

COSMOLOGY AND LITURGICAL CALENDAR IN 3 BARUCH AND THEIR MESOPOTAMIAN BACKGROUND

Introduction

The liturgical calendar is the core of the Jewish apocalypses of the Second Temple period, and the cosmology is the frame where the liturgical calendar works. The open heavens show to the apocalyptic seer their inner structure and mechanisms but the everyday work of their mechanisms is seen to everybody when it arranges the earthly life according to the liturgical year. Thus, the apocalypse and the calendar are inseparable from each other: the apocalyptic visionary sees the inner side of the same reality that all the other see from outside. If we compare the liturgical calendar with mechanical watches, then, the apocalypse is a description of these watches when the case cover is removed.

It is always a controversial matter in what extent the Jewish apocalypses can be considered as cosmological works. Fortunately, in the particular case of *3 Baruch*, the scientific cosmology is explicit, although it is not the main concern of the author. Like *1 Enoch* and *2 Enoch*, this apocalypse contains a very detailed description of sun's and moon's movements and cosmological entities such as the winds, sun's chariot, the heavenly gates, the personified (angelomorphic) decans, the gigantic bird protecting the earth from sun's rays with its wings, etc.; all these categories were scientific ones in the cultures of the Ancient Near East. Moreover, the text is quite precise saying that Baruch is going westward. In this context, the description of the heavens and the whole content of the apocalypse are to be considered within the cosmological framework, and, naturally, such an approach became common in the studies of *3 Baruch*.

The analysis of *3 Baruch*'s liturgical calendar and cosmology does certainly not exhaust the theological and ideological contents of an apocalypse but, nevertheless, is absolutely unavoidable in a scholarly study. Below, we will concentrate ourselves on the cosmological and the calendar study of the earliest recension of *3 Baruch*, that is, the *Urtext* (U), according to the terminology of Alexander Kulik. This *Urtext* can be reconstructed from the extant recensions, the Greek one (G) and the Slavonic one (S).¹ Both G and S refer to the cosmologies and the calendars of their own. The cosmology and the calendar implied in G were studied by Martina Frasson.² The calendrical data specific to U and S remain to be studied, despite the fact that our knowledge of the corresponding cosmologies increased significantly after the recent study of Kulik.³ Thus, our first step will be evaluation of the contribution made by the editor responsible for the Greek original of the Slavonic version.

1. Baruch's Heavenly Journey: Different Chronologies

The text of *3 Baruch* does not contain any explicit calendrical dating. It refers to the calendar through the recognisable liturgical associations and a detailed chronology of Baruch's heavenly journey. However, the exact numbers featuring Baruch's travel are especially liable to deliberate changes by the editors having in mind different calendar and cosmology. This is shown by Frasson who limited herself to the recension G.

For G, its two manuscripts give no different readings in numbers but, according to Frasson, in one instance (10:1) one number ("90") is lost. With Frasson's conjecture, the calendar implied in G is consistent; in G, Baruch was travelling during the period of the whole year of 365 days. For S, there is

¹ I will use the sign S for both Slavonic version and its lost Greek original.

² M. FRASSON, La struttura dei cieli in *3 Baruch*: uno studio filologico, *Henoch* 14 (1992) 137–144.

³ Cf. my review of Kulik's monograph where the program of such further studies was sketched.

apparently no such a clear picture, especially because the differences between the manuscript readings. In the Table 1, we compare the manuscript data (*G = G in Frasson's reconstruction, *S = S with the readings accepted by Gaylord in his reconstructed text):

Table 1.

3 Baruch	*G	*S	Variae lectiones in S
2:2	30	30	6 (VID), 7 (SP), 50 (N)
3:2	60	7	8 (BT)
10:1	*90	—	—
4:2	185	187 (L)	40 (BT), "80 and 5" (K) = *185, 32 (SZ), 70 (PVID)
Σ	*365	224	

It is important to note that the readings of *S were chosen with no assumption concerning the calendar of Baruch's journey. Gaylord's considerations were purely textological. He considered, following M. Veder, the reading "187" in 4:2 as a corruption of "185" (identical with G) due to an error in transliteration from Glagolitic to Cyrillic.⁴ However, this supposition is untenable because the Glagolite "5" (*dobro*) can be misspelled into Cyrillic as "4" (numerical value of the Cyrillic letter *dobro*) but not as "7."

