, Abdul erag, Adam was buried at Jerusalem; according to Jews, e.g. Ber. Rabba 58, Erubin 53 a, Pirke R. Eliezer, and Vit. dae (III and Slav.), at Hebron. Cf. Fabric. i. 10. (MSS. III + 'in a place called Calvary'; Christian.)

powers = *virtutes*. See xxi. 1.

6. [and no one else] I >. A gloss.

xxxvii. 5. third Heaven CD: Arm. E 'second Heaven': Slav. is confused and corrupt, and separates paradise from 'third Heaven'.

my reckoning CD: Arm. 'day of renewal': Slav. 'my resurrection'. Cf. 2 En. viii. 1; 2 Cor. xii. 2; Apoc. 'aul xviii. 2; Test. Levi iii; Chagiga 12 b.

6. left him (ἀφῆκεν D) DE Slav.; C † κατήλειψεν (κατήλιψεν).

told him. D + 'and all the angels sang an angels' hymn marvelling at the pardon of Adam.'

xxxviii. 1. laying out of the remains C: D corrupt and obscure.

3. Lord of Hosts (κύριος στρατιῶν) C: D 'mighty lord,' κραταιὸς κύριος.

4. born according to the appointment of God C (διὰ τὸ γεννηθῆναι καθ' ὄρον τοῦ θεοῦ): D 'he was there' (ἐγένετο κείσε); Charles emends to καθορᾶν ('to behold' God). Arm. characteristically reads 'for the Lord wished to show him marvel.'

5. Then Adam's body . . . over him C only. May be right, as it leads on to xl (to glorify Seth).

xl. 1. C has a fuller text and in v. 2 gives the names of four archangels.

2. third heaven C: Arm. 'second heaven': D >.

oil of fragrance. Cf. 2 En. viii.

three great angels. C >.

3. Let the body. C imperative: D infinitive mood.

Abel. Arm. + 'righteous'.

# THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

## VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

1 And Eve said to Adam: 'What is penitence? Tell me, what sort of penitence am I to do? Let us not put too great a labour on ourselves, which we cannot endure, so that the Lord will  
2 not hearken to our prayers: and will turn away His countenance from us, because we have not  
3 fulfilled what we promised. My lord, how much penitence hast thou thought (to do) for I have brought trouble and anguish upon thee?'

- i. 1 And Adam said to Eve: 'Thou canst not do so much as I, but do only so much as thou hast strength for. For I will spend forty days fasting, but do thou arise and go to the river Tigris and lift up a stone and stand on it in the water up to thy neck in the deep of the river. And let no speech proceed out of thy mouth, since we are unworthy to address the Lord, for our lips are unclean from the unlawful and forbidden tree.  
2 And do thou stand in the water of the river thirty-seven days. But I will spend forty days in the water of Jordan, perchance the Lord God will take pity upon us.
- ii. 1 And Eve walked to the river Tigris and did  
2 as Adam had told her. Likewise, Adam walked to the river Jordan and stood on a stone up to his neck in water.
- iii. 1 And Adam said: 'I tell thee, water of Jordan, grieve with me, and assemble to me all swimming (creatures), which are in thee, and let them surround me and mourn in company with me. Not for themselves let them lament, but for me; for it is not they that have sinned, but I.'  
3 Forthwith, all living things came and surrounded him, and, from that hour, the water of Jordan stood (still) and its current was stayed.'

## SLAVONIC VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

Then the devil approached and stood before xxxiii. 1 the oxen, and hindered Adam in tilling the field and said to Adam: 'Mine are the things of 2 earth, the things of Heaven are God's; but if thou wilt be mine, thou shalt labour on the earth; but if thou wilt be God's, (pray) go away to paradise.' Adam said: 'The things 3 of Heaven are the Lord's, and the things of earth and Paradise and the whole Universe.'

The devil said: 'I do not suffer thee to till xxxiv. 1 the field, except thou write the bond that thou art mine.' Adam replied: 'Whosoever is lord of 2 the earth, to the same do I (belong) and my children.' Then the devil was overcome with joy. (But Adam was not ignorant that the Lord 3 would descend on earth and tread the devil under foot.) The devil said: 'Write me thy 4 bond.' And Adam wrote: 'Who is lord of the earth, to the same do I belong and my children.'

Eve said to Adam, 'Rise up, my lord, let us xxxv. 1 pray to God in this cause that He set us free from that devil, for thou art in this strait on my account.'

But Adam said: 'Eve, since thou repentest of 2 thy misdeed, my heart will hearken to thee, for the Lord created thee out of my ribs. Let us fast forty days perchance the Lord will have pity on us and will leave us understanding and life.' I, for my part, said: 'Do thou, (my) lord, 3 fast forty days, but I will fast forty-four.'

And Adam said to me: 'Haste thee to the xxxvi. 1 river, named Tigris, and take a great stone and place it under thy feet, and enter into the stream and clothe thyself with water, as with a cloak, up to the neck, and pray to God in thy heart and let no word proceed out of thy mouth.' And I said: 'O (my) lord, with my whole heart will I call upon God.' And Adam said to me: 3 'Take great care of thyself. Except thou seest me and all my (to) depart not out of the water, nor trust in the words, which are said to thee, lest thou fall again into the snare.' And 4 Adam came to Jordan and he entered into the water and he plunged himself altogether into the flood, even (to) the hairs of his head while he made supplication to God and sent (up) prayers to Him.

vi. 1. as thou hast strength for. I et salveris: II sed salveris. unlawful and forbidden. I contradicti: II III illicito et contradicto. Cor. Ar. illicito.  
2. Jordan. Probably changed by Christian editor from 'Gihon', where Jews, e.g. Pirke Eliezer, placed Adam's penitence, for we expect another river of Paradise.  
viii. 3. stood still. I steterunt ex aqua non agentes cursum. Meyer gives singular as text. Katona's text says this lasted eighteen days.

xxxiii-xxxv. Heretical interpolation by Bogomilian dualist (Jagić). 'Paradise' here is the *Heavenly* one, widely separated from the earth. For this whole section cf. Pauline phrase 'bond servants of sin'. It occurs in all Slav. MSS. of 'Solfenus' and Polish and Bohemian Adam tales.

xxxiv. 3. But Adam, &c. A gloss within a gloss.

xxxv. 3. forty-four. Eve stronger here. In Latin Vit. vi, I has 'thirty-seven', III 'thirty' days.

xxxvi. 3. fall . . . snare = scandalizeris.