

# THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH OR III BARUCH

## INTRODUCTION

### § 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

UNTIL the end of the last century this apocalypse was unknown. Its existence was surmised from a passage in Origen (*de Princip.* ii. 3. 6), 'Denique etiam Baruch prophetae librum in assertionis huius testimonium vocant, quod ibi de septem mundis vel caelis evidentius indicatur.' About 1896 the Rev. E. C. Butler, O.S.B., drew the attention of Dr. M. R. James to a manuscript in the British Museum of a Greek apocalypse which answered in part to Origen's description. It contains an account not of seven heavens but of five, but the conclusion is evidently incomplete, and the existence of other heavens is implied. This text was edited and published by Dr. James in 1897. A Slavonic version of the book had been known previously, and was published in the *Starine*, vol. xviii, pp. 205-9, by Novakovic in 1886. This version, however, is less complete than the Greek, and mentions only two heavens.

Neither the Greek nor the Slavonic represents more than a condensation of the original.

In its present form the work is a composite production, belonging to the second century A. D. The Jewish original has been worked over by a Christian redactor, whose purpose it is to sound a note of stern warning to the unconverted Jews, and also to instil into the minds of Christians the need of patience and forbearance in dealing with them (see § 8 below).

### § 2. THE TITLE.

There are two superscriptions to the book. The first begins Διήγησις καὶ ἀποκάλυψις Βαρούχ κτλ.; the second Ἀποκάλυψις Βαρούχ κτλ. Dr. James names it *Apocalypsis Baruchi Tertia Graece*, and it is referred to as 3 Baruch in this edition.

### § 3. THE MSS.

The only known Greek manuscript of this apocalypse is that numbered Add. 10073 in the British Museum, which contains in addition several other works and fragments. It is a minuscule MS. on Italian paper, of the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Slavonic text published by Novakovic was found in a manuscript which possibly dates from the sixteenth century. This version is more abridged than the Greek. The main points of contact and difference between the two versions are indicated in the notes.

### § 4. RELATION TO OTHER BARUCH LITERATURE.

1. *The apocryphal book of Baruch* (1 Baruch). There is no point of contact between this book and 3 Baruch save that both raise the problem of the sufferings of Israel (cf. 1 Bar. iii. 1-8 and 3 Bar. i).

2. *The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch* (2 Baruch). There are several similarities of expression in this apocalypse and our text. They are indicated in the notes. The parallelisms are not so close as to imply the necessary dependence of our apocalypse upon the Syriac. In 2 Baruch lxxvi. 3, Baruch is promised certain cosmical revelations, but the book contains no record that the promise was fulfilled. It has been contended that 3 Baruch was written to supply the deficiency in 2 Baruch. Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyclopaedia*) holds it to be questionable whether the author of 3 Baruch used 2 Baruch, and thinks that 2 Bar. lxxvi. 3 makes against rather than for such a supposition. 'The assumption is untenable that the Gk. apoc. was written to show the actual fulfilment of the promise. The critical point in the Syr. apoc. lies in this chapter, when Baruch before leaving the earth obtains a full survey of it, that he may see what he is leaving, and whither he is going. This idea is based upon an opinion held by Akiba b. Joseph (*Sifre Num.* 136) and others, that God allowed not only



### III BARUCH

Moses, but other favoured pious men, to behold before their death the whole world and all the mysteries of nature. Now if the Gk. apoc. was complementary to the Syriac, the author of the former would not have failed to join his story of Baruch's passage through the heavens to that of his last act on earth.

3. *The Rest of the Words of Baruch* (4 Baruch). In the Christian interpolation as to the vine in 3 Bar. iv occurs τὸ πικρὸν τούτου μεταβληθήσεται εἰς γλυκύ, which recalls τὰ γλυκέα ὕδατα ἀλμυρὰ γενήσονται in 4 Bar. ix. 16. But this cannot be held to be a very close parallelism. In ch. xi of our apocalypse Michael is called ὁ κλειδοῦχος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν and in 4 Bar. ix. 5 (Aeth.) he is described as the archangel who holds open the gates of righteousness until the righteous enter in. The closest references to 4 Baruch in 3 Baruch are in the superscription, in which mention is made of the long sleep of Abimelech in the Garden of Agrippa (cf. 4 Bar. iii. 9-v. 30). But it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that the superscription is a later addition, especially as it is in the third person, whereas ch. i is in the first.

#### § 5. RELATION TO OTHER APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.

1. *Slavonic Enoch*. There is a very close connexion between 2 Enoch xi-xv and 3 Bar. vi-ix. In each case there is a reference to the chariot of the sun and of the moon, the attendant angels, the renewing of the sun's crown. 2 En. contains the only reference in literature to the existence of more than one phoenix at a time, and associates with them other birds called chalkydri. In 3 Baruch there is only one phoenix, and it, in language like that of the birds in 2 En. xv. 1 f., sings 'Light-giver, give to the world radiance.'

2. *Apoc. Pauli*. The reference to the defilement of the sun by the unrighteousness of men (3 Bar. viii) finds a parallel in *Apoc. Pauli* 4 'Multum etenim sol quidem, luminare magnum, interpellavit dominum dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego prospicio super impietates et iniusticias hominum: permitte me et faciam eis (quae) sunt virtutes meae, ut cognoscant quia tu es solus deus. Et facta est vox ad eum dicens: Haec omnia noui; oculus enim meus uidit et auris audit, sed paciencia mea sustinet eos, dum ad usque conuertentes peniteantur. Sin uero non reuertuntur ad me omnes ego iudicabo.'

Chs. xii and xiii of our apoc. find a close parallel in chs. 7-10 of *Apoc. Pauli* (see note below under ch. xii). James thinks it likely that *Apoc. Pauli* is a *pasticcio* of a rather late date. The relation of the two books to each other is not clear. It is not likely that 3 Baruch has been altered to bring it into conformity with *Apoc. Pauli*, for as we shall endeavour to show (see § 8 below), the three classes of angels with their respectively full, half-full, and empty baskets were essential to the purpose of the Christian redactor. It is not improbable that the motive which induced him to work over this apocalypse to give it a Christian form is to be found in the didactic use he could make of this incident. Either then the passage in *Apoc. Pauli* is derived from 3 Baruch, or both are taken from a common source.

3. A few points of contact with the *Story of Zosimas* (*Apoc. Anecdota* 1) are indicated in the notes. They are not such as to imply necessary dependence.

#### § 6. COMPOSITE NATURE OF THE TEXT.

The framework of this apocalypse is characteristically Jewish. The story that the vine was the forbidden tree, the cosmic revelations, showing kinship with the Enoch literature, and the angelology—all mark it out as a work of Jewish origin. The hand of a Christian redactor can be traced in certain interpolations. In ch. iv a long passage is introduced to reconcile the story that the vine was the forbidden tree with the use of wine in the Eucharist. This section is full of Christian phrases (see notes). The Editor's influence is most evident in the concluding chapters (xi-xvii). The original conclusion is missing from our text, and these chapters probably represent a somewhat drastic treatment of the groundwork. It is probable that we have to deal here not merely with interpolations, but with a partial reconstruction of the text. So far as possible the influence of the redactor is indicated in the notes.

James attributes the lists of sins in chs. iv, viii, xiii to Christian influence, and compares them with Matt. xv. 19 and Gal. v. 21 (cf. also Rom. i. 29-31). It may of course be so, but it is not a necessary assumption. The lists are by no means the same. Our apocalypse does not reproduce the order of either Matt. or Paul, and it omits some of the sins enumerated by them. It must be admitted, however, that all included in the lists of 3 Baruch occur in some form in the Pauline Epistles (except *μαρτεία*). But on the other hand it must be remembered that such lists were part of the stock-in-trade of the Jewish, and indeed of other ancient writers. *The Tests of the Twelve Patri-*



## INTRODUCTION

*archs* speak of spirits of πορνείας, ἀπληστείας, γαστρον, μάχης, ἀρεσκείας καὶ μαγγανείας, ὑπερηφανείας, ψεύδους, ἀδικίας (T. Reub. iii. 3-6); τοῦ ζήλου καὶ τῆς ἀλαζονείας (T. Dan. i. 6); τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ φθόνου (T. Sim. iii. 1); τοῦ θυμοῦ (T. Dan. ii. 4); ἐπιθυμίας, πυρώσεως, ἀσωτίας, αἰσχροκερδίας (T. Jud. xvi. 1). There are also similar lists in Wisd. xiv. 25 f. αἷμα καὶ φόνος, κλοπή καὶ δόλος, φθορά, ἀπιστία, ταραχος, ἐπιπορκία . . . μοιχεία καὶ ἀσέλγεια; and in 2 En. x. 4, sodomy, witchcraft, enchantments, devilish magic, stealing, lying, calumnies, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, and murder.

