

VERITAS SLAVICA: ON THE VALUE OF SLAVONIC EVIDENCE FOR THE EARLY APOCALYPTIC TRADITION¹

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...in disputatione maiori, hebraica veritate superatus et suorum circumdatus agminibus, interdum linguae peregrinae quaerit auxilia—“in his fuller discussion [of the Scripture], he is overcome by the Hebrew verity, and, though surrounded by his own forces, occasionally seeks the foreign tongue as his ally.”

Jerome, *Hebrew Questions on Genesis*

Early Apocalypticism in the Slavonic Tradition

Early Slavonic literature has preserved a unique corpus of ancient apocalyptic writings.² Of the six major early Jewish apocalypses – the *Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (*1 Enoch*), the *Slavonic Book of Enoch* (*2 Enoch*), the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* (*2 Baruch*), the *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch* (*3 Baruch*), and the *Fourth Book of Ezra* (*4 Ezra*) – three have survived in Slavonic. Two of these – *2 Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* – have been preserved exclusively in Slavonic, while *3 Baruch* is available both in Greek and Slavonic recensions. To these we should add *The Ladder of Jacob*, a short but important apocalyptic composition known only in Slavonic, a Hebrew fragment of which has been found in the Cairo Geniza.³ Other ancient Christian languages are less represented in the apocalyptic tradition: *1 Enoch* survives in Ethiopic and Ara-

¹ This research was generously supported by the Israeli Science Foundation (grant no. 450/07) and by the Hebrew University Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature.

² An apocalypse is “a text that recounts divine revelations to human beings on such topics as the end of the world and the Day of Judgment, the fate of souls after death, the divine throne and the angelic hosts that surround it, and astronomical and cosmological phenomena. ... In some apocalypses, eschatology is the dominant concern, while in others it plays a smaller role” (Himmelfarb, “Apocalypse”: 54).

³ See Leicht 1999 and Kugel 1995. The Cairo Geniza is an accumulation of almost 200,000 Jewish manuscript fragments that were found in the store room of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo, Egypt.

maic fragments, *2 Baruch* is preserved in Syriac, and *4 Ezra* is known in many versions, including Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Georgian. This fact makes Church Slavonic, at least statistically, *the main source language* for early Jewish apocalypticism.

Slavists have always taken an interest in apocalyptic documents, since, having been translated by the Slavs at the very dawn of their cultural history, these writings have had well-attested impact on original Slavic literary production, folklore, thought, and beliefs. During periods of canonical ambiguity in Slavic Orthodox Church history, some apocalyptic writings became part of popular semi-canonical or even liturgical collections, thus taking on a role side by side with the canonical books of the Bible.⁴

But the significance of the apocalypses, as well as of the other early pseudepigrapha preserved in Slavonic, goes far beyond their value for Slavic studies. Even though the Slavonic texts themselves date from a relatively late period, they are considered to be translations or reworkings of much earlier texts written in Greek, Hebrew, or Aramaic, many of them arguably dating from the early post-biblical period. If such dating is reliable, these works can contribute significantly to a better understanding of Judaism of the Hellenistic age and thus of the roots of Rabbinic Judaism, early Christianity, Gnosticism, and later mystical thought. If their originals were created by Jews of the “Greek Age”, many of these texts bear priceless witness to a turning point in the intellectual development of humanity, the stage when an ancient, mythopoeic way of thinking encountered philosophical reflection, the moment when new theologies were emerging and the intellectual foundations for modern civilization were being laid.⁵

Ancient or Medieval?

The cardinal question then becomes: to what extent can we consider these texts as faithful translations adequately reflecting their ancient originals? Or are they just medieval reworkings, fruit of the original imagination or the compilative skill of Slavic or Byzantine scribes? This question is rarely taken up in conjunction with pseudepigraphic corpora preserved in languages having older literary tradi-

⁴ For the major works see, e.g., Pypin 1860-62; Porfir'ev 1877; Jagić 1893; Franko 1896-1910; Lavrov 1899; Jacimirskij 1921; Ivanov 1925; Naumow 1976; Petkanova 1978, 1981; Mil'kov 1997, 1999; Lichačev et al. 2000; Roždestvenskaja 2002, 2004; Minzew 2003. These studies and collections concentrate on researching the *Nachleben* of Slavonic pseudepigrapha in Slavic cultures. The intercultural approach to these texts in modern research may be represented by the studies by Bötrich and Orlov 2007.

⁵ The significance of Slavonic pseudepigrapha for these topics was highly estimated by, among others, Gaster 1887, Scholem 1941, Flusser 1971, and Liebermann 1973.

tions, or those in which writings are known from at least the second stage of their linguistic transmission (not to mention the case, as with some Greek texts, when the writings are known even from the first stage). The Slavonic tradition, young by comparison, generally appears less reliable to scholars, and this for two reasons: (a) the primary texts could not have been translated into Old Church Slavonic before the 9th-11th centuries (with the manuscripts extant today dating from a much later time), and (b) the Slavonic recensions are merely “third-hand” witnesses to the lost Hebrew or Aramaic originals, which had been first translated into Greek and only later from Greek into Slavonic.

As long as we deal with Slavonic pseudepigrapha that have no parallel versions in other languages (and unique evidence of this type naturally forms the main focus of scholarly attention), there are only two tools for us to resort to: retroversion and typology.

Retroversion (the reconstruction of a translation’s *Vorlage*) has only a limited application. Being probabilistic by definition, it becomes convincing and useful only when it provides solutions to problems of interpretation and when it is well corroborated intertextually. Retroversion is applicable to separate “reconstructable” passages of literal or erroneous translations, but it is of no use in translations which are more paraphrastic and free of inner contradictions. Nevertheless, the only attempt to date to apply retroversion systematically to a Slavonic translation of a lost Greek version of an ancient Hebrew document, itself also lost, demonstrates a high degree of reliability for the Slavonic evidence (at least for the particular text in question, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*).⁶

As for typology, there are some well-known precedents of texts being preserved in each of the three stages of their linguistic transmission. I refer to the canonical texts of the Slavonic Bible, for which the Hebrew and Aramaic originals as well as the Greek versions are well preserved. Due to the ancient and medieval *verbum de verbo* approach to translation, the Slavonic Bible provides accurate evidence for its remote original.⁷ Thus, despite the inevitable distortions involved in the two stages of translation and the discrepancies between the traditions of the Hebrew-Aramaic Masoretic text (MT) and the Septuagint (LXX), if the Bible were to be known only in Slavonic, it could still serve as solid documentation for ancient Jewish thought, literature, and history.

Should this model necessarily work for non-canonical texts as well? This is at least possible, since, as has already been noted, the status and functioning of

⁶ Kulik 2005.

⁷ On the literality of ancient and medieval translations in general, and of the Slavonic in particular, see Thomson 1988.

canonical and non-canonical “sacred writings” in the Eastern Christian and, especially, the Slavic lands were often identical.

Fortunately, however, some Slavonic pseudepigrapha do have parallel versions in other traditions. Among these are the *Life of Adam and Eve*, the *Testament of Job*, the *Testament of Abraham*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *Joseph and Aseneth*, the *Life of Moses*, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, *4 Baruch*, and others. Compared to their versions in other languages, these Slavonic works may serve as an even better touchstone for the authenticity of the Slavonic pseudepigrapha than canonical texts.

Case Study: The Greek-Slavonic *Apocalypse of Baruch*

One of the most representative of these documents suggests a case study to illumine the general situation. The text grows out of an intersection of the two corpora defined above – the Slavonic pseudepigraphic apocalypses, on the one hand, and Slavonic pseudepigrapha with surviving parallel versions, on the other. I refer to the so-called *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch)*,⁸ a pseudepigraphic text, most probably composed by Jews, that belongs to the apocalyptic genre. The text describes how Baruch, accompanied by the angel, ascends through the five heavens, where he beholds several visions, most of them cosmological. Like most pseudepigrapha, *3 Baruch* survives only in the Christian tradition, but it is deeply rooted in Jewish lore and cannot be understood apart from traditions preserved in early Jewish literature. It can serve as an ideal basis for a study intended to clarify the relative value of the Slavonic and Greek textual traditions and to shed light on the problem of the authenticity of Slavonic apocalypses and Slavonic pseudepigrapha in general.

3 Baruch is preserved through two Greek and at least twelve South and East Slavic manuscripts (not including later reworkings). The Greek texts are found in the British Museum manuscript Add. 10.073 dated to the 15th-16th centuries (hereafter – ms A) and in the Monastery of the Hagia (the island of Andros), manuscript no. 46.39, dated to the beginning of the 15th century (ms B). There are no significant discrepancies between the two, and they even share numerous misreadings, grammatical errors and orthographic deviations. Although Picard regarded ms B as the earlier version, it is not a source for ms A (as is clear from the obvious parablepsis in 6:16, absent in ms A).⁹ The textual history of the Slavonic

⁸ For monographic research on *3 Baruch*, see Gaylord 1983, and Harlow 1996, as well as Kulik 2009.

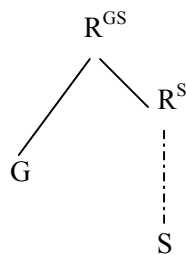
⁹ See Picard 1967.

recension was elaborated upon in the critical edition by Gaylord.¹⁰ Among the Slavonic manuscripts, the one closest to the Greek version is the 13th century South Slavic St. Petersburg, RNB, Greč 70 (ms L). Together with two East Slavic abridged copies – Moscow, RGB, f. 272, Syn. 363 of the 15th-16th centuries (ms T) and Moscow, GIM, Barsov (signature unknown) of the 17th-18th centuries (ms B) – it constitutes the family α of the Slavonic recension. Both T and B at times witness readings closer to the Greek version than ms L.

In the family β Gaylord distinguishes two groups of South Slavic manuscripts: (1) β^1 , comprised of Belgrade, NB, 651 of the 13th-14th centuries (ms S), Zagreb, JAZU III.a.20 [Šibenički Zbornik] of the 16th century (ms N), the Glagolitic Zagreb, NSB, R4001 [Petrisov Sbornik] of 1468 (ms Z); and (2) β^2 with Sofia, NBKM, 433 [Panagjurski Sbornik] of the 16th century (ms P), Vienna, ÖNB, Slav. 149 of the 16th century (ms V), Sofia, NBKM, 326 (Adžarskij Sbornik) of the 16th century (ms I), Goljamo Belovo, Bulgaria of the 17th-18th centuries (ms D).

There are also two copies of which only fragments are preserved: Belgrade, NB, 828 of 1409 (ms G) and Kiev, CBAN, Sp. 168/III of the 18th century (ms K). Although the family β is in general the result of inner-Slavic redaction (including expansions, omissions and revisions of earlier readings reflected in the Greek version and the family α) in some cases it preserves better readings. This means that the divergence between the textual families took place in the South Slavic area prior to the 13th century. Some misreadings may witness the Glagolitic Slavonic proto-text and uncial Greek *Vorlage*.

The lost Greek *Vorlage* of the Slavonic version must have differed significantly from the tradition represented by the extant Greek text. The textual evidence suggests stratification of 3 *Baruch* into at least four textual layers witnessing the different stages of its editing: two extant versions (G and S), Greek *Vorlage* of S (R^S), and the Greek prototext common to both recensions (R^{GS}):



¹⁰ Gaylord 1983: xxi-xxvii.

I will treat the textual phenomena below based on this stratification. We will first examine the *independent late development of G and S* (sections 1 and 2), then turn to their *common prototext as this is witnessed by G and S* (sections 3 and 4). The analysis will be based on the integration of text-critical and tradition-historical considerations, which is probably the only way to deal with the document which, having emerged in one cultural context (complex and compound by itself), was transmitted and preserved in at least two other cultures in their different periods.

The later editorial reworking witnessed by G includes Christian doctrinal alterations and interpolations (section 1.1), biblical citations and allusions (1.2), and numerous explanatory expansions (1.3).¹¹ Neither the Christian or the biblical material, nor the additional elements developed to make the text more intelligible could have been omitted from S. As we will see, the latter, as explanatory expansions, show a thorough knowledge of early Jewish and more generally widespread Mediterranean motifs, a fact indicating that the reworking behind G dates from a very early period. Nevertheless, the absence of these explanations from S and the very fact that there is no need for the text to explain the motifs, which are presumably supposed to be self-evident to an authentic audience, speaks in favor of seeing the Greek prototext of S (R^S) as chronologically prior to the tradition of G.

S (or R^S) underwent an independent Christian elaboration process of its own, albeit an elaboration process much less significant and unequivocal (2.1); it contains only one explanatory expansion at the end of the book (2.2).

In addition to the independent development of both recensions, most instructive are the discrepancies in their evidence for the common prototext (R^{GS}). Sometimes G does provide the better readings: in cases of corruptions inevitably occurring in the process of the translation or the inner-Slavic transmission of S (3.1-3), or in the few cases where S contains explanatory, harmonizing, or simplified readings (3.4-6). Even so, I set out to demonstrate that S is the better witness to the Greek prototext common to both recensions (R^{GS}). This is grounded in showing that G contains numerous obviously secondary readings (4.1-3), and especially in the many significant cases where fragments of S, absent in G, are so well integrated into early Jewish tradition or into general ancient Mediterranean lore, that it is doubtful they were later elaborations (4.4). In contrast to the expla-

¹¹ Notice that these expansions are of different type in comparison to exegetic expansions typical for patristic and later commented biblical books (the genre and textual type well documented also in Slavic and known as *tolkovyj*). In *3 Baruch* we deal with text variants rather than with explicit comments and expansions of this kind. The Greek recension is rather a *targum* (on this see below) than commentary.

natory expansions in G, it is difficult to justify the interpolation of such fragments in S: they were either omitted or replaced in G.

Independent development of both versions

Both G and S show indications of independent late reworkings. The most obvious are those interpolations that are not shared by both versions. These passages can be categorized as follows.

1. Greek version (G)

1.1. Christian interpolations

1.1.1. Passages with Christian terminology:

...and that which is begotten from it [the vine] shall become the *blood of God* [αἷμα θεοῦ]; and as the human race obtained condemnation through it, so again through *Jesus Christ the Emmanuel* [Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ] [and] in him is the receipt of the future invocation, and the entry into Paradise. (4:15G)

For we do not see them ever entering into assembly [or “church”; Gk ἐκκλησία], either into *spiritual fathers* [πνευματικὸς πατέρας] or into any good thing. (13:4G)

1.1.2. New Testament (NT) wording without christological terms (which theoretically could have been shared with other Jewish texts):

And I saw other angels bearing baskets which were empty, not full. And they came grieving, and did not dare to approach, because they had not the rewards complete (Καὶ εἶδον ἑτέρους ἀγγέλους φέροντας κανίσκια κενὰ οὐ γέμοντα. Καὶ ἤρχοντο λυπούμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἐγγίσειν, διότι οὐκ εἶχον τέλεια τὰ βραβεῖα: 12: 6G; cf. “prizes” as heavenly rewards in 1 Cor 9:24; Phil 3:14; Clement of Rome, *1 Ep. Cor.* 5.6)

Bring a hundredfold reward to our friends and those who have diligently done good deeds. For those who have sowed well, reap well. (Ἀπενέγκατε, δότε ἑκατονταπλασίονα τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς φίλοις ἡμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόνως ἐργασασμένοις τὰ καλὰ ἔργα. Οἱ γὰρ καλῶς σπείραντες καὶ καλῶς ἐπισυνάγουσιν: 15:2G; cf. Matt 19:29; Matt 25:24, 26; Mark 10:30; Luke 15:8; 2 Cor 9:6)

You are faithful over a little, he will set you over many things; enter into the joy of our Lord. (Ἐπὶ ὀλίγῃ ἐστὲ πιστοί, ἐπὶ πολλῶν ὑμᾶς καταστήσει· εἰσεέλθατε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν: 15:4G; cf. Matt 25:21, 23)

1.1.3. Deuteronomic paraphrases (sometimes found also in NT) in 16:2G link the plagues for the sinners with the punishment promised to Israel, and thus identify the Jews as paradigmatic sinners. These passages are more likely to have been added than omitted in the process of Christian transmission of the text:

But since they [the sinners] angered me by their deeds, go and make them envious and angry and provoke against them No-Nation, a nation void of understanding. (Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ παρώργισάν με ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν, πορευθέντες, παραζηλώσατε αὐτοὺς καὶ πα-

ροργίσατε, καὶ παραπικράνατε ἐπ’ οὐκ ἔθνει, ἐπὶ ἔθνει ἀσυνέτω: 16:2G; cf. LXX Deut 31:29; 32:21; cited in Rom 10:19)

[The plagues are sent to the sinners,] because they did not listen to my voice, nor observe my commandments, nor do them, but came to be despisers of my commandments and my assemblies, and offenders of the priests who announced my words to them. (“Ὅτι οὐκ εἰσήκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς μου, οὐδὲ ἐσυνετήρησαν τῶν ἐντολῶν μου, οὐδὲ ἐποίησαν, ἀλλ’ ἐγένοντο καταφρονηταὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν μου καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν μου, καὶ ὕβρισται τῶν ἱερέων τῶν τοῦς λόγους μου κηρυττόντων αὐτοῖς: 16:4G; cf. LXX Deut 28:1; 1 Chr 16:22)

The latter verse mentions also “the priests, who announced my words to them”, which would refer to Christian rather than Jewish priests, and is probably a development of the topic of “spiritual fathers” of 13:4G (see above).

1.1.4. There is also a passage that may possibly reflect Christian philosophy of history. The suggestion not to “care so much for the salvation of Jerusalem” (1:3G) is significantly different from the theodical “it was fitting for Jerusalem to accept this” in S. The former may stipulate the irrelevancy of the Temple, while the latter, typically for Jewish conceptions, only justifies the punishment by the sins of Israel:

And behold, as I was weeping and saying such things, I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me, “Understand, O human being, a beloved man, and *do not care so much for the salvation of Jerusalem* ...” (1:3G)

Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐν τῷ κλαίειν με καὶ λέγειν τοιαῦτα, ὁρῶ ἄγγελον Κυρίου ἐλθόντα καὶ λέγοντά μοι· Σύνες, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἄνερ ἐπιθυμιῶν, καὶ μὴ τοσοῦτόν σε μέλην περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας Ἰερουσαλήμ.

And behold, as I was weeping, and behold, an angel of the Lord appeared before me and told me, “Be silent, O his beloved man! *It was fitting for Jerusalem to accept this.* ...” (1:3S)

и се плачѣхъ ми се и се ангелъ господень прѣдъста и рече ми оумлъчи мѣхоу жеда-нига него тако бо подобаше и иерусалимоу прияти.

1.2. More biblical citations and allusions

In addition to the deuteronomic paraphrases serving ideological editing, G has more citations and allusions to the Bible (especially to the text of LXX), which are absent in S. The inclusion of paraphrases from LXX and NT in G, showcasing the erudition of the editor, contrasts with S, in which explicit reference to biblical texts is normally avoided.

1.2.1. “And why, Lord, did you not requite us with another punishment, but delivered us to such nations, so that they upbraid saying, ‘Where is their God?’” (καὶ ἵνα τί, Κύριε, οὐκ ἀπέδωκας ἡμᾶς ἐν ἄλλῃ παιδείᾳ, ἀλλὰ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς

εἰς ἔθνη τοιαῦτα, ὅπως ὄνειδίζοντες λέγουσιν· Ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν; 1:2G; cf. Pss 79:10; 115:2; Joel 2:17; Mic 7:10).

1.2.2. “calamity of wine” (πτώσεως τοῦ οἴνου: 4:17G; cf. “wine of calamity” in LXX Ps 60[59]:5[3]).

1.2.3. “little by little” (πρὸς μικρὸν μικρὸν: 7:3G; cf. LXX Deut 7:22).

1.2.4. “all breath” (πᾶσα πνοή: 8:7G; cf. LXX Ps 150:6).

1.2.5. “in order that the Enemy may not prevail forever” (ἵνα μὴ εἰς τέλος κυριεύσῃ ὁ Ἐχθρός: 13:2G; cf. LXX Ps 73:10).