One can see that the numbers in the manuscripts of S are unstable. These variant readings are so multifarious that it is *a priori* likely that they go back to the differences between various recensions of the Greek original. Even if the Slavonic translation has been made only once, it is quite possible that it was several times checked against the Greek text which was available to the Slavic editors in different recensions.

A deliberately difference is obvious, at least, in 4:2, between the two kinds of the chronology of Baruch's journey which differ in duration of the way from the second heaven to the third one. G and the manuscripts L and K (with the reconstructed reading "185") of S provide a long journey while other manuscripts of S a shorter one.

2. The Chronology in *S

The long chronology in S presupposes that the journey was divided into three stages 30 + 7 + 187 = 224 days. The number 224 is not as obvious as the number 365 reconstructed by Frasson for the long chronology in G. However, we know, at least, one cosmological/calendaric document, also an apocalypse, where it makes sense, 2 *Enoch*.⁵ In 2 *Enoch*, the 364-day year is divided by the solstices into two asymmetrical parts, 224 and 140 days. Of course, the corresponding sun's yearly movement is somewhat problematic and remains in a blatant contradiction to the astronomical observations but, nevertheless, it is accepted in 2 *Enoch* where the cosmology is independent from observation and the theory is based on the Sabbath cycles as the main framework of the life of the Universe.

The popularity of the calendar of 2 *Enoch* was greater than the popularity of the Slavonic Book of Enoch itself. Its afterlife is traceable in several early Christian documents. Thus, an edition of the genuine calendrical data of 3 *Baruch* in accordance with the calendar and the cosmology of 2 *Enoch* is likely.

This supposition can be proven by another fact discovered by Kulik. According to Kulik, the five-heaven cosmology of 3 *Baruch* is a product of a later editorial work, although the cosmology of U was presupposing only three heavens. However, the five-heaven cosmology is a feature specific to 2 *Enoch* (sharply different from the cosmology of 1 *Enoch*). The asymmetry of solstices, in 2 *Enoch*, is a consequence of this specific cosmology where the yearly sun's trajectory becomes quite peculiar. Thus, an appearance, in S, of the five-heaven cosmology and a 224-day period together point out the influence of 2 *Enoch* (not necessarily the book but, at least, the corresponding cosmology and calendar).

Gaylord's choice of the reading of ms L for *S in 4:2 is proven to be right, and even Gaylord's supposition that it is not genuine is confirmed while only in the sense that it does not belong to U.

⁴ Gaylord, *Slavonic*, 31 – provide reference to this vol.

⁵ For a detailed analysis, see Lourié, Calendrical Elements in 2 *Enoch*, forthcoming in the Proceedings of the 2009 Enoch Seminar.

Therefore, we have to conclude that the chronology of Baruch's journey in *S is influenced by 2 *Enoch* (or, at least, by the calendar implied in 2 *Enoch*) and is not the same as the original chronology of Baruch's journey.

*S itself (Gaylord's reconstruction of 3 *Baruch* S) in its cosmology belongs to the common archetype of G and S, already distinct from U.

3. The Shorter Chronologies

The manuscript data concerning the shorter chronologies of Baruch's journey are preserved in the manuscripts of both α - and β -families. The available evidences are collected in the Table 2 where the readings in 4:2 indicating the longer chronologies of *S and G are omitted:

Table 2.

3 <i>Baruch</i>	α -family	β -family
2:2	30	6 (VID), 7 (SP), 50 (N), 30 (Z)
3:2	8 (BT), 7 (L)	7
4:2	40 (BT)	32 (SZ), 70 (PVID)

This variability can be not as great as it seems. It is known that the earliest (lost) manuscripts of S were in Glagolitic writing, and so, the available Cyrillic text resulted from transliteration and, more exactly, from many cases of transliteration effectuated by different editors. In such transliterations, errors in numbers are very common; they are already detected in the text of 3 *Baruch*, too.⁶

In our Table 2, we see two typical cases when such errors are common: "30" instead of "50" (Glagolitic *ljudie* has numerical meaning "50" but its Cyrillic counterpart means "30") and "6" instead of "8" (Glagolitic *zēlo* "8" replaced by Cyrillic *zēlo* "6"). Moreover, even the variation between "7" and "6" is explainable in the South Slavic Cyrillic writing (early Bulgarian and Serbian uncial, *ustav*) up to the thirteenth century where the letter *zēlo* ("6") was written as the letter *zemlja* ("7") but either stroked or with a little tail in the middle added (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Cyrillic letters *zēlo* (left) and *zemlja* (right) in the *Chilandar Leaflets* (11th cent.). According to A. И. Соболевский, *Славяно-русская палеография* (СПб., ³1908); electronic republication on the portal Текстология.Ру (<http://www.textlog.ru>).