Deissman (*Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 320 ff.) contends that the Primitive Christian lists of virtues and vices were based on Jewish and pagan series. He refers to counters used in an ancient game, which have been discovered, upon which are inscribed a large number of popular names of vices and virtues. 'Although we have not yet recovered all the counters necessary for the game . . . the parallels with St. Paul strike us immediately. Take for instance the list of vices in 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10. With the exception of "covetous", which is rather colourless, and "idolaters", which is not to be expected in a pagan list, all these will be found substantially word for word on the counters.' He also points to some striking parallels between the lists in St. Paul and Plautus.

### § 7. THE AUTHOR.

Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyc.*) is of opinion that the author was a Jewish Gnostic of the beginning of the second century, 'when gnosis was at its height both among Jews and Christians'. He bases his view upon the mediatorial functions ascribed to Michael and his angels, and upon the traces of Greek and Oriental mythology found in the Apocalypse. But it is difficult to discern Gnostic influences in the teaching as to mediation, since it shows little advance on Tobit and T. Levi (see § 10 below, and note on ch. xii). But if there is not sufficient evidence to show that the author was a Gnostic, it is clear that his Judaism was tempered by a Hellenic-Oriental syncretism.

### § 8. THE CHRISTIAN REDACTOR.

Apart from the interpolation as to the vine, the hand of the Christian redactor is most evident in the concluding chapters. It is said of the men committed to the charge of the angels who bring empty baskets, that they will not enter the Church, nor among spiritual fathers (ch. xiii); they are to be 'provoked against a people that is no people, a people that has no understanding'; they are 'despisers of God's commandments, and insolent towards the priests who proclaim God's words to them' (ch. xvi). The Slavonic says: 'They do not gather together in the church of God for the sake of prayer, and instead of prayer they bring cursings.' It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that in each case the reference is to the Jews. Their provocation 'against a people that is no people' when read in the light of Rom. x. 19 can only refer to the anger of the Jews against the Gentile Christians. To whom is the phrase 'instead of prayer they bring cursings' so applicable as to the Jews?

4 Baruch like 3 Baruch seems to be in part at any rate a Jewish work recast by a Christian editor. According to Dr. Rendel Harris the former was issued in its present form soon after A.D. 136 as an eirenicon to the synagogue after Hadrian's edict banishing the Jews from Jerusalem. It was in effect an invitation to the Jews to evade that edict by submitting to baptism and joining the church, since the edict did not apply to Christians. According to Dr. Harris the book reflects a conflict between the old school of Jews and the Gentile Christians for the possession of the intermediate party, the Judaeo-Christians of various types. 'What makes one a little more confident in this interpretation that it was an appeal on the part of the Gentile Christians, or at least of the Gentilizing Christians to the more conservative, half-convinced among their Jewish brethren, is that we find from the account that some undecided people in the middle ground came part way to Jerusalem, and then returned; and that on their returning to Babylon they were received with an intimation that as they had secretly departed from them, they would not be received again; Babylon would have none of them. This, according to the story, leads to the formation of a new colony which is derisively called Samaria. Now this is not difficult of interpretation, if we imagine that there were those who had gone so far from Judaism as to provoke an edict against their being received again into ecclesiastical fellowship, and yet had not come so near to Christianity as to be able to pass the baptismal standards. In this case, then, one result of the Hadrian edict is the formation of a new Ebionite movement in Palestine. This exactly agrees with the statements of Epiphanius and Jerome as to the origin of Ebionism; they attempted to be both Jews and Christians, and ended by being neither' (*Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 15).

There were therefore three parties in the writer's mind, the Jews who stubbornly resisted the Gospel, the middle party of waverers, and the Christians. It seems to me that the same parties are reflected in 3 Baruch. The angels with the full baskets represent the Christians (ch. xii); those with



### III BARUCH

the half-full baskets the half-converted Jews (ch. xii); and those with the empty baskets the Jews who stubbornly resisted and opposed the Gospel (chs. xiii, xvi). Ch. xvi (especially in the Slavonic) exhorts the angels to be patient with Israel, and at the same time announces terrible judgements against the people if they continue unrepentant. The purpose of the Christian redactor was therefore to appeal to the church for patience and long-suffering in their endeavour to convert the Jews, and also to utter a note of stern warning to the Jews themselves.

#### § 9. THE DATE.

The limits within which our Apocalypse must have been written are, on the one hand, 2 Enoch (A.D. 1-50), of whose influence it bears traces, and, on the other hand, Origen, who describes it. If the reference to Abimelech's long sleep, in the superscription, occurred in the original, then it must be dated subsequent to 4 Baruch (A.D. 136). But as we have seen, it is possible that the superscription is a later addition. We shall probably not err in dating the original 3 Baruch near the beginning of the second century, especially as its syncretism harmonizes with the tendency of that age.

The data for determining the date of the Christian redaction are even fewer, for as the Apocalypse which Origen saw contained an account of seven heavens, the passage in *de Princip.* does not fix a *terminus ad quem* for our form of the text. But since (as shown in § 7 above), like 4 Baruch, its motive seems to be the conversion of Jews and Ebionites, it is probable that the same circumstances called it forth, and that it was written soon after A.D. 136. The suggestion may be hazarded that the superscription referring to Abimelech was added by the Christian redactor as a result of his acquaintance with 4 Baruch.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that πνευματικοὺς πατέρας and ἱερεῖς, as applied to a Christian minister, are undoubtedly later expressions, but it is possible that a later editor or scribe is responsible for them.

#### § 10. THEOLOGY OF THE BOOK.

1. *The Seven Heavens.* Traces of the belief in a plurality of heavens are to be found in the O.T. (Deut. x. 14, 1 Kings viii. 27, Ps. cxlviii. 4), and more clearly in the N.T. (2 Cor. xii. 2, Eph. i. 3, 20, ii. 6, iii. 10, vi. 12; Heb. iv. 14, vii. 26). The conception is found in Babylonian, Parsee, and Greek thought, as well as in apocalyptic and Rabbinic literature. It also appears in early Christian writings. The subject is treated at length in its relation to Greek, Oriental, Jewish, and Christian literature in Charles's *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (pp. xxx-xlvii), and by Salmond in Hastings' *D. B.* (ii. 321-3). It will suffice here to indicate the teaching of apocalyptic and Rabbinic literature on the subject.

*The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.* The account is found in T. Levi ii. 7-iii. 8, which contains several redactions of the original text. Charles is of opinion that the original description of three heavens has been transformed into a description of the seven.

*The First Heaven.* The waters above the firmament, and the treasures of fire, ice, and snow. It is a gloomy place and contains the instruments for the punishment of wicked men (a).

*The Second Heaven.* Characterized by brightness. Abode of the angels who are to destroy the hosts of Belial (a). Treasures of fire, snow, and ice (A a, β, A β, S<sup>1</sup>).

*The Third Heaven.* Angelic armies who are to destroy the hosts of Belial (β, A β, S<sup>1</sup>).

*The Fourth Heaven.* 'Thrones and dominions' who sing praise to God.

*The Fifth Heaven.* Angels who carry up men's prayers to the angels of the presence.

*The Sixth Heaven.* Archangels who make propitiation to God for the sins of men.

*The Seventh Heaven.* The abode of God.

2 *Enoch.*

*The First Heaven.* Great sea. Rulers of the stars. Treasures of snow, ice, clouds, and dew and their guardians (iii-vi).

*The Second Heaven.* Darkness. Imprisoned angels awaiting judgement (vii).

*The Third Heaven.* Paradise prepared for the righteous; and, on the north, Hell for the wicked (viii-x). Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 2-4.

*The Fourth Heaven.* Sun, moon, and attendant angels; phoenixes and chalkidri. An armed host of angels praising God (xi-xvii).

*The Fifth Heaven.* The Watchers whose brethren are imprisoned in the Second Heaven (A). Great hosts (B).

*The Sixth Heaven.* Seven bands of angels, set over the works of creation, and the souls of men (xix).



## INTRODUCTION

*The Seventh Heaven.* Abode of God and the archangels (xx).

*Ascension of Isaiah.* Sammael and his angels are located in the firmament. Then follow six heavens, each with a throne and angels increasing in glory with each successive heaven. Isaiah is transfigured as he ascends from heaven to heaven. The seventh heaven is the abode of God and all the righteous. Here too are stored the garments of the saints (vii-xi; cf. iv. 14 ff.).

3 *Baruch.*

*The First Heaven.* A plain. The builders of the Tower of Babel.

*The Second Heaven.* A plain. The designers of the Tower of Babel.

*The Third Heaven.* A great serpent. Hades. Sun, moon, and attendant angels. The Phoenix.

*The Fourth Heaven.* Plain. A pool. Birds (= souls of the righteous) singing praise to God.

*The Fifth Heaven.* Michael receives men's prayers from the angels. There is a suggestion of other heavens beyond.

*Chagigah* 12. The Seven Heavens are enumerated according to name.

*Vilon* serves no purpose whatever, save that it enters in the morning and goes forth in the evening, and renews every day the work of creation.

*Rakia* is that in which are set sun and moon, stars and constellations.

*Shechakim* is that in which the millstones stand, which grind manna for the righteous.

*Zbul* contains the heavenly Jerusalem and the Temple. The altar is built there, and Michael offers sacrifice upon it.