1.3. Explanatory Expansions¹²

Often G functions as an explanatory *targum*¹³ for the laconic text of R^{GS} (as it is witnessed by S). The authors of ancient apocalypses expected the target audience to be well-versed in the ancient lore that was requisite for filling the gaps between seemingly disconnected and often unexplained images. Relying on the knowledge base of the intended readers, the authors were free to concentrate on the visual and symbolic “highlights” of the revelation, leaving many implied connections unmentioned. This manner of communication is characteristic of intentionally vague symbolic accounts broadening the field of interpretation and requiring from the recipient more active participation in building the narrative. However, even in comparison to other compositions of the same genre, *3 Baruch* strikes the modern reader as an extremely elliptic and fragmented narrative, and thus an enigmatic one. In many cases, *3 Baruch* confines itself to apocalyptic ekphrasis, describing the objects seen by the visionary, explaining neither the meaning of each image, nor the connections between them. This approach was only partly compensated for by a late version preserved in G, giving explanations and expansions to its more laconic prototext better reflected in S.

1.3.1. Visiting the second heaven, Baruch sees a plain with the Serpent and Hades “around him”:

And he showed me a plain and a serpent, which looked like a rock. And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and impure. And I said, ‘Who is this dragon, and who is this monster around him?’ And the angel said, ‘The dragon is he who eats the bodies of those who pass through life wickedly, and he is nourished by them’ (Καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι πεδῖον, καὶ ὄφιν ὡς ὄράσεως πέτρας. Καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι τὸν Ἄιδην, καὶ ἦν ἡ εἰδέα αὐτοῦ ζοφώδης καὶ βέβηλος. Καὶ εἶπον· Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ δράκων οὗτος; καὶ τίς ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπηνής; Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Ὁ μὲν δράκων ἐστὶν ὁ τὰ σώματα τῶν κακῶς τὸν βίον μετερχομένων ἐσθίων· καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τρέφεται: 4:3-5G).

¹² See note 11.

¹³ The designation of the Aramaic translations or paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible applied also to any paraphrastic and explanatory translation.

This passage, absent in S, explains Hades' function as the eater of the wicked. The Serpent of 3 *Baruch* either serves as an abode (purgatory or eternal) for the souls of sinners or destroys them, depriving them of eternal life. The notion of the "bodies" (τὰ σώματα) eaten by the Serpent is similar to the bodily postmortem punishment in *t. Sanh.* 13.4 and par., where the sinners "descend to Gehenna in their bodies," and "their body is consumed" (cf. *b. Ber.* 18b-19b; *b. Shab.* 33b; *b. Rosh HaSh.* 16b-17a; *b. Sanh.* 64b). Hades is the belly of a Serpent Azazel also in *Apoc. Abr.* 31:5. In Gnostic texts the celestial dragon serves as a place of afterlife torment as well (see *Pistis Sophia* 3.126). In the Bible, personified Sheol/Hades is hungry for humans. It has a mouth, which "swallows them alive" (see *Isa* 5:14; *Hab* 2:5; *Ps* 141:7; *Prov* 1:12). The earth can also "open its mouth" and swallow people (*Exod* 15:12; *Num* 16:30-32; 26:10; *Deut* 11:5; *Ps* 106:17); cf. "mouths of the abyss" in *I En.* 17:8. This swallowing ability of the "gates of Hades" must be meant in *Matt* 16:18, when Jesus says that Hades will not prevail over his assembly. On the image of the "belly of Hades," cf. "the depths of the belly of Hades" (*Sir* 51:5); "flaming womb of Hell" (*I En.* 63:14); "Hell [*infernum*] and the storerooms of souls [*promtuarum animarum*] are like the womb" (*4 Ezra* 4:42). Jonah calls "the belly of the fish" (Heb עֵי הַדָּג: 2:2) the "belly of Sheol/Hades" (Heb בֶּטֶן שְׂאוּל, Gk κοιλία ᾗδου: 2:3). Thus, although this motif is ancient, widely known, and may be deduced from 5:3 (stating that "his [serpent's] belly is Hades" in G and "Hades is insatiable" in S), it is made explicit only by G.

1.3.2. The vision of Serpent-Hades is interrupted by Baruch's sudden request to see the Tree of Knowledge. In response, instead of the vision, he hears a story, which contains among others the episode about the Tree of Knowledge that turns out to be the vine planted by Sammael (in G, Satanael in S), and thus forbidden to Adam, divested of the Divine glory for his transgression. S confines itself to mentioning the serpent, which is omitted from G and replaced by the expanded explanation:

That is why *he did not permit Adam to touch it*, and that is why the *devil being envious* deceived him through his vine (4:8G)

Ἐν ᾧ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ συνεχώρησεν τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἄψασθαι αὐτοῦ. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φθονήσας ὁ διάβολος ἠπάτησεν αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς ἀμπέλου αὐτοῦ

And I Baruch said to the angel, "Show me the tree through which the *serpent* led Eve and Adam astray" (4:8S)

И пакѣи рѣчѣ азъ варочѣхъ къ ангелу покази ми дрѣво еже прѣльсти змиа иевѣгъ и адамѣ

G provides biblical background to the text, never given explicitly in S, and adds widely-known motifs of the identification of the serpent of Eden with the devil, and their envy of man. God “did not permit Adam to touch it” only according to Eve’s testimony (Gen 3:3), while the wording of God’s order did not prohibit *touching* the tree, only eating from it (Gen 2:17). In the interpretation of Gen 3:3, *3 Baruch* parallels Josephus: “God foretold to them, that if they touched it, it would prove their destruction” (*Ant.* 1.1.4; cf. Philo, *QG* 1.35 [to Gen 3:1]). However, others have understood the discrepancy between Gen 2:17 and 3:3 as a deliberate interpolation, expanding on the divine prohibition, either by Archons or by Eve, that actually helped to deceive the first humans. The motif was developed by Gnostics (*Hyp. Arch.* 88-90) and in the Rabbinic tradition (*Gen. Rab.* 19.3-4; *b. Sanh.* 29a; *Pirqe R. El.* 13; *Abot R. Nat.* 1.4-5 and 151).

Also the words “the devil being envious” appear only in G. For jealousy as a cause of the serpent’s deed see Wis 2:24: “God created man for immortality, but through the envy of the devil death entered the world”; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.1.4; *Vita* 12:1; *t. Sot.* 4.17; *Gen. Rab.* 18 and 19; *b. Sanh.* 59b; *b. Sotah* 9b; *Abot R. Nat.* 1.

1.3.3. The story about the Tree of Knowledge is followed by an account of the Flood, which “destroyed many giants and entered Paradise”. One of the results of the Flood was that “it [Flood] removed the shoot of the vine completely” (τὸ δὲ κλῆμα τῆς ἀμπέλου ἐξώρισεν εἰς τὸ παντελές; 4:10G). In S only one shoot is removed (и иэнесе стъ лозьны прѣтъ ѣдинъ). Branches of the trees planted by “Satanael” were brought out from Paradise, one by the Flood and another by the Tigris, and eventually became trees of the cross in the Slavonic *Discourse on the Cross Tree* (СЛОВО О ЧЕСТНѢМ КРЕСТѢ).

G probably aims to explain why Baruch does not see the Tree as he requested. The uprooting of the vine may also be connected to the fact that it was planted not by God, but by Sammael: “Every plant which my heavenly Father has not planted will be rooted out” (Matt 15:13); a vine that “has been planted apart from the Father,” according to *Gos. Thom.* 40, “is not strong, it will be pulled up by its root and will perish” (cf. Ignatius, *Trall.* 11.1; *Phld.* 3.1; *Gos. Philip* 133:29-231; *Gos. Truth* 36:35-37).¹⁴ In these Christian texts the use of this motif is most probably confined to the reference to antagonistic religious groups, but this metaphoric usage might well imply the motif of the Jewish lore witnessed by *3 Baruch*.

1.3.4. After the story of the Flood, the following warning concerning the vine is addressed to Baruch:

¹⁴ Cf. Bauckham 1987: 91.

Know therefore, Baruch, that as Adam through this tree obtained condemnation, and was divested of the Glory of God, so also now the men drinking insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, make a transgression worse than Adam, and become far from the Glory of God, and commit themselves to the eternal fire. For [no] good comes through it. (Γίνωσκε τοιγαροῦν, ὦ Βαρούχ, ὅτι ὡσπερ ὁ Ἀδὰμ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ξύλου τὴν καταδίκην ἔλαβεν καὶ τῆς δόξης θεοῦ ἐγυμνώθη, οὕτως καὶ οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννώμενον οἶνον ἀπλήστως δρῶντες χεῖρον τοῦ Ἀδὰμ τὴν παράβασιν ἀπεργάζονται, καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δόξης μακρὰν γίνονται, καὶ τῷ αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ ἑαυτοὺς προξενούσιν. Πᾶν γὰρ ἀγαθὸν δι' αὐτοῦ γίνεται: 4:16-17G).

G articulates the connection between the first humans' transgression and contemporary wine abuse, structurally implicit in S: "But beware, Baruch: The tree still possesses its evil" (חַז בְּלִוְדִי סֵא בַּרְוּחִי כַּעֲמֵ תִי הַמַּלְאָכָה דְרֵבְבוּ תוֹ זְבֻלֹבְסָא צְבוּיָא).

The motif of the garment of Glory appearing in G was widely known, including in Christian traditions. Eve said that she "was naked of the righteousness with which I had been clothed" and "deprived of the glory with which I was clothed" (*Apoc. Mos.* 20:2), and caused Adam to see his nakedness and his being "deprived of the glory of God" (*Apoc. Mos.* 21:5-6; cf. *Gen. Rab.* 19.6; *Pirqe R. El.* 14).¹⁵ Enoch, on the contrary, was clothed "with the raiment of my [God's] Glory" (*2 En.* 22:8). The first couple's "garments of honor" (Aram לְבוּשֵׁי דִיקָר) are mentioned also in *Tgs. Gen* 3:21 (cf. *Pesiq. R.* 37:2; *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.* 6:5). References to the glory of Adam are found in both versions of *Testament of Abraham*; *2 En.* ('long version') 30:11-12, and are especially abundant in Qumran (Heb כְּבוֹד אָדָם: CD 3.20; 1QS 4.23; 1QH 17.5; cf. 1QS 4.16, 24; 4Q171 3.1-2).¹⁶ This means that the first humans were not naked before the transgression, in contradiction to the literal meaning of Gen 2:25 ("the man and his wife were both naked") and probably as a response to Gen 3:21, mentioning "garments of skin" of the pre-Fall period. The latter verse was interpreted similarly, as referring to supernatural glorious or garments of light, in Ezek 28:13, as well as by Rabbis (*Gen. Rab.* 20:12; *Pirqe R. El.* 14.20; *Abot R. Nat.* B). The exegesis of *Gen. Rab.* 20:12 applies to the textual version featuring "garments of light" (Heb כְּתוּנֹת אֹר) in place of the MT "garments of skin" (Heb כְּתוּנֹת עוֹר). The former are considered priestly in *Tanh. Gen* 3:21; *Num. Rab.* 4.8.

1.3.5. After the angel and Baruch visited the east, where they observed the anthropomorphic crowned sun riding in its quadriga (chariot-of-four) as well as other celestial phenomena, they proceed to the west, where they watch the sunset

¹⁵ For more sources on Adam being stripped naked of glory see Stone 2006: 115, n. 98.

¹⁶ For the "garment of glory" in general see *1 En.* 62:15; 108:12; *4 Ezra* 2:39, 45; *Asc. Isa.* 9:9; *2 Cor* 5:3-4; *Rev* 3:4, 5, 18; 4:4; 6:2; 7:9, 13, 14; *Herm. Sim.* 8.2. For more on this exegetical motif, see Lambden 1992, Anderson 2001, and Golitzin 2003.

and where the moon is located. Here Baruch is informed about some aspects of the moon's functioning:

And I said, 'And how is it that it [the moon] does not also shine always, but only at night?' And the angel said, 'Listen, as before a king his household cannot speak freely, so the moon and the stars cannot shine before the sun. For the stars are suspended, but they are outshined by the sun, and the moon, [although] being intact, is exhausted by the heat of the sun'. (Καὶ εἶπον· Καὶ πῶς οὐ λάμπει καὶ ἐν παντί, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ μόνον; Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἐκείνη ὥσπερ ἐνώπιον βασιλέως οὐ δύναται οἰκέει παρρησιασθῆναι, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἡλίου δύναται ἡ σελήνη καὶ ἀστέρες αὐγάσαι. Ἄει γὰρ οἱ ἀστέρες κρέμανται, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου σκεδάζονται. Καὶ ἡ σελήνη σῶα οὖσα ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου θερμῆς ἐκδαπανᾶται: 9:8G).

G complements the basic lesson on the moon, explaining not only its phases but also the absence of the moon and stars in daytime. "The moon and the stars cannot shine before the sun," just as the sun and the moon "cannot shine before the Light of the Universe, the Father of Light" in *Apoc. Mos.* 36:3. Does this imply that the stars were also punished? The stars were known to receive a punishment for disobedience (cf. *1 En.* 18:14-16; 21:3-6; cf. 88; 90:24; cf. "rebellious stars" in *b. Moed Qat.* 16a). As the stars are "bound" in *1 En.* 18:15-16; 21:6, so also "the stars are suspended" (οἱ ἀστέρες κρέμανται) in *3 Baruch*. Aetius tells that the Pre-Socratic Anaximenes held that the stars were fastened like "nails" in the "crystalline" sphere of the sky (2.14.3; *DK* 13 A14), and Empedocles believed that the fixed stars were attached to the sky in contrast to "wandering" planets (2.13.11; *DK* 31 A54.). "Fixed star" in Greek and Latin became a technical term (Gk ἀπλανής, Lat *stellae inerrans/inerabilis*), which was known also to Jewish authors of *Pr. Jac.* 16 and *b. Pes.* 94b (מזלות קבועין). The assumption of the fixed stars must go together with the concept of rotating celestial spheres (in order to explain the visible motion of stars): "The learned of the nations say, 'The sphere revolves, and the zodiacs are fixed [החכמי אומות העולם ומזלות קבועין חוזר ומזלות קבועין גלגל חוזר ומזלות קבועין]' (b. *Pesah.* 94b), cf. Plato (*Rep.* 10; *Tim.* 38c-e) and Aristotle (pass.).

1.3.6. In the next heaven, the "third" one (only in G), there is another plain (G, or "mountain" in S) with a lake inhabited by diverse birds. Only G explains that this is the place where the souls of the righteous find their rest:

And the angel said, "Listen, Baruch! The plain that has in it the lake and other wonders [is the place] where the souls of the righteous come, when they assemble, living together choir by choir" (10:5G)

Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἐκείνη, Βαρούχ· τὸ μὲν πεδῖον ἐστὶ τὸ περιέχον τὴν λίμνην

And he told me, "There are pure birds praising God unceasingly day and night" (10: 5S)

И рече ми се свѣтъ пѣтица чистѣша дѣнь и нощь хвалѣша бога немалѣньно

καὶ ἀλλὰ θαυμαστὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὐπερ
 ἔρχονται αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν δικαίων ὅταν
 ὁμιλῶσι συνδιάγοντες χοροὶ χοροί

The motif of soul-birds, very important and central in this apocalypse, is only implied in the unexplained image of the birds in S. Souls of the righteous are identified as birds only in G, and even there not explicitly: the text states that “the plain that has in it the lake and other wonders [is the place] where the souls of the righteous come”, never saying that the birds are the souls. However, there are two arguments in favor of the identification: (1) the statement is made as an answer to the question “What is the plain, and what is the lake, and what is the multitude of birds around it?” (thus, the following question “And the birds?” relates only to the function of the soul-birds, since the function of the lake is explained above); and (2) souls are “living together choir by choir,” while the birds similarly “continually sing praise to the Lord”. The identification is lacking in S. However, as we will see below, it was so widely and universally known, that the laconic Greek *Vorlage* of S did not see a need for the explanation added in the later version reflected by G.

The bird flight of the souls of the deceased was an image common to the beliefs of Jews and their neighbours. Egyptians knew of the journey of the soul of the deceased passing through numerous gates in its ascent (e.g., *CT* 44.492).¹⁷ In Egyptian mythology the human soul – *ka* – leaving the body takes a form of a human-headed bird – *ba*, so that the soul can ascend “into the company of the gods, being alive in the bird-shape”.¹⁸ The souls live in the “Field of Rushes” (cf. our lake located in an “even plain” in 10:2).¹⁹ The soul goes up “as a swallow” and cackles “as a goose” while ascending to the “great plateau” in the “eastern corner of the sky”.²⁰ In ancient Mesopotamia the dead in “the dark house” are “clothed like birds, with wings for garments” (*ANET* 107). The souls of the kings of Egypt, Assyria and Persia were pictured with birds’ wings; similarly, the Arabs regarded the soul as a bird, and believed that after death it hovered around the body (Al-Mas’udi, *Golden Meadows* 3.310).²¹ These views were shared by at least some Greeks and Romans (cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 246b-c; *Tim.* 91d; cf. his idea of the pending period for such souls waiting for rebirth on the lake shores [*Phae-*

¹⁷ See Zandee 1960: 25-31, 112-25; Goedicke 1955; Bonomi and Sharpe 1864; Buck and Gardiner 1935.

¹⁸ Faulkner 1971: 1.281, #667A; Book of the Dead, #78, in: Budge 1901: 2.295; Wright 2000: 20.

¹⁹ Buck and Gardiner 1935: #159; cf. 161; Wright 2000: 22.

²⁰ Buck and Gardiner 1935: #190; Wright 2000: 22.

²¹ Cf. Jastrow, Nowack, Ginzberg, Kohler.

do 609]).²² The birds of 3 *Baruch* are defined as “pure” in 10:5S, Plato’s souls also return from their postcarnate journey “descending out of heaven clean and bright” (*Rep.* 10.614). The postmortem “flight” of the human spirit to heaven, “its proper home and permanent abode”, was known to Cicero (“Scipio’s Dream,” *Rep.* 6.29), Plutarch (*Rom.* 28.6-7), and others.²³ Cf. also a Hellenistic (probably Jewish) epitaph: “This grave hides in its bosom my chaste body, but my soul has flown to the holy ones”.²⁴ Jews also believed that the soul had the form of a bird and often the flight of the soul is mentioned. The soul is a “bird”: “How will you say to my soul, ‘A bird, wander [נודי] to your mountain!’” (Ps 11:1; cf. a mountain in place of the lake in S). False prophets “trap souls like birds” (Ezek 13:20); cf. also *b. Sanh.* 92b. If these might have been considered not more than poetic comparisons, *Tanh. Buber (Vaethanan 6)* gives a more detailed picture. Cf. “Gehennah, in which the wicked flit about like birds” (*Exod. Rab.* 38). Ornimorphic souls, similar to Egyptian *ba*, are known in 3 *En.* 44:3: “their faces looked like human faces, but their bodies were like eagles.” Moses asks to transform into a bird instead of dying in *Deut. Rab.* 11.9; cf. *y. Moed Qat.* 3.82b; *y. Yebam.* 15.15c; *Gen. Rab.* 93.8 and 100.7; *Lev. Rab.* 18.1; *b. Ketub.* 62b.

1.3.7. “Dew” (δρόσος), treated twice in G (6:11G and 10:9-10G), is totally absent in S. In the first case it complements the information on the drinking habits of the Sun Bird, on which S reports only “what it eats” (as with the other Beasts above, we learn about eating and drinking). In the second, it serves as a reminder that the dew, and not only the rain, is of celestial origin.