We can notify that the whole variety of the manuscript readings presented in the Table 2 can be tentatively reduced to a lesser variety.

Finally, we have to take in mind that 4:2 is not necessarily the final point of the part of the liturgical year implied in U, and so, the journey of Baruch might be somewhat longer than the sum of the numbers in the columns of the Table 2 above.

4. Liturgical Contents: an Outline

Some scenes of 3 *Baruch* were interpreted as having liturgical content by various scholars but especially by Kulik in his commentary. Kulik's liturgical commentary deals especially with the Yom Kippur ceremony in ch. 14 but also reveals some other important liturgical data. However, the whole content of our apocalypse demands a liturgical interpretation. As I have pointed out recently, the plot of 3 *Baruch* is following the sequence of the liturgical feasts similar to the one known from the *Temple Scroll*: Pentecost—Wine Festival—Oil Festival—Yom Kippur. Now we have to trace this liturgical structure in a more detailed way.

⁶ E. HERCIGONIA, "Videnje Varuhovo" u Petrisovu Zborniku iz 1468 godine, *Zbornik Matice Srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku* 7 (1964) 63–93, esp. 79–80, 85; E. TURDEANU, L'Apocalypse de Baruch en slave, *Revue des études slaves* 48 (1969) 23–48, esp. 35; reprinted in IDEM, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament* (Leiden, 1981) (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha, 5) 364–391, esp. 376.

In the Table 3, the liturgical “plot” of *3 Baruch* is presented (journey scenes where Baruch passes the gates between heavens are not taken into account). Its third column, “Liturgical Meaning,” will be discussed below. On this stage of our research, our goal is a rough and incomplete reconstruction of the liturgical contents of *3 Baruch*. This provisory reconstruction will be précised on the ground of the analysis of the cosmology implied in our apocalypse.

Table 3.

Chapters	Topics	Liturgical Meaning
1	Baruch when weeping on Jerusalem is taken by an Angel.	Passover
2–3	Builders of the Tower of Babel.	Pentecost
4–5	Garden, vine, Hades.	New Wine
6–9	Sun’s daily movement, Phoenix, gates of heaven, Moon.	[Summer Solstice]
10	Paradise of birds.	?
11–16	Michael as the heavenly archpriest, baskets of flowers brought by angels, heavenly Yom Kippur (ch. 14), distribution of oil to the righteous ones and locusts to the wicked ones.	New Oil combined with Day of Atonement
17	Baruch’s return to the point of depart.	[Passover]

The liturgical meaning of ch. 14 (heavenly Day of Atonement) is already demonstrated by Kulik who noticed as well New Oil festival overtones in ch. 15 (distribution of oil to the righteous ones). This identification of one feast (having a precise date, 10.VII) is a useful starting point for further analysis of the chronology of Baruch’s journey.

A pattern of liturgical year presently known through the Qumranic *Temple Scroll* becomes transparent when the themes of two other feasts are detected. These easily discernible feasts are the Pentecost and the New Wine festival. The New Oil festival has in *3 Baruch* a different liturgical shape than that which is known from the *Temple Scroll*; thus, it will be dealt with later (see below, 6), not in the frame of the following provisory outline. The summer solstice scene will be dealt with in the section 5.1.

4.1. Pentecost

Kulik notifies the parallel between the story of the Tower of Babel (ch. 2–3) and the Christian understanding of the Pentecost (Act 2:1–11 and the whole Christian tradition, not only Gregory of Nazianze quoted by Kulik); moreover, he adds as a probable parallel the vision of Michael (4Q529 1.9).⁷ To demonstrate that this exegesis of the Pentecost forms the mainstream of the Christian tradition it is sufficient to quote the old Byzantine (but in liturgical use until now) *kondakion* of the Pentecost (the heading strophe of a liturgical poem, one of the most important liturgical compositions in the whole service):

When the Most High came down and confused the tongues,
He divided the nations,
but when He distributed the tongues of fire,
He called all men to unity.
Wherefore, we glorify the Holy Spirit with one accord.⁸

However, this Christian understanding of the biblical account was inherited from the Jewish tradition. One can refer to the targumic parallel to *3 Baruch* 3:5–8 (story of a pregnant woman delivering when making bricks) recognized already by Picard and mentioned by Kulik, *Tg. Ps.-Jonathan* Ex 24:10⁹

⁷ Kulik 140, n. 47.