*Makhon* contains the treasures of hail, the high dwelling-place of harmful dews, the chamber of the whirlwind and of the storm, and the retreat of noisome vapour. And their doors are made of fire.

*Araboth* is that in which are righteousness, judgement, and grace; the treasures of life and peace and blessing; the souls of the righteous; the spirits and souls which are about to be created; and the dew with which the Holy One is about to quicken mortals. There are also celestials and seraphs, and holy beings and ministering angels, and the throne of glory and the King, the Living God.

2. *Doctrine of the Mediation of Angels.* Perhaps the most characteristic doctrinal feature of this Apoc. is its teaching as to the mediation of Angels (xi-xvii). There are traces of this doctrine in the O.T. (Gen. xvi. 7 ff., xxi. 17 ff., xxviii. 12). There was a great development in Israel's angelology in post-exilic days (Is. lxiii. 9, Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1). This was due to three causes: (a) Advancing ideas of the Divine transcendence, and a growing feeling against anthropomorphic conceptions of God. (b) 'A tendency to personify abstract conceptions such as the "spirit" of a nation, and a further tendency to locate these personified forces in the supersensible world, from whence they ruled the destinies of men' (Davidson). (c) The stimulus of contact with Persian thought. The seven archangels, e.g., are connected with the Zoroastrian Amesha Spentas. It is important to notice, however, that there is only one clear instance in the O.T. of angels interceding on behalf of men (Zech. i. 12). They are the messengers of God to man, not of man to God.

But the belief in the mediation of angels was not by any means universally accepted in post-exilic times. P never mentions angels, nor do they play a prominent part in the Apocrypha. Tobit, a book which bears evident marks of Persian influence, refers to the intercession of Raphael (iii. 16 f., xii. 12, 15). The mediation of a supernatural being is referred to in 2 Macc. xv. 12-15, but he is not called an angel. There is a marked dearth of references to angels in the other apocryphal books. In 4 Ezra (vii. 102 ff.) mediation of any kind is explicitly denied. It is only when we turn to the Pseudepigrapha that we find a highly developed doctrine of angels. Among the passages which explicitly teach angelic mediation are Eth. En. ix. 3 ff., xv. 2, xl. 6, xlvii. 2, xcix. 2, 16, civ. 1; T. Levi iii. 5; Test. Abraham xiv. The subject is treated at length in Oesterley, *Jewish Doctrines of Mediation*, pp. 37-44. See, too, notes below on chs. i, ii, xi, xii.

According to A. xxxiii. 8 the Sadducees denied the existence of angels. It is difficult to know how this is to be interpreted, since they received the written Scriptures. It may be, as Davidson suggests, that 'they interpreted the angelophanies of the written Scriptures received by them in a rational way as personified natural forces.' The Essenes held exaggerated doctrines on the subject. The Pharisees appear to have held a middle position, but it must be remembered that Pharisaism is a wide term, and that in all probability Eth. En. (in part), and the *Tests of the Twelve Patriarchs* emanated from Pharisaic circles.

The N.T. reflects the current angelology, but its whole tendency is opposed to the conception of the mediation of angels. This idea occurs, however, in Rev. viii. 3. Swete is of opinion that the reference is the same in Heb. i. 14.

The only advance in our Apocalypse is in the introduction of the three classes of angels, who



### III BARUCH

intercede for three classes of men. In other respects its doctrine does not differ from that of 1 Enoch, Tobit, and Test. Levi, and it cannot therefore be said that it marks an advance in the direction of Gnosticism. It is true that underlying 3 Baruch there is an advanced conception of the divine transcendence. At no point in the narrative is the veil that hides God lifted, and we are not permitted to behold even Michael's communion with Him. In 1 Macc. God is even more remote, for His transcendence is modified by no angelic mediation. Doctrines of the mediation of angels owed their origin in part to a feeling that such teaching was one-sided, and closed the door to communion with God. Gnosticism was an elaborate attempt to bring a transcendent God into some sort of touch with the world, through a hierarchy of mediators. But such teaching as appears in 3 Baruch does not go beyond beliefs that were current in some Jewish circles.

3. *The Fall.* The forbidden tree was the vine, which the angel Sammael planted (see notes below on ch. iv). As in Wisd. (ii. 24) and 2 En. (xxxi. 3) Adam's disobedience is due to the Devil, who is prompted by envy. Too much must not be deduced from a writer's silence, but it may be noted that 3 Baruch does not enumerate inherited depravity and death among the consequences of the Fall. Adam 'obtained condemnation, and was divested of the glory of God'. His descendants suffer in so far as they are participators in the same sin, and those which spring from it, 'the men who now drink insatiably . . . transgress worse than Adam, and are far from the glory of God, and are surrendering themselves to the eternal fire.' This is not unlike the teaching of 2 Baruch, 'Adam is therefore not the cause save only of his own soul, but each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul' (liv. 19).

#### § 11. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The Greek text is edited (with an introduction) by Dr. M. R. James in *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, vol. v, No. 1, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, iii, 1897. A German translation, with introduction and notes by Ryssel, is included in Kautzsch, *Die Apok. und Pseudep. des A. T.* ii. 446-57, 1900. The Slavonic version was published in the *Starine*, vol. xviii, pp. 205-9, 1886, and a German translation (with introduction) by Prof. Bonwetsch appeared in 1896 in the *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Heft i. An English translation of this version, by Mr. Morfill, appears in *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, v. 1.

The article of Ginzberg on this Apocalypse in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, and that of Zenos in *Hastings' D. C. and G.* (i. 86 f.), should be read.

# THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH OR III BARUCH

## Prologue.

- 1 A narrative and revelation of Baruch, concerning those ineffable things which he saw by command of God. Bless Thou, O Lord.
- 2 A revelation of Baruch, who stood upon the river † Gel † weeping over the captivity of
- 3 Jerusalem, when also Abimelech was preserved by the hand of God, at the farm of Agrippa. And he was sitting thus at the beautiful gates, where the Holy of holies lay.
- 1 Verily I Baruch was weeping in my mind and sorrowing on account of the people, and that
- 2 Nebuchadnezzar the king was permitted by God to destroy His city, saying: Lord, why didst Thou set on fire Thy vineyard, and lay it waste? Why didst Thou do this? And why, Lord, didst Thou not requite us with another chastisement, but didst deliver us to nations such as these, so that they
- 3 reproach us and say, Where is their God? And behold as I was weeping and saying such things, I saw an angel of the Lord coming and saying to me: Understand, O man, greatly beloved, and trouble not thyself so greatly concerning the salvation of Jerusalem, for thus saith the Lord God,
- 4 the Almighty. For He sent me before thee, to make known and to show to thee all (the things)
- 5, 6 of God. For thy prayer was heard before Him, and entered into the ears of the Lord God. And when he had said these things to me, I was silent. And the angel said to me: Cease to provoke
- 7 God, and I will show thee other mysteries, greater than these. And I Baruch said, As the Lord God liveth, if thou wilt show me, and I hear a word of thine, I will not continue to speak any longer.
- 8 God shall add to my judgement in the day of judgement, if I speak hereafter. And the angel of the powers said to me, Come, and I will show thee the mysteries of God.

PROLOGUE. 2. *Gel*. James suggests that Kedron is meant. 'Part of the word has gone and ΚΕΔ- has passed into ΓΕΑ-.' Cf. 2 Bar. v. 5; xxi. 1; xxxi. 2.

**Abimelech was preserved.** See 4 Bar. iii. 9-v. 30, where it is recorded that Abimelech fell asleep in the garden of Agrippa at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and did not awake for sixty-six years.

**the farm of Agrippa.** Rendel Harris (*Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 12) identifies this with the fertile valley below Solomon's Pools, known as Solomon's Gardens. See Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 7. 3, 'There was a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham, very pleasant it is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; thither did he (Solomon) use to go out in the morning.' Cf. Eccles. ii. 5 f.

**3. the beautiful gates.** Cf. 2 Bar. x. 5; also Josephus, *B. J.* v. 5. 3, 'There was one gate that was without [the inward court of] the holy house, which was of Corinthian brass, and greatly excelled those that were only covered with silver and gold.' Cf. Acts iii. 2.

**where the Holy of holies lay.** James holds that the words ὅπου ἔκειτο τὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια allude to the hiding of the sacred vessels (2 Macc. ii. 1-8; 2 Bar. vi. 7-10; 4 Bar. iii. 7 f.). It is better, however, to translate it as above. Cf. 2 Bar. xxxiv. 'I will . . . go unto the Holy of Holies to enquire of the Mighty One concerning you, and concerning Zion, if in some respect I should receive more illumination.'

1. 1. **sorrowing.** Ryssel (in Kautzsch) reads *πενθῶν* for ἔχων. Cf. 2 Bar. vi. 2; x. 5; xxxv. 1.

2. **Thy vineyard.** Cf. Isa. v. 1; 4 Ezra v. 23.