In 3 *Baruch* the Phoenix is nourished by manna and dew (6:11). In most sources that mention the feeding habits of the Phoenix, the bird is described as not eating at all, or as feeding upon the vapor of the air and the heat of the sun. Only the Coptic *Sermon on Mary* mentions that it eats “the dew of heaven and the flowers of the trees of Lebanon” (frg. U, p. 42, col. a, II. 31-32).²⁵ The nourishment of heavenly beings (and Behemoth among them) is discussed in *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 6; *Pesiq. R.* 16; 48; *Num. Rab.* 21.16-19. This is one of the definitely Jewish elements in the description of the Phoenix in 3 *Baruch*. Manna and dew are adduced together in Exod 16:13-14 and especially in Num 11:9: “When the dew came down on the camp at night, the manna came down with it.” According to LXX Ps 78(77):25, manna is “angels’ food” (Gk ἄρτον ἀγγέλων, in Hebrew מַן

²² Some also considered the image of bird in a cage found in ancient Diaspora synagogues as symbolizing a human soul imprisoned in a body; see Hachlili (1998: 394-95) opposing this interpretation.

²³ For Greco-Roman ascent of soul see Bousset 1901; Lewy 1956.

²⁴ Epitaph of Arsinoe of Leontopolis (Horst 1991: 51).

²⁵ On the phoenix diet as “the food of eschaton” see Broek 1972: 345.

אֲבִירִים “bread of the mighty”). R. Akiba also interprets it thus in *b. Yoma* 75b; cf. *Tan. Buber* 2.67; *Midr. Pss.* 78.345. According to *Sib. Or.* 7.148-149 (as opposed to *1 En.* 10:18-19), “dewy manna” would be the food of the members of the messianic kingdom: “there will be no vine branches or ear of corn, but all at once will eat the dewy manna with white teeth” (see also *2 Bar.* 29:6-8). According to *b. Hag.* 12b, the dew and the manna are stored in adjacent heavens: manna in the third (named *Shehaqim*) and dew in the sixth (*Makhon*). Cf. “hidden manna” given to the penitent in *Rev* 2:17.

The origin of the “dew of heaven” (most probably distinct from the “dew of earth”) from the celestial lake is explained in 10:9G. The phrase occurs in *Gen* 27:28, 39; *Dan* 4:12,20, 22, 30; 5:21. The dew was known to be stored in heaven: “The spirit of the dew dwells at the ends of heaven, close to the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and in summer” (*1 En.* 60:20). Cf. *2 En.* 5-6 on celestial treasures of snow, ice, clouds, and dew. The retinue of the sun and celestial birds of praise, phoenixes and chalkydri, are those who “carry heat and dew” (*ibid.* 12:2). “The dew is descending from heaven” causing the grass to spring from the earth in the eighth hour of the night (*T. Adam* 1:8), just before the angelic praise and human prayer (ninth and tenth hours; *ibid.* 1:9-10). Abraham sees dew most probably under the highest fiery heaven together with “a fire spread out and light,” and “a multitude of angels, and a power of the invisible glory from the Living Creatures” (*Apoc. Abr.* 19:4). The storehouses of dew are unlocked on Passover (*Tg. Ps.-Jon.* *Gen* 27:1-6; *Pirqe R. El.* 36).

1.3.8. During his visit to the second heaven Baruch observes there the giant Sun Bird, the Phoenix, one of whose functions is to protect the world from the sun’s radiation: “For unless its wings, *as we said before*, were screening the rays of the sun, no living creature would survive” (Εἰ μὴ γὰρ αἱ τοῦτου πτέρυγες, ὡς προείπομεν, περιέσκεπον τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτίνας οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πνοή, 8:7). This internal explanatory reference to 6:6 is absent in S. The expression *as we said before*, ὡς προείπομεν (referring to 6:6) used by Greek historians (and especially Josephus) and widespread in documentary papyri is not typical for pseudepigrapha. The whole verse, absent in S, must belong to a later editorial layer.

1.3.9. While staying in the fifth heaven Baruch observes how a procession of angels brings baskets filled with flowers and casts them into Archangel Michael’s bowl. It is clear from the whole subsequent narrative that the flowers are brought for the celestial judgment procedure. However, here only G states explicitly that this is way men’s virtues are brought “before the heavenly God”:

And he told me, “This is where the virtues of the righteous enter, and the good works

And he told me, “This is where the prayers

that they do, which are brought through it before the heavenly God” (11:9G)

of men enter” (11:9S)

Καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Τοῦτο ἔστιν ἔνθα προσ-
έρχονται αἱ ἀρεταὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ ὅσα
ἐργάζονται ἀγαθὰ, ἅτινα δι’ αὐτοῦ
ἀποκομίζονται ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐπουρανίου
θεοῦ

и рече мѣ се иестъ и дѣже възходатъ молитвѣи
чловѣка

The same flowers brought by angels to heaven represent human “virtues” only in G: “And the angel told me, ‘These flowers are the virtues of the righteous’” (Καὶ λέγει μοι ὁ ἄγγελος· Ταῦτα τὰ ἄνωθέν εἰσιν αἱ ἀρεταὶ τῶν δικαίων, 12:5G).

This identification may easily be deduced from 11:9 and 12:4. Flowers are men’s “virtues” (12:4G, 14:2G; or “prayers” in the probably secondary 14:2S *et pass.*). On the discrepancy between “prayers” and “verutes” see also 3.5 below.

1.4. Other textual phenomena

G also shows textual developments free from ideological or hermeneutic considerations, like haplography in 4:2G or duplication in 7:3-5aG. The latter verse appears to provide a variant of the account of the sun and Phoenix already given in 6:2-5a. The same data, which in chapter 6 is presented in a dramatic form, is presented in chapter 7 as a description of a vision.

2. Slavonic version (S) and its Greek Vorlage (R^S)

In most cases, it is impossible to distinguish between the development of the recension before the translation (R^S) or after it (S).²⁶

2.1. Christian interpolations

Like G, R^S or its translation might have been subjected independently to interpolation of Christian content. There are passages that employ terminology, which may likely be Christian, although, in distinction from G, here *interpretatio judaica* is still possible in some of these cases:

For their wives flee to the Temple [or “church” or “assembly”]: CS црькзвь], and from there they bring them out to jealousy and to fornication and to envy, and they strive to many other things, which you, O Glorious One, know (ѣко въз црькзвь прибѣгаѣтъ жензи ихъ и стзтѣждоу изводатъ ѣа на ревности и на блѣдзи и на зависти[и] и на инд мзнога тзѣцатъ са ѣже тзи сзвѣси прѣславне: 13:4S)

²⁶ Except for mistranslations and corruptions of the Slavonic text treated in 3.1-2 below.

Be not idle, but prostrate yourself in prayer in the holy Temple [свѣтъѣиѧ црѣкѣзвѣ] (и не лѣнитъ сѧ нѣкѣ молитѣиѧ въ свѣтъѣиѧ црѣкѣзвѣ припадѣиѧщѣ: 15:3S)

They do not fear God and they do not come to the Temple [црѣкѣзвѣ] and to the place of prayers (зѧне не боѧтъ сѧ бога и не прихѣдѧтъ въ црѣкѣзвѣ и въ молитѣзѣ мѣсто: 16:4S)

All three passages were usually considered as Christian interpolations, due to the use of two terms, Gk ἐκκλησία / CS црѣкѣзвѣ (in all passages) and πνευματικοὶ πατέρες (in 13:4G). If the latter combination is overtly Christian,²⁷ the former term is less obviously so. It was understood as “church”, although the primary meaning of Gk ἐκκλησία as a regular equivalent of Heb לְהִקָּבֵץ ‘assembly,’ ‘community’ (cf., e.g., 1 Kgs 8:65; Joel 2:16; Ps 40:10) is also plausible here. Cf. especially εἰσελθεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ “enter an assembly” in 13:4G and a common Biblical and Rabbinic idiom לְהִקָּבֵץ בְּבֵיתֵךְ, lit. “enter an assembly”, i.e., “become a part of the community”, literally rendered in LXX: οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς ἐκκλησίαν κυρίου (Deut 23 pass.; Lam 1:10). The combination “holy community” (Aram. נְשִׁיךְ אֲלֵהֶךָ) is well known in Jewish sources as well (*b. Ber.* 9b et pass.). Also the idea of a permanent place for prayer – public and even individual – must be old (some base it on Isa 26:20). Cf. “Jacob had a secluded place where he entered to offer his prayers before the Lord in the night and in the day” (*T. Jac.* 1:9). The duty to attend synagogue and pray there is well attested in Rabbinic texts (cf. *y. Ber.* 5.5d; *b. Ber.* 6b; cf. 7b-8a).

With the Slavonic counterpart of Gk ἐκκλησία – CS црѣкѣзвѣ – the range of possibilities is even wider. It may mean not only “church” or “assembly, community” but also “temple”, rendering not only Gk ἐκκλησία, but also ναός or ἱερόν. The combination of “temple/church” and “place of prayer” (16:4S) as different phenomena may also be regarded not only in Christian but in Jewish context, as referring to the Temple and synagogue, i.e., sacrificial service and communal prayer.²⁸ In this case, 13:4G and 15:3S would refer to attendance at the Temple, while 16:4S would refer to attendance at both the Temple and places of communal prayer. Temple sacrificial service and prayer (including prayer in the Temple) were the two main modes of worship before the Destruction, even

²⁷ Gk πνευματικοὶ πατέρες “spiritual fathers” is the late Christian term referring to monks, church leaders, especially bishops, or godparents. However, the title “father” was attested among Jews (e.g., Matt 23:9) and the substantivized adj. “spiritual” with Gnostics. Cf. a Valentinian term πνευματικοί referring to chosen “spiritual” Gnostics opposed to those called “psychic” and “material” (Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 56.2; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.4-7; see Pearson 1973: xii, 147.). Cf. also Mythraic initiation grade of *patres sacrorum* (Cumont, *Textes et monuments* 1896-99: 2.535).

²⁸ Cf., e.g., *Lam. Rab.* Intr. 12: “R. Pinehas said in the name of R. Hoshaya, ‘There were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem, apart from the Temple’”.

for many Jews in diaspora; thus, Philo “journeyed to the Temple of my native land to offer *prayers and sacrifices*” (*Prov.* 2.64 apud Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* 8.14.386-399). On Sabbath a man shall not do any work “except to praise the Lord in the assembly of the elders and to glorify the Mighty One in the council of the older men” (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.8). The call to “prostrate yourself in prayer in the holy Temple” in 15:3S can also be connected to Jewish practices. The Temple (or possibly another Jewish place of worship) is called the “House of Prostration” (Heb *בית השתחוות*) in CD 11.23 and 4QD^f 3.1.15. Prostration was among the central elements of the Temple liturgy (*Sir* 50:16-17; *m. Tamid.* 7.3; cf. *Deut* 26:10; *1 Chr* 16:29; *Ps* 5:8; *Isa* 27:13; *Jer* 26:2; *Ezek* 26:3; *John* 4:19-24; etc.). The main obstacle for such an interpretation lies in the fact that, according to the Prologue, the Temple does not exist when Baruch receives the revelation.

It is difficult to say whether these passages, or some of them, could reflect the rudiments of the original Jewish text. Whereas 13:4G with its Christian terminology and 15:3S with its reference to the contemporary “temple” look more like Christian interpolations or reworkings, 16:4S might have referred to the past and been mentioned among the reasons of the Destruction.

2.2. Explanatory expansion

In distinction to G there is only one explanatory expansion in S – which is referred to as the “Slavonic Conclusion” (16:5-10S). This is best viewed as a later addition, as it contrasts with the rest of the narrative visually, spatially and stylistically, and has an obviously harmonizing and conceptualizing agenda. If G finishes the vision with a dry and not too encouraging enumeration of plagues, S concludes the vision with a more optimistic picture of the beatific afterlife of the righteous, the tortures of the impious, and permission for Baruch to weep on the behalf of the latter:²⁹

And the angels received what was ordered to them by Michael. Trembling and rejoicing they went. And the angel told me, “By the command of the Ruler I say to you, Baruch: Stand on the right side and see the Glory of God, and see the resting places of the righteous, glory and joy and happiness [and] glorification, and see the tortures of the impious, wailing and groaning, lament and the indefatigable worm. Their voice reaches heaven and calls, ‘Have mercy on us, O God’”, And I Baruch told the angel, “Lord, who are these?” And he told me, “These are the sinners, having despised the commandment of God”. And I told the angel, “Order me, Lord, to weep on their behalf”. And he told me, “Weep, Baruch, [beginning] from the first-created man, Adam” (16:5-10S).

²⁹ A prayer for the dead, an important issue for early Christian thought, attested as early as 2 Macc 12:40-46; cf. *Sifre Deut.* 210; *b. Hor.* 6a. Cf. Ezra interceding on behalf of the sinners in Latin *Vis. Ezra* 11, 18, 22, 32, 47, 55, 60-61 and in Greek *Apoc. Ezra* 1:10-18, also weeping in 5:6.

Whatever is meant in the Slavonic Conclusion, whether additional visits to Paradise and Hell or a summary of previous visions,³⁰ this section can hardly be original. The Conclusion is not built into the overall cosmological structure of 3 *Baruch*. All spatial or transitional indications that are so important throughout the rest of the text are completely neglected here. It can also hardly be an abbreviation of a longer original account. Bauckham has suggested an original Slavonic Conclusion that could contain an ascent to the seventh heaven including seeing God's Presence (as in 2 *Enoch* et al.) and separate visits to Paradise and Hell (as in the Syriac *Transitus Mariae* or in the Hebrew *Gedulat Moshe*).³¹ However, this hypothesis of an abbreviation is based on an erroneous reading of the Slavonic text. The last promise to see the Glory of God (cf. previous promises in 4:2S; 6:12; 7:2; 11:2) was considered to occur in S at the very end of the vision (16:6S, in previous translations – 16:4S) and thus to imply a lost continuation. Nevertheless, this argument is a result of a mistranslation of imperative forms with future tense forms. The angel does not promise: “And *you will see* the Glory of God; and *you will see* the resting places of the righteous, glory and joy and happiness [and] glorification; and *you will see* the tortures of the impious, wailing and groaning, lamentations and the indefatigable worm”,³² but orders “And *see* [CS *виждь*]” all three times. Baruch's response in the continuation also indicates that he sees or hears at least the sinners (16:7S).

Common prototext of both versions (R^{GS})

3. R^{GS} as witnessed by G

Although S exhibits fewer signs of editorial activity, G still has some better readings in the places where S contains mistranslations, corruptions, and omissions. There are only isolated examples of what can be recognized in S as deliberate editing that yields explanatory and harmonizing readings.

3.1. Mistranslations in S

3.1.1. In the description of the Tower-builders, it is said that they were punished “with blindness” (ἐν ἀορασίᾳ), mistranslated as “invisibly” by S:

When God saw this he did not allow them, And having seen them God did not hearken

³⁰ In the case, “the tortures of the impious” would refer to Hades (*Apoc. Abr.* 5) and “the resting places of the righteous” – the Lake of Birds (*Apoc. Abr.* 10), although in S both visions lack clear indications of their connection to the afterlife.

³¹ Bauckham 1990: 373-374.

³² As translated in Gaylord 1983: 678 (in his *Slavonic* the translation is improved). Bauckham (1990: 373) and Harlow (1996: 37) base their interpretations on this mistake.

but smote them *with blindness* and confusion of languages, and rendered them as you see (3:8G)

Ταῦτα ἰδὼν ὁ θεὸς οὐ συνεχώρησεν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἄορασίᾳ καὶ ἐν γλωσσοαλλαγῇ, καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ὡς ὄρας

to them, but smote them *invisibly* (3:8S)

Видѣвъ же ꙗко божъ и не послонѣша ихъ нъ порази ꙗко невидимо

S misinterpreted Gk ἐν ἄορασίᾳ as an adverb (ἀοράτως or ἀορασίτως ‘invisibly’).

3.1.2. In the description of the fifth heaven, where the angels are bringing to Michael the virtues of the righteous, “angels [who are] over the principalities [ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν]” are mistranslated as “the angels who are in the power [въ области] of men”:

And he told me, “These are the angels [who are] *over the principalities*” (12:3G)

Καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Οὗτοι εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν

And he told me, “These are the angels who are *in the power of men*” (12:3S)

И рече ми си сѣтъ ангели иже въ области ѹловѣни сѣтъ

Ryssel suggests emending ἐξουσιῶν to δικαίων, and thus reads: “angels [who are] over the righteous”.³³ These angels are differentiated from Phanuel, called “the angel of hosts” (Gk ὁ ἄγγελος τῶν δυνάμεων, CS ἀγγελὸς κυριῶν) in 1:8G, 2:1S, 2:6G, 10:1S, 11:1S, and “archangel” in 10:1G. The title may mean that they belong to the division called “principalities”, ἐξουσίαι (Col 1:5; 1 Pet 3:22; *T. Levi* 3:8; *Asc. Isa.* 2:40; cf. *1 En.* 61:10 et al.). In all these sources they are named either “principalities” or “angels of principalities”. A definition identical to the one of 3 *Baruch* – οἱ ἐπ’ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν – is applied to human high-ranking officials in LXX Dan 3:3. Cf. “the sixth [angelic] order which is over principalities”, whose service is “to rule over kingdoms” (*T. Adam* 4:6). Thus, the title might have also implied that they are responsible for specific regions or nations.

According to S the angels are “in the power of men”. Gaylord notes: “This could be translated also by ‘in the region of men’ ... It is possible that the translator had the extant Greek before him, but did not understand it”.³⁴ The Slavic translator must have understood the Greek ἐπὶ with gen. as with dat. in the sense of ‘in the power of’, ‘subordinated to’.³⁵ On the other hand, we learn that they are “given” (13:1) and “attached to” (Gk προσμένειν with dat., 13:3) men and

³³ Ryssel 1900, see comm. ad loc.

³⁴ Gaylord 1983: 127.

³⁵ See in late and Byzantine sources (Liddell, Scott and Jones 1996: 622; Sophocles 1860: 496).

“are not able to get away from them” without permission (13:2). This may conform to the belief that in some aspects men (at least righteous ones) may have a higher status than angels (Heb 1:4-13; 2:5-9; *Pr. Jos.*; *Gen. Rab.* 17.4; *y. Shab.* 6.9.8d; *b. Sanh.* 38b; *Cant. Rab.* 1.4; *Pirqe Rab. K.*, Hahodesh).

3.2. Corruptions in S

3.2.1. When taken to the second heaven, Baruch sees the zoomorphic creatures and hears the story of the building of the Tower of Babel. Upon asking the angel about identity of these creatures, he receives the following answer:

And the angel told me, “These are those who built the *Tower of War* against God [and] the Lord banished them.” (2:7G)

Καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὸν πύργον τῆς θεομαχίας οἰκοδομήσαντες· καὶ ἐξετόπησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύριος.

And the angel told me, “These are those who built the *God-made tower*, and the Lord banished them.” (2:7S)

и рече ми ангелъ си сѣтъ иже стлзпъ бѣ-
творьнзи създъша изрѣна ѿ господь

S has *стлзпъ бѣтворьнзи* “God-made tower,” which is a corruption of *стлзпъ бѣтворьнзи* rendering Gk τὸν πύργον τῆς θεομαχίας (as in G).

