

13 tercessions of the prophets, nor help of the righteous.<sup>r</sup> \*There is the proclamation  
of judgment to corruption,<sup>s</sup> regarding the way<sup>t</sup> to the fire and the path that leads  
14 to the glowing coals.<sup>u</sup> \*Therefore, there is one Law by One, one world and an end 48:24  
15 for all those who exist. \*Then<sup>v</sup> he will make alive those whom he has found, and<sup>w</sup>  
he will purge them from sins, and at the same time he will destroy those who are  
polluted with sins.

1 86 When you, therefore, receive the letter,<sup>a</sup> read it carefully in your assemblies.  
And think about it, in particular, however,<sup>b</sup> on the days of your fasts. And  
remember me by means of this letter in the same way as I remember you by means  
of this, and always.<sup>c</sup> Bar 1:14  
Col 4:16  
1Mac 12:11  
Rom 1:9

1 87 And<sup>a</sup> it happened when I had finished all the words of this letter and had  
written it carefully until the end, I folded it, sealed it cautiously, and bound it to  
the neck of the eagle. And I let it go and sent it away.

The end of the letter of Baruch, the son of Neriah.

r. Cf. Ps-Philo 33:5.  
s. "To corruption," l; "of corruption," c *solus*.  
t. "Regarding the way," l; "and the way," c  
*solus*.  
u. "To the glowing coals," l; "to the realm of  
death," c *solus*.  
v. "Then," l; "And then," 6h14 10g1 12d2 c.  
w. "Has found and . . .," l; "has found

that . . .," c *solus*.

86 a. "The letter," l; "this my letter," c *solus*.  
b. "However," l; om., c *solus*.  
c. "And always," l; "and it may fare you well  
always," c *solus*.

87 a. This ch. is available in c only.

### 3 (Greek Apocalypse of) BARUCH

(First to Third Century A.D.)

A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

BY H. E. GAYLORD, JR.

In this pseudepigraphon, Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah, weeps over the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple and the mockery of its heathen destroyers. The Lord sends an angel to comfort him and to guide him through the heavens and show him their mysteries. This angel then leads Baruch through five heavens:

1. The first contains a plain where those being punished for waging war against God are found (ch. 2).

2. The second contains a plain where those who forced others to build a tower to heaven in order to discover its contents are found (ch. 3).

3. The third contains a plain in which are a snake, a sea, and primal rivers, as well as the garden of Eden (perhaps Hades), the sun with the Phoenix, and the moon (chs. 4-9).

4. The fourth contains a plain on which are a pool and exotic birds, and the gathering place of the souls of the righteous (ch. 10).

5. The fifth is where the angels responsible for men on earth bring the gifts of men to Michael, who presents them to God. Baruch does not pass inside the gates of this heaven; they remain closed. In these chapters, three classes of mankind are mentioned: the righteous, the insufficiently righteous, and the sinners. In the Slavonic version, Baruch is granted permission to intercede for the suffering sinners (chs. 11-16).

After his heavenly journey, Baruch is returned to earth to relate what he has seen to his fellow men (ch. 17).

#### Texts

3 Baruch is found in both Greek and Slavonic. The Slavonic is a translation from a lost Greek original.

#### GREEK MANUSCRIPTS

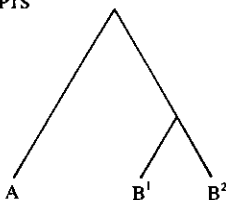
1. BM MS Add. 10073. This manuscript is dated from the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century. It is described by M. R. James.<sup>1</sup>

2. Andros, Monastery of the Hagia, MS 46; dated by J.-C. Picard to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

On the relation between these manuscripts, Picard concludes that they "were both copied from the same manuscript, today lost."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Apocrypha Anecdota II*.

<sup>2</sup> J.-C. Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi Graeci*, p. 69. MS 46 is described in P. Lambros, "Katalogos ton en te kata ten Andron mone tes Hagias Kodikon," *Epeteris tou Parnassou* 2 (1898) pp. 180-83, and A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der Griechischen Kirche* (Leipzig, 1939-1952), I.3, pp. 587, 839. The first sixty-two fols. contain homilies, but it should be noted that all subsequent items of this MS are also contained in BM MS Add. 10073.



Family stemma: A B¹ B²

The Slavonic manuscript tradition is preserved in at least twelve manuscripts; these can be divided into two major families, one of which is composed of two subfamilies. In most respects the more original readings have been preserved in family A. Clear revisions can be found in family B as a whole, and further redaction has led to its subfamilies. Until now, subfamily B¹ has been used for comparison with the Greek manuscript tradition, with the exception of a comment by W. Lüdtké.<sup>3</sup> The translation below is based on family A wherever possible. Unfortunately, its best representatives, manuscripts L and T, both lack the sections 1:2–2:2 and 16:8–17:1, and these have been supplied by family B.

#### Family A:

L. Leningrad Greek 70 fols. 105–111v and St. Catherine's Monastery Slavonic 34 fols. 27–29v. One large manuscript, formerly in St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, has been split into four parts. One part (Slavonic 34) remains there, and the other three were removed to Russia and are now in the Salykov-Ščedrin State Library of Leningrad. The folios containing 3 Baruch were misbound into two of the parts of this manuscript. B. M. Zagrebin has recently discovered the relationship of these parts and described the contents of the original manuscript.<sup>4</sup> The manuscript was written by several scribes; the portion containing 3 Baruch dates from the thirteenth century. This scribe copied a number of apocrypha. A tentative list includes the Abar Legend, 3 Baruch, and 4 Baruch. The proper sequence of folios in 3 Baruch as now recovered is Greek 70 fols. 105–108; Slavonic 34 fols. 27–29; Greek 70 fols. 109–111v. Three gaps still damage the text of this manuscript. 1:2–2:2a is missing (fols. 105v and 106r [first half] are blank). The order of 2:7–4:5a and 4:5b–5:2a is reversed because of a confusion in an antecedent manuscript, and this is probably what caused the loss of text at 5:2b–12a. The third missing portion is from 16:8 to the end. Both L and T contain an addition before 5:1, and end with an expanded version of the prayer of Baruch in chapter 16. The ending (16:8 to the end) is contained only in the manuscripts of family B. For further details on this manuscript and a diplomatic edition of it, see my forthcoming edition.

T. Theological Academy of Moscow No. 363/679, reportedly now in the Historical Museum of Moscow. This manuscript from the fifteenth century was published by N. Tichonravov (see bibliography). In addition to the faults it has in common with L, this manuscript shares with manuscript B the loss of 1:1–3:1, and an addition at the end of 5:3. (This seems to be a fragment from *Vita* 13–17, otherwise unknown in Slavonic.) Both T and B omit 3:8b. T omits 6:6–10:5.

B. Originally in the Barsov collection, this manuscript has passed into the Theological Academy of Kiev. It was written in A.D. 1701 and was published by M. Sokolov (see bibliography). Its language is very late, and it summarizes and rephrases passages freely. Manuscript B ends with a summary conclusion after chapter 9.

#### Family B:

The effects of the redaction behind this group can be clearly seen at a number of points:

1. 2:6 is omitted.
2. An interpolation occurs at 3:5.

<sup>3</sup> W. Lüdtké, "Beiträge zu slavischen Apokryphen: 2 Apokalypse des Baruch," ZAW (1911) 220: "Stimmt T [in family A] mehr fach genauer mit G [Gk.] überein als S [in family B¹]." MS N, a very inferior MS of family B¹, is the basis for the earlier translations of Bonwetsch ("Das slavisch erhaltene Baruchbuch," *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: philologische-historische Klasse* [1896] 91–101) and W. R. Morfill (in *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, pp. 95–102), and MS S, the best representative of family B¹, was used by W. Hage for his more recent translation in *JSHRZ* 5.1. For a fuller description of the MSS, see E. Turdeanu ("L'Apocalypse de Baruch en slave," *Revue des études slaves* 48 [1969] 23–48) and H. E. Gaylord (*The Slavonic Version of 3 Baruch* [forthcoming]).

<sup>4</sup> This important discovery was announced in B. M. Zagrebin, "O proischoždenii i sud'be nekotorykh slavjanskikh palimpsestov Sinaja," in *Iz istorii rukopisnykh i staropechatnykh sobranij Otdela rukopisej i redkich knig GPB* (Issledovanija, obzory, publikacii; Sbornik naučnykh trudov; Leningrad, 1979) pp. 61–80.

3. 3:8 is revised and has an interpolation.
4. 4:1–2a is omitted.
5. 4:5b is revised in two respects.

This is not an exhaustive list; there are also a large number of small variants that support this grouping. The arrangement of subfamilies B¹ and B² is largely based on small variants. A full description of the manuscripts in family B can be found in Gaylord (see n. 3).

#### THE TEXTUAL BASIS FOR THE TRANSLATIONS

The translation below of the Greek is based on the texts of M. R. James and J.-C. Picard. The translation of the Slavonic is based on my forthcoming edition. In that edition manuscript L has been used as the base text, emended when necessary on the basis of a thorough comparison of all the known manuscripts, as described above. When manuscripts L and T are absent (1:2–2:2 and 16:8 to the end), an eclectic text has been made. T and family B are used for 5:2b–12a.

News of the discovery of the Sinai manuscript portion of L reached me only after this work was completed. I have had time only to make a preliminary examination of it and a provisional translation. My definitive analysis and translation, especially of 6:6–11:3, will be found in my critical edition.

Parallel translations of the Greek and Slavonic texts are presented rather than an eclectic one for several reasons. Firstly, the divergences between the two textual traditions are so many and so great that the apparatus would rapidly be filled with variants alone. Secondly, the systematic variations and tendencies of each tradition should be examined not only on individual readings, but as a whole. Furthermore, the divergence of the textual tradition of present Greek manuscripts and the Greek basis of the present Slavonic tradition occurred not later than the tenth century, approximately five hundred years before the earliest extant Greek manuscript. In several important differences, which separate the Greek from the Slavonic traditions, a strong argument for the priority of the Slavonic exists:

1. The possible dependencies of the Greek on 4 Baruch in the introduction and chapter 1 are omitted in the Slavonic.
2. Explicit New Testament citations in the Greek (4:15; 5:3(?); 15:4; 16:2), and the phrase "through Jesus Christ Emmanuel" at 4:15 are all lacking in the Slavonic.
3. The story of the planting of the garden by angels in the Slavonic, lacking in the Greek, is worthy of consideration as original.
4. The structure and content of chapter 4.

These matters are discussed below.

#### Original language

The Slavonic version is a translation from Greek. A few linguistic features of the Greek could be explained by supposing a Semitic base text but are not unknown in later Koine Greek usage. There is no convincing argument that the Greek is a translation from another language.

#### Date and provenance

The dating and assignment of a historical context for 3 Baruch have been the subject of considerable discussion. M. R. James<sup>5</sup> was the first to suggest a reference to this work in Origen, *De principiis* 2.3.6: "Finally they appeal to the book of the prophet Baruch to bear witness to this assertion, because in it there are very clear indications of the seven worlds or heavens."<sup>6</sup> If this identification is correct then the latest possible date for the writing of 3 Baruch would be A.D. 231. The suggestion that the earliest possible date may be set by 4 Baruch because of allusions to it in 3 Baruch (introduction and chapter 1) has been cautioned against by James himself.<sup>7</sup> James concluded that 3 Baruch is "a Christian Apocalypse of

<sup>5</sup> James, *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, p. li.