For similar laments cf. 1 Bar. iii. 1-8; Pss. Sol. vii. 1-3; 2 Bar. iii. 5 f.; v. 1; xiv. 5 f.; 4 Ezra iii. 28 f.; v. 28 f.

3. **O man, greatly beloved,** ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμῶν. The phrase occurs in Dan. x. 11 f. (Theodot.).

6. **other mysteries.** Either some previous revelations have dropped out, or, as James suggests, the phrase is an assimilation to the words of the angel in chapters ii and v.

7. **I will not continue to speak.** The Slavonic forbids Baruch to add a word to the revelation, but the context makes it clear that *προσθήσω* is here to be translated as above.

**the day of judgement.** ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως is not necessarily a Christian phrase. It occurs in T. Levi iii. 3; Pss. Sol. xv. 13; 1 Enoch (Giz. Gk.) x. 6; xxii. 11. See too Jub. iv. 19; 2 Enoch xxxix. 1; 4 Ezra vii. 102, 113; xii. 34 (*dies iudicii*). Ginzberg (*JE*) says that יוֹם הַדִּין is an expression which occurs more frequently in Rabbinic literature than in the N.T.

8. **angel of the powers.** This phrase occurs in 1 En. (G<sup>1</sup>) xx. 1; cf. 1 En. lxi. 10. Michael is called ἀρχιστράτηγος τῶν ἀνω δυνάμεων in Test. Abraham xiv. In 2 Thess. i. 7 we find ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως, which is taken by some to refer to the angels set over the cosmic forces. There is a striking passage in Philo which seems to throw light on the subject. 'There is only one God, but this one God has about Him innumerable powers as helpers and saviours of all created existences. Among them are punitive powers. . . . By these powers the incorporeal intelligible world was built. . . . There is, moreover, in the air a high and holy choir of incorporeal souls in attendance upon the heavenly powers—angels as the prophetic Scriptures are accustomed to call them. . . . The King communes with His powers, and uses them as His servants, for the performance of such duties as are not appropriate to God Himself' (*De Confus. ling.* xxxiv). The six highest powers are Divine Logos, Creative Power, Sovereign Power, Mercy, Legislation, and Punitive Power (*De profugis*, xviii. See Pfeiderer, *Prim. Christianity*, iii. 41 f.). As Philo identifies



### III BARUCH 2. 1—3. 5

#### *The First Heaven.*

- 2<sup>1</sup> And he took me and led me where the firmament has been set fast, and where there was a river  
 2 which no one can cross, nor any strange breeze of all those which God created. And he took me  
 and led me to the first heaven, and showed me a door of great size. And he said to me, Let us enter  
 3 through it, and we entered as though borne on wings, a distance of about thirty days' journey. And  
 he showed me within the heaven a plain; and there were men dwelling thereon, with the faces of  
 4 oxen, and the horns of stags, and the feet of goats, and the haunches of lambs. And I Baruch asked  
 the angel, Make known to me, I pray thee, what is the thickness of the heaven in which we journeyed,  
 5 or what is its extent, or what is the plain, in order that I may also tell the sons of men? And the  
 angel whose name is †Phamael† said to me: This door which thou seest is the door of heaven, and  
 as great as is the distance from earth to heaven, so great also is its thickness; and again as great as  
 is the distance (from North to South, so great) is the length of the plain which thou didst see.  
 And again the angel of the powers said to me, Come, and I will show thee greater mysteries. But  
 6, 7 I said, I pray thee show me what are these men. And he said to me, These are they who built  
 the tower of strife against God, and the Lord banished them.

#### *The Second Heaven.*

- 3<sup>1</sup> And the angel of the Lord took me and led me to a second heaven. And he showed me there  
 2 also a door like the first and said, Let us enter through it. And we entered, being borne on wings  
 3 a distance of about sixty days' journey. And he showed me there also a plain, and it was full of  
 4 men, whose appearance was like that of dogs, and whose feet were like those of stags. And I asked  
 5 the angel: I pray thee, Lord, say to me who are these. And he said, These are they who gave

Michael and the Logos (*Quis rer. div. haeres*, xlii), it is probable that the Philonic powers correspond with the archangels.

Pfeiderer (*op. cit.*, p. 43) thinks that the six Philonic powers are ultimately derived from 'the six Amesha Spentas which surround the throne of Ahura Mazda, among whom the three chief are Vohu Mano, the Divine Logos; Asha Vahista, the Highest Righteousness; and Kshathra Vairya, the kingdom of Good-will—representatives, that is, of creative intelligence, power, and goodness, just as the highest Powers of Philo are.'

II. 1. where the firmament has been set fast. Cf. 1 En. xviii. 5; xxxiii. 2.

a river. According to James this river is the Ocean (Apoc. Pauli xxi; xxxi; Test. Abr. B viii; 1 En. xvii. 5 f.). But Ginzberg (*JE*) holds that it is מַיִם הַעֲלִיִּיִם (the upper waters), and quotes in support Gen. R. iv. 3 and Chag. 15 a.

no one can cross. Cf. Zos. ii οὐ δύνασαι διελθεῖν δι' ἐμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ δύναται ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὰ ὑδρά μου διακόψαι . . . καὶ εἶπεν ἡ νεφέλη· Ζώσιμε . . . δι' ἐμοῦ οὐ διέρχεται πετεινὸν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, οὐδὲ πνοὴ ἀνέμου οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ἥλιος, οὐδὲ ὁ πειράζων ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ δύναται διελθεῖν δι' ἐμοῦ.

breeze. The above passage from Zos. makes it likely that πνοή is to be translated 'breeze' here, and not 'living creature' as in ch. viii, and in Ps. cl. 6 (LXX).

2. the first heaven. See Introd. § 10 (1).

a door. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 23; Rev. iv. 1. In 2 En. xiii. 8 the gates through which the sun goes forth are mentioned.

as though borne on wings. Cf. Zos. ii; 1 En. xiv. 8.

3. a plain. Cf. Zos. iii.

men . . . lambs. Ginzberg (*JE*) says this means they were transformed into demons (Sanh. 109 a). For this reason they are not in the place of torment, which is in the third heaven, but at the entrance to heaven (Chag. 16 a).

5. Phamael. This is corrupt. The Slavonic preserves the true reading 'Phaniel'. According to 1 En. xl, he is one of the four angels of the presence who stand on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits, Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phaniel. He is 'set over the repentance and hope of those who inherit eternal life'. But in 1 En. (Giz. Gk.) ix. 1 Uriel is mentioned in place of Phaniel. James thinks there is the bare possibility that he is to be identified with Ramiel, who appears in 1 En. (Giz. Gk.) xx. 7, and in 2 Bar. lv. 3 is described as presiding over true visions, which agrees with the description of Baruch's angel in 3 Bar. xi, as 'the interpreter of the revelations, to those who pass through life virtuously'. Ramiel is also mentioned in 4 Ezra iv. 36 (Lat. *Hieremihel*); and in Sib. Or. ii. 215–17 he is said to be one of the five angels who know all the evils that men have wrought, and 'shall from dark gloom then lead to judgement all the souls of men, before the judgement-seat of the great God immortal'. Ryssel points out that the form Eremiel appears in the Apoc. of Sophonias.

the distance from earth to heaven. Cf. Chag. 'And is not from the earth to the firmament a journey of five hundred years, and so too the interspace of the firmaments?'

(from . . . great). James supplies ἀπὸ βορρᾶ ἕως νότον, τοσοῦτον.

length of the plain. Cf. Apoc. Pauli 32.

7. James points out a parallel to this story in the *Book of Jasher* (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes*, ii. 1107 f.). There were three classes of builders. One said, 'Let us ascend and fight against heaven'; these were dispersed. The second said, 'Let us go up and set our gods in heaven'; these were changed into monkeys and baboons. The third said, 'Let us go up and smite heaven with our bows and arrows'; these slew each other.

III. 1. a second heaven. See Introd. § 10 (1).

5. gave counsel. Cf. Mark iii. 6, where συμβούλιον διδόναι = 'to take counsel'.



counsel to build the tower, for they whom thou seest drove forth multitudes of both men and women, to make bricks; among whom, a woman making bricks was not allowed to be released in the hour of child-birth, but brought forth while she was making bricks, and carried her child in her apron, and continued to make bricks. And the Lord appeared to them and confused their speech, when they had built the tower to the height of four hundred and sixty-three cubits. And they took a gimlet, and sought to pierce the heaven, saying, Let us see (whether) the heaven is made of clay, or of brass, or of iron. When God saw this He did not permit them, but smote them with blindness and confusion of speech, and rendered them as thou seest.