⁸ P. Maas, C. A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica genuina* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963; reprint 1997), p. 259: Ὅτε καταβάς τὰς γλώσσας συνέχεε, διεμέριζεν ἔθνη ὁ Ὑψιστος· ὅτε τοῦ πυρὸς τὰς γλώσσας διένειμεν, εἰς ἐνότητα πάντας ἐκάλεσε, καὶ συμφώνως δοξάζομεν τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα. It is the first strophe of a genuine poem of the great Byzantine poet Roman the Melodos, early sixth cent.

⁹ Kulik 153.

which was commemorated in the Jewish liturgy of the feast of Pentecost.¹⁰ Moreover, the very context of Ex 24 is dealing with liturgical prescriptions to the Pentecost. The story of the woman, known as a part of the Pentecost exegesis, in *3 Baruch* is detached from its genuine Egyptian context and placed in Babylon where it becomes the rationale of the wrath of God against the builders of the Tower—obviously, to mark the Tower account as relating to the Pentecost.

Naturally, the identification of the account in ch. 2–3 as relating to the Pentecost is a strong argument for the reading “50” (ms N) in 2:2 as genuine, that is, going back to U, and so, to interpret the reading “30” as a misspelling of the Glagolitic original in Cyrillic writing (this conclusion will be additionally confirmed after identification of the initial scene of *3 Baruch* as relating to the Passover, see below, 4.3). This is not to say, however, that other manuscript readings here are absolutely wrong.

The seven days in *3 Baruch* 3:2S (second part of Baruch’s journey) could correspond to the seven days in Ex 24:16 (staying of Moses on Sinai attending the revelation). It is very likely the source of the readings of mss VID (“6”) and SP (“7”) (see Table 2) with confusion (in mss VID) between “6” and “7” in the early South Slavic Cyrillic uncial. The genuine reading must be “7.”

One can reconstruct, for U, a two-stage accession of Baruch to the place where he meets the builders of the Tower, somewhat in the same manner as the revelation on Sinai according to Ex 24:16. This division within the first 50-day period (43 + 7 days) gave the pretext to the further editor of S to divide the whole scene into two parts, with repeating scenes in ch. 2 and 3.

4.2. New Wine Festival

The centrality of the “tree of vine” for the scene described in ch. 4-5 which turns out to be the Tree of knowledge is rather obvious. This scene is positioned after the Pentecost in correspondence with the sequence of the feasts known from the *Temple Scroll*.

If nevertheless the identification of the corresponding feast poses some problem, this problem is of chronological order. According to the *Temple Scroll*, the New Wine festival is placed on the fiftieth day after the Pentecost (at the end of the second pentecontad period after the Passover). Regardless to the exact manner to count fifty days after the Passover, the day of the second Pentecost must be posterior to the summer solstice in the middle of the fourth month¹¹ where it is to be expected on the ground of the Babylonian parallels.¹² In *3 Baruch* we see a scene corresponding to the summer solstice after the scene of our New Wine festival. This difficulty will be discussed below, together with the manuscript readings in 4:2 presented in Table 2 (section 6).

4.3. Passover: *3 Baruch* and *4 Baruch*

So far, we have had only one reason to identify the initial scene of *3 Baruch* as Passover: fifty-day period before the next scene identified as the Pentecost. But our main reason is a Jewish tradition to connect the return from Babylon, the second Exodus, with the Passover and the month of Passover, Nisan. On the earth, the feast of the Passover is no longer a joyful day. When Jerusalem is ruined, the prophecy of Amos is accomplished: “I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation” (Amos 8:10 NRSV).

¹⁰ On this, see especially J. Potin, *La fête juive de la Pentecôte. Étude des textes liturgiques*. T. I. *Commentaire* (Lectio divina, 65a; Paris: Cerf, 1971), p. 155-162.