<sup>6</sup> Translation by G. W. Butterworth, *Origen on First Principles* (London, 1936; repr. New York, 1966) p. 91.

<sup>7</sup> James, *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, p. lv.

the second century."<sup>8</sup> L. Ginsberg argued that it is a Jewish-gnostic work from the beginning of the second century.<sup>9</sup> H. M. Hughes maintained that the original version is a second-century Jewish work that has been modified by Christian redactors.<sup>10</sup> J.-C. Picard claimed that it is a product of Jewish mysticism in the Diaspora from the first or second century with very minor Christian interpolations.<sup>11</sup> The most recent statement concerning the provenance is that it is a product of Syrian Jewry.<sup>12</sup>

Origen's statement does not help us to determine the latest possible date for our present work. Either he knew a version other than the present one (i.e. one with seven heavens), or he is speaking about another work altogether that has not survived. The only clear references to 3 Baruch are of a much later date, namely the use of 3 Baruch, chapter 2, in the History of the Rechabites<sup>13</sup> and in later Slavonic literature.<sup>14</sup> Nor is the suggested earliest possible date reliable since the possible references to 4 Baruch (absent in the Slavonic version) are probably secondary.<sup>15</sup>

Another argument for the earliest possible date is the dependency of 3 Baruch on 2 Baruch 76:3, in which Baruch is promised a vision.<sup>16</sup> However, the interests of the author of 3 Baruch suggest that he belongs to a group completely other than that of the author of 2 Baruch. There is no apocalyptic notion of an end-time in 3 Baruch, nor would that interest him. Furthermore, his interest would seem to be focused on heavenly realities and not on those on earth. A timeless heavenly service in which the good deeds or prayers of men are offered by Michael on the altar is his chief answer to the crisis caused by the destruction of the earthly temple, and not a patient waiting for the new temple (whether in heaven or in Jerusalem) at the end of days.

Chapters 11–16 have often been singled out as having Christian characteristics, and even as being a secondary Christian conclusion replacing the earlier Jewish one. Yet many of these Christian elements are lacking in the Slavonic version, e.g. the citation of Matthew 25:23 in 15:4, Romans 10:19 or Deuteronomy 32:21 in 16:2, the monastic expression *pneumatikous pateras* in 13:4 (although it does contain references to the Church here and in chs. 15 and 16). The Slavonic also lacks the reference to Christian priests, Greek version 16:4. The Greek version would also appear to show a Christianizing tendency at the end of 5:3 (cf. Slavonic 5:3; the phrase as in the Slavonic also appears in 1:6 and 2:6), cf. also 4:15 in the Greek. One definitely sees Christian editing in chapters 11–16 in the Slavonic and even more in the Greek. Christian revision of the Greek manuscript tradition may also be seen in 4:3–6 and 4:15.

One cannot be certain about a time and place of composition for 3 Baruch. The alternatives are that it is a Christian composition that has made use of Jewish traditions, which may or may not have been later reworked, or that it is a basically Jewish composition that has undergone Christian reworking. The most likely dating of the initial composition in the latter case would be during the first two centuries after Christ; in the former, the dating would be very difficult. However, the scholarly dichotomy of Jewish and Christian writings in the first two centuries, like the earlier one between Diaspora and Palestinian Jewry, may be a misleading attempt to distinguish what is closely interrelated.

### Historical importance

The greatest problem in establishing a historical context for this work is the evaluation

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. lxxi.

<sup>9</sup> L. Ginsberg, "Greek Apocalypse of Baruch," *JE*, vol. 2, p. 551.

<sup>10</sup> H. M. Hughes, "The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch," *APOT*, vol. 2, pp. 529f.; accepted by W. Hage, *Die griechische Baruch-Apokalypse*, *JSHRZ* 5.1, pp. 19f.

<sup>11</sup> Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi*, pp. 75–78; and "Observations sur l'Apocalypse grecque de Baruch," *Sem* 20 (1970) 100–3.

<sup>12</sup> L. Rost, *Einleitung in die alttestamentlichen Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen einschliesslich der grossen Qumran-Handschriften* (Heidelberg, 1971) p. 88.

<sup>13</sup> Formerly called the Apocalypse of Zosimus. Cf. especially chs. 2f.; see James, *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, pp. lvif. [Also see HistRech discussed and translated in the present collection. —J.H.C.]

<sup>14</sup> See Turdeanu, *Revue des études slaves* 48 (1969) 36–38, 44–48.

<sup>15</sup> The points in common with the 4th cent. ApPaul chs. 7–11 do not necessarily reflect a literary relationship, but see Introduction, "Historical importance."

<sup>16</sup> James, *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, p. liv.; P. Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch* (SC; Paris, 1969) vol. 1, p. 455.

of the two versions. Previously it has been argued that the Slavonic is a rewritten version of the Greek. With the new manuscript evidence it can be seen that the Slavonic represents in the main the same text as the Greek. At some points it is shorter and at others it is longer.

Three sections (chs. 4f., 10, and 11–16) are most important in judging the two versions. The Slavonic places the resting place of the righteous and hell apparently elsewhere than in the first four heavens. The Greek version places hell in the third heaven (cf. chs. 4f.), and the resting place of the righteous in the fourth (ch. 10). In chapters 4 and 5 the Slavonic concentrates upon the incidents associated with the Fall: the garden of Eden and the serpent being punished for his role in the Fall. Further, in chapter 10 the inhabitants of the fourth heaven are not the righteous but probably angels singing the praises of God. Yet in both places it can be argued that those passages occurring only in the Greek are a reworking of the original construction, which is better represented by the Slavonic version.

In his introduction to the Greek text, M. R. James raised the issue of the relation between 3 Baruch and the fourth-century Apocalypse of Paul and suggested the possibility that the Apocalypse of Paul in chapters 9–18 was dependent on a version of 3 Baruch, chapters 11–16, closer to the original than the present Greek version.<sup>17</sup> The Slavonic version of these chapters would reflect such a text, which includes the same sequence at that point as the Apocalypse of Paul. Another possibility would be the dependence of both 3 Baruch and the Apocalypse of Paul on a common original.

If the contents of the concluding chapters of the Slavonic version are more original than the Greek, then the earlier chapters 4 and 5 and chapter 10 also must be considered more original. Furthermore it is precisely in chapters 4f. and 11–16 that the Greek has suffered the most at the hands of Christian scribes. Wine is identified as the "blood of God" (4:15); "spiritual fathers" (mentioned in 13:4) is a Christian term especially used for monastics and bishops, and the function of the priests in 16:4 would also suggest a Christian context. Moreover, the New Testament is explicitly cited in the Greek at 15:4 and perhaps at 16:2. Yet the Slavonic itself is not free from Christian elements (cf. 13:4 and 16:2).

While there is evidence of Christian reworking of this apocalypse, there is also strong evidence of its original writing being Jewish or early Christian. The many parallels with Jewish traditions are not likely to have been known after the clear separation between Jewish and Christian communities. Therefore the original work should probably be dated in the first two centuries A.D.

### Theological importance

The visions found in 3 Baruch share elements with many Jewish and Graeco-Roman traditions, yet differ from their parallels at crucial points.

The supreme episode in most heavenly visits in the apocryphal and mystical (Merkabah) literature is the appearance before the throne of God. Although the throne is mentioned twice in 3 Baruch (6:8[S]; 9:4[S]), this element is missing in the journey. The gates of the fifth heaven remain closed to Baruch, and he does not see the throne. It is possible, however, that the original text contained descriptions of further heavens, but the original form cannot be reconstructed from the extant versions.

There seem to be two differing views concerning God in this work. He acts directly against the two sets of tower builders (2:7; 3:6, 8), but in the later chapters he intervenes only through intermediaries, meting out rewards and punishments (chs. 11–16). Angels implement the will of God in the creation of the garden of Eden and in the daily care of the sun and moon. Moreover, another group of angels render daily (?) account of the activities of men to their commander-in-chief Michael. He receives from them the good works of men, which he as high priest then takes to the temple in an upper heaven to offer upon the altar. The same angels then give rewards and punishments to the men in their charge.

This work has a wealth of angels. Two angelic messengers are mentioned: Phanael is described as an archangel (10:1[G]), an angel of hosts (2:6[G]; 10:1[S]), and an interpreter of revelations (11:7[G]). An otherwise unknown angel, Sarasael, delivers a revelation to Noah (4:15). The central angelic figure in 3 Baruch is Michael, who is addressed as the

<sup>17</sup> A close relation between ApPaul and 3Bar was first suggested by N. Bonwetsch, *Nachrichten*, pp. 92f. Cf. also James, *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, pp. 70f.; Turdeanu, *Revue des études slaves* 48 (1969) 42. 3Bar has many other parallels with ApPaul. An edition of the Slavonic version of ApPaul would aid in sorting out this problem.

commander-in-chief of all the angels (see n. to 11:4). Yet his activities are even broader: He holds the keys to the gates of the upper heavens, the kingdom of God or heaven (11:2), and functions as priest in the heavenly temple. In chapters 11–16 he is also the single intermediary between God and the angels overseeing men.

Five angels are mentioned by name in the Slavonic version of 3 Baruch: Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael, and Satanael (the MSS of family A), and Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Phanuel, and Satanael (the MSS of family B). The name Satanael, modeled upon the -EL element in other angels' names, is changed to Satan when he loses his favored status. Satanael is mentioned in several other works as well. The earliest is 2 Enoch 18, 31, where he is the chief of the fallen Watchers. Moreover, he is probably identified with the figure in Isaiah 14:13f. who falls from heaven. A parallel account is also found in the Gospel of Bartholomew 3:25–29 and in the Book of the Cave of Treasures.<sup>18</sup> Yet the name Satanael in the Slavonic is probably secondary to the name Samael in the Greek version. Samael became a centralizing figure in the later rabbinic literature, incorporating the functions of several angels. Yet Diabolos, or Satan, functioned in the same manner among Christians, and we find little record of Samael in Christian literature. The first four archangels in the two lists are each paralleled in early Jewish and Christian sources (see n. to 4:7[S]). The name Samael is very common as the chief of evil angels in rabbinic literature and some apocryphal works. Possible etymologies are the poison of God (cf. the poison administered by the Angel of Death, b.AZ 20b), or the blind one.

Both versions of 3 Baruch are confused in their treatment of Samael and the vine. In the Greek they are both cursed before the fall of Adam and Eve, but the vine is to be transformed for the good (4:15). In the Slavonic version the vine is first identified with "sinful desire which Satanael spread over Eve and Adam," and then Noah is told to "alter its name and change it for the better." Implied in both versions is disobedience among the angels before that of Adam and Eve. At least three different backgrounds are possible for the account of Samael here, and it is impossible to make a definitive judgment. Though the vine was planted by Samael and cursed by God, in the new creation after the Flood the vine and its fruit remain useful, within reason.

By his disobedience Adam lost "the glory of God" (4:16[G]), which may have been comparable to that of angels (cf. 13:4[S]). The reward of the righteous is oil, possibly the sign of the glory of God, which the angel-guide promises to show Baruch several times in this text (6:12; 7:2; 11:2; 16:3[S]). It is hardly accidental that there are traditions that Adam sought to receive the "oil of mercy" at the point of death, and that Enoch was transformed by the "oil of his glory" (see n. to 15:1). The angel describes the resting place of the righteous as one of glory (16:4[S]), but Baruch does not visit it.