*The Third Heaven.*

4<sup>1</sup> And I Baruch said, Behold, Lord, Thou didst show me great and wonderful things; and now show me all things for the sake of the Lord. And the angel said to me, Come, let us proceed. (And I proceeded) with the angel from that place about one hundred and eighty-five days' journey. And he showed me a plain and a serpent, which appeared to be two hundred plethra in length. And he showed me Hades, and its appearance was dark and abominable. 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 spend their life wickedly, and he is nourished by them. And this is Hades, which itself also closely resembles him, in that it also drinks about a cubit from the sea, which does not sink at all. Baruch said, And how (does this happen)? And the angel said, Harken, the Lord God made three hundred and sixty rivers, of which the chief of all are Alphias, Abyrus, and the Gericus; and because of these the sea does not sink. And I said, I pray thee show me which is the tree which led Adam astray. And the angel said to me, It is the vine, which the angel Sammael planted, whereat the Lord God was angry, and He cursed him and his plant, while also on this account He did not permit Adam to touch it, and therefore

a woman . . . child-birth. Ginzberg (*JE*) refers to a similar Rabbinic legend about a woman in Egypt (Pirke R. El. xlviii).

IV. 2. let us proceed. There is no mention here of entry into a third heaven, and when the next heaven is entered in ch. x, the scribe has changed its number from fourth to third, as is evident from the fact that in ch. xi the fifth heaven is mentioned. At what point in the narrative is the entry made into the third heaven? In ch. vii the angel says to Baruch, 'All that I showed thee is in the first and second heaven, and in the third heaven the sun passes through, and gives light to the world.' It would harmonize with this to place the entry into the third heaven at the commencement of ch. vi. But against this is the fact that Hades (ch. iv) is usually located in the third heaven (cf. 2 En.). It seems best therefore to follow James in placing the transition here. It should be noted that the Slavonic account of the third heaven shows fewer signs of mutilation than the Greek.

3. a serpent. The relation of the dragon to Hades is not clear. Here they seem to be separate, but in ch. v they are united. The closest parallel is to be found in the *Pistis Sophia*, p. 319, which says 'caligo externa magnus δράκων est, cuius cauda in suo ore est extra κόσμον totum, et circumdat κόσμον totum'. There are said to be within this dragon twelve places of chastisement, where souls are tormented (James, p. lxi). The Slavonic reads 'So the angel took me to the light, a journey of thirty-two days, and showed me a great field; the mind of man could not comprehend it; and in that field there was a very great mountain, and on it lay a serpent as from the East to the West, and it bent down, drinking from the sea every day a cubit, and ate the earth like grass. And I Baruch said to the angel: My Lord, why does this serpent drink from the sea a cubit during the day, and how is it that the sea does not become scanty? And the angel said to me: Listen, Baruch, God made three hundred three and thirty great rivers . . . There are many other great rivers, and they all go into the sea, and the sea is filled. On account of this God made this serpent, and ordered it to drink of the sea a cubit a day, so that the sea should not increase nor diminish'.

4. this monster around him. *τὸς ὁ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπηνής*; James thinks this may be corrupt and that the dragon encircled Hades, and not vice versa.

5. Cf. Greek goblin *Eurynomus*.

6. which does not sink at all. Lit. 'and nothing is lacking from it'.

7. the Gericus. James suggests that Gericus = *γερικός* = the Ocean; but this is hardly likely in view of the fact that it is mentioned as one of the rivers which supply the sea. The Slavonic speaks of three hundred and thirty-three rivers, and mentions Aphia, Avaria, Agorenik, Dunav, Ephrat, Asavat, Zietnust, Ineus, Tigris.

8. the tree which led Adam astray. The transition is sudden, but there may be a hiatus in the narrative. Baruch is still in the third heaven where Paradise was placed, and by now the angel may have shown him it. In the Slavonic the story of the vine does not break into the description of the dragon, but comes after it.

the vine. For the conception of the vine as the forbidden tree cf. *Sanh.* 70a; *Gen. Rabb.* xix. 8. (See art. 'Vine', *JE*.) It is related of Shamdon (Asmodeus) that at the planting of the first vine by Noah, he helped with the work and said to Noah: 'I want to join in your labour and share with you; but take heed that I take not of your portion, lest I do you harm' (*Gen. R.* xxxvi. 3; see art. 'Demonology', *JE*). The story does not occur elsewhere in the exact form of that of the text.

the angel Sammael (i.e. *Σαμωήλ*). Greek *Σαμωήλ*. Slavonic reads 'Satanil' (cf. 2 En. xviii. 3, xxix. 4f., xxxi. 4). For Sammael cf. *Asc. of Isa.* i. 8 *et passim*. He was originally one of the chief archangels, but tempted Eve with a view to making the earth his kingdom. Thenceforth he is the chief of the Satans, the angel of death, and Israel's special foe (*v. Charles' Asc. of Isa.* p. 6. Cf. also *Deut. Rabb.* xi and *Pirk. R. El.* xiii, quoted in *JE*).

whereat. For *ὅτι* in text read *ὅτι*.



9 the devil being envious deceived him through his vine. [And I Baruch said, Since also the vine has been the cause of such great evil, and is under judgement of the curse of God, and *was* the  
10 destruction of the first created, how is it now so useful? And the angel said, Thou askest aright. When God caused the deluge upon earth, and destroyed all flesh, and four hundred and nine thousand giants, and the water rose fifteen cubits above the highest *mountains*, then the water entered into paradise and destroyed every flower; but it removed wholly without the bounds the shoot  
11 of the vine and cast it outside. And when the earth appeared out of the water, and Noah came out  
12 of the ark, he began to plant of the plants which he found. But he found also the shoot of the vine; and he took it, and was reasoning in himself, What then is it? And I came and spake to  
13 him the things concerning it. And he said, Shall I plant it, or what *shall I do*? Since Adam was destroyed because of it, let me not also meet with the anger of God because of it. And saying  
14 these things he prayed that God would reveal to him what he should do concerning it. And when he had completed the prayer *which lasted* forty days, and having besought many things and wept,  
15 he said: Lord, I entreat thee to reveal to me what I shall do concerning this plant. But God sent his angel Sarasaël, and said to him, Arise, Noah, and plant the shoot of the vine, for thus saith the Lord: Its bitterness shall be changed into sweetness, and its curse shall become a blessing, and that which is produced from it shall become the blood of God; and as through it the human race obtained condemnation, *so* again through Jesus Christ the Immanuel will they receive in Him the  
16 upward calling, and the entry into paradise]. Know therefore, O Baruch, that as Adam through this very tree obtained condemnation, and was divested of the glory of God, so also the men who now  
17 drink insatiably the wine which is begotten of it, transgress worse than Adam, and are far from the glory of God, and are surrendering themselves to the eternal fire. For (no) good comes through it. For those who drink it to surfeit do these things: neither does a brother pity *his* brother, nor a father *his* son, nor children *their* parents, but from the drinking of wine come all evils, such as murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, thefts, and such like. And nothing good is established by it.

5 1, 2 And I Baruch said to the angel, Let me ask thee one thing, Lord. Since thou didst say to me  
3 that the dragon drinks one cubit out of the sea, say to me also, how great is his belly? And the angel said, His belly is Hades; and as far as a plummet is thrown (by) three hundred men, so great is his belly. Come, then, that I may show thee also greater works than these.

6 1 And he took me and led me where the sun goes forth; and he showed me a chariot and four,  
2 under which burnt a fire, and in the chariot was sitting a man, wearing a crown of fire, (and) the chariot (was) drawn by forty angels. And behold a bird circling before the sun, *about* nine  
3 cubits away. And I said to the angel, What is this bird? And he said to me, This is the

the devil being envious. Cf. Wisd. ii. 24; 2 En. xxxi. 3.

9-15. The passage in brackets is clearly an interpolation by the Christian redactor, who felt it necessary to modify the condemnation of wine, on account of its use in the Eucharist.

15. Sarasaël. Perhaps to be identified with Saraqaël, 'one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits who sin in the spirit' (1 En. xx. 6).

bitterness . . . sweetness. Cf. 4 Bar. ix. 16 τὰ γλυκεία ὕδατα ἀλμυρὰ γενήσονται.

the blood of God. Cf. Acts xx. 28.

the upward calling. Cf. Phil. iii. 14.

16. drink. Text reads δρώντες. The emendation χρώντες will not do, as χρώμενοι is required. It is perhaps best (with Ryssel) to read πίνοντες.

are surrendering themselves. προξενούσιν.

17. (no). οὐ, which the sense clearly requires, has dropped out of the text.

drinking. For πώσεως in text read πόσεως (James).

murders, &c. Cf. Intro. § 6. See Matt. xv. 19; Gal. v. 21; Apoc. Pauli 6; Did. iii and v.

V. 3. His belly is Hades. Slavonic reads 'As great as is the bottom of hell, so great is his belly'.

(by). James translates 'a plummet of 300 men', but it seems best, with Ryssel, to insert ὑπό. The meaning is then, as far as a plummet can be thrown by the strength of 300 men.

VI. 1. where the sun goes forth. The courses of the sun and moon are placed in the fourth heaven in 2 En.

a chariot and four. Slavonic says that the horses were winged angels.

a crown of fire. This conception prevailed among the Greeks, as may be seen from the monuments. It occurs in Rabbinic lit. Cf. Pirk. R. El. vi; Num. R. xii. 4 (Ginzberg, JE).

drawn by forty angels. Cf. 2 En. xi. 4f.