¹¹ The general formula is $p + (2 \times 49) + n + m$ days where p is the date of the Passover (14.I), $n \leq 12$ is the number of days between 14.I (Passover) and the starting point of counting the first pentecontad, and $m \geq 0$ is the number of days between the date of the Pentecost and the starting point of counting the second pentecontad. The parameters n and m are not the same in different calendaric traditions; the value of n is limited to 12 which corresponds to 26.I as the latest known starting point of counting the first pentecontad.

¹² The theoretical date of the summer solstice in the Babylonian astronomy was either 15.III (earliest system, Babylonian, however, returned in use ca 500 B.C.E.) or 15.IV (later system, Assyrian, introduced in the late second millennium B.C.E. and accepted, among others, in documents whose influence on the Jewish astronomy is proven such as MUL.APIN). Cf. B. L. van der Waerden, *Babylonian Astronomy. III. The Earliest Astronomical Computations*, *JNES* 10 (1951), 20-34; W. Horowitz, *The 360 and 364 Day Year in Ancient Mesopotamia*, *JANES* 24 (1996), 35-44, esp. 42-44.

This association is known, among others, from another tradition about Baruch, *4 Baruch*.¹³ Here the first scene after the destruction of Jerusalem, Abimelech's waking up after 66-year sleeping, is placed on 12 Nisan (*4 Baruch* 5:33). On the same day, Baruch writes to Jeremiah in Babylon and his letter is brought by an eagle. The eagle finds Jeremiah in the head of a burial procession outside the city; the burial is a renowned feature of the "feasts turned into mourning" (cf. Tob 2:5-7 quoting Amos 8:10).¹⁴ The letter of Baruch posed on the dead man causes him to rise. Then, Jeremiah answers with the same eagle writing, among others: "...I remembered the day of the festival that we celebrated in Jerusalem before we were taken captive" (7:26). After having received these sorrowful Passover greetings, Baruch "...kissed it and wept when he heard about the sorrows and afflictions of the people" (7:31). This story has a clear tripartite structure marked by eagle's run to Babylon and back to Jerusalem. Baruch sends his letter on 12 Nisan, Jeremiah answers presumably on the next day with appropriate Passover greetings, and Baruch receives his answer on the very day of the Passover, 14 Nisan.

Kulik opts for identification, in the Jewish *Vorlage* of *4 Baruch*, of Baruch with Abimelech, as they are identified in the posterior Jewish tradition.¹⁵ Be this as it may, the tradition of *4 Baruch* is close to that of *3 Baruch*, as it is mentioned even in the Greek title of *3 Baruch* (T2G). Both are sharing the expectation of the "second exodus" in Nisan.¹⁶ The basic text of this tradition seems to be Jer 38[31]:8 (LXX only): "Behold, I am bringing them from the north, and I will gather them from the farthest part of the earth at the feast of phasek (ἐν ἑορτῇ φασεκ)," that is, on the feast of Passover. This text is preserved only in Greek but the transliterated word φασεκ reveals its Hebrew original.¹⁸

The Palestine targums reflect this situation basically in the same way as *3 Baruch*, namely, by establishing a connexion between the murder of Abel which took place on 14 Nisan (according to the targumic tradition) and the sin of Cain which will be "hold" until the day of the final judgment which is the Day of Atonement.¹⁹

4 Baruch has the same liturgical frame, from the Passover to the Day of Atonement: the return of the people with Jeremiah to Jerusalem is celebrated as a liturgy of the Day of Atonement (*4 Baruch* 9:1-6), with almost the role of angel Michael similar to that in *3 Baruch*.²⁰

In the vein of the same tradition, *3 Baruch* establishes a connexion between the Passover as a day of grieving and the Day of Atonement as the day of hope. However, *3 Baruch*'s earthly time of acting is only one day, the day of Passover when Baruch was taken to the heaven and returned back, that is, back to his grieving Passover festival but now with a hope of delivering.

5. A Cosmology Governed by the Sabbaths

5.1. The Three Heavens, the Ecliptic, and the Summer Solstice

¹³ English translation according to J. Herzer, *4 Baruch (Paraleipomena Jeremiou). Translated with an Introduction and Commentary* (Writings from the Greco-Roman world, 22; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005).

¹⁴ See, for a liturgical analysis of this episode, B. Lourié, 126-132.

¹⁵ Kulik

¹⁶ On this tradition, see the commentary on *4 Baruch* 5:33 in Herzer, *4 Baruch...*, p. 94-95, quoting Neh 2:1 and Ezra 8:31.