The story about the phoenix bird, known in classical, Jewish, and Christian antiquity, also appears here.<sup>19</sup> Many of the details correspond to the classical tradition. Early Christianity used this story as a symbolic representation of the resurrection of Jesus: the new phoenix rising out of the ashes of its predecessor. Yet here, without parallel, the phoenix is the protector of the world, shielding its inhabitants from the fierce pure rays of the sun, which would destroy them and their impure deeds were it not for this mediator.

Two central themes run through the entirety of 3 Baruch. At the opening, Baruch is crying over the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple. The angel tells him not to be concerned for the salvation of Jerusalem (1:3), and he promises to show Baruch the mysteries of God. These mysteries concern obedience and disobedience to God's commands and their results. Another aspect of the mysteries that Baruch encounters at many points is the wonders of the natural, albeit heavenly world. He observes the workings of the sun and moon and, most clearly in the Slavonic, observes other wonders too: the snake that keeps the great sea in balance and the origin of fruitful rains. Baruch sees the punishment of those who waged war with God (ch. 2), of those who forced others to build a tower to the heavens (ch. 3), of the serpent who participated in the temptation of Adam and Eve (ch. 4), of the moon that helped Samael in the temptation (ch. 9), and the punishment of men who disobey God's commands

<sup>18</sup> See E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Cave of the Treasures* (London, 1927) pp. 56f.

<sup>19</sup> [See the recent and very important work on the phoenix—and the discussion of the phoenix in 3Bar (especially pp. 261–304)—by R. van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix* (Leiden, 1972); also cf. nn. d, e, h, j, and k to ch. 6 below. —J.H.C.]

(ch. 16). Moreover, Adam himself lost the "glory of God" because of his disobedience (4:13, 16). In chapters 11–16 the focus is shifted to those presently living. No final Day of Judgment is even hinted at (except in Baruch's remark in 1:7). It appears that angels take a daily account of the lives of men and receive new instructions concerning them. Those who have lived virtuously receive their reward, and those who have clearly been disobedient are punished for committing the sins listed at several points in the text (chs. 4, 8, 13). The two versions give differing accounts of those who have insufficient accomplishments.

Baruch's initial concern would seem to be about the proper functioning of the Temple in Jerusalem. How can the proper relation between God and men be maintained without the sacrifices of the Temple? The answer becomes clear: There is a heavenly temple in which the prayers, virtues, and good deeds are offered by Michael. The rewards, the oil (of mercy) and the glory of God, will not be withheld because of the absence of the Temple in Jerusalem. This answer is quite different from others given in this period. Here there is no mention of a messiah, no division between Israel and the other nations (except possibly in Baruch's opening lament), and no notion of two ages.

### Relation to canonical books

The opening chapters of 3 Baruch are most closely bound to stories from the Book of Genesis, but these are expanded and reworked in a manner common to much of the literature of second Temple Judaism.

A good example of this is the treatment of the tower of Babel (Gen 11:1–9). Two different groups of men seem to be distinguished here.<sup>20</sup> The first group attempted to reach heaven in order to wage war with God and are punished in the first heaven. The second group, imprisoned in the second heaven, forced others to build a tower so as to discover the composition of heaven. Here several elements of the Egyptian enslavement of Israel are incorporated into the story. The store cities (fortified cities in LXX) of Exodus 1:11 may here have been interpreted as a tower. The story of the woman forced to work while giving birth is elsewhere told of the Egyptian period (see n. to 3:5). Bricks are also a strong element of the account in Exodus 1. The punishment with blindness is mentioned in Genesis 19:11 in relation to the citizens of Sodom and Gomorrah, but it is suggested already in the Wisdom of Solomon 19:17 that the plague of darkness (Ex 10:21–23) was also blindness.

Again, the story of the garden of Eden is expanded here. The planting of the garden was not done directly by God but by his angels, and the angel who caused Adam and Eve to sin was one of these angels. The punishment of the snake (Gen 3:14f.) takes place in the third heaven, where, according to the Slavonic version, he "eats earth like grass" (4:3). The giants who, we are told, were drowned in the Flood may be the children of the unions described in Genesis 6:1–4 (cf. e.g. 1En 6–16). A strong typological relation is set up between Adam and Noah, who discovers a piece of the vine through which Adam and Eve sinned washed out of the garden by the receding floodwaters. Afraid to provoke God's wrath, Noah hesitates to plant the vine, but the angel Sarasael is sent to instruct him to do so.<sup>21</sup>

### Relation to apocryphal books

Baruch, a minor figure in the Book of Jeremiah, became an important pseudonym in the second Temple period of Jewish history. In the second century B.C., 1 Baruch 1:1–3:8 was written. After A.D. 70 the works 2 and 4 Baruch were written. These books attributed to Baruch are not the work of a single school, but this name brought associations of the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple in 587 B.C. and the crisis that resulted. Furthermore, there is a Christian Apocalypse of Baruch in Ethiopic which was adapted by

<sup>20</sup> A threefold division of tower builders is mentioned in rabbinic sources: "Rabbi Jeremiah ben Eleazar said, 'They (the builders) were split into three groups.' One said, 'Let us go up and dwell there,' and one said, 'Let us go up and practise idolatry,' and one said, 'Let us go up and make war.' " The first group is dispersed, the second is stopped when God confuses their tongues, and the third group is changed into apes, evil spirits, and demons (b.Sanh 109a).

<sup>21</sup> The two versions diverge greatly here (5:15). The Gk. "and its fruit . . ." is a Christian addition, but its opening and closing phrases may be original.

the Falashas.<sup>22</sup> Justin the Gnostic in the second century also had a book of Baruch.<sup>23</sup> James thinks that still another book of Baruch was known to Cyprian.<sup>24</sup> One can see by the last three books the degree to which Baruch's name was used for very different purposes: He is even identified as an angel by Justin the Gnostic.

3 Baruch is one of a number of books concerning the visions of a man conducted through the various heavens. Similar visions are recorded in the Testament of Abraham, the Apocalypse of Abraham, 1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, the Testament of Levi, the Vision of Isaiah, and the Merkabah literature. Lists of seven heavens and their contents are also given in rabbinic sources. These lists are far from uniform, and different items occur in the various works.

On many specific points common traditions are shared between 3 Baruch and other apocryphal literature, and these are mentioned in the notes below. Among these is the tradition about Adam's pre-Fall glory, which he lost (4:16[G]). This important tradition is closely related to the books concerning Adam and Eve. The secondary references to Satanael in the Slavonic version have probably been influenced by Christian traditions; this may also be true of the mention of Satanael in 2 Enoch. Still, it is possible that this myth, based on Isaiah 14:12-14, and found in the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae* as well as in one late rabbinic source, is much older than is sometimes thought.

In what A. Vaillant considers the oldest version of 2 Enoch<sup>25</sup> seven phoenixes are located in the sixth heaven (2En 19:6). However, in the long text, phoenixes and chalkydii accompany the sun in the fourth heaven (2En 12:1-3). Moreover, they announce to the earthly birds the entrance of the sun at dawn (2En 15:1). Yet the main function of the phoenix in 3 Baruch, guardian of the world, has no parallel.

### Cultural importance

This work has not made a great impact in later history. It is possible that it has influenced certain parts of the Apocalypse of Paul and the History of the Rechabites. Origen may cite it at one point.

Yet in Slavic literature it has had some importance, as witnessed by the fact that twelve known manuscripts exist today. The Slavonic version was reedited before the fourteenth century (MSS of family B). Moreover, it gave rise to a Bulgarian folktale known from the eighteenth century.<sup>26</sup> There are also Russian manuscripts (15th-17th cent.) of a moral discourse against the abuse of wine, which uses chapters 4 and 5 of 3 Baruch to confirm its point.<sup>27</sup>

Thus while in Western Europe and Greece 3 Baruch has lain in libraries unread until the late nineteenth century, it has been in popular and religious use among Slavic peoples.

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. W. Leslau, *Falasha Anthology* (New Haven, 1951) pp. 57-76.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Hippolytus, *Ref* 5.24.

<sup>24</sup> Cyprian *Testimonia* 3.29. See M. R. James, *LAOT*, pp. 77f. [Also see S. E. Robinson's discussion of Baruch in 4Bar in the present collection. —J.H.C.]

<sup>25</sup> See A. Vaillant, *Le Livre des Secrets d'Hénoch* (Paris, 1952). [But regarding Vaillant's methods and conclusions see the contribution herein on 2En by F. Andersen. —J.H.C.]

<sup>26</sup> Published by P. Lavrov, in *Sbornik otd. russk. jaz. i slov.* 67 (1899) 149-51.

<sup>27</sup> See Turdeanu, *Revue des études slaves* 48 (1969) 36-38, 44-48.

## APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

Slavonic

when the angel Phanuel<sup>c</sup> was sent to him on the holy mountain Zion<sup>d</sup> beside the river, as he cried over the captivity of Jerusalem. Lord, give thy blessing.<sup>e</sup>

- 1 When King Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem and enriched Babylon,<sup>a</sup> then I Baruch cried loudly and said,
- 2 "Lord, in what way was King Nebuchadnezzar righteous?<sup>d</sup> Why did you not spare your city Jerusalem which is your vineyard of glory?<sup>c</sup> Why have you acted so, Lord?"
- 3 And behold, as I was crying to myself, an angel of the Lord appeared and said to me, "Be silent, O man of his pleasure!<sup>e</sup> Jerusalem had to suffer this. But thus speaks the Lord Almighty to you,
- 4 and he sent me before your face so that I could show you all the mysteries of God.<sup>g</sup>
- 5 For both your tears and your voice entered the ears of the Almighty God.
- 6 Only tell me that you will neither add nor omit (anything), and I will show you mysteries which no man has ever seen."
- 7 And I Baruch said to the angel, "As the Lord God lives, if you will show me, I will listen; I will not subtract nor will I add one word.<sup>h</sup> If I do omit (anything), then <sup>Deut 4:2</sup> may the Lord pass judgment upon me on the Day of Judgment."

a. The Gk. contains two introductions. The first has signs of being a medieval creation. On "narration" cf. e.g. ApMos, introduction; TAB (both versions), introduction.

b. This term differs from that in the body of this work, mystery, cf. 1:4(S); 1:6; 1:8(G); 2:6; 5:3(S).

c. The name of Baruch's angelic guide is mentioned also at 2:5. This is one of the four archangels in the Parables of Enoch. See Introduction, "Theological Importance."

d. This is also the place of revelation to Baruch in 2Bar 13:1f.

e. The invocation in an introduction is a common patristic device, e.g. ActsThom, introduction; ActsJn, introduction; ApZos (= HistRech), introduction; ApSed, introduction. Cf. Lampe, *eulogēō ad loc.*

f. M. R. James emends the Gk. *gel* to read *Kedrôn*, lacking in the Slavonic. The geographical reference would be to the eastern side of the Temple mount, facing the Kidron brook. Cf. 2Bar 5:5; 21:1; 31:1.

g. The second introduction of the Gk. seems influenced by 4Bar 3:14. The background of these stories of Abimelek is in Jer 38:7–13 and 39:15–18.

h. Possibly the gates of Nicanor, cf. Josephus, *War* 5.201–6; m.Middot 1:4; t.Yoma 2:4; and A. Schalit, *König Herodes* (Berlin, 1969) p. 389, n. 834. These gates may be referred to in Acts 3:10. Baruch also laments before the Temple gates in 2Bar 10:5.

i. This is the place of revelations in 2Bar 34:1;

## APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH

Greek

1. Narration<sup>a</sup> and Apocalypse of Baruch concerning the secret things<sup>b</sup> he saw by the command of God. Lord, give thy blessing.<sup>c</sup>

2. Apocalypse of Baruch who is by the Kidron River<sup>d</sup> weeping over the captivity of Jerusalem while Abimelek was safeguarded in the estate of Agrippa by the hand of God,<sup>e</sup> and who was seated by the beautiful gates<sup>h</sup> where the Holy of Holies<sup>i</sup> stood.