2. about nine cubits away. Text reads ὡς ὅρει ἐννέα. James reads ὅρη for ὅρει, but that leaves the meaning obscure. It is possible that the original reading was ὡς δρεῦον, where δρεῦον is to be translated 'guard'. But there is very little support for the use of the word in this sense; LS only mentions Hesychius. Dr. J. H. Moulton has drawn my attention to the fact that in Petrie Papyri i, p. 78 ἑκαστος τῶν ὁρῶν is taken to be 'each of the watchers' by Mahaffy on Bury's suggestion, with the admission that the word exists nowhere else, except in its compounds. Perhaps it is best to adopt ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν ἐννέα from the Disputation of the Panagiotē, a very late document which is clearly based on our text (James, p. lxxv). I am indebted to Dr. Moulton for this suggestion.



- 4, 5 guardian of the earth. And I said, Lord, how is he the guardian of the earth? Teach me. And the angel said to me, This bird flies alongside of the sun, and expanding his wings receives its fiery rays. For if he were not receiving them, the human race would not be preserved, nor any other living creature. But God appointed this bird *thereto*. And he expanded his wings, and I saw on his right wing very large letters, *as large* as the space of a threshing-floor, the size of about four thousand modii; and the letters were of gold. And the angel said to me, Read them. And I read, and they ran thus: Neither earth nor heaven bring me forth, but wings of fire bring me forth. And I said, Lord, what is this bird, and what is his name? And the angel said to me, His name is called Phoenix. (And I said), And what does he eat? And he said to me, The manna of heaven and the dew of earth. And I said, Does the bird excrete? And he said to me, He excretes a worm, and the excrement of the worm is cinnamon, which kings and princes use. But wait and thou shalt see the glory of God. And while he was conversing *with me*, there was as a thunder-clap, and the place was shaken on which we were standing. And I asked the angel, My Lord, what is this sound? And the angel said to me, Even now the angels are opening the three hundred and sixty-five gates of heaven, and the light is being separated from the darkness. And a voice came which said, Light-giver, give to the world radiance. And when I heard the noise of the bird, I said, Lord, what is this noise? And he said, This is *the bird* who awakens from slumber the cocks upon earth. For as *men do through the mouth*, so also does the cock signify to those in the world, in his own speech. For the sun is made ready by the angels, and the cock crows.
- 7<sup>1, 2</sup> And I said, And where does the sun begin its labours, after the cock crows? And the angel said to me, Listen, Baruch: All things whatsoever I showed thee are in the first and second heaven, and in the third heaven the sun passes through and gives light to the world. But wait, and thou shalt see the glory of God. And while I was conversing with him, I saw the bird, and he appeared

4. *this bird*. Cf. 2 En. xii, xv, which speaks of several phoenixes. According to Jewish authorities, the Phoenix is referred to in Job xxix. 18. Charles (2 En. p. 12) mentions the following references to this bird among the Greeks and Romans: Herod. ii. 73; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28; Ovid, *Met.* xv. 392; Mart. *Epigr.* v. 7, 1; Stat. *Sylv.* ii. 4, 37; Plin. *N. H.* x. 2. There are also several references in patristic writers. According to Pliny (*N. H.* x. 2) there is only one phoenix at a time, who, at the close of his long life, builds himself a nest with twigs of cassia and frankincense on which he dies. From his corpse is generated a worm, which grows into a young phoenix. Pliny says that the young bird buries his father on the altar in the City of the Sun, but Tacitus (*Ann.* vi. 28) has it that he burns him there. There are traces of a similar tradition both in Egyptian and in Indian literature. A writer in the *Encyc. Brit.* thinks that the prototype of the phoenix is a bird called bennu, mentioned in the 'Book of the Dead', and other Egyptian texts. This bird was one of the sacred symbols of the worship of Heliopolis, and according to Wiedemann (*Ztsch. f. Aeg. Sprache*, xvi, p. 89f.) was a symbol of the rising sun, and is called 'self-generating', 'the soul of Ra', and 'the heart of the renewed sun'. Further, this writer points out that it is significant that both 'bennu' and *phoenix* mean 'palm-tree'. James mentions a parallel in Indian literature—the bird Gadura, who carried Aruna on his back, and placed him in front of the sun, where he acted as charioteer and screened the world from the sun's consuming rays (*Mahabharata Adi Parva* xvi-xxxiv, especially xxiv). In none of these references is the phoenix represented as the sun's daily companion. That tradition appears only in 2 En. text A (there is no reference to the phoenix in B), in 3 Bar., and in the Disputation of the Panagiotte.

7. *modii*. A modius = 200 *δργυιαί* (*δργυιαί* = the length of the outstretched arms, usually estimated at about 6 ft.).

8. *wings of fire*. Slavonic reads 'son of the Father', which is evidently due to Christian influence.

12. *a worm, &c.* In other accounts the worm develops into a new phoenix.

13. *the place was shaken*. Cf. Acts iv. 31; 4 Ezra vi. 29.

*the three hundred and sixty-five gates*. This is evidently intended to correspond with the number of days in the year. 2 En. speaks of twelve gates, six on the east and six on the west (chs. xiii, xiv). 1 En. says that there are twelve portals with twelve windows each to the right and left of each of them (ch. lxxii. 3, 7).

14. *Light-giver . . . radiance*. Cf. 2 En. xv. 1f. 'Then the elements of the sun called Phoenixes and Chalkidri break into song, therefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the command of the Lord. The giver of light comes to give brightness to the whole world.'

15. *the bird who awakens from slumber the cocks upon earth*. It is doubtful whether there is not here a confusion between the tradition of the phoenix and that of the heavenly cock. As a sun-bird the Greeks made the cock attend on Helios and Apollo. According to an Armenian tradition the heavenly cock first crows, and the angelic choirs begin their hymns of praise. These are heard by the cock on earth, who then awakens mankind, and himself lauds the Creator (Hastings, *Dic. R. & E.* iii. 694 ff.). Dr. J. H. Moulton has kindly drawn my attention to a passage in the *Vendidad, Farg.* xviii (*S. B. E.* iv, p. 193), where Sraosha, the angel who sets the world in motion, is likened to 'the bird named Parôdas [fore-seer] which ill-speaking people call Kahrkatâs, the bird that lifts up his voice against the holy dawn', and calls men to worship and firelighting, lest Bûshyasta, the long-handed demon of procrastination, come upon them.

16. *as men do through the mouth*. *ὡς γὰρ τὰ δίστομα* is difficult and probably corrupt. James conjectures that the meaning is 'For as articulate-speaking beings do, &c.', but admits there is no such usage of *δίστομος* elsewhere. I have adopted Ryssel's emendation *τὰ διὰ στόματος*, the *τά* being taken to represent *οἱ ἄνθρωποι* or something similar.

*the cock*. Cf. Ber. 60 b. 'Blessed be He Who has given the cock intelligence [to distinguish between day and night]. In the Fragments of the Apoc. of Adam (*Apoc. Anec.* i. 144) it is said that the cock crows when the seraphim clap their wings.

VII. 1. *begin its labours*. *ἀποσχολεῖται*.



- 4 in front, and grew less and less, and *at length* returned to his full size. And behind him I saw the shining sun, and the angels which draw it, and a crown upon its head, the sight of which we were  
5 not able to gaze upon, and behold. And as soon as the sun shone, the Phoenix also stretched out his wings. But I, when I beheld such great glory, was brought low with great fear, and I fled and  
6 hid in the wings of the angel. And the angel said to me, Fear not, Baruch, but wait and thou shalt also see their setting.
- 8 <sup>1</sup> And he took me and led me towards the west; and when the time of the setting came, I saw again the bird coming before *it*, and as soon as he came I saw the angels, and they lifted the crown  
2, 3 from its head. But the bird stood exhausted and with wings contracted. And beholding these things, I said, Lord, wherefore did they lift the crown from the head of the sun, and wherefore is  
4 the bird so exhausted? And the angel said to me, The crown of the sun, when it has run through the day—four angels take it, and bear it up to heaven, and renew it, because it and its rays have  
5 been defiled upon earth; moreover it is so renewed each day. And I Baruch said, Lord, and wherefore are its beams defiled upon earth? And the angel said to me, Because it beholds the lawlessness and unrighteousness of men, namely fornications, adulteries, thefts, extortions, idolatries, drunkenness, murders, strife, jealousies, evil-speakings, murmurings, whisperings, divinations, and such like, which are not well-pleasing to God. On account of these things is it defiled, and therefore is it renewed.  
6 But *thou askest* concerning the bird, how it is exhausted. Because by restraining the rays of the sun through the fire and burning heat of the whole day, it is exhausted thereby. For, as we said before, unless his wings were screening the rays of the sun, no living creature would be preserved.
- 9 <sup>1</sup> And they having retired, the night also fell, and at the same time *came* the chariot of the  
2 moon, along with the stars. And I Baruch said, Lord, show me it also, I beseech of thee, how  
3 it goes forth, where it departs, and in what form it moves along. And the angel said, Wait and thou shalt see it also shortly. And on the morrow I also saw it in the form of a woman, and sitting on a wheeled chariot. And there were before it oxen and lambs in the chariot, and a multitude of  
4 angels in like manner. And I said, Lord, what are the oxen and the lambs? And he said to me, They also are angels. And again I asked, Why is it that it at one time increases, but at another  
5 time decreases? And (he said to me), Listen, O Baruch: This which thou seest had been written  
6 by God beautiful as no other. And at the transgression of the first Adam, it was near to Sammael when he took the serpent as a garment. And it did not hide itself but increased, and God was  
7 angry with it, and afflicted it, and shortened its days. And I said, And how does it not also shine always, but only in the night? And the angel said, Listen: as in the presence of a king, the courtiers cannot speak freely, so the moon and the stars cannot shine in the presence of the sun; for the stars are always suspended, but they are screened by the sun, and the moon, although it is uninjured, is consumed by the heat of the sun.