¹⁷ Translation of B. Pietersma and M. Saunders in: A. Pietersma, B.G. Wright (eds.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title* (New York/Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), p. 94.

¹⁸ This is one more case when a secondary reading is the only important one for the further tradition of some communities. As Alexander Rofé noticed, "...in the study of the texts of sacred literature secondary readings are more revealing than primary ones, since the secondary readings can be used as a source for the history of the community that preserved the holy writings" [A. Rofé, The Historical Significance of Secondary Readings, in: C. Evans, Sh. Talmon (eds.), *The Quest for Context and Meaning. Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (Biblical Interpretation Series, 28; Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 393-402, here 402].

¹⁹ On this imagery, see a detailed study by Geza Vermes, The Targumic Versions of Genesis 4:3-16, *The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society* 3 (1961-1962), pp. 81-114 [repr.: Idem, *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* (Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity, 8; Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 92-126], although without attention to the liturgical implications of the topics.

²⁰ Cf. Jeremiah's words in *4 Baruch* 9:5: "I meditate on Michael, the archangel of righteousness, until he leads in the righteous." Cf. also the commentary in Herzer, *4 Baruch...*, p. 142-147.

First of all, let us establish the most fundamental facts concerning the heavenly landscape of Baruch's journey. We accept Kulik's conclusion that, in U, Baruch traversed only two heavens and stopped before the doors of the third "heaven" which is in fact a supercelestial realm (the Holy of Holies of the Heavenly Yom Kippur). Moreover, as it is stated in *3 Baruch*, Baruch was going westward (cf. 6:1, 8:1 and Kulik's commentary to 6:1 providing the parallels from 2 *En. [mss J and A]* 13:1 and the *Epic of Gilgamesh* 9). This direction is certainly not arbitrary, and so, must have some meaning within the cosmological framework. The direction westward coincides with the direction of sun's yearly movement along the ecliptic, and, indeed, Baruch meets on his way sun's chariot. This implies that Baruch's route is coinciding with the ecliptic (at least, approximately). However, the very notion of ecliptic—the route of the sun on the sky throughout the year—in the frame of the Mesopotamian cosmology is not the same as the familiar notion of the Ptolemaic geocentric system.

As it is stated above, Baruch begins his journey on the Passover, that is, near the vernal equinox and ends on the Day of Atonement, that is, near the autumnal equinox. In between, he has had to pass through the point of the summer solstice that is the highest point of the ecliptic. It is important to note that here, in the Mesopotamian cosmological traditions, unlike the posterior geocentric systems, the ecliptic is not the route of the sun *around* the earth but the sun's route *above* the earth. The earth is plane. No such a concept as the heavenly sphere is implied, the heaven being simply above the earth. *A fortiori*, no celestial equator is possible; the basic concept of this cosmology is, instead, the horizon. The two kinds of sun's movement are to be described in connexion to the horizon. For the daily movement, from the East to the West, it is rather obvious. For the ecliptic (sun's yearly movement), it was not less obvious before Ptolemy, although became somewhat difficult to the readers familiarised with the concept of heavenly sphere (here inapplicable).

The ecliptic (see Fig. 2 where the ecliptic is represented as the inner circle within the circle of horizon) is observable as an alternation of the fixed stars in the place of sunset over the horizon. Thus, by the very method of observation, it is connected to the horizon. The extreme northern point of the ecliptic corresponds to the summer solstice, the highest point of sun's trajectory and the longest daytime. The extreme southern point of the ecliptic corresponds to the winter solstice, the lowest point of sun's trajectory and the shortest daytime. The two points of equinoxes (where the daytime is equal to the nighttime) correspond to the extreme eastern and the extreme western points of the ecliptic.

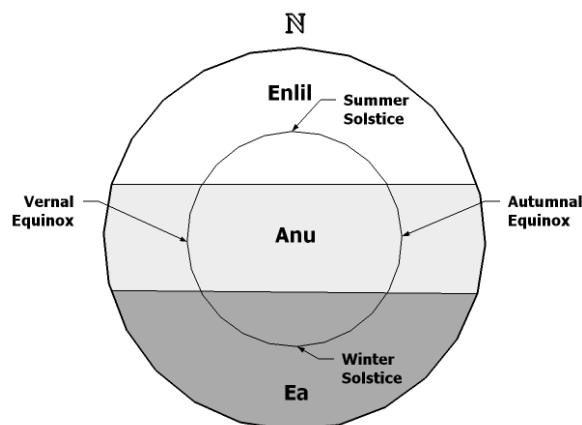


Fig. 2: Sun's yearly trajectory (ecliptic) across the three "paths" (sectors) of heavens.