- 1 Woe, now I Baruch (was) weeping in my mind<sup>b</sup> and considering the people and how King Nebuchadnezzar was permitted by God to plunder his city, saying,
- 2 "Lord, why have you set fire to your vineyard and laid it waste?<sup>c</sup> Why have you done this? And why, Lord, did you not requite us with another punishment, but rather handed us over to such heathen so that they reproach us saying, 'Where is their God?' "
- 3 And behold, while I was weeping and saying such things, I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me, "Know, O man, greatly beloved man,<sup>e</sup> and do not concern yourself so much over the salvation of Jerusalem.<sup>f</sup> For thus says the Lord God Almighty,
- 4 and he sent me before you in order that I should proclaim and disclose to you all things of God.<sup>g</sup>
- 5 For your prayer has been heard before him and has entered the ears of the Lord God."
- 6 And when he told me these things, I became calm, and the angel said to me, "Cease irritating God, and I will disclose to you other mysteries greater than these."<sup>i</sup>
- 7 And I Baruch said, "As the Lord lives, if you disclose a word to me and I hear it from you, I shall speak no further. May God add to me punishment on the Day of Judgment if I speak in the future."
- 8 And the angel of hosts<sup>k</sup> said to me, "Come and I shall disclose to you the mysteries of God."

Isa 5;  
Ezek 15;  
Ps 80:8–16  
Pss 42:3,10;  
79:10; 115:2;  
Joel 2:17;  
Micah 7:10

35:1. The Gk. contains three conflicting geographical references. The Holy of Holies was set apart by a curtain, not gates. Between it and the end of the Temple mount stood the gates of Nicanor. The Slavonic has a plausible geographic reference.

1 a. The opening of 4Ezra 3:2 voices the same contrast. Cf. also 2Bar 11:1f.

b. Cf. also 2Bar 6:2; 10:5; 35:1.

c. This theme is also prominent in 2Bar 3:5; 5:1; 4Ezra 3:27–36; 5:28–30.

d. Cf. 4Ezra 3:28.

e. Dan 10:11 Ø. There also an angel is sent to announce God's hearing of a prayer.

f. In the Slavonic this seems to be misplaced

from here to 2:3.

g. The Slavonic may conflate Gk. vss. 4 and 8b here. The mysteries are mentioned at 1:4(S), 6, 8(G); 2:6; 5:3(S); 17:1(S).

h. The requirement of precise transmission of revelations is also mentioned in Deut 4:2; 13:1 and Rev 22:18.

i. None has been mentioned except perhaps the salvation of Jerusalem. Cf. also 4Ezra 5:13 and ApPaul (Lat.) 40 [end].

j. Lacking in S. Cf. vs. 4.

k. Cf. 2:1(S). This class of the angelic guide is also mentioned in 2:6(G); 10:1(S); elsewhere cf. 1En 20:1(G\*); 61:10; TAB (A) 9, 14; 2Thes 1:7; Josh 5:14 LXX.

- 1 **2** And the angel of hosts took me and carried me where the firmament of heaven<sup>a</sup> is.
- 2 And it was the first heaven,<sup>d</sup> and in that heaven he showed me very large doors.<sup>e</sup> And the angel said to me, "Let us pass through these doors." And we passed through like the passing of 30 days. He showed me salvation.<sup>g</sup>
- 3 And I saw a plain;<sup>h</sup> there were men<sup>i</sup> living there whose faces were those of cattle, with the horns of deer, the feet of goats, and the loins of rams.
- 4 And I Baruch asked the angel, "Tell me what is the thickness of the heaven which we have crossed, and what is the plain, so that I can tell the sons of men."
- 5 Phanael<sup>k</sup> said to me, "The gates which you saw are as large as (the distance) from east to west; the thickness of heaven is equal to the distance from earth to heaven, the plain where we are standing is equal to its width (i.e. heaven's)."
- 6 He said to me, "Go and I will show you the mysteries."
- 7 I said to the angel, "Lord, who are these strangely shaped creatures?" And the angel said to me, "These are those who built the tower of the war against God.<sup>l</sup> The Lord threw them out."
- 1 **3** And the angel took me and led me to the second heaven and showed me large open<sup>a</sup> doors, and the angel said to me, "Let us pass through them."
- 2 And we passed through, flying like the passing of 7 days.<sup>b</sup>
- 3 And he showed me a great prison,<sup>c</sup> and there were strangely shaped creatures living in it, with the faces of dogs, the horns of deer, and the feet of goats.<sup>d</sup>
- 4 And I asked the angel of the Lord, "Who are these?"
- 5 And he said to me, "These are the ones who had planned<sup>e</sup> to build the tower, for at that time they forced men and a multitude of women to make bricks.<sup>f</sup> Among them was one woman who was near to giving birth, and they did not release her, but, working, she gave birth, and took her cloak and wrapped the infant, and left her infant, and made bricks again.
- 6 And the Lord God appeared to them and confused their languages.<sup>g</sup> And they built their tower 80 thousand cubits in height, and in width 5 hundred and twenty.
- 7 They took an auger so that they could proceed to bore heaven so that they could see whether heaven is (made) of stone or of glass or of copper.
- 8 And God saw them and did not heed them, but he chastened them invisibly."<sup>h</sup>

2 a. The heavens rest upon the firmament, cf. 1En 18:5; 33:2. This is the *Rāqia'* in the creation story, Gen 1:6-8, which separates the upper and lower waters.

b. Identified as the ocean in ApPaul 21 and TAB (B) 8, or possibly the Upper Waters (Gen 1:6-8), which are discussed in GenR 4:3 and b.Hag 15a and elsewhere. In the ApZos 2 the Eumeles River is mentioned at this juncture. This work is very similar to 3Bar here and possibly dependent on it. In the heavenly journey of TLevi 2:7 a "hanging sea" is mentioned under the first heaven. Further a river of fire and the ocean appear also in 1En 17:5.

c. Gk. *pnoē* can also mean "living creature" as in 8:7 and e.g. LXX Ps 40:6; 24:12. Cf. ApZos 2, where the cloud over the waters says, "Through

me passes no bird, nor breath of wind . . ." [See the contribution herein on ApZos = HistRech. —J.H.C.]

d. See Introduction on the arrangement of the heavens. This formulation is repeated in 3:1f.; 4:2. The entrances to other heavens are at 10:1(G) and 11:1f.

e. Cf. Ps 78:23 and also below 3:1; 11:1.

f. Lacking in the Slavonic, "Flying" is mentioned at 3:2. The winds carry Enoch to heaven in 1En 14:8. Cf. also ApZos 2.

g. Probably a misplaced fragment in Slavonic from 1:3.

h. Plains are mentioned in chs. 2, 3 (second heaven), 4 (third heaven), and 10 (fourth heaven).

i. Cf. 3:3. Cf. the rabbinic division into three groups, mentioned in the Introduction.

- 1 **2** And taking me, he led me to where the heaven was set fast<sup>a</sup> and where there was a river<sup>b</sup> which no one is able to cross, not even one of the foreign winds<sup>c</sup> which God created.
- 2 And taking me, he led me up to the first heaven<sup>d</sup> and showed me a very large door.<sup>e</sup> And he said to me, "Let us enter through it." And we entered as on wings<sup>f</sup> about the distance of 30 days' journey.
- 3 And he showed me a plain<sup>h</sup> within the heaven. And there were men<sup>i</sup> dwelling on it with faces of cattle and horns of deer and feet of goats and loins of sheep.
- 4 And I Baruch asked the angel, "Tell me, I pray you,<sup>j</sup> what is the thickness of this heaven in which we have journeyed, and what is its width, and what is this plain, that I may report these to the sons of men."
- 5 And the angel, whose name was Phamael,<sup>k</sup> said to me, "This door which you see is (the door) of heaven, and (its thickness) is as great as the distance from earth to heaven, and the width of the plain which you saw is the same (distance) again."
- 6 And again the angel of hosts said to me, "Come and I will show you greater mysteries."
- 7 And I said, "I pray you, show me what those men are." And he said to me, "These are the ones who built the tower of the war against God,<sup>l</sup> and the Lord removed them."
- 1 **3** And taking me, the angel of the Lord led me to a second heaven. And he showed me there a door similar to the first. And he said, "Let us enter through it."
- 2 And we entered, flying about the distance of 60 days' journey.
- 3 And he showed me there also a plain, and it was full of men, and their appearance was like (that) of dogs, and their feet (like those) of deer.
- 4 And I asked the angel, "I pray you, lord, tell me who these are."
- 5 And he said, "These are the ones who plotted<sup>e</sup> to build the tower. These whom you see forced many men and women to make bricks.<sup>f</sup> Among them one woman was making bricks in the time of her delivery; they did not permit her to be released, but while making bricks she gave birth. And she carried her child in her cloak and continued making bricks.
- 6 And appearing to them, the Lord changed their languages;<sup>g</sup> by that time they had built the tower 463 cubits (high).
- 7 And taking an auger, they attempted to pierce the heaven, saying, 'Let us see whether the heaven is (made) of clay or copper or iron.'
- 8 Seeing these things, God did not permit them (to continue), but struck them with blindness<sup>h</sup> and with confusion of tongues, and he made them be as you see."

j. Oft-used phrase in Gk., lacking in Slavonic. Cf. also 2:7; 3:4; 4:8; 4:14.

k. Mentioned in the Introduction (S). Phamael is probably a corruption, the Slavonic MSS vary between Phanael and Phanuel.

l. Gen 11:1-9. Cf. Introduction.

3 a. Perhaps an addition under the influence of 11:1.

b. Probably confusion of letters that were used as numbers.

c. The Slavonic reading here is based upon a Gk. uncial error, *PEDION/KELLION*. This would indicate that the Gk. *Vorlage* of the Slavonic and the present Gk. MS family diverged during the period when uncials were still being written.

d. Contamination from 2:3.

e. This second group planned the tower and forced others to build it. This also is an expansion of Gen 11. Cf. also b.Sanh 109a and parallels and Introduction above.

f. A similar story about the Egyptian enslavement is told in PRE 48 and TarJon to Ex 24:10.

g. Cf. Gen 11:7f.

h. This seems to be the ninth plague against the Egyptians (Ex 10:21-23), which is reinterpreted as blindness. The men of Sodom received this punishment (Gen 19:11), and WisSol 19:17 makes this interpretation explicit.

i. Slavonic has misunderstood the point here. The confusion of tongues is mentioned twice in the Gk. (vss. 6, 8), but only once in Slavonic.