3. grew less and less. The bird Gadura in *Mahabharata Adi Parva* (xxiv) diminishes its size.

4. which draw it. Lit. 'bearing along with it'.

6. their setting. i.e. of the sun and the Phoenix.

VIII. 1. before it. i.e. the sun.

2. exhausted. This is the meaning which the context demands for *τεταπεινωμένον*.

4. Cf. 2 En. xiv. 2 (B) 'When it goes out from the Western gates, four angels take the crown and carry it up to the Lord, and the sun turns its chariot, and goes out without light. And they put the crown on it again at the Eastern gates.' See also Eliyahu R. ii (Ginzberg, *JE*).

5. because it beholds. T. Levi iii. 1 says that the lowest heaven is dark because it beholds 'all the unrighteous deeds of men'. Cf. Lat. Apoc. Pauli 4 'Multum etenim sol quidem, luminare magnum, interpellavit dominum, dicens: Domine deus omnipotens, ego prospicio super impietates et iniusticias hominum'.

fornications, &c. Cf. Introd. § 6.

7. unless . . . no living creature would be preserved. The language is similar to that of Matt. xxiv. 22 and Mark xiii. 20, but that does not necessarily imply dependence. The writer has chosen the most natural form of words to express his idea.

IX. 1. they. The sun and the phoenix.

along with the stars. Text reads *καὶ ἅμα ταύτῃ καὶ μετὰ τῆς σελήνης καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀστέρων*. I have adopted Ryssel's emendation *καὶ ἅμα ταύτῃ, τὸ ἄρμα (ὅς ἢ ἄμαξα) τῆς σελήνης κτλ.*

3. Slavonic reads 'the moon is like a woman sitting on a chariot, and [like] oxen drawing her chariot are forty angels'. The idea of the chariot drawn by oxen and lambs is Greek.

7. shortened its days. The Slavonic attributes the fall of the moon to the fact that it laughed at the fall of Adam and Eve. R. Simeon b. Pazzi declared that at the time of the creation the moon was of the same size as the sun. The moon then objected that it would not be decorous for two kings to use one crown, whereupon God diminished her size (Hul. 60b; see art. 'Moon', *JE*). For other versions of the story see Shebuot 9a, and Gen. R. vi. 3 (Ginzberg *JE*).

8. shine . . . only in the night. Cf. Apoc. Mosis xxxvi.



*The Fourth Heaven.*

10 <sup>1</sup> And when I had learnt all these things from the archangel, he took and led me into a fourth  
<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> heaven. And I saw a monotonous plain, and in the middle of it a pool of water. And there were  
in it multitudes of birds of all kinds, but not like those here *on earth*. But I saw a crane *as great as*  
<sup>4</sup> great oxen; and all *the birds* were great beyond those in the world. And I asked the angel, What  
<sup>5</sup> is the plain, and what the pool, and what the multitudes of birds around it? And the angel said,  
Listen, Baruch: The plain which contains in it the pool and other wonders is *the place* where the  
<sup>6</sup> souls of the righteous come, when they hold converse, living together in choirs. But the water is  
<sup>7</sup> that which the clouds receive, and rain upon the earth, and the fruits increase. And I said again to  
the angel of the Lord, But *(what) are these birds?* And he said to me, They are those which  
<sup>8</sup> continually sing praise to the Lord. And I said, Lord, and how do men say that the water which  
<sup>9</sup> descends in rain is from the sea? And the angel said, *The water* which descends in rain—this also  
is from the sea, and from the waters upon earth; but that which stimulates the fruits is *(only)* from  
<sup>10</sup> the latter source. Know therefore henceforth that from this *source* is what is called the dew of  
heaven.

*The Fifth Heaven.*

11 <sup>1, 2</sup> And the angel took me and led me thence to a fifth heaven. And the gate was closed. And  
I said, Lord, is not this gate-way open that we may enter? And the angel said to me, We cannot  
enter until Michael comes, who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; but wait and thou shalt see  
<sup>3</sup> the glory of God. And there was a great sound, as thunder. And I said, Lord, what is this sound?  
<sup>4</sup> And he said to me, Even now Michael, the commander *of the angels*, comes down to receive the  
<sup>5</sup> prayers of men. And behold a voice came, Let the gates be opened. And they opened *them*, and  
<sup>6</sup> there was a roar as of thunder. And Michael came, and the angel who was with me came face to  
<sup>7</sup> face with him and said, Hail, my commander, and *that* of all our order. And the commander Michael  
said, Hail thou also, our brother, and the interpreter of the revelations to those who pass through life  
<sup>8</sup> virtuously. And having saluted one another thus, they stood still. And I saw the commander

X. 1. a fourth heaven. Text reads *τέτιον*. See note on ch. iv.

2. a pool of water. As James indicates, this is probably the *Ἀχέρουσα λίμνη* referred to in Apoc. Mosis xxxvii and Apoc. Pauli 22.

3-5. For the idea that the souls of the righteous are transformed into birds, see Sanh. 92 b, 'And the soul may say: The body has sinned; for since I am separated from it, I fly in the air like a bird.'

7. said again to. *λέγω* is used here and in ch. xv with an acc. without a prep., in the sense of the dative of the person addressed.

8. how do men say, &c. Slavonic reads: 'How do men say that the clouds go out of the sea and rain on the earth? And the angel said to me: The race of man is deceived knowing nothing. All the water of the sea is salt, for if the rain came from the sea, no fruit would grow on the earth.' The meaning of the Greek seems to be that while the rain is derived in part from the sea, those elements which are responsible for the dew and for the growth of fruit are derived from the other waters upon earth.

XI. 2. Michael. Michael, one of the archangels, was commonly regarded as Israel's special protector. See Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; 1 En. xx. 5; 2 En. xxii. 6, xxxiii. 10. In Ass. Moses x. 2, it is said that he will avenge Israel on its enemies at the end of the world. In T. Levi v. 6f., he is the angel 'who intercedeth for the nation of Israel, and for all the righteous', and in T. Dan vi. 2 he is 'a mediator between God and man', specially concerned for 'the peace of Israel'. He is mentioned in N. T. in Jude 9, Rev. xii. 7-9, and according to Charles (Hastings *D. B.* iii. 362 b) he is referred to in Acts vii. 38. In Targ. *Cant.* viii. 9, he is called 'Israel's chief'. In Yalkut Shimeoni, *Bereshith* 132, he is described as the prince over all the angels, and as Israel's representative and portion in the presence of God. In Chag. 12 b, he is called 'the Advocate of the Jews' (Oesterley, *Jewish Doctrines of Mediation*, p. 84). In Test. Abraham xiv, Michael appears as intercessor on behalf of Abraham, and the combined intercession of Michael and Abraham wins a sinner's entry into paradise.

who holds the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. In 4 Bar. ix. 5, Michael is called the archangel of righteousness who leads the righteous to heaven; and in the Ethiopic version it is added that he holds open the gates of righteousness, until the righteous enter in.

the Kingdom of Heaven. This phrase is not necessarily a Christian interpolation. Cf. Ps. ciii. 19; Dan. iv. 34; Test. Ben. ix. 1 (*ἡ βασιλεία κυρίου*), Ass. Moses x. 1 ('And then His kingdom will appear throughout all His creation'), Sib. Or. iii. 47 f. (*τότε δὲ βασιλεία μεγίστη ἀθανάτου βασιλῆος ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις φανείσκει*).

4. Michael comes down. According to Chag. 12 b the altar upon which Michael offers up sacrifice stands in the fourth heaven.

5. the gates. Slavonic says that the names of those men who may enter the gates are written on them (cf. Apoc. Pauli 19).

opened. The idea that the gates of heaven are opened at a fixed time to receive the prayers of men is found in the fragments of the Apoc. of Adam, where it is stated that at the tenth hour 'the gate of heaven opens in order to let in the prayers of every living thing. . . . At this hour all that a man asks of God is granted him' (*Apoc. Anecdota*, i. 143).



Michael, holding an exceedingly great vessel; its depth *was* as great as the distance from heaven to earth, and its breadth as great as the distance from north to south. And I said, Lord, what is that which Michael the archangel is holding? And he said to me, This is where the merits of the righteous enter, and such good works as they do, which are escorted before the heavenly God.