3.2.2. After the vision of the Tower-builders, Baruch turns to the angel with the following request: “and now show me all things for the sake of Lord” (4:1G), omitted due to homoeteleuton from S, but preserved in G:

And I Baruch said, “Behold, Lord, you have shown me great and wonderful things; and now show me all things for the sake of Lord” (4:1G)

Καὶ εἶπον ἐγὼ Βαρούχ· Ἰδού, Κύριε, μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά ἔδειξάς μοι· καὶ νῦν δείξόν μοι πάντα διὰ τὸν Κύριον

And I Baruch said, “The Lord has shown me great things.” (4:1S)

и рѣхъ азъ барухъ велика ми показъ господь

3.2.3. After the story of the Tower-builders, Baruch and the angel continue their journey through the second heaven and pass through another gate on their way to the plain with Serpent and Hades. The distance of their journey through this gate is characterized as that of “187” days in the Slavic Cyrillic text (ѣ: и ѱ: и ѣ:) instead of a hypothetically posited Glagolitic “185”:

[And we entered] with the angel from that place about a 185 days’ journey (4:2G)

μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου ὡσεὶ πορείας ἡμερῶν ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα πέντε

And we entered with the angel about a 187 days’ journey (4:2S)

и вѣнидохомъ съ ангеломъ ѿко шьстине
дѣнии ѣ: и ѱ: и ѣ:

“187” is the reading of ms L; mss TB have “40”; ms K – “85”; mss SZ – “32”; mss PVID – “70”. Gaylord suggests that “187” emerged as a misreading of original “185” (identical to G) in the hypothetical Glagolitic antigraph;³⁶ cf. a similar assumption of the misreading of “6” as “8” in a Cyrillic transliteration of a possibly original Glagolitic text in *Apoc. Abr.* 19:6.³⁷

3.2.4. When Baruch visits the second heaven, where he learns the secrets of heavenly luminaries, the angel describes the moon as sitting “on an armed chariot” (на орѣжыѣ колесъници, 9:3S) instead of “on a wheeled chariot” (*на орѣжии колесъномь as ἐπὶ ἄρματος τροχοῦ in G):

And the angel said, “Wait and you will see it shortly”. And on the morrow I saw it in the shape of a woman, and sitting on a wheeled chariot (9:3G)

And he told me, “It is similar to a woman, sitting on an armed chariot ...” (9:3S)

Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἀνάμεινον, καὶ ὄψει καὶ ταύτην ὡς μετ’ ὀλίγον. καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ὄρω καὶ ταύτην ἐν σχήματι γυναικὸς καὶ καθημένην ἐπὶ ἄρματος τροχοῦ

и рече ми подобьнѣ жєстѣ жєнѣ сѣдѣщи на орѣжыѣ колесъници

The translation is based on the assumption that Gk τροχός here is the noun ‘wheel’. This is also how it was understood by S: CS на орѣжыѣ колесъници (only in L; other mss omit орѣжыѣ), lit. “on an armed chariot” (*Gk ἐπὶ ἄρματος ἐνόπλου), must be a distortion of на орѣжии колесъномь, cf. 6:2S, where the word орѣжииє, and not колесъница is used for “chariot”. Hartom notes that “all chariots are wheeled,” and proposes to interpret Gk τροχός as an adjective ‘running, tripping’.³⁸ However, cf. Gk τροχῶν ἄρματος rendering Heb אופן המרכבה “the chariot wheel” in LXX 1 Kgs 7:33.

3.3. Omissions

Some passages in G, absent in S, but well integrated into early Jewish literature, might be original.

3.3.1. The following passage may either be original or interpolated due to influence of late Christian apocalypses. At the beginning of Baruch’s journey the angel takes him “where heaven was set”, and to the river that cannot be crossed by any “alien breath”:

And having taken me he brought me where heaven was set, and where there was a river which no one can cross, nor any alien spirit of all those that God created. (καὶ ὅπου ἦν

³⁶ Gaylord 1983: 31.

³⁷ Rubinkiewicz and Lunt 1983: 698, n. 19f.

³⁸ Hartom 1937: 420.

ποταμὸς ὃν οὐδεὶς δύναται περᾶσαι αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ξένη πνοὴ ἐκ πασῶν ὧν ἔθετο ὁ θεός:
2:1G)

It must be “the river Ocean” preceding the celestial gates also in *T. Abr.* (B) 8:3. The most similar descriptions are found in *Apocalypse of Paul* (*Apoc. Paul* 21:31). In a damaged fragment of *Apoc. Zeph.* 8 the seer most probably has to cross a water reservoir in order to enter the abode of the just. A “kind of a river” (ποταμώδης) separates the worlds in *Hist. Rech.* 2:6. Cf. also “the river of fire” and “the great sea” of *1 En.* 17:6. In the first heaven there is “a vast ocean, much bigger than the earthly ocean” (*2 En.* [‘long version’] 3:3).³⁹ In most cases these water reservoirs lie between earth and heaven. In different traditions they divide earth and the dwelling place of the dead. In *Sib. Or.* 1:301 the souls of the dead cross Acheron to enter the realms of bliss. Babylonians believed that the dead crossed the river Hubur when entering “the great below”.⁴⁰ Cf. Josephus on Essenes’ belief in the “abode beyond the Ocean” destined for virtuous souls (*Bell.* 2.155). These writings must reflect a very ancient motif known already to the *Gilgamesh Epic* (10-11), *Babylonian Mappa Mundi* (BM, No 92687), Homer (shield of Achilles as described in *Iliad*; cf. *Od.* 10.513; 11.155; 24.11), and Herodotus (*Hist.* 4.36).⁴¹

For “alien spirit” (ξένη πνοή, lit. “alien breath”) different interpretations are possible. If wind-spirit may mean an angelic force, especially one moving between heaven and earth (*Ezek* 8:3; 11:1, 24; cf. *1 En.* 18:2-3; *Apoc. Abr.* 19), what does this indicate about the nature of our “alien wind-spirit” that does not have access to heaven (or less probably *from* heaven to earth)? Heb רַי ‘alien’ may refer to demons, as in *Genesis Apocryphon*, distinguishing the “Aliens” from the “Watchers” and the “Sons of Heaven” (*1QapGen*^{at} 2.1-16). The collocation “alien spirit” as ἀλλότριος πνεῦμα occurs in Iamblichus’ *Egyptian Mysteries*, speaking about “souls infected with extraordinary defilements and alien spirits” (ψυχὰὶ δὲ περισσῶν μολυσμῶν καὶ ἀλλοτρίων πνευμάτων ἀναμίμπλονται). Alternatively, in plural, the combination “alien spirits” or “spirits of aliens” might reference the Heb רוּחוֹת מְזוּרִים (ה) as a variant or distortion of רוּחוֹת מְזוּרִים “spirits of bastards” designating the demonic offspring of the fallen angels in *Shirot* (4Q510 1.5 and 4Q511 35.7; cf. *1 En.* 10:9). The very term מְזוּר ‘bastard’ in *Zach* 9:6 is rendered as “alien” in ancient translations (ἀλλογενεῖς in LXX and נכראין in *Tg. Neb.*).⁴²

³⁹ Cf. the “water test” before the sixth gate in Hekhalot ascents (*Hekh. Zutarti* ## 345; 410).

⁴⁰ Heidel 1949: 172.

⁴¹ Cf. Bietenhard 1951: 34.

⁴² I thank Michael Schneider for the parallels from Iamblichus and Zechariah.

Not only the name, but also the role of the “alien spirit” in *3 Baruch* – the fact that it cannot ascend to heaven – is appropriate for terrestrial demonic forces. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham* “the earth... and its spiritual ones” (CS ΔΙΪΒΗΛΙΑ probably rendering Gk πνεύματα, 21:3) are opposed to celestial “spiritual angels” (ΔΪΒΗΛΙΑ ΔΗΓΪΖΙ, 19:6-7). This confirms the fundamental statement repeated twice in *1 Enoch*: “The spirits of heaven, in heaven is their dwelling; but the spirits begotten on earth, on earth is their dwelling” (15:10; cf. 15:7-8).

Thus, the common ground of all these sources is the following conception of the ancient Jewish lore: while some winds-spirits do ascend to heaven or even serve as a means of transportation there, “alien” ones cannot do this. The border realm between earth and heaven is uncrossable for “alien” (demonic) spirits as opposed to angelic spirits.⁴³

3.3.2. When Baruch and the angel arrive to the first heaven they enter it “as if [borne] on wings” (ὡς ἐν πτέρυξιν):

And having taken me he brought me to the first heaven, and showed me a very large door. And he told me, “Let us enter through it”. And we entered as if [borne] on wings, a distance of about a 30 days’ journey. (Καὶ λαβὼν με ἤγαγέν με ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον οὐρανόν, καὶ ἔδειξέ μοι θύραν παμμεγέθη. Καὶ εἶπέν μοι· Εἰσέλθωμεν δι’ αὐτῆς. Καὶ εἰσήλθομεν ὡς ἐν πτέρυξιν ὡσεὶ πορείας ὁδοῦ ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα: 2:2G).

Baruch’s flight is mentioned again only in the journey to the second heaven (3:2 in G and S). There the participle ἀναπτερωμένοι ‘raised’ (lit. ‘raised on wings’) is used. In contrast to other heavenly journeys no explicit means of transportation is mentioned. Here “wings” is used metaphorically in distinction to, e.g., *Apoc. Abr.* 12:10, where a seer is brought to heaven on the wings of a dove. Cf. a metaphorical use in Philo in a very similar context (*Spec. Leg.* 1.38; *Opif.* 23.70; *Praem.* 11 and 14; *Plant.* 37). Holland sees in this mention of wings in *3 Baruch* (and in 7:5, where Baruch hides under the wings of the angel) a reference to the heavenly journey of the soul.⁴⁴ The “flight of the soul” to heaven was a *topos* of Hellenistic thought, cf. Plato, who believed that “the natural function of the wing is to soar upwards and carry that which is heavy up to the place where dwells the race of the gods” (*Phaedr.* 246d), and Cicero, who called heaven “its [the soul’s] proper home and permanent abode” (“Scipio’s Dream” in *Rep.* 6.29; cf. his *Tusc.* 1.24; cf. also Plutarch, *Rom.* 28.6-7; etc.).

⁴³ A parallel in *History of the Rechabites* above preserves rudiments of the conceptions which might lay behind *3 Baruch* as well: (1) “the Temper” (ὁ περιράζων) is distinguished from the “wind”, while in *3 Baruch*, the wind-spirit defined as “alien” is also a demonic power. (2) “The birds of this world” also cannot cross, although nothing is said there about the birds of another world. In *3 Bar.* 10, the latter successfully reach heaven.

⁴⁴ Holland 1925: 217.

3.4. Explanatory reading in S

After receiving the virtues of the righteous from the angels, Michael takes them to God and returns with oil, although “oil” (ἔλαιον) (15:1G) is substituted by homeophonic “mercy” in S:

And at that time Michael came down, and the gate opened and he brought *oil* (15:1G)

And at that time Michael came down and he brought to the first angels [...] *full of mercy* (15:1S)

Καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ κατήλθεν ὁ Μιχαήλ, καὶ ἠνοίγη ἡ πύλη· καὶ ἤνεγκεν ἔλαιον

и въ тѣзи ѱаѣъ съниде михаилъ и принесе пръ-
взимъз ангеломъз павъзи милости

In S either “mercies” are “full”, or the clause is elliptic, and what was “full of mercies” is not mentioned. “Oil” of G (15:1 and 2) does not appear in S at all. It has ΠΑΒΝΖΙ ΜΙΛΟΣΤΙ “full of mercy” or “full mercies” (15:1) and ΜΙΛΟΣΤΙ “mercies” (15:2) instead. The Greek *Vorlage* of S might have contained “full of oil” instead of “full of mercy”, if the Slavic translator confused Gk ἔλαιον and ἔλεος.⁴⁵ More probably, it is an intentional word play: the same word play of homeophonic ἔλαιον and ἔλεος is explicit in ms T of the verse 4:7S also referring to Michael: “Michael brought the *olive* and planted it. That is why Michael was called *merciful*” (see note ad loc.). The two words “oil” and “mercy” are used together in the *Life of Adam and Eve* (*Vita* 36:2; 40:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 9:4; 13:1), where Seth looks for “the *oil* of life flowing from the Tree of *Mercy*.” The very combination “oil of mercy” occurs in *Apoc. Mos.* 13:1: “And Seth went with Eve near paradise, and they wept there praying to God to send his angel and give them the *oil of mercy*” (τὸ ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου, cf. *oleum misericordiae* of *Vita* 40:1). Cf. also *Gos. Nicod.* 19: “then shall he anoint with the *oil of mercy* all that believe in him”.

3.5. Harmonizing reading in S

In the description of the flower offerings carried by the angels to Michael various words are used: “virtues” (αἱ ἀρεταί, 11:9G; 14:2G) and “good deed” (τὰ καλὰ ἔργα, 15:2G) interchanging with “prayers” (τὰς δεήσεις, 11:4G), are consistently unified to “prayers” (ΜΟΛΗΤΒΖΙ) in S (for “virtues of the righteous” in 12:5 there is no equivalent in S).

It is difficult to decide which reading, “virtues” or “prayers”, is original. “Angels with flowers” appear, although in quite a different context, in the Spanish recension of 5 *Ezra* 1:40 among patriarchs and prophets “coming from the East”. The flower offering of 3 *Baruch* may be a part of the tradition mentioning angels

⁴⁵ Gaylord 1983: 139.

bringing wreaths in the course of celestial liturgy (cf. Rev 4:10).⁴⁶ Gk στέφανος is usually translated here as ‘crown’, but ‘wreath’ is an even more common meaning. Virtues can turn into a crown or wreath: the angel of Death says that Abraham’s “righteous deeds and your boundless hospitality and the magnitude of your love for God have become a crown on my head” (*T. Abr.* 17:7).⁴⁷ The connection, which can hardly be coincidental, may be traced between these Flowers-Virtues and Flowers of Paradise mentioned in 4:10 (see below). The connection may be corroborated by two links: (1) as the Trees of Paradise were planted by angels, so also are the flowers brought by them; (2) the Trees of Paradise are also Virtues according to Philo’s concept of “Paradise of Virtues” (see 4.4.1 below). In this case (in distinction to Philo), one tree of five is planted by Samael,⁴⁸ which brings the number of celestial trees into correspondence with the Hellenistic four cardinal virtues (Plato, *Phaed.* 69c; *Rep.* 4.428; *Leg.* 631c; cf. *Wis* 8:7; *2 Macc* 1:18ff; *4 Macc* 5:22; Philo, *Leg. All.* 1.19.71-72).

However, the tradition of S has some intertextual corroboration in the Rabbinic tradition. Similarly to S, the offered wreaths are identified as prayers woven and brought to God by angels in Rabbinic texts (*Lev. Rab.* 24.8; *Exod. Rab.* 21.4; cf. *Midr. Pss.* 19.7; 88.2). Angel Sandalphon also “stands behind the Chariot and weaves wreaths for his Creator” in *b. Hag.* 13b. These wreaths are prayers according to *Midr. Kohen* 26.

3.6. Simplifying reading in S

In the description of the angels bringing to Michael the virtues of the righteous, “baskets” (κανίσκια) (12:1G) are substituted by neutral “offerings” in S:

And while I was talking with them, behold, angels came carrying little *baskets* full of flowers (12:1G)

Καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμιλεῖν με αὐτοῖς, ἰδοὺ ἦλθον ἄγγελοι φέροντες κανίσκια γέμοντα ἀνθῶν

And, while I was talking, and behold, angels came, carrying *offerings* full of flowers (12:1S)

и се ми глаголишмоу придоша ангели носаше дарзи пазњи цвѣтѣна

CS *дарзи* usually translates Gk δῶρα, either as ‘[sacrificial] gifts, offerings’ (like biblical Gk δῶρον rendering Heb *תְּנוּנָה*)⁴⁹ or less probably ‘palms.’⁵⁰ In the

⁴⁶ The similarity between *3 Bar.* and Rev 4:10 was noticed by Halperin (1988: 134).

⁴⁷ Cf. Green 1997: 31-41.

⁴⁸ Cf. “tares” are planted by the “Enemy”/devil in the Tares Parable (Matt 13:24-43); and in both cases “the harvesters are angels” (Matt 13:37).

⁴⁹ See Hatch and Redpath 1998: 359; cf. Lampe 1961: 395. In this meaning it is used twice in *Apoc. Abr.* (13:2 and 29:18).

⁵⁰ Liddell, Scott and Jones 1996: 465.

latter case the Greek *Vorlage* of S would have “angels carrying full palms of flowers”. Ms T has instead: “incenses (CS κλημια) of the righteous, and they were full of flowers” (in 12:4 and 5 “gifts” are substituted by κλημια ‘incenses’ and also ‘lamps,’ ‘candles’) most probably under the influence of Rev 5:8 identifying prayers with angelic incense offerings.

The image of baskets, meaningless for a late Byzantine or Slavic editor of R^S or S, could be original here. The angels “carrying baskets” (φέροντες κανίσκια) function as *kanephoroi* of Greek cults (κνηφόροι: Aristophanes, *Lys.* 646; *Ach.* 242; Aristid. *Or.* 18,2; *IG* II² 334; *Syll.*² 388.32, 711e, 728e). Sculptured images of girls carrying offering baskets on their heads could be seen also in Rome (Cicero, *Ver.* 2.4.5[4.3]; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 26.225 [36.5]). The term used in 3 *Baruch* for “basket”, Gk κανίσκια ‘little baskets of reed or cane’, diminutive of Gk κόνεον, often designates vessels used in sacred practices: sacrifices (Euripides, *Electra* 1142; Menander, *Samia* 7), votive offerings (*CIG* 2855.2). Like in our text, κόνεον is attested as being carried in processions (e.g., Menander, *Epi-trepontes*).⁵¹

Below, these baskets are said to be filled with oil (15:2G). Woven baskets can hardly contain oil. Either Gk κανίσκιον or κόνεον designate another kind of vessels appropriate for oil, or more probably the “baskets” here are not wreathed but are a sort of cultic basket-shape vessels made of metal. Such vessels are attested in pagan (cf. epigraphic sources *IG* 11(2).161B34 et pass.; 7.2424; *CIG* 2855.21)⁵² and in Jewish practices (*m. Bik.* 3.8; see below).

The ceremony also resembles the *bikkurim* (first fruits) offerings in the Temple of Jerusalem as described in the Mishna (*m. Bik.*; cf. Exod 23:19; 34:26; Num 18:13; Neh 10:36; Deut 26:1-11; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 2.29; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.8.22 [241]): the *bikkurim* were brought in baskets (Heb כַּבֵּיטִים, Gk κάρταλλος, as prescribed in Deut 26:2, 4, 10) in festive processions. Sometimes these baskets were not wreathed (cf. above): “The rich brought their *bikkurim* in baskets of silver or gold [קלתות של כסף ושל זהב]⁵³” (*m. Bik.* 3.8). Flowers in the baskets of angelic processions in 3 *Baruch* may visually resemble the *bikkurim* baskets, which were “decorated [with plants] other than the seven species [of fruit]”, “the decoration [עטור] of the *bikkurim* could also be of another kind” (*m. Bik.* 3.9-10). They were similarly transferred to priests: “And the priest shall take the basket from your hand, and set it down before the altar of the Lord your God” (Deut 26:4).

⁵¹ For more examples see Liddell, Scott and Jones 1996: 874.

⁵² Liddell, Scott and Jones 1996: 874, s.v. κόνεον.

⁵³ From Gk κάλαθος.

There was also another rite, the meal-offerings, involving the transfer of the offerings from baskets to a “ministering vessel” (as from the “baskets” to the “flat bowl” in *3 Baruch*):

How is the procedure of meal-offerings? A man brings a meal-offering from his house in silver or golden baskets [קלחות של כסף ושל זהב], places it in a ministering vessel [כלי שרת], hallows it in a ministering vessel, adds to it its oil and frankincense, and carries it to a priest who carries it to the altar (*b. Sot.* 14b).⁵⁴

4. R^{GS} as witnessed by S

4.1. Corruptions in G

4.1.1. In the description of the sun’s chariot “with a fire underneath” (ὁ ἦν ὑπόπυρον) of G comes instead of the “fiery horses” (κони пламѣни, *ἵππων πυρός) in S:

And he showed me a chariot-of-four, which was with a fire underneath (6:2G)

And he showed me a chariot-of-four, and there were fiery horses, and the horses were winged angels (6:2S)

Καὶ ἔδειξέ μοι ἄρμα τετραέλαστον ὃ ἦν ὑπόπυρον.