4 And I Baruch said, "The Lord has shown me great (things)."

2 And the angel said, "Come and let us pass through these doors; you will see the glory of God."<sup>b</sup> And I passed through with the angel like the passing of 187 days.  
3 And he showed me a plain, and there was a serpent on a stone mountain.<sup>d</sup> And it drinks one cubit of water from the sea every day, and it eats earth like grass.<sup>e</sup>  
4 And I Baruch said to the angel, "Lord, does he drink one cubit from the sea?"  
5 The angel said to me, "Listen, Baruch, the Lord God made 353 rivers,<sup>i</sup> and the first river is the Alpheia, the second Aboura, the third Agirenik, the fourth Dounab, the fifth Ephrat, the sixth Zephon, the seventh Matepus, the eighth Arenous, the ninth Pelkuri. And there are 354 others flowing into the sea, and thus it is washed,<sup>j</sup> and it does not diminish<sup>k</sup> because his heart is enflamed."  
6 And I Baruch said to the angel, "Show me the tree<sup>l</sup> which deceived Adam."<sup>m</sup>

7 And the angel said to me, "When God made the garden and commanded Michael to gather two hundred thousand and three angels so that they could plant the garden, Michael<sup>n</sup> planted the olive and Gabriel, the apple; Uriel, the nut; Raphael, the melon; and Satanael,<sup>o</sup> the vine. For at first his name in former times was Satanael, and similarly all the angels planted the various trees."

8 And again I Baruch said to the angel, "Lord, show me the tree through which the serpent<sup>p</sup> deceived Eve and Adam." And the angel said to me, "Listen, Baruch. In the first place, the tree was the vine,<sup>q</sup> but secondly, the tree (is) sinful desire which Satanael spread over Eve and Adam, and because of this God has cursed the vine because Satanael had planted it, and by that he deceived the protoplast Adam and Eve."

9 And I Baruch said to the angel, "Lord, if God has cursed the vine and its seed, then how can it be of use now?"

10 And the angel said to me, "Rightly you ask me. When God made the Flood upon the earth, he drowned every firstling, and he destroyed 104 thousand giants,<sup>u</sup> and the water rose above the highest mountains 20 cubits above the mountains, and the water entered into the garden, bringing out one shoot from the vine as God withdrew the waters.<sup>v</sup>

11 And there was dry land, and Noah went out from the ark

12 and found the vine lying on the ground, and did not recognize it having only heard about it and its form.

13 He thought to himself, saying, 'This is truly the vine which Satanael planted in the middle of the garden, by which he deceived Eve and Adam; because of this God cursed it and its seed. So if I plant it, then will God not be angry with me?'

4 a. Cf. Slavonic. The Gk. may be a Christian addition reflecting Rev 15:1, 3. Cf. n. on 5:3.

b. Omission due to homoeoteleuton; text preserved in the Slavonic.

c. James has suggested that this figure as presented in the Gk. version is related to the huge dragon that is the outer darkness of Pistis Sophia ch. 126. The Slavonic presents the serpent of Gen 3 being punished for its part in the fall of Adam.

d. Text corrupt. James et al. emend the text to read "two hundred plethra in length."

e. One of the punishments of the serpent in Gen 3:14; cf. also Isa 65:25. James suggests the background of LXX Ex 15:7.

f. Vss. 3-6 in the Gk. are perhaps later additions concerning Hades and punishments, absent from the Slavonic. Here the serpent is distinct from

Hades, but in 5:3(G) Hades is identified as the belly of the serpent.

g. Or "in which also." This may be the rough seam of an interpolation. Cf. Slavonic "like a stone mountain and it drinks . . ."

h. In time or importance.

i. An acrostic may lie behind the list of rivers, cf. H. Jacobson, "A Note on the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch," *JSJ* 7 (1976) 201-3.

j. Cleansed?

k. The sense requires "does not increase."

l. Here the tree deceives Adam, but in vs. 8 it is the serpent and Satanael (or Samael) who deceive.

m. The following section in Slavonic may have fallen out of the Gk. by homoeoteleuton, or may be an addition. The story is not preserved elsewhere

4 And I Baruch said, "Behold, lord, you have shown me great and wondrous things. Now show me all, for the Lord's sake."

2 And the angel said to me, "Come, let us go through"<sup>b</sup> . . . with the angel from that place, a journey of about 185 days.

3 And he showed me a plain and a serpent<sup>c</sup> who appeared to be stone.<sup>d</sup> And he showed me Hades,<sup>f</sup> and its appearance was gloomy and unclean.

4 And I said, "What is this dragon and this monster around it?"

5 And the angel said, "This dragon is the one which eats the bodies of those who pass through their lives badly, and he is nourished by them."

6 And this is Hades which is like him, in that<sup>e</sup> also he drinks about one cubit from the sea, and nothing is diminished from it (i.e. the sea)."

7 Baruch said, "And how is that?" And the angel said, "Listen, the Lord God made 360 rivers, the primary<sup>h</sup> ones of them being the Alphias, the Aburos, and the Gerikos, and because of these the sea is not diminished."

8 And I said, "I pray you, show me which is the tree<sup>l</sup> which caused Adam to stray." And the angel said, "It is the vine<sup>q</sup> which the angel Samael<sup>f</sup> planted by which the Lord God became angered, and he cursed him and his planting. For this reason he did not permit Adam to touch it.<sup>g</sup> And because of this the devil became envious,<sup>i</sup> and tricked him by means of his vine."

9 And I Baruch said, "And since the vine became the cause of such evil and was cursed by God and (was) the destruction of the first formed, how is it now of such great use?"

10 And the angel said, "Rightly you ask; when God caused the Flood over the earth and destroyed all flesh and 409,000 giants,<sup>u</sup> and the water rose over the heights 15 cubits, the water entered Paradise and killed every flower, but it removed the sprig of the vine completely and brought it outside.<sup>v</sup>

11 And when the earth appeared from the water and Noah left the ark, he started to plant (some) of the discovered plants.

12 He also found the sprig, and taking it, he considered in his mind what it was. And I came and told him about it.

13 And he said, 'Should I plant it, or what (should I do with it)? Since Adam was destroyed by means of it,<sup>w</sup> will I also encounter the anger of God through this?' And while saying these things, he prayed for God to reveal to him what he should do with this.

except in a Slavonic fable based on this story (see Introduction).

n. The order of the angels here follows MS family A. The list in family B is: Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel (corrupt in all MSS). The first four angels of A correspond with the list in ApMos 40:1 and in 1En 9:1(Gk.), as well as rabbinic lists. The list in family B is paralleled by the Parables of Enoch: 1En 40:9; 54:6; 71:8, 9, 13.

o. He lost his title, -EL, when he was exiled. Cf. Isa 14:12.

p. Is this the same serpent as in ch. 4?

q. This tree is identified as the vine by 2nd-cent. sages as well: R. Meir (b.Sanh 70a) and R. Judah b. Ilai (GenR 15:7). It is also mentioned in ApAb 23:5 and the *Palea Historica* (ed. Vassiliev, p. 190).

r. The Gk. MSS read Samuel, as in the *Palea Historica* (ed. Vassiliev, p. 258), but this is most probably a mistake for Samael. cf. 9:7. Samael is probably the original name. He is the chief of the evil angels in rabbinic literature, and appears in Ascens 7:9; 11:41(Eth.); and TarJon on Gen 3:6. In the Acts of Andrew and Matthew 24 both names are attested in MSS.

s. Omitted in Slavonic. In the biblical account God commands Adam not to eat from it (Gen 2:17), but Eve tells the serpent that they may not even touch it (Gen 3:3).

t. WisSol 2:24; Vita 12:1.

u. The offspring in Gen 6:1-4.

v. TarJon on Gen 9:20.

w. Connection established between Adam and Noah.



- 14 And he knelt down on (his) knees and fasted 40 days. Praying and crying, he said, 'Lord, if I plant this, what will happen?'
- 15 And the Lord sent the angel Sarasaël; he declared to him, 'Rise, Noah, and plant the vine, and alter its name, and change it for the better.'

- 16 "But beware, Baruch: The tree still possesses its evil.

- 17 Those who drink wine in excess do all evil: Brother does not show mercy to brother, nor father to son, nor son to father. And from the evil of wine comes forth murder and adultery, fornication and cursing, as much evil as exists, because of wine."

Micah 7:6  
Mk 13:12  
Mt 10:21

- 1 5 I Baruch said to the angel, "Let me ask you, lord, about one thing still which you said to me:
- 2 that the serpent drinks one cubit of water from the sea a day: How great then is its stomach that it drinks so much?"
- 3 And the angel said to me, "As great as is its stomach, so great is Hades."<sup>b</sup> And he said to me, "If you wish, come and I will show you mysteries greater than these."

- 1 6 And the angel took me where the sun goes forth.<sup>a</sup>
- 2 And he showed me a chariot-of-four, and the horses were flaming, for the horses were winged angels. And upon this chariot sat a man wearing a fiery crown.<sup>b</sup> And the chariot was drawn by forty angels,<sup>c</sup> and (there was) also a bird<sup>d</sup> flying, large as a mountain.
- 3 I said to the angel, "Lord, what is this bird?" And he said to me, "This is the guardian of the world."<sup>f</sup>
- 4 And I said, "For what purpose is it the guardian of the world? Show me!"
- 5 And the angel said to me, "This bird which goes before the sun stretches out its wings and hides the burning rays of the sun.
- 6 For if he did not hide the rays of the sun, the human race and every creature on earth would not survive because of the flames of the sun. Thus God has commanded this bird to serve the world.
- 7 But look on the right wing, at what is written." And he commanded the bird to spread his wings, and I saw letters, greater than a threshing floor on earth of 4000. Those letters were pure gold.
- 8 And he said to me, "Read them aloud!" And they said thus: "The earth has not borne me, nor has the heaven, but wings of fire bear me. And the birds wait for me."

x. Such pairs occur also in Isa 5:20. Cf. also 4Bar 9:18.

y. The Gk. version is the result of considerable reworking.

z. This emendation by James is quite probable. However, the vs. conflicts with vs. 9. Several scholars have viewed this vs. as a Christian interpolation.

5 a. Cf. ApPaul 32.

b. The Slavonic compares the serpent's stomach with Hades, rather than identifying them. Cf. 4:3(G) which seems to conflict with this vs.

c. Mysteries have been consistently promised. The Gk. may be a Christian revision; cf. Jn 5:20.

6 a. The sun and moon appear to be in the third heaven, cf. 7:2; 10:1.

b. This hellenistic conception of a crowned sun, riding in a chariot, was incorporated into Jewish art as well. Such a representation is found in the 4th-cent.-A.D. mosaic on a synagogue floor at Hammat Tiberias. The 6th-cent.-A.D. synagogue floor at Beth Alpha contains a depiction of Helios in a

- 14 And in 40 days he completed his prayer and entreating much and crying, he said, 'Lord, I implore you to reveal to me what I should do with this plant.'
- 15 And God sent the angel Sarasaël, and he said to him, 'Rise, Noah, plant the sprig, for the Lord says this: "Its bitterness will be changed into sweetness, and its curse will become a blessing," and its fruit will become the blood of God, and just as the race of men have been condemned through it, so through Jesus Christ Emmanuel in it (they) will receive a calling and entrance into Paradise.'"<sup>y</sup>
- 16 Then know, Baruch, that just as Adam through this tree was condemned and was stripped of the glory of God, thus men now who insatiably drink the wine deriving from it transgress worse than Adam, and become distant from the glory of God, and will secure for themselves eternal fire.
- 17 For (no)<sup>z</sup> good derives from it. For those who drink excessively do these things: Brother does not have mercy on brother, nor father on son, nor children on parents, but by means of the Fall through wine come forth all (these): murder, adultery, fornication, perjury, theft, and similar things. And nothing good is accomplished through it."