12<sup>1</sup> And as I was conversing with them, behold angels came bearing baskets full of flowers. And they gave them to Michael. And I asked the angel, Lord, who are these, and what are the things brought hither from beside them? And he said to me, These are angels (who) are over the righteous. And the archangel took the baskets, and cast them into the vessel. And the angel said to me, These flowers are the merits of the righteous. And I saw other angels bearing baskets which were (neither) empty nor full. And they began to lament, and did not venture to draw near, because they had not the prizes complete. And Michael cried and said, Come hither, also, ye angels, bring what ye have brought. And Michael was exceedingly grieved, and the angel who was with me, because they did not fill the vessel.

13<sup>1</sup> And then came in like manner other angels weeping and bewailing, and saying with fear, Behold how we are overclouded, O Lord, for we were delivered to evil men, and we wish to depart from them. And Michael said, Ye cannot depart from them, in order that the enemy may not prevail to the end; but say to me what ye ask. And they said, We pray thee, Michael our commander, transfer us from them, for we cannot abide with wicked and foolish men, for there is nothing good in them, but every kind of unrighteousness and greed. For we do not behold them entering [into Church at all, nor among spiritual fathers, nor] into any good work. But where there is murder, there also are they in the midst, and where are fornications, adulteries, thefts, slanders, perjuries, jealousies, drunkenness, strife, envy, murmurings, whispering, idolatry, divination, and such like, then are they workers of such works, and of others worse. Wherefore we entreat that we may depart from them. And Michael said to the angels, Wait till I learn from the Lord what shall come to pass.

14<sup>1</sup> And in that very hour Michael departed, and the doors were closed. And there was a sound as thunder. And I asked the angel, What is the sound? And he said to me, Michael is even now presenting the merits of men to God.

15<sup>1, 2</sup> And in that very hour Michael descended, and the gate was opened; and he brought oil. And as for the angels which brought the baskets which were full, he filled them with oil, saying, Take

8. an exceedingly great vessel. Cf. Rev. v. 8, 'Golden bowls of incense which are the prayers of the saints' (cf. viii. 3). The cabalistic work Zohar (thirteenth century A.D.) says that the angel Sundelfon forms of the prayers a crown for the Almighty.

XII. 1. angels. The function of presenting the prayers of men to God is not limited to Michael in Jewish literature. Tob. xii. 5 reads 'I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and go in before the glory of the Holy One'. T. Levi iii. 5 ff. reads 'In [the heaven next to] it, are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord, for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous: offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and bloodless offering'. Then follows a reference to the subordinate angels mentioned in our text, 'And [in the heaven below this] are the angels who bear answers to the angels of the presence.' Apoc. Pauli in the Greek mentions the coming of three classes of angels, two joyful and the third dejected. The first are the guardians of the godly, the second of the ascetics, and the third of the worldly. The last class desire to be relieved of their charge, but their request is not granted. The first of these classes is omitted in Latin and Syriac. For the significance of the three classes of angels in our text, see *Introd.* § 8.

baskets, τὰ κανίσκια. This form, which occurs three times in our Apoc., is regular. But ὁ κανίσκος and ἡ κανίσκος (xv) do not appear to occur elsewhere.

flowers. The Spanish text of 4 Ezra adds to a list of names in i. 40 'et angelos duodecim cum floribus' (*Cambridge Texts and Studies*, iii. 2, p. 85).

3. who are over the righteous. Text reads οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν, which hardly harmonizes with the context. As Slavonic reads 'These are they who wait upon righteous men', it is perhaps best to follow Ryssel and read δικαίων for ἐξουσιῶν.

6. (neither) empty nor full. Text reads κενὰ οὐ γέμοντα. From the context it is evident that the baskets were partly filled. It is therefore necessary to read <οὔτε> κενὰ οὐ<τε> γέμοντα.

the prizes. Cf. Phil. iii. 14; 1 Cor. ix. 24.

XIII. 4. entering [into Church . . . nor], εἰσελθεῖν [ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ποτέ, οὐδὲ εἰς πνευματικούς πατέρας οὐδὲ] εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἔν. The clause in brackets is a Christian interpolation. The construction εἰσελθεῖν ἐν is clumsy, the original sequence being evidently εἰς. The expression πνευματικοὶ πατέρες is distinctively Christian. It is possible that εἰς πατέρας stood in the original, as the official title 'father' was in use among the Scribes (Matt. xxiii. 8 ff.). If the whole phrase is an interpolation it is later than the Christian redactor. At the martyrdom of Polycarp the mob shouted, 'This is the Christians' father' (Mart. Polyc. 12), but there is no evidence that at this time Christians themselves applied the term to their bishops. In the West, in Cyprian's time, the bishop was known as *papa*. It is not till the fourth century that we find teachers of a past generation described as 'fathers' (Ath. Ep. ad Afros 6). See Swete, *Patristic Study*, p. 5. fornications, &c. See *Introd.* § 6.

XV. 2. which were full, πλήρης. Ryssel reads τλήρη, but it is more probable that πλήρης is used indeclinably (cf. Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 50).

filled them. i.e. the baskets.



it away, reward our friends an hundredfold, and those who have laboriously wrought good works.

- 3 For those who sowed virtuously, also reap virtuously. And he said also to those bringing the **half-empty** baskets, Come hither ye also; take away the reward according as ye brought, and  
4 deliver *it* to the sons of men. [Then he said also to those who brought the full and to those *who brought* the **half-empty** baskets: Go and bless our friends, and say to them that thus saith the Lord, Ye are faithful over **a few things**, I will set you over many things; enter into the joy of your Lord.]

- 16 1 And turning he said also to those who brought nothing: Thus saith the Lord, Be not sad of  
2 countenance, and weep not, nor let the sons of men alone. But since they angered me in their works, go and make them envious and angry and provoked against *a people that is* no people, a  
3 people that has no understanding. Further, besides these, send forth the caterpillar and the unwinged locust, and the mildew, and the common locust (and) hail with lightnings and anger, and  
4 punish them severely with the sword and with death, and their children with demons. For they did not hearken to my voice, nor did they observe my commandments, nor do *them*, but were despisers of my commandments, and insolent towards the priests who proclaimed my words to them.

- 17 1, 2 And while he yet spake, the door was closed, and we withdrew. And the angel took me and  
3 restored me to the *place where I was* at the beginning. And having come to myself, I gave glory  
4 to God, who counted me worthy of such honour. Wherefore do ye also, brethren, who obtained such a revelation, yourselves also glorify God, so that He also may glorify you, now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.

3. he said also to. λέγω is used with the simple accusative of the person addressed.

**half-empty.** Text reads ἀποκένους. The context makes it clear that the angels referred to are those bearing the baskets which were neither full nor empty. We must therefore read ὑποκένους, somewhat empty.

4. The words in brackets are a Christian interpolation, as is evident not only from the quotation from Matt., but also from the fact that the re-enumeration of the first two classes of angels destroys the symmetry of the passage.

**half-empty.** For ἀπόκενα read ὑπόκενα.

**over a few things.** Text reads ἐπὶ ὀλίγη. It should probably read ἐπὶ ὀλίγα. Cf. Matt. xxv. 20.

**I will set you.** For καταστήσει in text read καταστήσω (Ryssel).

XVI. 1. Slavonic reads 'But Michael said: Listen, ye angels of God; it is not ordered that you should depart from sinful men, but you are ordered to labour for them till they repent and return. I will judge them, saith the Lord. And again there was a voice from the heavens: Attend upon the sinners till they repent; for if they do not repent, then ye shall inflict upon them a cruel disease and sudden death, and locusts and caterpillars, frost and thunder and hail and demons and the destruction of cities; and ye shall strangle their children, because God is not feared [among them] and they do not gather together in the Church of God for the sake of prayer, and instead of prayer they bring cursings'. Cf. Apoc. Pauli 10.

2. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 21; Rom. x. 19.

3. **punish them severely**, διχοτομήσατε. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 51.

4. The Greek text has nothing to say as to the future destiny of the righteous and of the wicked, but the Slavonic reads 'The angel said to me: Look, servant of God, and see the resting-place of the righteous, and their glory and joy and delight: and again see the resting-place of the wicked, their tears and sobs and worms that never sleep. The sinners call to heaven: O just judge, have pity upon us. And I Baruch said to the angel: Who are these, my Lord? And he said to me: These are the sinners. And I said to the angel: Bid me, my Lord, that I may weep with them so that the Lord may hear my voice and pity them. A voice came from heaven saying: Take Baruch to the earth, that he may tell to the sons of men all the secrets of God, which he has seen and heard.' The absence of any parallel to this passage is further evidence of the free treatment of the concluding sections of the original by the editor of the Greek text in its present form.

**the priests who proclaimed my words to them.** The term ἱερεῖς does not seem to have been applied to the Christian ministry till the end of the second century.

XVII. 2. **restored . . . beginning.** See 2 Bar. vii. 2 (note).

3. Cf. 2 Bar. liv. 8 f.