и показа ми орѣжнѣя чѣтеборѣздынаѣа и бѣхѣ кони пламѣнни кони же бѣхѣ ангели перьнати

Gk ὁ ἦν ὑπόπυρον is an emendation from ὁ ἦν ὑπόπυρος of both mss. Gaylord convincingly suggests the original ἵππων πυρός is rendered by CS κони пламѣни “fiery horses”.⁵⁵ Both versions can be corroborated by parallels. Helios’ chariot is drawn by “fire-darting steeds” (Pindar, *Ol. Od.* 7.71) and chariots of fiery horses appear in 2 Kgs 2:11; Sir 48:9. Fire underneath the Throne is found in *1 En.* 14:19; cf. *Apoc. Abr.* 18:3.⁵⁶

4.1.2. A part of the description of the sun was omitted from G due to homoeoteleuton:

⁵⁴ Cf. another similar description. As in *3 Baruch* angels come with their baskets to receive the oil of mercy, so Resh Lakish speaks of the earth coming to God with the vessels of its own (clouds) to receive rain waters: “In the view of R. Yohanan [believing that rain clouds come from above] it is like a man who presented his neighbor with a cask of wine together with the vessel. In the view of Resh Lakish [believing that rain clouds come from earth] it is like a man who asked his neighbor, “Lend me a *se’ah* of wheat, to which he replied, ‘Bring your basket and come and measure it out’ [הבא קופתך ובוא מדוד]. Similarly, the Holy One, blessed be he, says to the earth, ‘Bring your clouds and receive rain’” (*Gen. Rab.* 13.11).

⁵⁵ Gaylord 1983: 67.

⁵⁶ Cf. also *2 Baruch* on “the beauty of the majesty of the living creatures which are beneath the throne” (51:11), “the treasures of wisdom beneath Your throne have you prepared” (54:13), and “those who were under the throne of the Mighty One were perturbed, when He was taking Moses unto Himself” (59:3).

And a voice came saying, “O Light-giver, give light to the world!” (6:14G)

Καὶ ἦλθεν φωνὴ λέγουσα· Φωτόδοτα, δὸς τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ φέγγος

And the sun entered [the chariot?], and [the bird] came saying, “*O Light-giver, the sun, give light to the world*”, [and] spread its wings and covered the rays of the sun and it flapped its wings and there was a voice like thunder, and the bird cried out saying, “*O Light-giver, give light to the world!*” (6:14S)

И ЗАИДЕ СЛЪНЬЦЕ И ПРИДЕ ГЛАГОЛА СВЕТОДАВЬ-
УЕ СЛЪНЬЦЕ ДАЖДЬ МИРОУ СВЕТЪ. ПРОСТРЪ ПЪ-
ТИЦА КРИЛЪ СВОИ И ПОКРЪИ ЛОУЧА СЛЪНЬЦЪ-
НЪНА И ОУДАРИ КРИЛОМА И БЪИСТЪ ГЛАСЪ ТАКО
ГРОМЪ И ВЪЗЪВА ПЪТИЦА ГЛАГОЛѢЩИ СВЕТО-
ДАВЬУЕ ДАИ МИРОУ СВЕТЪ

The missing motif is well attested. When the sun rises, the celestial birds greet it in both versions of *2 Enoch*: “the elements of the sun, called phoenixes and chalkydri break into song, herefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the command of the Lord” (*2 En.* 15:1). In *2 En.* (‘long version’) 15:2 they also pronounce, “The Light-giver is coming to give radiance to the whole world”. In *T. Adam* 1:10 Seraphim are those who, by beating their wings, cause the roosters to crow: “[at the tenth hour of the night] at the sound of the wings of the Seraphim at that time the roosters crow and praise God”.⁵⁷ A very similar description appears in the Slavonic *About All Creation* (СЛОВО О ВСЕИ ТВАРИ):

There is a Rooster that has a head up to heaven, and the sea is up to its knees.⁵⁸ When the sun bathes in the Ocean, then the Ocean surges and waves start to beat the Rooster’s feathers. And having felt the waves it says, ‘Kukoreku’, which means, “Light-giver, give light to the world.” When it sings, then all the roosters sing at the same hour in the whole inhabited world.⁵⁹

4.1.3. What probably was a dialogue without an intermediate remark was misinterpreted as one question in G:

And I said, “And where does the sun begin its labors after the rooster cries?” (7:1G)

Καὶ εἶπον ἐγώ· Καὶ ποῦ ἀποσχολεῖται ὁ

I Baruch said, “How much does the sun rest?” And the angel told me, “From when the roosters cry out until the light comes.” (7:1S)

РЪХЪ ДЪВЪ ВАРΟΥХЪ МЪНОГО ЛИ ПОУИВАЕТЪ СЛЪ-

⁵⁷ Ms E (British Museum ms Arund Oz 53) has “wheels” instead of “wings”; cf. *3 En.* 19:5-7 on the noise of Wheels.

⁵⁸ Cf. “A bird standing up to its ankles in the water while its head reached the sky” (*B. Bat.* 73b).

⁵⁹ Tichonravov 1894: 2.349f.

ἥλιος ἀφ' οὗ ὁ ἀλέκτωρ φωνεῖ;

НЪЦЕ И РЕЧЕ МИ АНГЕЛЪ СЪЗННЕНИ КОУРАТА ВЪЗ-
ГЛАСАТЪ ДОНДЕЖЕ СВТЪВЪ [ВЪИВАИЕТЪ В].

According to G Baruch shows interest in the sun's route. The constant course (πορεία) of luminaries is among the most magnificent works of God (cf. *Pss. Sol.* 18:10-12). The routes of luminaries are known to *Judg* 5:20; *I En.* 14:11, 17; *1QH* 1.13. "Ways above the firmament" belong to the hidden knowledge according to *4 Ezra* 4:7. Curiosity about the movement of celestial bodies was considered pious by the Rabbis (cf. *b. Shab.* 75a). On the interest specifically in the sun's route, cf. *Gen. Rab.* 6.8; *b. Pesah.* 94b.

The discrepancies between G and S in 7:1 are very instructive. Either S misinterpreted its Greek *Vorlage*, or it reflects an older Greek version. The Greek *Vorlage* of S might have: καὶ εἶπον ἐγὼ· καὶ ποῦ ἀποσχολεῖται ὁ ἥλιος [καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος] ἀφ' οὗ ὁ ἀλέκτωρ φωνεῖ ... "And I said, 'And where does the sun begin its labors?'" [And the angel told me,] "After the rooster cries..."⁶⁰ The original dialogue could be presented also without the remark, "And the angel told me". Such dialogues, without introductory remarks between questions and answers, do occur in G in 6:10-11; 9:5-6, while all parallel texts in S always contain such remarks. Here G could be the one that erroneously united the dialogue into one saying.

S understood Gk ποῦ as 'how', and not 'where', and either misinterpreted Gk ἀποσχολέομαι 'be busy, occupied'⁶¹ as ἀποσχολάζω 'rest', or as suggested, its *Vorlage* in fact had instead ἀποσχολέομαι, and it was misinterpreted by G. In the latter case, S preserves an original version. The question as it is presented in S may imply the concept of the permanent motion of the sun, even by night. The "tireless Helios" is known to *Homeric Hymn* 31; the sun moves at night (although sometimes slumbering) in *Athen.* 11.469-70; *Apollod.* 2.5.10; *Eustath. ad Hom.* 1632; *Virgil, Georgics* 1. 246ff; *Apuleius, Golden Ass* 9.22ff.⁶² Also in Jewish sources "the sun goes down from heaven and returns through the north in order to reach the east" (*I En.* 72:5; cf. *Eccl* 1:5).⁶³ It must pass from west to east either beneath the earth or above the firmament (cf. *b. Pesah.* 94b).

The sun's nightly motion under the earth and its rest are connected in one of the versions of *2 Enoch* in a very similar context describing the sunset and the nightly removal of the sun's crown: "And the sun goes under the earth ['long

⁶⁰ Thus Gaylord 1983: 87.

⁶¹ *LPG*, 215.

⁶² For similar Babylonian traditions on the sun that "remains sleepless", see *Great Shamash Hymn* 41-44 (cf. Heimpel 1986: 146-147).

⁶³ Thus in the land of Laistrygonians, located in the extreme north, "the pathways of day and night [i.e., of the routes of the sun at day and night] come close together" (Homer, *Od.* 10.80 ff).

version’, ‘revolves’ in ‘short version’] in its chariot and rests [‘long version’, ‘goes without lights’ in ‘short version’] for seven complete hours in the night” (2 *En.* 14:3). The reading with “rest” is more plausible with “seven hours”, since otherwise not seven but twelve hours of night should have been mentioned (according to the division of day and night into twelve equal hours each). However, in 3 *Baruch* the “rest” of the sun is much shorter: “from when the roosters cry out until the light comes”. Both writings contradict *I Enoch*, where the sun “does not rest”, although it “runs day and night” as well (*I En.* 72:37).

4.2. Harmonizing readings in G

4.2.1. In the description of the second heaven S has “chamber” (καῖτῆς, 3:3S) and “mountain” (ὄρη, 10:2, 4S) instead of the unified “plain” (πεδῖον) in all heavens in G:

And he showed me there a plain... (3:3G)
Καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι κάκει πεδῖον

And he showed me a great chamber... (3:3S)
И ПОКАЗА МИ КАΪΤЬ ВЕЛИКА

The most common meaning of the CS word is ‘cell,’ ‘chamber,’ ‘house’ (never ‘prison’ as in Gaylord’s translation).⁶⁴ G instead has πεδῖον ‘plain’ as in all heavens according to G: first (2:3,4,5), second (G 3:3), third (4:3), and fourth (10:2, 4, 5). That is why, apparently, Gaylord supposes a corruption of the Greek uncial ΠΕΔΙΟΝ to ΚΕΛΛΙΟΝ ‘cell,’ ‘prison’.⁶⁵ However, S has “plain” (CS πᾶς) only twice: in the first (2:3, 4, 5) and the third (4:3) heavens. In the fourth heaven, it is “a mountain” which corresponds to “plain” in G (10:1, 2, 4), and here, in the second heaven – an enigmatic “great chamber”. Thus, G may be suspected as having arisen as a result of harmonization. Moreover, CS καῖτῆς might render not only Gk κελλῖον and κέλλα but also οἰκία (like in *TS 14th cent.* Gen 24:31, going back to Heb בית), οἶκος (*Ugryr* Dan 5:5, Aram היכלא), ταμειῖον (*TS 14th cent.* Gen. 8:3 [7:28] and Exod 43:30, Heb חדר, cf. *Ostr* Matt 6:6).

The form οἰκία (as pl. of τὸ οἰκίον) is attested in early Greek sources as an ‘abode of a deity’ (Homer, *Od.* 12.4; Hesiod, *Theog.* 744) or even ‘abode of the dead’, ‘netherworld’ (Homer, *Il.* 20.64). The term might resemble celestial buildings of the apocalyptic literature (cf., e.g., Ezek 40-48; *I En.* 14; *2 Bar.* 59:4; *Pr. Azar.* 31-34; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.66ff; 4QShirShabb; Rev 21:9-27; etc.) and later Hekhalot imagery; cf. especially Dan 5:5 where CS καῖτῆς renders Gk οἶκος, reproducing Aram היכלא (*Ugryr* Dan 5:5). Cf. also “The Holy One has shown himself above the angels and opened the firmament, and Isaac has raised his eyes and saw the chambers of the Chariot [החדרי המרכבה]” (*Tan. B.* Toledot 22).

⁶⁴ Ibid., 664.

⁶⁵ Gaylord 1983: 19.

Gk ταμειῶν may also mean specifically ‘treasury’, ‘storeroom’; cf. celestial treasuries of meteorological elements in Jer 10:13; 51; 16; Ps 135:7; *I En.* 41:3-4; 76; *2 En.* 3-6; *T. Levi* 3:2; *b. Hag.* 12b; *B. Bat.* 25b; et pass.).

4.3. Simplifying readings in G

4.3.1. Some readings of R^{GS}, either difficult or incomprehensible out of the early Jewish context, were replaced by more neutral readings in G. Thus the angel’s command to Baruch before the beginning of their ascent: “Be silent” (1:3S), an order with ambiguous message, is replaced with “understand” (σύνεξ) in G:

And behold, as I was weeping and saying such things, I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me, “*Understand*, O human being, beloved man...” (1:3G)

Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐν τῷ κλαίειν με καὶ λέγειν τοιαῦτα, ὁρῶ ἄγγελον Κυρίου ἐλθόντα καὶ λέγοντά μοι Σύνεξ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἄνερ ἐπιθυμιῶν...

And behold, as I was weeping, and behold, an angel of the Lord appeared before me and told me, “*Be silent*, O his beloved man! ...” (1:3S)

и се плачѣху ми са и се ангелъ господень прѣдъста и рече ми оумльви мѣхоу желдннѣа кѣго

Cf. “I will not continue speaking” (1:7G) treated above. The Slavonic word as well as its biblical Hebrew and Greek equivalents דמך and σιγᾶν may mean both ‘be silent’ and ‘be still’. The call to silence may be interpreted in different ways: It may be an order to stop mourning. At the end of the vision Baruch has to ask for a special permission in order to weep for the sinners: “Order me, Lord, to weep on their behalf” (16:9S; probably not original). The identical God’s order “be silent” appears also in *T. Job* 33:1-2 (7:34-35) and means there “stop lamenting”: “And when Eliphaz had for a long time *cried and lamented*, while all the others joined him, so that the commotion was very great, I said to them, ‘*Be silent* and I will show you my throne, and the glory of its splendor’”. In *Vita* 41:1-42 the angel Michael orders Seth, whose request cannot be satisfied, in a very similar formula: “Seth, *O man of God*, do not weep” (cf. “Be silent, *O his beloved man*” of *3 Baruch*).

The rejection of mourning can have different motives. It may imply consolation, like an order to Jeremiah (Jer 31:16-17). Cf. *T. Job* 33:1-2 above and also “Be not weary, for when the day of trouble and heaviness comes, others will weep and be sorrowful, but you will be merry and have abundance” (*4 Ezra* 2:27). The call to be silent and the motif of silence are found frequently with the promise of the resurrection of the Temple. The exact wording may be found in *Zech* 2:16-17; *Hab* 2:20; *Zeph* 1:7.⁶⁶

In *3 Baruch*, which contains no promises of the restoration, only the subsequent vision may serve as a consolation. An examination of a comparable situa-

⁶⁶ Torresan 2003.

tion in the Christian tradition may be productive. Similarly to *3 Baruch*, the mourning over Jesus (the “temple of whose body” was destroyed; John 2:21) is interrupted by a revelation in John 20:11-17. In another Christian text referring to the same event the rationale to stop mourning is stated explicitly: “as they mourned and wept, the Lord showed himself unto them and said to them, ‘For whom do you weep? Weep no more, I am he whom you seek’” (Ethiopic *Ep. Apostles* 10), i.e., there is no real reason for a lament. The same logic may be in effect in *3 Baruch*: the mourning over the earthly Temple is interrupted by the vision of the heavenly Temple.

Moreover, there may be an additional link between the rejection of mourning and the scenes of the celestial ceremony of angelic service described in *3 Baruch*. The Oil Reward as the climax of the vision (ch. 15) may be regarded as a demonstrative breaking of the mourning rites,⁶⁷ which according to Jewish customs included abstinence from anointing (2 Sam 14:2; *b. Moed. Q.* 21a).

An order to cease weeping may also imply a call to stop provoking God by complaining about God’s decision to destroy Jerusalem, as in the next command below: “I became silent. And the angel told me: ‘Cease to provoke God’” (1:6G). R. Akiba was committed to rejoice despite the Destruction and objected to the sages’ urging him: “while our holy city lies in ruins, weep, do not laugh” (*Sifre Deut* 43). Cf. the Rabbinic principle: “a man must bless [God] for bad things as he blesses for good ones” (*m. Ber.* 9.5).⁶⁸ Ben Sira, although prescribing public mourning (“avoid not those who weep, but mourn with those who mourn”: Sir 7:34), calls for moderation in grief: “it will not help him [the deceased], but will harm you” (38:21; 17-23; cf. *Ps.-Phoc.* 97; *Syr. Men.* 458-467). Negative statements about sadness and excessive mourning are found in Rabbinic writings: God’s presence (Shekhina) does not descend into an atmosphere of sadness (*b. Shab.* 30b); there can be no sorrow in the presence of God (*b. Hag.* 5b); a man should not pray in a sorrowful mood (*b. Ber.* 31a). Cf. a Rabbinic interpretation of Jer 22:10 in *b. Moed Q.* 27b.

The silence may also, on the contrary, be part of a mourning setting (as, e.g., in Job 2:13). In *Jeremiah* and *Lamentation* it is connected to the mourning over the Temple (Jer 8:14; Lam 2:10; 3:28-29).

⁶⁷ For oil closely associated with joy see Ps 45:8; Prov 27:9. The same with wine, the moderate use of which is not opposed in ch. 4, while it fell out of use in certain circles mourning the Temple (*t. Sot.* 15.11).

⁶⁸ The saying is immediately followed by the prescription “not to act thoughtlessly against the eastern gate which is against the Holy of Holies”, which is exactly the location of Baruch’s lament.

In some of the fragments above, silence may indicate restraint from prayer or from mentioning God's name (as in Amos 6:10; 8:3) or from prophecy (as in Ezek 3:26: "I will make your tongue stick to the roof of your mouth so that you will *be silent* and unable to rebuke them"; cf. 23:21-22 and 24:25:27).⁶⁹ Cf. also Am 5:13. In some traditions, God, Metatron, and angels themselves weep and bewail the Destruction (Jer 13:17; *y. Ber.* 59a; *Pesiq. Rab.* 29.12; *Lam. Rab.* Intr. 24; etc.).

A call for silence might have some kind of cultic or ritual background (as it has probably in Zech 2:17 and Hab 2:20 above; cf. also Ps 62:1; *Ep. Arist.* 95; Rev 8:1; *T. Adam* 1.12; *m. Tamid* 5.1-6). Mary Dean-Otting supposes that it might be a reflection of Hellenistic mystery practices, where the silence is part of the ritual setting.⁷⁰ In the *Mithras Liturgy* 2.21-22 the initiate cries: "Silence, silence, silence, the sign of the living, incorruptible God".⁷¹ On the role of silence in initiations into the mysteries, see Plutarch, *De garrul.* 505-506; Hippolytus *Ref.* 5.8.39. Cf. *Ex. Rab.* 29 (end). Silence is also a symptom of trance during a revelation (cf. *Asc. Isa.* 6:10-12). Silence is an important part of the prayer experience, for both Greeks (Homer, *Iliad* 9.171; Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazusai* 295-97; Thucydides 6.32.1)⁷² and Jews (cf. 1 Sam 1:13 and the variety of terminology for "keeping silent" in the Pss 32:3; 37:7; 38:3, 13-14; 39:2; 65:2; etc.).⁷³ Cf. also the Georgian *Book of Adam* 6:1-2. In 3 *Baruch* this may be connected to the concept of angelic mediation, central to this book. First, the angel may order Baruch to stop direct communication with God. From this point on, Baruch speaks only to the *angelus interpretes*. Second, his silence may be a necessary condition to enable an angelic prayer offering in the climax of the vision (ch. 12-14), since angels cannot serve while the people of Israel communicate with God: "The voice of Jacob [here "people of Israel"], this is the voice that silences both celestial and terrestrial beings" (*Gen. Rab.* 65.21; cf. angelic silence connected to the prayer activity of humans in Rev 8:1; *T. Adam* 1:12 [esp. Syriac]; *b. Hag* 12b).⁷⁴

Gnostic writings are preoccupied with "silence" in various meanings. Besides the ideas of the deity as the "Silent One" and the Dyad of the Ineffable (Ἀπόρητον) and the Silence (Σιγήν: see Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.11.1; cf. *CH* 1.30; 31; 10.5), the pious must be silent in diverse senses (cf. *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth*;

⁶⁹ Cf. Wilson 1972.

⁷⁰ Mylonas 1961: 233; Dean-Otting 1984: 108-109.

⁷¹ Dietrich 1903: 6.2.21-22.

⁷² Mensching 1926: 13-21.

⁷³ Cf. Gillmayr-Bucher 2003; Spieckermann 2004.

⁷⁴ Cf. *Hekh. Rabbati* (ms Oxford 1531; #173). Cf. Bauckham 1993: 70-83.

Marsanes; Gospel of the Egyptians et pass.)⁷⁵ Here as in regard to the silent prayer, so also keeping silence on the mystical knowledge is mentioned.