Micah 7:6  
Mk 13:12  
Mt 10:21

- 1 5 And I Baruch said to the angel, "May I ask you one question, lord?
- 2 Since you told me that the serpent drinks one cubit from the sea, tell me how large its belly is."
- 3 And the angel said, "Its belly is Hades. As far as 300 men can throw a weight,<sup>a</sup> so great is his belly.<sup>b</sup> Come now and I will show you works<sup>c</sup> greater than these."
- 1 6 And taking me, he led me where the sun goes forth.<sup>a</sup>
- 2 And he showed me a chariot drawn by four horses and fire underneath it. And upon the chariot sat a man wearing a fiery crown.<sup>b</sup> The chariot was drawn by forty angels.<sup>c</sup> And behold, a bird<sup>d</sup> runs along before the sun, as large as nine mountains.<sup>e</sup>
- 3 And I said to the angel, "What is this bird?" And he said to me, "This is the guardian of the world."<sup>f</sup>
- 4 And I said, "Lord, how is it the guardian of the world? Teach me."
- 5 And the angel said to me, "This bird accompanies the sun and spreading its wings absorbs its fire-shaped rays.
- 6 For if it did not absorb them, none of the race of men would survive, nor anything else that lives, so God appointed this bird."
- 7 And he unfolded his wings, and I saw on his right wing very large letters like the place of a threshing floor, having the space of 4000 modia,<sup>g</sup> and the letters were gold.
- 8 And the angel said to me, "Read them." And I read, and they said thus: "Neither earth nor heaven bear me, but the wings of fire bear me."

chariot, pulled by four horses.

c. In 1En 72:4f. this chariot is driven by the winds, but in 2En 11 it seems to be drawn by angels. Cf. also PRE 6.

d. Phoenixes and chalkydii accompany the sun in 2En 12 (A) and seven more phoenixes are in the sixth heaven. On the phoenix in antiquity, see R. Van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix* (Leiden, 1972).

e. This is James's conjecture on the corrupt text, partially confirmed by the Slavonic. Another sug-

gestion is to emend in the light of 2En 12 (A): "about nine hundred measures" or with Discourse of the Paniogate, "about nine cubits" (Hughes, *APOT*, vol. 2, p. 536). The most interesting suggestion is by Moulton in Hughes to read *hōs oreuōn*, "as a guardian," cf. vs. 3. Cf. also V. d. Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix*, p. 252.

f. This title and function of the phoenix is not attested elsewhere.

g. About 24,000 feet.

- 9 I Baruch said, "Lord, what is the name of this bird?"  
 10 And he said to me, "Phoenix."  
 11 I Baruch said, "What does he eat?" And the angel said, "Heavenly manna."<sup>h</sup>  
 12 And I said, "Does he produce excrement?" He said to me, "He produces it."<sup>i</sup>  
 And again he said to me, "You will observe the glory of God<sup>m</sup>; see what this bird is going to become." He went past in front of the sun.  
 13 And while we were singing, there was a noise, great as 30 cows, and the place where we stood shook. And I Baruch said, "What is this noise, my lord?" And he said to me, "The angels are opening the 65 gates of heaven, and light is being separated from darkness."<sup>p</sup>  
 14 And the sun entered (the chariot)<sup>q</sup> and a voice came, "O Sun, giver of light, give splendor to the world."<sup>r</sup> The bird spread his wings and covered the rays of the sun and it flapped its wings and there was a noise like thunder and the bird cried out, saying, "O giver of light, give splendor to the world."  
 15 As I heard the voice of the bird, I said, "What is that sound?"  
 16 And he said, "This is the cocks on earth beginning to waken in the world. At the first call they call out, knowing that the sun is rising. And the cocks cry out."<sup>t</sup>

- 7 I Baruch said, "Does the sun rest much?" And the angel said to me, "From when the cocks crow until the light comes."  
 2 And the angel said to me, "Listen, Baruch, what I have shown you is in the first and second heavens, but this place in heaven (is where) the sun goes and it is where he gives light to the world." And he said to me, "Be patient and you will see the glory of God."<sup>a</sup>

- 8 And the sun came with the crown and 36 angels and also the bird, exhausted.

- 3 And I said, "Lord, where are they carrying the crown of the sun, and why is the bird exhausted?"  
 4 And the angel said to me, "The crown of the sun which he wears during the day, 4 angels take and carry to heaven. They cleanse the rays of the sun from the earth."

h. On the food of the phoenix, cf. V. d. Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix*, pp. 335–56. The dew of heaven is mentioned in 10:9.

i. Family B<sup>2</sup> of the Slavonic contains the following here: "Its excrement becomes black cumin, and with this kings are anointed, and without cumin he is not king, not having (it) in a vessel when the king is enthroned." For fuller details, see H. E. Gaylord, *The Slavonic Version of 3 Baruch* (forthcoming).

j. See V. d. Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix*, pp. 187, 214–16.

k. This is an element of the phoenix's nest in the classical tradition. Cf. V. d. Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix*, pp. 164–70.

l. Is this for coronation or embalming?

m. Cf. 7:2; 11:2; 16:4(S).

n. Lit. "thunder like the sound of thunder."

o. This must relate to the solar calendar. The solar year contains 364 days according to 1En 72:32. However, in 1En 72–82 and 2En 13f. there are only six gates in the east and six in the west. The 300 has dropped out of S.

- 9 And I said, "Lord, what is this bird, and what is its name?"  
 10 And the angel told me, "His name is Phoenix."  
 11 "And what does he eat?" And he told me, "The manna of heaven and the dew of earth."<sup>h</sup>  
 12 And I said, "Does the bird excrete?" And he said to me, "He excretes a worm, and from the excretion, this worm,<sup>j</sup> cinnamon<sup>k</sup> comes into existence, which kings and princes use.<sup>l</sup> But wait and you will see the glory of God."<sup>m</sup>  
 13 And while he was speaking, there was a thunderclap<sup>n</sup> and the place where we stood was shaken. And I asked the angel, "My lord, what is this sound?" And the angel said to me, "The angels are opening the 365 gates<sup>o</sup> of heaven now, and light is separating itself from darkness."<sup>p</sup>  
 14 And a voice came saying, "Light giver, give splendor to the world!"<sup>r</sup>  
 15 And hearing the sound of the bird, I said, "Lord, what is this sound?"  
 16 And he said, "This is what wakens the cocks on earth, for just as articulate beings do,<sup>s</sup> thus also the cock informs those on the earth according to its own tongue. For the sun is being prepared by the angels and the cock is crowing."<sup>t</sup>

- 7 And I said, "And where does the sun begin to work after the cock crows?"  
 2 And the angel said to me, "Listen, Baruch, everything I have shown you is in the first and second heaven; and in the third heaven the sun passes through and gives splendor to the world. But wait and you will see the glory of God."  
 3 And while I was speaking to him, I saw the bird, and he appeared ahead and grew little by little, and became full sized.  
 4 And after him (I saw) the sun gleaming and with him angels carrying (him) and a crown on his head; we were not able to look directly into this sight and see.  
 5 And at the same time as the sun shone out, the phoenix spread out its wings. Seeing such glory, I became overcome with a great fear and fled and hid in the wings of the angel.  
 6 And the angel said to me, "Do not fear, Baruch, but wait and you will see them setting."<sup>b</sup>  
 8 And taking me, he led me to the west. And when the time of the setting (of the sun) came, I saw again the bird coming in front and the sun coming with the angels. When he came, I saw the angels, and they removed the crown from his head.  
 2 And the bird was overcome and let his wings droop.  
 3 And when I saw these things, I said, "Why do they remove the crown from his head and why is the bird so overcome?"  
 4 And the angel said to me, "When the day is completed, 4 angels take the crown of the sun and carry it to heaven and renew it because it and its rays are defiled upon earth. And every day it is renewed."<sup>a</sup>

p. According to the Syr. TAdam (ed. Kmosko, *Pat. Syriaca*, 1.2, p. 1337) in the eleventh hour of the night. [See the contribution herein on TAdam. —J.H.C.]

q. The translation "entered (the chariot)" is a rare meaning for this word. It often means "set, go down"; but this meaning does not fit here.

r. 2En 15:2(A).

s. This is the conjectural translation of James; Ryssel, *APAT*, proposes "just as men do through the mouth."

t. Family B of the Slavonic for vss. 15f. read "And I said to the angel, 'What is this bird singing?' The angel said to me, 'He excites your cocks on earth, and the cocks sing when the sun rises.'"

7 a. S refers to the setting of the sun here and probably should be placed with 8:1f.(G).

b. See parallel in S 8:5.

8 a. 2En 14:2.

b. In S family B preserves vs. 6 as follows: "It

- 5 And the angel said to me, "The sun sees all the lawlessness in the world; he does not countenance lewdness, adultery, jealousy, rivalry, theft, murder, all of which are not acceptable to God. And also the bird is exhausted, just as one of the earthly birds; it takes up the fiery rays of the sun and is exhausted by them."

And then the angels brought the crown of the sun. And I saw such glory, I was frightened, I fled into the wings of the angel. And the angel said, "Do not fear, Baruch, the Lord is with you, but be comforted."

- 2 **9** And I said to the angel of the Lord, "Teach me what the moon is."
- 3 And he said to me, "It is like a woman, sitting on a chariot, and twenty angels are leading the chariot by means of oxen, and the oxen are angels. The form of the moon is like a woman."<sup>b</sup>
- 5 And I Baruch said, "Lord, why does it sometimes wax and sometimes wane?"
- 6 And he said to me, "Listen, Baruch, it was beautiful.
- 7 But when the first-created Adam sinned, having listened to Satanael, when he covered himself with the serpent, it (i.e. the moon) did not hide but shone forth, and God was angered by it. He lay bare its days to affliction."
- 1,2 **10** And the angel of power took me to a very wide mountain, and in the middle of the mountain was a large lake of water.<sup>b</sup>
- 3 And there were birds from all heaven. But the very large ones were not like these (ones), they were similar to a crane. And there were other birds larger than those.
- 4 And I asked the angel, "Lord, what is this lake in the midst of the mountain and what are these birds?"
- 5 And he said to me, "The birds are ready day and night, praising God ceaselessly."<sup>c</sup>
- 6 And the clouds take the water from here and rain upon the earth, and plants sprout."

is overcome because of the burning heat and warmth of the sun."

c. Cf. 6:6; TLevi 3:1; ApPaul 4.

9 a. Ryssel, *APAT*, emends to read "the chariot of the moon."

b. This representation of the moon is hellenistic

and has no parallel in Jewish literature of the period. In the Book of the Luminaries, 1En 72-82, the sun rides in a chariot and by implication so does the moon. 2En 16:7 explicitly states that the moon rides in a chariot pulled by angels.

c. The term "the first Adam" is very common in rabbinic literature and need not imply the Pauline second Adam.