Thus, the plane corresponding to the circle of ecliptic is not parallel to the plane of horizon (which is the plane of the plane earth of our cosmology). The northern part of the ecliptic is much higher than its southern part. In the Mesopotamian astronomy, the heaven was subdivided into three "paths" dedicated to three gods and corresponding to the three parts of the ecliptic: path of Enlil (the northern part, the highest one), path of Anu (the middle one), and path of Ea (the southern one and the lowest). This cosmology of three "paths" is in perfect accordance with Baruch's route. Baruch starts near the

vernal equinox (Passover) in the path of Anu, then ascends to the path of Enlil up to the point of the summer solstice, and, finally, continuing his journey stops before the door of the heavenly Holy of Holies. It is obvious that the latter is considered as inaccessible to everybody except the heavenly High Priest Michael. Thus, the heavenly Sanctuary is inaccessible to the sun whose route Baruch follows. Before the gates of the heavenly Holy of Holies the cosmology stops.

According to the reconstruction of U proposed by Kulik, the apocalypse originally mentioned only two heavens with the heavenly Holy of Holies as the third. Indeed, Baruch's route passes through two heavenly "paths" from three: he had no chance to visit the path of Ea.

The highest point of the ecliptic as well of the route of Baruch is the summer solstice. Indeed, Baruch meets sun's chariot in the place from where all the gates of the heaven are seen, that is, in the highest place of the heaven. Travelling along sun's yearly route, Baruch meets the sun in the highest point of its yearly trajectory, which gives him an opportunity to see sun's and moon's daily movements together with the appropriate heavenly facilities. Any other observer's position would not allow Baruch to see all the heavenly gates simultaneously.

5.2. Inter-heavenly Doors

In *3 Baruch*, there are two kinds of gates/doors: the gates separating the heavens from each other and 365 or 50 gates of sun in 6:13. Two kinds of gates occupy different places in the *3 Baruch* cosmology. The inter-heavenly gates are also known in *2 Enoch* (but not in the *Astronomical Book* within *1 Enoch*).²¹

Babylonian astronomy did not know any "gates" between the different heavens. However, it did know two other important things:

1. demarcation of the heaven into three areas called "paths" (*ḥarrānu*, ideographic KASKAL), with possible meaning of "region"²², or by some terms with a more general meaning, whose literal sense combines the meanings of border line and demarcated area²³,
2. sacral nature of the "ford" (*neberu*)²⁴ between these areas.

In the opening lines of the fifth tablet of *Enūma elīš* V, all these terms are especially concentrated. The text describes how Marduk established the heavens (*Enūma elīš* V, 1–8)²⁵. The letter ^d in superscript before the proper names states for the determinative "god" (from Sumerian DINGIR).

He constructed stands (*man-za-za*) for the great gods,

Fixing their astral likenesses as the Images²⁶.

He determined the year, demarcated the demarcations/zones (*mi-iš-ra-ta ú-aš-šir* [variant *ú-ma-aš-šir*])²⁷:

He set up three stars for each of the twelve months.

After he had demarcated the demarcations (*uš-ši-ru ú-šu-ra-ti*) for the year,

He fixed the stand of ^dNeberu (*man-za-az^dné-bé-ri*) to determine their rituals/legal duties (*rik-si-šú-un*)²⁸,

²¹ On *2 Enoch*'s six inter-heavenly gates, see Lourié, *Calendrical Elements in 2 Enoch*.

²² CAD 6 (1956) [1995⁵] 106–113, esp. astronomical meaning 1, e (p. 108–109) and meaning 1, b "identified by terminus and region traversed" (p. 107).

²³ See CAD 4 (1958) [2004⁶] 346–349 (s.v. *ešeru* "to draw, to establish (regulations)"), CAD 7 (1960) [2004⁵] 206 (s.v. *išratu* "plan, design, borderline", with discussion on *mišratu* in *Enūma elīš* V as a variant of this word), CAD 10, II (1977) [2004³] 245 (s.v. *muššuru* "to fix a borderline", quoting *Enūma elīš* V, 3), cf. 113–115 (s.v. *mišru* "border" and "territory"), and J. Black, A. George, N. Postgate, *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (Wiesbaden, 2000²) 428–429, s.v. *ušurtu(m)* "drawing, plan".