Also in *3 Baruch* the command might have been understood as an order not to reveal the vision to others or at least not to divulge “mysteries” to “uninitiated”. Apocalyptic mysteries are supposed to be kept (*1 En.* 9:6; 10:6; 16:3-4; 65:6; 69:15; *Apoc. Abr.* 14:4; *T. Jud* 16:4; *T. Job* 8:19; 2 Cor 12:4) or to be shared only with the chosen (*1 En.* 65:11; *4 Ezra* 8:62; 12:36-38); cf. *Odes Sol.* 8:10; *Gen. Rab.* 50.9; 68.12; 78.2; etc.), or shared only *partim* (*4 Ezra* 14:26; 14:44-46). Similar statements were made by Philo (cf. *Sacr.* 15.60; *Cher.* 14.48). The further advantages of silence are discussed by Philo several times, e.g., in *Somn.* 40; *Mut.* 42. The Rabbis also limit the audience for some kinds of sacral knowledge (cf. *m. Hag.* 2.1; *y. Abod. Zar.* 2.8.41d)

The claim for secrecy is rare but found also in Hekhalot literature, as in *Hekhalot Zutarti*, based upon Prov 25:2: “It is the Glory of God to keep a word secret’, – so that you will not be turned out of this world”. Evangelical Zechariah is also ordered to be silent by the angel Gabriel, although here as a punishment, a deprivation of an ability to share his revelation: “Be silent and unable to speak until the day when these things take place, because you did not believe my words, which will be fulfilled in their proper time” (Luke 1:20). Silence as a sign of penance was ordered to Eve by her husband in *Vita* 6:1.⁷⁶ However, the interpretation above would contradict 2:4 and 17:1S (if the latter verse is original), where Baruch *is* supposed to share his knowledge with “sons of men” without any limitation mentioned.

A very simple meaning of a call for attention is also possible, as in “be silent and listen” of Deut 27:9 or “teach me, and I will be silent”; “be silent before me so that I may speak”; “be silent, and let me speak”; “be silent, and I will teach you wisdom” of, respectfully, Job 6:24; 13:13; 33:31; and 33:33 (all of root שרר). Cf. *Poimandres* (CH 1.16). A general encomium on silence may be found in Prov 17:28; Sir 20:5; *Monostichs of Menander* 597; cf. *Syriac Menander* 311-313: “There exists nothing better than silence. Being silent is at all times a virtue.”⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Cf. Ignatius of Antiochia, probably influenced by Gnostics: “It is better for a man to be silent and be [a Christian], than to talk and not to be one”. “The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power”. “He who possesses the word of Jesus, is truly able to hear even his very silence, that he may be perfect, and may both act as he speaks, and be recognized by his silence” (*Eph.* 15). Cf. Chadwick 1950.

⁷⁶ Although there may be a special reason: “Let not a word go forth from your mouth since we are unworthy to ask of the Lord, since our lips are unclean from the illicit and forbidden Tree”.

⁷⁷ More on silence in the ancient world see Mensching 1926; Picard 1952; Casel 1919; Mortley 1973.

4.3.2. The following detail in the story of the Tower-builders, “stirring [the clay for bricks]” (ΜΑΤΑΪΜΙ, 3:5S), paralleled in Rabbinic account, is replaced with more neutral “making bricks” (πλινθεύειν) in G:

For they whom you see drove forth multitudes of both men and women to make bricks. Among them, one woman, who was making bricks at the time of her delivery, was not allowed to be released, but, *making bricks*, she gave birth and carried her child in a cloth, and made bricks [again] (3:5G)

Αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐς ὄρας ἐξέβαλλον πλήθη ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν εἰς τὸ πλινθεύειν. Ἐν οἷς μία γυνὴ πλινθεύουσα ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν οὐ συνεχωρήθη ἀπολυθῆναι, ἀλλὰ πλινθεύουσα ἔτεκεν· καὶ τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ λεντίῳ ἐβάσταζεν, καὶ ἐπλίνθευεν.

For at that time they drove forth a multitude of men and women to make bricks. Among them was one woman who was near to give birth, and they did not release her, but *stirring [the clay for bricks]* she gave birth, and having taken her cloak she wrapped her child, and left her child, and made bricks again (3:5S)

ТИ БО ВЪ ΥΑΣЪ ИЗΓЪНАША ΜΠΖΑ И ЖЕНЪ ΜΖ-
ножьство творити плитъи въ ниъже жена ие-
дина приближ са ии родити и не отъпоу-
стиша иеа нъ ματαΐμι роди и приемъши
окрилъ свои и обитъ отроуа и остави отроуа
свое и пакъи твораше плитъи.

Cf. μεταΐμι βαρῶ “stirring pitch” in the interpolation in family β. CS μαστι might reproduce Gk ταράσσω, which here may mean ‘stir’ or alternatively περιεργάζομαι ‘take more pain than enough’, ἀσχαλάω ‘be distressed’.⁷⁸ ‘Stirring’ would correspond to a very similar story, pertaining to brick-making (although during the Egyptian enslavement based on Exod 1:14) found in Tg. Ps.-Jon. Exod 24:10: “there were women *treading clay* with their husbands; a delicate young pregnant woman was also there, and made abortive and the embryo was *beaten down with the clay*”; cf. Pirqe R. El. 24; 48; Sefer HaYashar, Noah.⁷⁹

4.4. Omissions in G

Some passages in S, absent in G, but well integrated into early Jewish literature, might be original:

4.4.1. Among them there are entire fragments, such as the account on planting the Garden (4:7S) omitted from G due to homoeoarchon (cf. similar beginnings in 4:6S: и ρѣхъ азъ ва роуχъ къ ангелу покажи ми дрѣво еже прѣльсти а дама... and 4:8S: и ρѣхъ азъ ва роуχъ къ ангелу покажи ми дрѣво еже прѣльсти змиа а дама...). The omitted text is as follows:

And the angel told me, “When God made the Garden and commanded Michael to gather 200,003 angels to plant the Garden, Michael planted the olive and Gabriel, the apple; Uriel, the nut; Raphael, the quince; and Satanael, the vine. For at first his name in former

⁷⁸ See Miklosich 1862-1865: 393-394.

⁷⁹ Cf. Picard 1991: 30-35.

times was Satanael. And similarly all the angels planted the Garden in order” (и рече ми ангелъ ѿгда богъ сътвори рай и повелъ михаилоу събрати дъвѣ сътѣ тѣишци и триє ангелъи да насадатъ рай и възсиди миханълъ маслинѣ а гаврилъ авлаанъ оуриалъ орѣхъ рафаниалъ кидоние а сатанаилъ лозѣ. то бо ѿмоу бѣ прьвое имя по испадении же на рече са такожде сатанаилъ. и такоже вси ангели насадиша по чиноу рай: 4:7S).

The account of the angelic planting of Eden in S, although absent in G, shows evident connections to the rest of the narrative and is deeply rooted in Jewish lore as witnessed by other texts from the period.

The number and the list of angels show dependence on early traditions. Four angels of Presence appear in *I En.* 9:1 (Michael, Gabriel, Suriel, and Uriel; while the corresponding Aramaic text of 4QEn^a 1.4.6 has Michael, [Sariel/Uriel?], Raphael, and Gabriel); 40:8-9; 54:6 (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel); 71:8, 9 and 12 (Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel); 1QM 9.12-16 (Michael, [Gabriel], Sariel, and Raphael); 1QNoah 2.4 ([Michael, Uriel/Sariel?, Ra]phael, and Gabriel); cf. *Life of Adam and Eve* (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel in *Vita* 56:1; Michael, Gabriel and Uriel in *Apoc. Mos.* 40:2).

Mss of family β have Raphael and Phanuel (appears also in T:1) as the last two angels. Thus, this list conforms to *I En.* 40:8; 54:6. The list of the family α mss is typical for the Rabbinic tradition: an identical list appears in *Pesiq. R.* 44 and 46; *Pirqe R. El.* 4; *Num. Rab.* 2.10; *Midr. Pss* 17; 68. In *Abot R. Nat.* A 12 the first two names are interchanged.

Some mss have five angels instead of four (in addition to Satanael): mss S and Z insert one more angel before Satanael: Sarasael (ms S; Rasael in ms Z); he appears again in 4:15.⁸⁰ Five angels appeared to Hagar (*Gen. Rab.* 45.7; 75.4; *Exod. Rab.* 3.16; *Tan. B.* 2.10); five “ministering angels” helped R. Hanina (*Cant. Rab.* 1.4); five angels of destruction are mentioned in *Deut. Rab.* 3.11; *Eccl. Rab.* 4.3; *Exod. Rab.* 41.7; 44.8; *Pirqe R. El.* 45; five angelic orders are known to *Derekh Erets* 2; *Midr. Kohen* 25; cf. “Five Helpers” and “Five Archons” of *Pistis Sophia* 1.1; 5.136 et pass., possibly connected to the universally known five planets scheme and possibly referring to the prooftext⁸¹ “five men of them that saw the king’s face” [מראי פני המלך] of 2 Kgs 25:19. Cf. “seven men of them that saw the king’s face” (Jer 52:25) and the more widespread motif of a team of seven angels.

The total number of named angels appearing in the main version of S throughout the whole book is seven: five planting angels (four angels and Satanael; 4:7S), Panuel (T:1S), and Sarasael (4:15S). The tradition of seven angels is attested in

⁸⁰ On a possible Uriel/Sariel/Phanuel connection, see Orlov 2004.

⁸¹ Here, a decontextualised fragment from the Bible used to support a post-biblical tradition, idea, etc.

Ezekiel (9:2; cf. also seven eyes in Zech 3:9; 4:10); *1 En.* 20; 81:5; 90:21-22; *T. Levi* 8; *Apoc. Mos.* 40:7; *Rev* 5:6; *Herm. Vis.* 3; *Sim.* 9; Origen, *Cels.* 6.30; *Pirqe R. El.* 4. Seven angelic orders are known to *1 En.* 61:10; *T. Levi* 3.

Thus, *3 Baruch* – like *1 Enoch*, *Apocalypse of Moses*, and *Revelation* – may reconcile two traditions: four (or five) angels of Presence and seven angels as heads of angelic orders. The latter number in the majority of mss includes Sata-nael; mss SZ add one more angel, probably in order to exclude Satanael from the seven. Similar combinations of the two numbers are known from other sources: a four plus three angelic team in *1 En.* 87:2; four Living Creatures of *Rev* 4:6-8 and seven spirits in 1:4; 4:5; the primary four of seven archons in Origen, *Cels.* 6.30 (Michael, Suriel, Raphael, Gabriel).

The story of angels planting Paradise is unique. It may have an implied biblical proof-text in Isa 51:16: “I sheltered you with the shadow of my hand, *planting the skies* [Heb לִנְטֵעַ שָׁמַיִם]” and possibly polemicize with anthropomorphic traditions like the one of *4 Ezra* 3:6 mentioning “the Garden which Your right hand planted”. The biblical verse also contains the idea of a protective shadowing, which is central in the account of the Sun Bird (*3 Bar.* 6-8). A remote echo of traditions standing behind *3 Baruch* may possibly be traced to Justin the Gnostic’s *Book of Baruch*, where angels are identified with the trees of Paradise, with angel Baruch being the Tree of Life, and Naas (from Hebrew נָחָשׁ “serpent”), the Tree of Knowledge (Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.21).

Another interesting parallel is mentioned by Orlov, who compares the account of *3 Baruch* to the description found in the *Book of Giants* from Qumran:

[...] Then two of them dreamed dreams, and the sleep of their eyes and come to [...] their dreams. And he said in the assembly of [his friends, the Nephilin, [...in] my dream; I have seen in this night [...] gardeners and they were watering [...] numerous roof[ts] issued from their trunk [...] I watched until tongues of fire from [...] all the water and the fire burned in all [...] Here is the end of the dream (4Q530 3-12)

and to its possible parallels, the late *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*⁸² and Manichean *Book of Giants*.⁸³ Orlov convincingly notices that “both accounts seem to have three similar events that follow one another in the same sequence: the planting of the garden, the destruction of the garden, and the escape of one tree from the destruction”.⁸⁴ The “Gardeners” of these sources might have been recognized as angelic (or fallen angelic) beings too.⁸⁵

⁸² Milik 1976: 325.

⁸³ Henning 1943: 52-74.

⁸⁴ Orlov 2003: 191.

⁸⁵ Stuckenbruck 1997: 114; and Orlov 2003: 190.

There are five trees planted in the Garden of Eden. According to Rabbinic law, five fruit trees (“and even of five different species” וַאֲפִילוֹ מִחֲמֵשֶׁת מִיָּנִין) are minimal for a legal definition of a “garden” (*m. Sot.* 8.2; cf. *b. Sot.* 43b).⁸⁶ There are more significant parallels to the motif of the Five Trees ignored in previous research. Our unique account may disclose a lost “mythological” background of the theological conceptions developed by Philo, Gnostics, and Manicheans. The same number of the Trees of Eden is known to Philo:

It is stated, “God planted a Paradise in Eden, towards the east; and there is placed the man whom he has made” [Gen 2:8]. Now, to think that it is here meant that God planted vines, or olive trees, or apple trees, or pomegranates, or any trees of such kinds, is mere incurable folly... For they [sacred oracles] say that in the Paradise there were plants in no respect similar to those which exist among us; but they speak [of plants] of Life, Immortality, Knowledge, Comprehension, [and] Concept of Understanding Good and Evil [ζωῆς, ἀθανασίας, εἰδήσεως, καταλήψεως, συνέσεως καλοῦ καὶ πονηροῦ φαντασίας] (Philo, *Plant.* 8-9 [32-36]; cf. *Quaest. Gen.* 1.6).⁸⁷

Gk συνέσεως φαντασία means rather “the concept of understanding” (or vice versa), than two different “plants” (as it is usually translated). In the latter case, there would be six plants. Whatever the number, the passage appears to be a polemic to the tradition behind 3 *Baruch*, which is defined as “incurable folly” (δυσθεράπευτος εὐήθεια). Even the list of species is similar: “vines, or olive trees, or apple trees, or pomegranates” (“pomegranate” appears in ms S).

The motif occurs most explicitly again in a Gnostic fragment from Deir al-Bala'izah⁸⁸ and in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*: “For there are five trees in Paradise for you. They do not change in summer or winter, and their leaves do not fall. Whoever knows them will not taste death” (19:3-4).⁸⁹ A hierarchy of aeons is called “Five Trees” in *Pistis Sophia* 1.1 and 10; 2.86; 3.95 et pass.; cf. also the *Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex* 4. Series of five, pentads, were especially popular among Manicheans.⁹⁰ Orlov finds a parallel to “Five Trees” in the fragments of the Manichean *Book of Giants*: “... evil-intentioned ... from where ... he came.

⁸⁶ Cf. also “five trees” on which Amorite kings were hanged (Josh 10:26). For alternative numbers, cf., e.g., twelve trees of Paradise in 4 *Ezra* 2:18; thirty kinds of trees, which Adam took with himself leaving Paradise (*Midr. Pss.* 104, 445).

⁸⁷ Cf. the righteous compared to trees: “they [mourners of Zion] might be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord” (Isa 61:3) and “those that be planted in the house of the Lord will flourish in the courts of our God” (Ps 92:13).

⁸⁸ See Kahle 1954: 1.437-477; Crum 1943.

⁸⁹ “Five members: mind, thought, reflection, consideration, reason of the mind”, reminding the Philo’s list, appear in another text ascribed to Thomas (*Acts Thom.* 27). On the “five trees” in the *Gospel of Thomas* and the pentads of Gnostics, see, e.g., Puech 1970.

⁹⁰ Reitzenstein 1978: 339-340.

The Misguided fail to recognize the five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, the five [kinds of] animals”.⁹¹ The Manichaean *Psalm Book* 161.17-29, introducing various pentads, opens with the statement: “For [five] are the trees that are in Paradise [...] in summer and winter” (cf. the wording of the *Gospel of Thomas* above). “Five Trees” along with “Five Glories from the Five Worlds” appear also in Theodore Bar Konai’s *Book of Scholia*.

The Trees of Paradise are identified as virtues in the continuation of the same fragment of Philo, a motif well developed in his works:

Therefore, we must suppose that the bounteous God plants in the soul, as it were, a *Paradise of virtues* [παράδεισον ἀρετῶν] and of the actions in accordance with them, which lead it to perfect happiness (*Plant.* 9.37)

The trees of virtue, which he plants in the soul. And these are the particular virtues, and the energies in accordance with them, and the good and successful actions, and the things which by the philosophers are called fitting. These are the plants of the Paradise (*Leg. All.* 1.17.56-57)

In the Divine Paradise all the plants possess soul and reason, bearing their fruit in the form of the virtues.... And by the Tree of Life he [Moses] was shadowing out the greatest of the virtues, namely, piety towards the gods, by means of which the soul is made immortal; and by the Tree which had the Knowledge of good and evil, he was intimating that wisdom and moderation, by means of which things, contrary in their nature to one another, are distinguished (*Opif.* 54.153-154)

“From every tree that is in the garden you may freely eat” [Gen 2:16]. He exhorts the soul of man to derive advantage not from one tree alone nor from one single virtue, but from all the virtues; for eating is a symbol of the nourishment of the soul, and the soul is nourished by the reception of good things, and by the doing of praiseworthy actions (*Leg. All.* 1.31.97)

Cf. also *Leg. All.* 1.31.97; *Gig.* 1.3; *Agr.* 4.17. Another case of botanic imagery that is unique in *3 Baruch* is the “virtues” of 12:5G. Whereas Philo allegorizes virtues as “trees”, in *3 Baruch* they are presented as “flowers”. As the trees were planted by four/five chief angels, so also the flowers (probably of these trees “bearing their fruit in the form of the virtues” apud *Opif.* 56.153) are brought by “angels over the principalities” (12:3), whose names and number are not designated. As there are four “good” trees, excluding the tree of Satanael, the convention of listing four basic virtues is found in both Hellenistic pagan and Jewish sources (the number is preserved even when the content varies). The cardinal “four virtues” of Plato (*Phaed.* 69c; *Rep.* 4.428; *Leg.* 631c) – wisdom (Gk φρόνησις or σοφία), courage (ἀνδρεία), moderation (σωφροσύνη), and justice (δικαιοσύνη) – became a universally known element of Greek ethics (especially

⁹¹ Henning 1943: 63; Orlov 2003: 194.

of Stoics), influencing Jewish thought as well. Cf. four virtues of righteousness: “moderation and prudence, justice and courage” (Wis 8:7) and almost identical lists in 2 Macc 1:18ff; 4 Macc 5:22; Philo, *Leg. All.* 1.19.71-72 (cf. *Prob.* 10; *Cher.* 2.12; *Quaest. Gen* 1.12; et al.). There are different lists of four: prayer, fasting, charity, and righteousness (Tob 12:8-10); “Let his Presence dwell only with the strong, the rich, the wise, and the humble” (*b. Ned.* 38a and par.; according to *m. Ab.* 4.1, strength corresponds to moderation, and richness to modesty; two other virtues are wisdom and respect).

4.4.2. There are also shorter passages that could be original, such as the following admonition by the angel to Baruch in the beginning of his ascent: “But tell me that you will neither add nor omit [anything] ... I will neither subtract nor add a word” (1:6-7S). Cf. both versions:

And when he had said these things to me, I became silent. And the angel told me: “Cease to provoke God, and I will show you other mysteries, greater than these.” And I Baruch said, “As the Lord God lives, if you show me, and I hear a word from you, I will not continue speaking. God shall add to me a judgment on the Day of Judgment, if I say more!” (1:6-7G)

Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν μοι, ἡσύχασα. Καὶ λέγει μοι ὁ ἄγγελος· Παῦσον τὸν θεὸν παροξύνειν, καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι ἄλλα μυστήρια τούτων μείζονα. Καὶ εἶπον ἐγὼ Βαρούχ· Ζῆ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐὰν ὑποδείξης μοι καὶ ἀκούσω παρά σου λόγον, οὐ μὴ προσθήσω ἔτι λαλήσαι· προσθήσει ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως κρίσιν ἐμοί, ἐὰν λαλήσω τοῦ λοιποῦ.