- 5 And I Baruch said, "Lord, by what are its rays defiled upon earth?" And the angel said to me, "By the sight of the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men committing fornication, adultery, theft, robbery, idol-worship, drunkenness, murder, discord, jealousy, slander, murmuring, gossip, divination, and other things which are unacceptable to God. By means of these it is defiled, and because of this it is renewed.
- 6 And now, concerning how the bird becomes overcome: It is overcome because it checks the rays of the sun and the fire and burning the whole day.<sup>b</sup>
- 7 For if its wings did not draw around the rays of the sun as earlier said, no living being would survive."<sup>c</sup>
- 1 **9** And when they had withdrawn, night arrived, and with it the moon<sup>a</sup> and the stars.
- 2 And I Baruch said, "Lord, explain this also to me, please. How does it depart and where is it going, and in what pattern does it travel?"
- 3 And the angel said, "Wait and you will see this shortly." And on the morrow I saw this also in the form of a woman, seated in a wheeled chariot. And in front of it were oxen and lambs near the chariot, and also many angels.<sup>b</sup>
- 4 And I said, "Lord, what are the oxen and lambs?" And he said to me, "These are angels also."
- 5 And again I asked, "Why does it sometimes grow larger and sometimes grow smaller?"
- 6 "Listen, O Baruch: This which you see was designed by God to be beautiful without peer.
- 7 And during the transgression of the first Adam,<sup>c</sup> she gave light to Samael when he took the serpent as a garment, and did not hide, but on the contrary, waxed. And God was angered with her, and diminished her and shortened her days."
- 8 And I said, "And why does she not shine all the time, but only at night?" And the angel said, "Listen: Just as servants are unable to speak freely before kings, so also before the sun, the moon and stars are unable to shine. For the stars are permanently suspended, but they are dispersed by the sun; and the moon, while being safe, is exhausted by the heat of the sun."

- 1 **10** And when I had been taught all these things by the archangel, he took me to a third<sup>a</sup> heaven.
- 2 And I saw an unbroken plain and in the middle of it was a lake of water.<sup>b</sup>
- 3 And in it were many birds of every species but unlike those here. But I saw a crane, like large oxen. And all were great, excelling those on earth.
- 4 And I asked the angel, "What is the plain and what is the lake and what are the multitude of birds around it?"
- 5 And the angel said, "Listen, Baruch: This plain which surrounds the lake, and in which are other mysteries, is the place where the souls of the righteous<sup>d</sup> come when they assemble, living together choir by choir.
- 6 And the water is that which the clouds receive to send as rain upon the earth, and (then) fruit grows."

10 a. Lit. "third," but this must be the entrance to the fourth heaven. They entered the third in ch. 4, cf. also 7:2.

b. James and others identify this as the Acherusian lake; cf. ApMos 37:3; SibOr 2:334-38; ApPet 14; ApPaul 22.

c. Cf. TLevi 3:8; 2En 17:1; ApZeph (in *Strom*

5.11.77) for angelic choirs in the heavens.

d. It is not clear from the text if these are the birds. Various Jewish and Christian traditions portray the righteous souls as birds. On the Jewish traditions concerning the soul represented as a bird, cf. V. Aptowitz, "Die Seele als Vogel," *MGWJ* 69 (1925) 150-69.

- 8 And I said, "How is it that men say that clouds come to the sea and take water and rain?"  
 9 And the angel said to me, "The race of men is ignorant, for all the water of the sea is salty so that if it rained because of the sea, no plant would sprout on earth. But know that they come from that lake and the clouds rain."

- 1 **11** And the angel of power took me and led me to the fifth heaven.  
 2 And he showed me large gates, and names of men were written (on them),<sup>a</sup> and they were closed. And I said, "Lord, will these gates open so that we can enter through them?" And the angel said to me, "It is not possible to enter through them until Michael, the holder of the keys of the kingdom,<sup>b</sup> comes." And the angel said to me, "Wait and you will see the glory of God."  
 3 And while we were waiting, there was a noise from the highest heaven like triple thunder. And I Baruch said, "Lord, what is this noise?"  
 4 And he said to me, "Michael is descending to accept the prayers of men."<sup>d</sup>  
 5 And then a voice came, saying that the gates should open, and they opened. And there was a great noise, greater than the first.  
 6 And Michael came, and the angel who was with me met him and bowed to him.  
 7 And I saw him holding a very large receptacle, and its depth was that from heaven to earth, and its width that from east to west.  
 8 And I said, "Lord, what is Michael holding?"

- 9 And he said to me, "This is where the prayers of men go."<sup>h</sup>

- 1 **12** And while he was speaking to me, angels came, carrying gifts full of flowers.<sup>a</sup>

- 2 And I said, "Lord, who are these?"  
 3 And he said to me, "These are the angels who are in the service of men."<sup>b</sup>  
 4 And Michael took the gifts from them and put them in the receptacle.  
 5 And I saw other angels carrying gifts, and they were dejected and did not dare to draw near because they did not have (sufficient) measure.  
 6 And Michael called, saying, "Come also, you angels, bring what you have brought."  
 7 And Michael cried greatly over the [un]filled receptacle.<sup>c</sup>

11 a. Cf. ApPaul 19.

b. Cf. 4Bar 9:5. Peter as the heavenly major-domo, cf. Mt 16:19.

c. This is the rank of Michael in several works, cf. e.g. Dan 10:13, 21; 2En 22:6; 33:10(A); TAB(A) *passim*, (B) 14. Cf. Josh 5:14 LXX.

d. These he apparently offers on the altar of the heavenly temple, which is mentioned in TLevi 5:1 and elsewhere. See also b.Hag 12b: "In it (the fourth heaven) is Jerusalem and the temple and an altar constructed and Michael, the great commander, stands and offers sacrifices on it." On the rabbinic sources for this idea, see V. Aptowitzer,

"The Heavenly Temple in the Agada," *Tarbiz* 2 (1931) 137-53, 257-77. TLevi 3:6 mentions "a reasonable and bloodless offering." On prayer and good deeds as the proper sacrifice at Qumran, cf. CD 11:20f., 1QS 9:4f. Cf. also the words of R. Johanan ben Zakkai in ARN A ch. 4.

e. This function is also ascribed to other angels, e.g. Ramiel in 2Bar 55:3 and Gabriel in Dan 9:23.

f. Contrasted with those portrayed in 4:5(G).

g. Probably the bowl for offerings at the heavenly altar. The LXX uses this term for sprinkling pans used in the Temple worship. The prayers of the saints are offered in such golden bowls in Rev

- 7 And again I said to the angel of the Lord, "What are the birds?" And he said to me, "These are the ones who continuously praise the Lord."<sup>c</sup>  
 8 And I Baruch said, "Lord, why do men say that the water which rains is from the sea?"  
 9 And the angel said, "There is rain from the sea and from water on earth; but that which produces the fruits is from here. Know from now on that what is called the dew of heaven comes from here."

- 1 **11** And taking me from this, the angel led me to the fifth heaven.  
 2 And the gate was closed. And I said, "Lord, will the gate be opened so that we can enter?" And the angel said to me, "We are not able to enter until Michael the holder of the keys of the kingdom of heaven<sup>b</sup> comes. But wait and you will see the glory of God."  
 3 And there was a great noise like thunder, and I said, "Lord, what is this noise?"  
 4 And he said to me, "The commander-in-chief<sup>c</sup> Michael is descending to receive the prayers of men."<sup>d</sup>  
 5 And behold a voice came: "Let the gate be opened!" And they opened, and there was a shriek as from thunder.  
 6 And Michael came, and the angel with me went to meet him and made obeisance to him and said, "Hail, commander-in-chief of all our regiment."  
 7 And the commander-in-chief Michael said, "Hail thou also, our brother, interpreter of revelations<sup>e</sup> to those who pass through life rightly."<sup>f</sup>  
 8 And after they greeted each other, they stood still. And I saw the commander-in-chief Michael take hold of a very large bowl,<sup>g</sup> its depth being so great as from heaven to earth, and its width so great as from north to south. And I said, "Lord, what is it that Michael the archangel is holding?"  
 9 And he said to me, "This is where the virtues of the righteous and the good works which they do are carried,<sup>h</sup> which are brought by him before the heavenly God."

- 1 **12** And while I was speaking with them, behold angels came carrying baskets filled with flowers,<sup>a</sup> and they gave them to Michael.  
 2 And I asked the angel, "Lord, who are these and what is it that they are carrying?"  
 3 And he said to me, "These are the angels over the principalities."<sup>b</sup>  
 4 And taking the baskets, the archangel emptied them into his bowl.  
 5 And the angel said to me, "These above-mentioned flowers are the virtues of the righteous."  
 6 And I saw other angels carrying baskets which were less than full.<sup>c</sup> And they came distressed, and did not dare to approach, for they did not achieve the full prizes.<sup>d</sup>  
 7 And Michael cried out, saying, "Come also, you angels, bring what you have brought."  
 8 And Michael was greatly distressed and so was the angel with me, because they had not filled the bowl.

5:8, cf. also Rev 8:3.

h. Slavonic seems influenced by vs. 4.

12 a. James (in his introduction to R. L. Bensley, *The Fourth Book of Ezra* [Cambridge, 1895] pp. lii-liii) noticed that twelve angels with flowers are mentioned in the Spanish MSS of 4Ezra 1:40, a Christian work.

b. Angels of power and angels of principalities, cf. 1En 61:10. The powers and principalities in lists of heavenly forces are mentioned several times in

the NT and in other sources, e.g. TLevi 3:8. Angels of hosts are mentioned in 1:8(G) and 10:1(S). The relation between these different heavenly forces is unclear.

c. Hughes, *APOT*, emended this to read "neither empty nor full." The text is uncertain but the meaning clear.

d. Ryssel, *APAT*, first suggested that the Gk. is here dependent on Phil 3:14; 1Cor 9:24.

e. The negative has dropped out of S.

- 1 **13** And I saw others coming and crying, and they were trembling with fear, saying, "Woe to us, darkened ones, that we have been handed over to places of demons and of men. And we want to depart from them, if possible."
- 2 And Michael said, "You are not able to depart from them, but tell me what you want."
- 3 And they said to him, "We entreat you, Michael our chief, transfer us from them, for we do not want to remain with the disobedient, unreasonable men."
- 4 Their wives flee to the church, and from thence they bring them out to jealousy and to fornication and envy, and they sin in many other ways, which you, O Glorious One,<sup>b</sup> know."
- 5 And Michael answered and said, "Be patient until I ask God what he commands concerning you."
- 1 **14** Michael ascended and the gates closed; there was thunder as if there (were) 40 oxen.<sup>a</sup>
- 2 And I said to the angel, "What is the noise?" And he said to me, "Now Michael is bringing the prayers<sup>b</sup> of men."
- 1 **15** And at that time Michael descended and brought the first angels full mercy.<sup>a</sup>
- 2 And he said, "Come, angels, and receive mercies; just as you brought prayers to God, so receive. In the measure that men requested, thus give to them."
- 3 And Michael called out again, "Come, you angels who brought lesser gifts. Just as you brought, thus receive, in the measure that men offered prayers. Announce it to them and be not negligent. But (they should) prostrate themselves in prayer in the holy church."<sup>d</sup>
- 1 **16** Michael again called the other angels who were crying, "Come also, you angels, and take (back) the petitions (and) what the Lord has prophesied about those men. There is no command for you to depart from them."
- 2 But bring them painful diseases and horrors and caterpillars and locusts and storms, thunder and hail and devastation to their cities, and demons to strangle their children, because they do not fear God and they do not come to church and to the place of prayers. Bring them curses, and no success in good, and murder."
- 3 The angels took their commands from Michael; trembling and crying they went.

13 a. This expression is used to refer to monastics and Christian leaders, especially bishops, cf. Lampe, p. 1105b. Note that both versions are Christian.

b. It would appear that Michael is referred to as "Glorious One."

14 a. See 10:3(G).

b. The Slavonic calls the offerings "prayers" consistently, but the Gk. version refers to them as "prayers" and "virtues" and "good works," cf. 11:4, 9; 12:5; 15:2f.

15 a. The Slavonic version may have misread

- 1 **13** And then similarly came other angels crying and lamenting and saying with fear, "See how we are, blackened, Lord, for we are handed over to evil men, and we want to be withdrawn from them."
- 2 And Michael said, "So that the enemy will not dominate at the end, you must not withdraw from them. But tell me what you desire."
- 3 And they said, "We beg you, Michael our commander-in-chief, transfer us from them, for we are unable to remain with evil and foolish men. For there is no goodness in them, but only every unrighteousness and greediness."
- 4 Indeed we have seen them enter into no church, nor (go) to the spiritual fathers,<sup>a</sup> nor to anything good. But wherever there is murder, they are in the midst of it, and wherever there is fornication, adultery, theft, slander, perjury, envy, drunkenness, strife, jealousy, grumbling, gossip, idol worship, divination, and things similar to these. There are (with these men) works of such nature and worse; therefore we ask to be released from them."
- 5 And Michael said to the angels, "Wait until I learn from the Lord what is to happen."
- 1 **14** And at that time Michael departed and the doors closed. And a noise like thunder came.
- 2 And I asked the angel, "What is the noise?" And he said to me, "Now Michael is bringing the virtues<sup>b</sup> of men to God."
- 1 **15** And at that time Michael came down, and the gate opened, and he brought oil.<sup>a</sup>
- 2 And for the angels who had brought the full baskets, he filled (the baskets) with oil, saying, "Take, give a hundredfold reward<sup>b</sup> to our friends, and to those who have laboriously done good works.<sup>c</sup> For those who have sown well, harvest well."
- 3 And he said to those who had brought half-full baskets, "Come you also, receive the reward according to what you brought, and give it to the sons of men."
- 4 Then he said to those who brought the full (baskets) and those (who brought) the half-full (baskets), "Go, bless our friends and tell them that thus says the Lord: You have been faithful over a little, he will set you over much; enter into the delight of our Lord."<sup>d</sup> Mt 25:23
- 1 **16** And turning, he said to those who had brought nothing, "Be not sad, and cry not, but do not let the sons of men alone."
- 2 But since they have provoked me to anger by their deeds, go and provoke them to jealousy, and provoke them to anger, and embitter them against those who are no nation, against a people without understanding.
- 3 Moreover, send forth caterpillars and locusts, rust and grasshoppers, hail with lightning and fury. Punish them with the sword and death, and their children with demons. Deut 32:21 (LXX) Rom 10:19

elaion as *eleos*. Seth seeks the "oil of mercy" from the garden of Eden in ApMos 9:3; 13:1; cf. also 2En 8:1. Enoch is anointed before God with a "good oil" (2En 22:8), or the "oil of God's glory" (2En 56:2). Cf. E. Quinn, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life* (Chicago, 1962) for other traditions concerning this oil.

b. Cf. Mt 19:29 and Mk 10:30.

c. Cf. nn. to 11:9 and 14:2.

d. The Gk. paraphrases the NT verse. The Slavonic parallel seems to be addressed to only those who brought an insufficient measure, but also appears to be Christian.

4 And the angel said to me, "By the command of the Ruler I say to you, Baruch, stand on the right side and you will see the glory of God.<sup>a</sup> And you will see the resting place of the righteous, glory and joy and rejoicing and celebration.<sup>b</sup> And you will see the torture of the impious, wailing and groans and lamentations and the eternal worm. Their voice goes up to heaven and implores, 'Have mercy on us, God.' "

5 And I Baruch said to the angel, "Lord, who are these?"

6 And he said to me, "These are the sinners, having despised the command of God."

7 And I said to the angel, "Permit me, Lord, to cry on their behalf."

8 And the angel said to me, "You also may cry for them; perhaps the Lord God will hear your voice and have mercy on them."

1 **17** And a voice from heaven came, saying, "Bring Baruch down to the face of all the earth so that he will tell the sons of men that which he has seen and heard, and all the mysteries you have shown him. And glory be to our God forever." AMEN.

16 a. There appear to be three glories of God referred to in this work: that of the sun (6:12; 7:2; 7:5), that of Michael (11:2; 13:4[S]), and that of

the righteous in their resting place (16:4). Note that Adam lost the glory of God in the Fall (4:16[G]).

b. This promise is not fulfilled.

4 For they did not listen to my voice, nor observe my commands, nor carry them out, but they despised my commands and my churches, and insulted the priests proclaiming my words to them."

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6

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1 **17** And while he was speaking, the door closed and we withdrew.

2 And taking me, the angel returned me to where I was at the beginning.

3 And when I came to myself, I praised God, who had deemed me worthy of such honors.

4 And you, brethren, who happen upon these revelations, glorify God also so that he will glorify us now and forever to all eternity! AMEN.

# APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

(First to Second Century A.D.)

A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

BY R. RUBINKIEWICZ

The theme of the Apocalypse of Abraham seems to be Israel's election and its covenant with God. The document can be divided into two parts, chapters 1-8 and chapters 9-32. Chapters 1-8 constitute a story of Abraham's youth and his perception of idolatry. Abraham concludes that his father's idols are not gods, because some stone idols are crushed and a wooden idol is accidentally consumed by fire. Abraham consequently beseeches God to reveal himself, whereupon he hears God's voice, which instructs Abraham to leave his father's house.

Abraham is commanded to offer a sacrifice so that God will reveal "great things which you have not seen . . ." (9:6). God sends his angel Iael to lead Abraham up to heaven (15:4), where he sees seven visions: the light and fiery angels (15:5-7), the fire (17:1-3), the throne (18:1-14), the firmaments (19:4-9), the world (21:2-7), the seven sins of the world (24:3-25:2), and the destruction of the Temple (27:1-3). Finally God announces the punishment of the gentiles through ten plagues (chs. 29f.) and the victory of the just (chs. 31f.).

## Texts

The Apocalypse of Abraham is known only in an Old Slavonic translation, which has come down to us in several Russian redactions. The combined witness of six manuscripts that contain essentially the full text allows us to discern fairly clearly the original form of the Slavonic text, although many details remain obscure. Four manuscripts provide confirmatory evidence only for the first eight chapters. Other fragments, summaries, and reworkings are obviously derived from the older long form; they will not concern us here.

The apocalypse appears as a completely independent unit only in one manuscript, but basically the same text is found in a second manuscript with a slightly different beginning and a radically truncated ending. A slightly different redaction is reflected in the text that has been incorporated into the Explanatory Palaia (*Tolkovaja Paleja*), a broad account of Old Testament history interspersed with exegesis, much of it anti-Jewish polemic. These are the manuscripts:

- S- Sil'vestrovskij sbornik, Moscow, Central'nyj Gosudarstvennyj Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov, Sin. Tip. 53, fols. 164-83. 14th cent. Facsimile published as vol. 99, *Obščestvo ljubitelej drevnej pis'mennosti*, St. Petersburg, 1891. Published by N. S. Tikhonravov in *Pamjatniki otrečenoj russkoj literatury* (St. Petersburg, 1863) vol. 1, pp. 32-53.
- D- A miscellany, Lenin Library, Moscow, Tikhonravov 704, fols. 70-79. 16th cent. Unpublished.
- A- The Volokalamsk Paleja Tolkovaja, Moscow, Lenin Library, Mosk. Dukh. Akad. 172/549, fols. 85-101. 15th cent. Printed in N. S. Tikhonravov, *Pamjatniki*, vol. 1, pp. 54-77.
- B- The Synodal Paleja Tolkovaja, Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej, 869 (Sin. 211) fols. 76-90. 16th cent. Unpublished.



13 tercessions of the prophets, nor help of the righteous.<sup>r</sup> \*There is the proclamation  
of judgment to corruption,<sup>s</sup> regarding the way<sup>t</sup> to the fire and the path that leads  
14 to the glowing coals.<sup>u</sup> \*Therefore, there is one Law by One, one world and an end 48:24  
15 for all those who exist. \*Then<sup>v</sup> he will make alive those whom he has found, and<sup>w</sup>  
he will purge them from sins, and at the same time he will destroy those who are  
polluted with sins.

1 86 When you, therefore, receive the letter,<sup>a</sup> read it carefully in your assemblies.  
And think about it, in particular, however,<sup>b</sup> on the days of your fasts. And  
remember me by means of this letter in the same way as I remember you by means  
of this, and always.<sup>c</sup> Bar 1:14  
Col 4:16  
1Mac 12:11  
Rom 1:9

1 87 And<sup>a</sup> it happened when I had finished all the words of this letter and had  
written it carefully until the end, I folded it, sealed it cautiously, and bound it to  
the neck of the eagle. And I let it go and sent it away.

The end of the letter of Baruch, the son of Neriah.

### 3 (Greek Apocalypse of) BARUCH

(First to Third Century A.D.)

A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

BY H. E. GAYLORD, JR.

In this pseudepigraphon, Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah, weeps over the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple and the mockery of its heathen destroyers. The Lord sends an angel to comfort him and to guide him through the heavens and show him their mysteries. This angel then leads Baruch through five heavens:

1. The first contains a plain where those being punished for waging war against God are found (ch. 2).

2. The second contains a plain where those who forced others to build a tower to heaven in order to discover its contents are found (ch. 3).

3. The third contains a plain in which are a snake, a sea, and primal rivers, as well as the garden of Eden (perhaps Hades), the sun with the Phoenix, and the moon (chs. 4-9).

4. The fourth contains a plain on which are a pool and exotic birds, and the gathering place of the souls of the righteous (ch. 10).

5. The fifth is where the angels responsible for men on earth bring the gifts of men to Michael, who presents them to God. Baruch does not pass inside the gates of this heaven; they remain closed. In these chapters, three classes of mankind are mentioned: the righteous, the insufficiently righteous, and the sinners. In the Slavonic version, Baruch is granted permission to intercede for the suffering sinners (chs. 11-16).

After his heavenly journey, Baruch is returned to earth to relate what he has seen to his fellow men (ch. 17).

#### Texts

3 Baruch is found in both Greek and Slavonic. The Slavonic is a translation from a lost Greek original.

#### GREEK MANUSCRIPTS

1. BM MS Add. 10073. This manuscript is dated from the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century. It is described by M. R. James.<sup>1</sup>

2. Andros, Monastery of the Hagia, MS 46; dated by J.-C. Picard to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

On the relation between these manuscripts, Picard concludes that they "were both copied from the same manuscript, today lost."<sup>2</sup>

r. Cf. Ps-Philo 33:5.

s. "To corruption," l; "of corruption," c *solus*.

t. "Regarding the way," l; "and the way," c *solus*.

u. "To the glowing coals," l; "to the realm of death," c *solus*.

v. "Then," l; "And then," 6h14 10g1 12d2 c.

w. "Has found and . . .," l; "has found

that . . .," c *solus*.

86 a. "The letter," l; "this my letter," c *solus*.

b. "However," l; om., c *solus*.

c. "And always," l; "and it may fare you well always," c *solus*.

87 a. This ch. is available in c only.

<sup>1</sup> *Apocrypha Anecdota II*.

<sup>2</sup> J.-C. Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi Graeci*, p. 69. MS 46 is described in P. Lambros, "Katalogos ton en te kata ten Andron mone tes Hagias Kodikon," *Epeteris tou Parnassou* 2 (1898) pp. 180-83, and A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der Griechischen Kirche* (Leipzig, 1939-1952), 1.3, pp. 587, 839. The first sixty-two fols. contain homilies, but it should be noted that all subsequent items of this MS are also contained in BM MS Add. 10073.