But tell me that you will neither add nor omit [anything] and I will tell you great mysteries which no man had seen. And I Baruch said to the angel, “As the Lord God lives, if you show me, and I hear, I will neither subtract nor add a word. If I do omit, the Lord shall add to me a judgment on the Day of Judgment!” (1:6-7S)

нѣ рѣци ми да ни приложиши ни оуложиши и сѣкажѣ ти таинзи мѣногѣи и хѣже не видѣ ѡловѣкѣ николиже. и рѣхѣ азъ баруухъ къ ангелу живѣ господѣ богѣ даще покажеши ми и слѣшѣх не трѣвоуѣх не приложѣ словесе единого даще оуложѣ то приложитѣ мѣнѣ господѣ въ дѣнь сѣдѣнѣи сѣдѣ

The motif and expression, well attested in early Jewish literature (Deut 4:2; 12:32; Eccl 3:14; *I En.* 104:11; *Ep. Arist.* 311; Rev 22:18; etc.) and known in the same wording also in other Slavonic documents,⁹² is absent in G. As Gaylord notes, CS *приложити* ‘add’ may mean also ‘change.’⁹³ Thus, an alternative interpretation would be: “I will neither subtract nor *change* a word. If I do omit, the Lord shall *change* my judgment on the Day of Judgment”. Harlow notices an irony: the composition containing these words has obviously reworked versions. He tries to settle the contradiction: “May 1:7b reflect the attitude of a copyist on

⁹² Gaylord 1983: 7.

⁹³ Ibid.

justifying the addition of material? The words ‘If I do omit...’ suggest that *omission* is the more grievous wrong”.⁹⁴ In fact, it might be an elliptic construction typical for the Bible: “If I do omit [“or add” – referring to 1:6], the Lord shall add...” The same inconsistency characterizes Josephus in the same words promising to retell the biblical narrative “neither adding nor omitting anything” (οὐδὲν προσθεῖς οὐδ’ αὖ παραλιπών), and constantly violating the promise (*Ant.* 1.17).

Another discrepancy in the same passage (which must refer to “simplifying readings” adduced above, rather than to omissions) must witness the same editorial process. In the angel’s warning to Baruch, “great mysteries” (ΤΑΙΗΝΖΙ ΜΖΗΟΓΖΙ) (1:6S), a term well attested in apocalyptic parallels, was replaced by “mysteries greater than these” (μυστήρια τούτων μείζονα) in G:

And when he had said these things to me, I became silent. And the angel told me: “Cease to provoke God, and I will show you other *mysteries, greater than these*”. (1:6G)

Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν μοι, ἤσυχασα. Καὶ λέγει μοι ὁ ἄγγελος· Παῦσον τὸν θεὸν παροξύνειν, καὶ ὑποδείξω σοι ἄλλα μυστήρια τούτων μείζονα.

But tell me that you will neither add or omit [anything] and I will tell you *great mysteries* which no man had seen. (1:6S)

НЗ РЪЦИ МИ ДА НИ ПРИЛОЖИШИ НИ ОУЛОЖИШИ И СЪКАЖЖ ТИ ТАΙΗΝΖΙ ΜΖΗΟΓΖΙ ΗΧΖЖЕ НЕ ВИДѢ ΥΛΟΒΉΚΖ ΝΙΚΟΛΗЖЕ.

The combination “great [or “many”] mysteries” (as in S here or similar to 2:6G, which has (“greater mysteries”) is known from *4 Ezra* in a very similar context: “the Most High has revealed many mysteries to you. For he has seen your righteous conduct, that you have sorrowed continually for your people, and mourned greatly over Zion” (10:38-39). “Many mysteries” (Lat *mysteria multa*) may in fact go back to “great mysteries” (Lat *multus* may render Heb כר with both meanings), cf. *Apoc. Mos.* 34:1, where Eve, witnessing an angelic liturgy, sees “two great and fearful mysteries [μεγάλα καὶ φοβερὰ μυστήρια] before the presence of God”. Philo uses mentions τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια “great mysteries” as distinct from τὰ μικρά μυστήρια “minor mysteries” (*Leg. All.* 3.33.100; *Cher.* 44.49; *Sacr.* 16.62). The terms might be borrowed from the language of the mystery cults.⁹⁵ Whereas minor mysteries present the indirect knowledge of God which may be achieved by practicing virtue/Law and learning of God’s creation and actions, Philo’s “great mysteries”, the direct knowledge of God, may be obtained only through revelation.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Harlow 1996: 40, n. 24.

⁹⁵ See Sandmel 1979: 143-145; Dean-Otting 1984: 103.

⁹⁶ Wolfson 1962: 1.47-48.

4.4.3. The phrase “as [the distance] from east to west” in the description of the thickness of the first heaven is omitted from G:

And the angel whose name is Phamael told me: “This door which you see is [the door] of heaven, and as great as is the distance from earth to heaven, so great also is its thickness, and the same is the width of the plain which you saw” (2:5G)

Καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἄγγελος, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Φαμαήλ· Ἡ θύρα αὕτη ἦν ὁρᾶς ἐστὶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ὅσον διαφέρει ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν καὶ τὸ πάχος αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὅσον πάλιν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τοῦ πεδίου μήκος οὗ εἶδας

Phanuel told me, “The doors which you saw, *as [the distance] from east to west*, so great is the thickness of heaven, as the distance from earth to heaven, so great is its width – the plain where we are standing” (2:5S)

ρεφε ми φανηилъ двѣри ѿже видѣ
 ѿлико отъ вѣстока и до запада
 толика ѿстѣ тлѣстога небесе ѿлико
 отъ земла до небесе толика ѿстѣ
 широта его поле идеже стоиаховѣ

Most previous translations emended the verse, inserting ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἕως νότου τοσοῦτον “from north to south, so great” after ἐστὶ. According to this emendation the verse must be: “and again as is [the distance] from north to south, so great is the width of the plain”.⁹⁷ Hartom prefers to read “from east to west” in place of “from north to south”, in accordance with the Hebrew idiom כרחק מזרח ממערב (as in Ps 103:12).⁹⁸ This comparison is used also in the same verse of S: “as [the distance] from east to west, so great is the thickness of heaven”. However, “from north to south” is also well attested (e.g., *Gen. Rab.* 8.1; 24.2). Moreover, any emendation seems unnecessary, since this reading of S, comparing “[the distance] from east to west” to the “distance from the earth to heaven”, finds a strikingly close parallel in the Rabbinic exegesis of Ps 103, in which the both dimensions are mentioned (cf. *b. Tamid* 32a):

What distance is longer, from heaven to earth or from east to west? Some said, “From east to west, because when the sun is at east or west, everyone can look at it, while when it is in the middle of the firmament, one cannot”. But the Sages said, “Both dimensions are equal, because it is said, ‘As heavens are high above earth,’ etc. ‘As east is far from west’ [כרחק מזרח ממערב: Pss 103:11 and 12]” (*b. Tamid* 32a).

This debate witnesses that the question was of scientific interest not only for our visionary. The Rabbinic text argues for the primacy of textual authority over empirical observations in addressing the matter. *3 Baruch* presents an additional methodology – the revelatory experience.

4.4.4. The heavenly birds dwelling in the third heaven are defined in S as the “pure birds:”

⁹⁷ Cf. Hughes 1913: 534.

⁹⁸ Hartom 1937: 412.

And the angel said, “Listen, Baruch! The plain that has in it the lake and other wonders [is the place] where the souls of the righteous come, when they assemble, living together choir by choir.” (10:5G)

Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος: Ἄκουσον, Βαρούχ: τὸ μὲν πεδῖον ἐστὶ τὸ περιέχον τὴν λίμνην καὶ ἄλλα θαυμαστὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὐπερ ἔρχονται αἱ ψυχὰὶ τῶν δικαίων ὅταν ὁμιλῶσι συνδιάγοντες χοροὶ χοροί.

And he told me, “There are pure birds praising God unceasingly day and night.” (10:5S)

и рече ми се сѣтъ пѣтица чистыи(зиди) днь и ноць хвалациа бога немалъгьно.

The image of “pure birds” appears only in S. On the implicit identification of the souls the righteous with birds see section 1.3.6. above.

Previously translated as “shining”,⁹⁹ CS $\iota\alpha\varsigma(\iota)\mu\zeta$ ‘clear, clean’ might render Gk καθαρός ‘pure’.¹⁰⁰ Gk ὄρνεον καθαρὸν renders Heb טהור טהרה of Deut 14:11 and Gk πετεινὸν καθαρὸν comes for Heb עוף טהור in Deut 14:20. This combination is rare in Greek and appears mainly in sources influenced by Jewish and Christian traditions,¹⁰¹ Heb pl. עופות טהורים for ritually clean birds is widely used in Rabbinic sources (*m. Makshir.* 6.3; *t. Ohal.* 12.3; *Hul.* 2.14; 8.11; *Kel.* 7.5; etc.). Philo considered clean birds to be of especially noble and pure nature comparable to that of celestial bodies (*Quaest. Gen.* 3.6). A subtext of a talmudic saying in *b. Sanh.* 108b that “the clean birds dwell with the righteous” may belong to the tradition presented in *3 Baruch*. A Rabbinic equivalent of the Phoenix, Ziz is also known as a “clean bird” fit for an eschatological banquet (זיז עוף טהור הוא: *Gen. Rab.* 19:4 and par.). The late account on the Hebrew tribes living behind the Sambation river probably preserves an echo of the tradition of a remote lake with “all species” (cf. 10:3G) of “pure birds” on it (see *Gen. Rabbati*, Vayetse).

4.4.5. The detail in the description of the great gates at the fifth heaven is found only in S:

And the gate was closed (11:2G)

Καὶ ἦν ἡ πύλη κεκλεισμένη

And he showed me large gates, and *names of men were written [on them]*, and they were closed (11:2S)

и показа ми врата велика и бѣхъ написана имена чловѣца и бѣхъ затворена

Family β explains: “And the angel told me: ‘The names of those, *who are to enter here*, are written here’”. So in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, where the names of

⁹⁹ Gaylord 1983: 111.

¹⁰⁰ Срезневский 1893-1903: 3.1668. Cf. *LPG*, 684-685.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Apollonius calling pigeons “pure birds of God” – ὄρνεα καθαρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ (*Apotelesmata* 1389.1).

the righteous are written on the gates as well (*Apoc. Paul* 19), the last formula alludes to “Who will ascend to the mountain of the Lord? ... He that has clean hands and a pure heart” (Ps 24:3).

The entrance to the Temple in Jerusalem also had inscriptions (in Greek and Latin), although referring to those who are *not* supposed to enter there (Gentiles: Philo, *Leg.* 31.212; Josephus, *Bell.* 5.193-94., cf. 6.124ff.; *Ant.* 15.417; *m. Mid.* 2.3).¹⁰² Similar warnings are attested also for pagan temples.¹⁰³ The names of those who are destined to be “delivered” are also written (although in a celestial book): “At that time your people will be delivered, everyone whose name is written in the book” (Dan 12:2).

The names here must be either of visionaries of a “higher rank” than Baruch, or rather of the righteous deserving eternal life in celestial resting places.¹⁰⁴ Thus, Baruch eventually stays outside, either since he is a “minor visionary”, or because he makes his ascent while he is alive. The latter explanation has two arguments in its favor: (1) It may be well integrated into the hypothesis of the developed conception of the afterlife contained in 3 *Baruch*, according to which the Birds can be understood as souls ascending to their resting places in a higher abode (ch. 10), and the Oil Reward can be interpreted as the gift of eternal life (ch. 12). (2) The only additional detail that we can learn about the forbidden realm guarded by Michael is its name: it must be “Kingdom” (S) or “Kingdom of Heaven” (G), of which Michael is a “key-holder” (Μιχαήλ ὁ κλειδοῦχος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν). The term “Kingdom of Heaven” is known from Ps 103:19; Dan 4:34; Matt 3:2, and elsewhere in different meanings including the abode of the righteous: “Many shall come from the east and the west and sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven” (Matt 8:11).

4.4.6. In 10:9 S states that all rains originate from the celestial lake, holding to the ancient tradition, whereas G exhibits compromises with Hellenistic science:

There is rain also from the sea, and from the waters upon earth, and this one; but that which produces the fruits is from here. Know, thus, from now on that from this comes what is called the dew of heaven.

All the water of the sea is salty, so that if it rained by the sea [water], a fruit would not grow on earth. But know [pl.] that clouds are from that lake and they rain. (10:9-10S)

¹⁰² Two such tablets were discovered and published by Clermont-Ganneau (1872) and Iliffe (1936). A similar proclamation was posted by Antiochus III on the gates of Jerusalem (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.145).

¹⁰³ See Bickerman 1947.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. “he [God] raised him up men called by name” (CD 2.9); “elect of Israel called by the name” (קריאי השם); *ibid.* 6:1).

(10:9-10G)

Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἄγγελος· Τὸ μὲν βρέχον ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὑδάτων καὶ τοῦτο ἔστιν· τὸ δὲ τὸ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐνεργοῦν ἐκ τούτου ἐστίν. Ἴσθι οὖν τοῦ λοιποῦ ὅτι ἐκ τούτου ἐστίν ὃ λέγεται δρόσος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

ВЪСІАКА БО ВОДА МОРЬСКАЯ СЛАНА ВЪЗІВАНІА
ДА ДІЦЕ БИ ОДЪЖДАЛЪ МОРЕМЪ НЕ БИ ПЛОДЪ
РАСАЪ НА ЗЕМЛИ. И ВЪДІТЕ ІАКО ОΥЪ ІΕΖΕΡΑ ТОГО
СЪТЪ И ОДЪЖДАІКЪ ОБЛАЦИ.

This might be a Mesopotamian idea that the rainwater is kept in special celestial reservoirs.¹⁰⁵ The idea of “heavenly waters” appears in Greek and Roman writings until relatively late times (from *War of Titans* 4 [apud Athenaeus 7.277D] to Ovid, *Fasti* 4.386). It is also found in the Bible (Gen 1:6-7; Job 38:37; Deut 28:12). Other meteorological elements are also stored in heaven (Jer 10:13; 51; 16; Ps 135:7; *1 En.* 41:3-4; 76; *2 En.* 3-6; *T. Levi* 3:2; *b. Hag.* 12b). Similar to our lake, the “upper water” (מים עליונים) of Rabbinic tradition was known as a source of the rain: “There is something like a box [קובה] in the firmament from which the rains issue” (*b. Taan.* 8b); “The upper water is suspended by the word,¹⁰⁶ and their fruit is rain water, as it is said, ‘the earth is sated from the fruit of your work’ [Ps 104:13]” (*b. Taan.* 10a). This water treasury was the objective of the Tower builders according to *b. Sanh.* 109a: “They said, ‘Let us build a tower, ascend to heaven, and cleave it with axes that its waters might gush forth’”. Some Church fathers also held to this biblical conception (Isidorus, *Nat.* 14.1-2).¹⁰⁷

However, the conception that heavenly water is that “which the clouds receive and rain upon earth” (*3 Bar.* 10:6) contradicted the new Hellenistic views (which must have become popular – as indicated by the expression “men say” in 10:8), according to which “the water that rains is from the sea” (10:8G), or more in detail, “clouds come down to the sea and take water and rain” (10:8S). The latter theory was known already to the Pre-Socratics:

The sea is the source of water and the source of wind; for neither would blasts of wind arise in the clouds and blow out from within them, except for the great sea, nor would the streams of rivers nor the rain-water in the sky exist but for the sea; but the great sea is the begetter of clouds and winds and rivers (Xenophanes, *Frag.* 11; *DK* 1.125, 20-23).

Aristotle even argues with the people “supposing that water, snow, and hail existed all along and were produced when the time came and not generated at all, as if the atmosphere brought each to hand out of its stock from time to time”

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *Enuma Elish* 4-5; see Jensen 1890: 5.344.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. “much water suspended” in the first heaven (*T. Levi* 2:7).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Hoffmann 1907: 5-13.

(*Meteor.* 2.9.). His water cycle is completely terrestrial (*ibid.* 1.3).¹⁰⁸ On the origin of clouds and rain see also Lucretius 6.495-523; Vitruvius 8.2.1-4; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 2.111; Isidorus, *Orig.* 13.7.1-2; 13.10.2-3; *Nat.* 32.1-2; 33.1-3.

The conflict between the traditional and new views is documented by the Rabbis. Here both sides resort to the textual authority of the Bible:

And from where does the earth drink? R. Eliezer and R. Yehoshua [disagreed]. R. Eliezer said, "From the waters of the Ocean, as it is written, 'But there went up a mist from the earth and watered, etc.' [והשקה הארץ מן יעלה ואיד] Gen 2:6." R. Yehoshua told him, "But are not the waters of the Ocean salty?" He [R. Eliezer] said, "They are sweetened in the clouds, as it is written, 'Which the clouds distil' [שחקים יזלו אשר] Job 36:28]. Where are they distilled? In the clouds [שחקים]. R. Yehoshua said, "[The earth drinks] from the upper waters [ממים העליונים], for it is written, 'And [the land] drinks water from the rain of heaven [מים תשתה השמים למטר] Deut 11:11). The clouds, however, mount up to heaven and receive them [the waters] as from the mouth of a bottle [כמפי הנוד], as it is written, 'They gather up rain into its cloud' [זוקו לאידו מטר] Job 36:27]? They distil it as from a sieve, not one drop touches another, as it is written, 'Distilling waters [from] the thick clouds' [השרת שחקים מים עבי שחקים] 2 Sam 22:12." Why are they [the clouds] called *shehaqim*? Resh Lakish said, 'Because they break up [*shohaqim*] the water [into drops].' R. Abba b. Kahana said, "They do this like the entrails of an animal." R. Yohanan and Resh Lakish [disagreed]. R. Yohanan said, "Clouds come from above, as it is written, 'And behold, with the clouds of heaven' [וארו עם ענני שמיא] Dan. 7:13). Resh Lakish said, 'Clouds come from below, as said, 'Who causes the vapors [clouds] to ascend from the end of the earth [מעלה נשיאים] מקצה הארץ Ps 135:7] (*Gen. Rab.* 13.10-11; cf. *Eccl. Rab.* 1.7; *b. Taan.* 9b)

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan agrees with the Aristotelian views of R. Eliezer and Resh Lakish:

And a cloud of glory descended from the Throne of glory, and was filled with waters from the Ocean, and afterward went up from earth, and gave rain to come down and water all the face of the ground (*Tg. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 2:6).

Cf. also *Gen. Rab.* 12.3 (R. Joseph: "though the rain falls from heaven, its creation is from the earth"); *b. Menah.* 69a; *b. Er.* 45b. The origin of clouds from the sea is especially obvious for Palestine, where rain clouds are often seen arising "from the west," that is, from the sea (1 Kgs 18:44; Luke 12:54; 2 Bar. 53:1).

The idea of salt water distilled in clouds (as in *Genesis Rabba* above) was known already to Hippocrates (who provides the first detailed description of the theory of rain):

Rain waters, then, are the lightest, the sweetest, the thinnest, and the clearest; for originally the sun raises and attracts the thinnest and lightest part of the water, as is obvious from the

¹⁰⁸ Cf. also a theory of a cyclical hydrosystem represented in Eccl 1:7: "All the rivers run into the sea, but the sea never overflows. To the sources from which the rivers come, there they flow to run again".

nature of salts; for the saltish part is left behind owing to its thickness and weight, and forms salts (Hippocrates, *Aer.* 8).

The editor of the Greek version of 3 *Baruch* aims to harmonize the traditional doctrines of heavenly waters with new Hellenistic meteorological science. He solves this problem in a creative way: resorting to a traditionally known Jewish dichotomy of productive and non-productive waters, he claims that both doctrines are right, since there are three kinds of rain: “There is rain also from the sea, and from the waters upon earth, and this one; but that which produces the fruits is from here” (10:9G). The idea that only rain water is productive might have been derived from Gen 2:5: “And no shrub of the field was yet in the earth, and no plant of the field had yet sprouted, for the Lord God had not sent rain upon the earth”. Cf. “R. Hiyya taught: In both places [Eden and earth] nothing grew until rain descended upon them” (*Gen. Rab.* 13.1). The problem of productive (or masculine waters from heaven) vs. unproductive (or feminine waters from the abyss) irrigation is widely known in early Jewish science:

And in those days the punishment will come from the Lord of Spirits, and he will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth. And all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine, and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine (*I En.* 54:7-8)

Cf. *t. Taan.* 1.4; *y. Taan.* 1.64b; *b. Taan.* 6b; *y. Ber.* 9.14a; *Gen. Rab.* 13.14; 32.7; *Pirqe R. El.* 5; 23. Ginzberg suggests that the whole idea of sexual dichotomy of waters must go back to the Babylonian conception of Apsu and Tiamat.¹⁰⁹ However, the development of this concept into the belief that only rain water can be productive, plausible in Palestine with agriculture based on rain watering, could hardly be applied to the irrigation cultures of Mesopotamia or Egypt.

Rains of blessing were believed to come only from the south (*Pesiq. R.* 46; *Pirqe R. El.* 1; *Num. Rab.* 2.10). Some believed that the rains from the “Good Treasury” (טוב אוצר) ceased to exist after the Destruction (*b. B. Bat.* 25b), so Baruch’s vision could have been intended to prove the opposite.

In S there is no trace of an attempt to compromise between the two schools: “The race of men is mistaken ... know [pl.] that clouds are from that lake and they rain” (10:9S). Not only its position, but even its argumentation are identical to R. Yehoshua’s: “All the water of the sea is salty, so that if it rained by the sea [water], a fruit would not grow on earth” (*Gen. Rab.* 13.10 cited above).

Both S and even compromising G reject the Greek idea of the closed water circle. Rain water or at least some of it (as in G) is constantly added from a heav-

¹⁰⁹ Ginzberg 1909-1938: 5.182.

only store. This makes it necessary to introduce a mechanism for getting rid of the superfluous water, which is indeed enabled by the drinking Serpent of ch. 4-5, since “if Serpent did not drink one cubit from the sea [each day], there would be no dry land on earth” (4:5S, family β).

4.4.7. There are three features of Serpent-Hades found in S but absent in G that are paralleled in the Bible: (a) Serpent “eats earth like grass” (4:3S); (b) God “kindled its heart” (4:7S); (c) “Hades is insatiable” (5:3S). They could either be original or have been interpolated at any stage, similar to biblical citations and allusions in G.

(a) “And it drinks one cubit of water from the sea every day, and it eats earth like grass” (и съпиваеѣтъ лѣкъзѣтъ ѣдинѣтъ отѣ моря по всѣа дѣни и землѣѣ ѣако сѣно ѣаеѣтъ, 4:3S). “It eats earth like grass” (4:3S) according to the punishment of the serpent in Gen 3:14. Cf. also “the serpent’s food is earth” (Isa 65:25; the same in Mic 7:17; Philo, *Opif.* 56.157). In both *Genesis* and *Isaiah* the Greek text of LXX contains the word $\gamma\eta\varsigma$ ‘earth’ (CS землиѣ) in place of Heb עפר ‘dust’. This characteristic may link our cosmic Serpent to the “serpent that deceived Adam and Eve” (4:8S; cf. 9:7), also appearing only in S. This feature contrasts with the Phoenix that feeds on “the manna of heaven” (6:11). Similarly, Philo likens “the lover of pleasure” who “does not feed on the heavenly food” to the serpent that “takes clumps of earth as food” (*Opif.* 56.157-158). In S, the Serpent eats earth instead of sinners. Thus in S, its extra-ecological functions are only hinted at in 5:2, where the Serpent or its belly is called “Hades”. Ugaritic Mot eats both humans as well as earth (CTA 4.7.47-52; see 3.2 above), thus combining characteristics of the Serpent in G and S.

“Grass” here may also mean ‘stubble’ (CS сѣно has the both meanings). The discrepancy between G and S might go back to a simile of eating sinners *like* stubble, alluding to Exod 15:7: “your Fury will eat them like stubble”.

(b) “He [“God” in mss BT] kindled his heart” (рѣждѣеѣтъ сѣрдѣѣѣѣ, 4:5S). Family β has “God has kindled the belly [instead of “heart”] of the serpent.” The motif appears only in S. Eating and fire are connected (cf. “eating fire” of Deut 4:14). The images of fiery serpents as well as the fire of the netherworld are both well known and sometimes combined. The huge serpent Khet, named by Horus “Great fire,” breathes fire in the faces of human souls tormented in a fiery lake (Egyptian *Book of the Gates*). Cf. Leviathan of Job 41:13, 23 and *b. B. Bat.* 75a. Sinners will be “burned by the fire of Azazel’s tongue” (*Apoc. Abr.* 31:5), while

Azazel appears as a serpent in *Apoc. Abr.* 23. Impure and unbelievers are drawn to the belly of Ur, the Mandaean fiery serpent of the underworld.¹¹⁰

However, nothing is said here about the burning of sinners. The text explicitly states that the Serpent's heart/belly is inflamed only in order to make him drink. "Eternal fire" for the sinners is mentioned in 4:16G below, but this verse is most probably an interpolation. The idea of destruction of the wicked souls in Hades is, nevertheless, implicit here and is developed in an explanatory expansion of G (4:3-5G; see above).

(c) "And the angel told me, 'Hades is insatiable. As far as 255 [?] of lead come, so great is its belly'" (и рече ми ангелъ адъ есть несъитъи елико ѿ: и ѿ: и ѿ: несъковни волова приноситъ са толико есть ѿрево его, 5:3S). "Hades is insatiable" only according to S. This is a biblical citation: "Sheol ["Hades" in LXX] and Abaddon are insatiable" (Prov 27:20). Cf. Habakkuk's parable of the "arrogant man, who made wide his soul as Sheol [Hades], and who is insatiable as Death" (Hab 2:5).

4.5. Some mss of S give angels names closer to their Semitic forms. Thus S has "Panuel", going back to Gk *Πανουηλ, Heb פנואל, instead of Phamael (Φαμαηλ: 2:5) in G. In 4:7S mss S and Z have Sarazael (сарсаиъ, Gk *Σαρ Ραζαιλ, Heb *שר רזאל) and Rasael (расаиъ, Gk *Ρασαιλ).

The first form is found in the description of the Baruch's guiding angel and in the story of the Tree of Knowledge: "A revelation of Baruch when angel Panuel [пануиъ] was sent to him by the command of the Lord on the holy mount Zion ..." (T:1S; so mss SN versus Phanuel in ms L, angel Rafael in mss TB, and omission in mss PVIDG.); "Phanuel [фануиъ] told me, 'The doors which you saw...'" (2:5S; so family β versus Phanael in ms L; G has Phamael Φαμαηλ here). Cf. also CS Nopael/Koupael (нопаиъ/коупаиъ) of mss SZ in S 4:7 (as a variant to Uriel), which may also go back to a corrupted Panuel (пануиъ).

The reading of mss SN in T:1S is less widely attested and is closer to the Semitic form (פנואל). The variants of L and of 2:5S are widely known, and thus may reflect emendation. The same development of the form Panuel to Phanuel occurs in LXX Judg 8:8-9 and in *Conf.* 26, where Philo names the Tower of

¹¹⁰ Drower 1962: 253; Dean-Otting 1984: 124-127. For fiery Hell see Isa 66:24; Ezek 38:22; Mal 4:1; 4 Macc 9:9; 12:12; *1 En.* 10:6; 18:11-16, 19; 21:1-6; 54:1-2, 6; 63:14; 90:21-25; 90:26-27; 91:9; 98:3; 100:9; 102:1; 103:8; *Jub.* 9:15; *Pss. Sol.* 15:4-5; *2 Bar.* 44:15; 48:39; 59:2; *4 Ezra* 7:36; 13:10-11; *Apoc. Abr.* 31:5; *Sib. Or.* 2:303-305; 3:53-54, 672-74; 4:159-61; *T. Zeb.* 10:3; *T. Jud.* 25:3; *Jos. Asen.* 12:11; 1QS 2.8, 15; 1QpHab 10.5, 13; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.20; Matt 3:10, 12; 13:42, 50; 18:8; 25:41; Mark 9:43; Luke 1:7; 3:9, 17; 2 Pet 3:10; Rev 19:20; 20:10; *Gen. Rab.* 4; *Mek.* 20; *b. Er.* 19a; *b. Pes.* 54a.; *b. Hag.* 15b etc.

Babel “Phanuel” based upon Judg 8. Panuel is called “angel of host(s)/power(s)” (Gk ὁ ἄγγελος τῶν δυνάμεων, CS ΔΗΓΕΛΖ ΣΗΛΖΙ) in 1:8G; 2:1S; 2:6G; 10:1S; 11:1S and “archangel” in 10:1G (cf. “angels over the principalities” of 12:3). The name Phanuel appears in *1 Enoch* (40:9; 54:6; 71:8, 9, 13), where it substitutes for Uriel in the usual catalogue of the four chief angels (*1 En.* 9:1; *Apoc. Mos.* 43:1; *Pesiq. R.* 46; *Pirqe R. El.* 4; *Num. Rab.* 2, 10) and for Sariel of the *War Scroll* (1QM 9.12-16; in *Tg. Neof.* Gen 32:25-31 Jacob wrestles with Sariel). In mss of *3 Baruch* 4:7S, which also contain the list of four angels (Michael, Gabriel, Uriel/Phanuel, Raphael), both traditions – with Uriel and Phanuel – are represented. The name is most likely to be derived from Peniel/Penuel of Gen 32:30 (translated by LXX as εἶδος θεου, “Image of God”).

James has raised the possibility that Panuel/Phanuel/Phamael of *3 Baruch* is an early corruption of Ramael/Remiel (*Ραμηλ/Ραμαελ)¹¹¹ appearing in *2 Bar.* 55:3, 63:6 (Ⲕ,Ⲛⲓⲓ); Greek *1 En.* 20:8 (Ρεμειηλ); Syriac *4 Ezra* 4:36 (Ⲕ,Ⲛⲓⲓ, Latin has *Hieremihel*); one of the versions of *Sib. Or.* 2.215 (here he also belongs to a group of five, probably fallen, angels); *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:15 (Eremiel). In LXX (B) Chr 2:33 and *3 Ezra* 4:36 the name corresponds to Jeremiel/Jerahmiel. Both Ramael of *2 Baruch* and Panuel/Phanuel/Phamael of *3 Baruch* are defined as interpreting angels: “the angel who is set over true visions” (*2 Bar.* 55:3; cf. 63:6) and “the interpreter of the revelations” (*3 Bar.* 11:7G).¹¹²

The angel Sarasael (σαρασαήλ/σαρασαηλ) appears to Noah in 4:15. In 4:7S some mss have five “planting angels” instead of four (in addition to Satanael; on the typological numbers of angels in *3 Baruch* see section 4.4.1. above): mss S and Z insert one more angel before Satanael—Sarasael according to ms S or Rasael (ρασαελ) in ms Z. The name Sarasael has remained enigmatic for researchers, but a clue is in fact provided by ms Z. This unique name, appearing in both versions, must be the *scriptio continua* of Gk *σαρασαήλ — Heb *שר רזאל “Prince [a common Hebrew substitute for “angel”] Razael/Raziel”. Angelic revelation to Noah is known in *Jub.* 10:11-14, and in later Jewish mystic traditions Noah learns either from the angel Raziel or from the book given by Raziel to Adam.¹¹³

¹¹¹ James 1897: lvii.

¹¹² Both פנאל and רמאל (along with other angels) are listed as appointed on the northern gate of heaven in *Sefer HaRazim*.

¹¹³ *Sefer Raziel* 2a; 34a; *Sefer HaRazim*; Ginzberg 1909-1938: 1.154; 5.177. Cf. also a similar Saraquel (Sariel in Greek) in *1 En.* 20:6.

Conclusions

The data above show that even though each recension was reworked independently, the Greek version introduced the greatest number of changes. These modifications reflect a number of factors: (1) ideological editing (Christianization); (2) intertextual sophistication, integrating authoritative textual traditions (by means of citations and allusions from the Bible and NT) into the more laconic report witnessed by the Slavonic version; and, especially, (3) explanatory (targumic) expansions. The Greek version also omits important authentic fragments preserved in the Slavonic. The Slavonic version, by contrast, exhibits fewer signs of deliberate editorial interference. Even though it contains certain distortions, mainly textual corruptions and mistranslations, it shows that its Greek *Vorlage* was subject to less reworking than the extant Greek text and is thus a better witness for their common prototext and its early Jewish sources.

The Slavonic translation from Greek, though belonging to a later stage of linguistic transmission and to a less authoritative tradition, thus preserves a version more authentic than the extant Greek text. The present work is no more than a single case study. However, together with other observations, including a typology of Biblical translations and retroversion successfully applied to other texts in the Slavonic pseudepigraphic corpus, it adds a critical argument in favor of the reliability of the Slavonic evidence for early Jewish literature.

ABBREVIATIONS

Qumran

- 1QM – War Scroll
- 1QNoah – 1QBook of Noah
- 1QpHab – Peshar Habakkuk
- 1QS – Rule of the Community
- 4QD^f – Damascus Document
- 4QEn^a – 4QEnoch^a ar
- 4QShirShabb – Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice
- 4Q530 – 4QBook of Giants^b ar
- CD – Cairo Genizah copy of the *Damascus Document*

OT apocrypha and pseudepigrapha

- 1 En. – 1 Enoch
- 2 En. – 2 Enoch
- 3 En. – 3 Enoch
- 2 Bar. – 2 Baruch
- 3 Bar. – 3 Baruch

Apoc. Abr. – Apocalypse of Abraham
 Apoc. Ezra – Apocalypse of Ezra
 Apoc. Mos. – Apocalypse of Moses
 Apoc. Zeph. – Apocalypse of Zephaniah
 Asc. Isa. – Ascension of Isaiah
 Hist. Rech. – History of Rechabites
 Jos. Asen. – Joseph and Aseneth
 Jub. – Jubilees
 Odes Sol. – Odes of Solomon
 Pr. Azar. – Prayer of Azaria
 Pr. Jac. – Prayer of Jacob
 Pr. Jos. – Prayer of Joseph
 Ps.-Phoc. – Pseudo-Phocylides
 Pss. Sol. – Psalms of Solomon
 Sib. Or. – Sibylline Oracles
 Syr. Men. – Syriac Menander
 T. Abr. – Testament of Abraham
 T. Adam – Testament of Adam
 T. Jac. – Testament of Jacob
 T. Job – Testament of Job
 T. Jud – Testament of Jude
 T. Levi – Testament of Levi
 T. Zeb. – Testament of Zebulon
 Vis. Ezra – Vision of Ezra
 Vita – Vita Aadae et Evae

Hellenistic Jewish literature

Ep. Arist. – Letter of Aristeas
 Josephus
 Ant. – Antiquitates judaicae
 Bell. – Bellum judaicum
 Philo
 Cher. – De cherubim
 Conf. – De confusione linguarum
 Leg. All. – Legum allegoriae
 Mut. – De mutatione nominum
 Opif. – De opificio mundi
 Plant. – De plantatione
 Praem. – De praemiis et poenis
 Prob. – Quod omnis probus liber sit
 Prov. – De providentia
 QG – Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin
 Sacr. – De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini
 Spec. Leg. – De specialibus legibus
 Somn. – De somniis

Rabbinic literature

m. – Mishnah

Ab. – Avot
 Ber. – Berakhot
 Bik. – Bikkurim
 Hag. – Hagigah
 Makshir. – Makhshirin
 Mid. – Middot
 Sot. – Sotah

t. – Tosephta

Hul. – Hullin
 Kel. – Kelim
 Ohal. – Ohalot
 Sanh. – Sanhedrin
 Sot. – Sotah
 Taan. – Ta'anit

b. – Babylonian Talmud

Ber. – Berakhot
 Er. – Eruvin
 Hag. – Hagigah
 Hor. – Horayot
 Ketub. – Ketubbot
 Menah. – Menahot
 Moed. Q. – Mo'ed Qatan
 Pes. – Pesachim
 Rosh HaSh. – Rosh Ha-Shanah
 Sanh. – Sanhedrin
 Shab. – Shabbat
 Sot. – Sotah
 Taan. – Ta'anit
 B. Bat. – Bava Batra

y. – Jerusalem Talmud

Abod. Zar. – Avodah Zarah
 Ber. – Berakhot
 Moed. Q. – Mo'ed Qatan
 Yebam. – Yevamot
 Shab. – Shabbat
 Taan. – Ta'anit

Abot R. Nat. – Avot de Rabbi Nathan

Cant. Rab. – Canticles Rabbah

Deut. Rab. – Deuteronomy Rabbah

Eccl. Rab. – Ecclesiastes Rabbah

Exod. Rab. – Exodus Rabbah

Gen. Rab. – Genesis Rabbah
 Gen. Rabbati – Genesis Rabbati
 Hekh. Zutarti – Hekhaloth Zutarti
 Lam. Rab. – Lamentations Rabba
 Lev. Rab. – Leviticus Rabba
 Mek. – Mekilta
 Midr. Konen – Midrash Konen
 Midr. Pss. – Midrash Psalms
 Num. Rab. – Numbers Rabba
 Pesiq. R. – Pesiqta Rabbati
 Pesiq. Rab. Kah. – Pesiqta de Rab Kahana
 Pirqe R. El. – Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer
 Sifre Deut. – Sifre Deuteronomy
 Tanh. – Tanhuma
 Tan. B. – Tanhuma (ed. Buber)
 Tg. Neb. – Targum of the Prophets
 Tg. Neof. – Targum Neofiti
 Tg. Ps.-Jon. – Targum Pseudo-Jonathan

Christian and Gnostic literature

Acts Thom. – Acts of Thomas
 Apoc. Paul – Apocalypse of Paul
 Ep. Apostles – Epistula Apostolorum
 Eusebius, Pr. Ev. – Praeparatio evangelica
 Gos. Nicod. – Gospel of Nicodemus
 Gos. Philip – Gospel of Philip
 Gos. Thom – Gospel of Thomas
 Gos. Truth – Gospel of Truth
 Hyp. Arch. – Hypostasis of the Archons
 Herm. – Shepherd of Hermas
 Sim. – Similitudes
 Vis. – Vision
 Hippolytus, Ref. – Refutatio omnium haeresium
 Ignatius
 Trall. – To the Trallians
 Phld. – To the Philadelphians
 Eph. – To the Ephesians
 Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. – Adversus haereses
 Origen, Cels. – Contra Celsum
 Isidorus
 Nat. – De natura rerum
 Orig. – Origines

Classical literature

Apollod. – Pseudo-Apollodorus. *Bibliotheca*
 Aristophanes, *Lys.* – *Lysistrata*

Aristotle, Meteor. – Meteorologica
 Aristid. – Aelius Aristides
 Or. – Orationes
 CH – Corpus Hermeticum
 Cicero
 Rep. – De republica
 Tusc. – Tusculanae disputationes
 Ver. – In Verrem
 Eustath. *ad Hom.* – Eustathius of Thessalonica, *ad Homerum*
 Hesiod, Theog. – Theogonia
 Hippocrates, Aer. – De aera, aquis, locis
 Homer
 Od. – Odyssea
 Il. – Ilias
 Pindar, Ol. Od. – Olympionikai
 Plato
 Leg. – Leges
 Phaedr. – Phaedrus
 Phaed. – Phaedo
 Rep. – Respublica
 Tim. – Timaeus
 Pliny, Hist. Nat. – Historia Naturalis
 Plutarch
 Rom. – Romulus
 De garrul. – De garrulitate

Varia

ANET – Pritchard, J.B., *Ancient Near Eastern texts relating to the Old Testament* (3rd ed., Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969, 1992).
CT – Faulkner, Raymond Oliver. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 3 vols. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1973-1978.
DK – Diels, H., and Kranz, W. (eds.), *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. 3 vols (6th ed., Berlin: Weidmann, 1952).
IG – Gaertringen, F. Hiller von et al., *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1913.
Syll – Dittenberger, Wilhelm. *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*. Leipzig: S. Hirzelium, 1915-24.
TS 14th cent. – Книга Бытия по рук. Троицко-Серг. лавры XIV в., Книга Исход по рук. Троицко-Серг. лавры XIV в.

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