²⁴ CAD 11, II (1980) [2008³] 145–147, s.v. *nēberu*, esp. meaning 1 "ferry, ford, crossing".

²⁵ In the following quote I reworked the translation by E. A. Speiser in order to make it more literalistic; cf. J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1969³), p. 67. The text is quoted according to the critical edition: Ph. Talon, *The Standard Babylonian Creation Myth Enūma Eliš. Introduction, Cuneiform Text, Transliteration, and Sign List with a Translation and Glossary in French*. (State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts, 4; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2005), p. 57.

²⁶ Cf. Horowitz's translation: "The stars, their likeness he set up, the constellations" (W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998), p. 114).

²⁷ Talon translates "Il fit connaître l'année, en dessina le plan" (*op. cit.*, p. 95) but such translation seems to overshadow the spatial rather than purely temporary nature of this "demarcation" of the year which is, in fact, demarcation of the heaven.

So that (they will) not commit sin nor loosen in any way.²⁹
He established with it [^dNeberu] the stands (*man-za-az*) of ^dEnlil and ^dEa [variant ^dAnu³⁰].

Wayne Horowitz showed that this text belongs to the astronomical tradition expressed in many other Mesopotamian texts, first of all, so-called “astrolabes” or, more correctly and according to their genuine name, “Three Stars Each.”³¹ These texts assign three stars to each of the twelve months, each of these stars belonging to one out of three “paths” (sectors of heaven).

The divine name Neberu is already interpreted theologically (as Marduk) and astronomically (as Jupiter or Mercury),³² but it is still needing an interpretation in the terms of sacred cosmology, that is, as a device taking part in the heavenly liturgy.

“Neberu” is a derivative of the verb *ebēru* “to cross” (especially water), “to extend beyond (something)”. No mystical/liturgical connotations are known,³³ except, however, the very fact that “Neberu” became a divine name belonging to the god-creator.

The corresponding Hebrew verb *‘br*, having the same basic meaning, acquired a mystical/liturgical meaning of “entering into covenant” (in the *Serek* of the Qumranic community, by crossing Jordan,³⁴ with a long trail of the “Baptist” rituals in late Jewish movements, including new born Christianity³⁵). This Hebrew “entering into covenant” by crossing a river already recalls the spectre of meanings of the corresponding Akkadian verb *ebēru*, even if the latter seems not to have meaning of performing a ritual. However, such meaning has the verb *etēqu* “to pass through with a ritual” (of purification *etc.*), together with the whole spectre of meanings of *ebēru*, which was used as “synonymic or parallel with *ebēru*”.³⁶ The liturgical meaning of the Hebrew verb has certainly the antecedents in Mesopotamia, going back to the interwoven meanings of both *ebēru* and *etēqu*.³⁷

This meaning of ritual of purification/initiation fits the role of Neberu as a divine “ferry” or “crossing” between the parts of heaven.³⁸ The most important meaning of Neberu is, however, its connection with the idea of religious law and duties: when the luminaries are passing through Neberu, they renew their entering into the covenant. The latter meaning is the same as we see in *3 Baruch*. The

²⁸ Cf. CAD 14 (1999) 347–354 (*s.v. riksu*), esp. meaning 5 “ritual arrangement” (p. 351–352); another, legalistic aspect of this terminology was observed by Wilson and Landsberger (B. Landsberger, J. V. K. Wilson, *The Fifth Tablet of Enuma Eliš*, JNES 20 (1961) 154–179) and interpreted in the vein of the idea of covenant by Ben-Dov (see the next note).

²⁹ This line (V, 7) is given in the translation of Jonathan Ben-Dov (Ben-Dov, p. 277, n. 96). The luminaries are in the covenant with Marduk, and so, they can, theoretically, break this covenant and commit sin; Jewish parallels to this idea are to be found in 4Q319 and 4Q320. For additional discussion, see Lourié, *Between Babylonia and Ethiopia*, p. 431–432.

³⁰ Ea in A (= London, British Museum, inv. K3567, 7th cent. BC), destroyed in B, Anu in C (= London, British Museum, inv. K13477, first half of the 1st millenary BC).

³¹ Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*..., pp. 114–116, cf. 154–166.

³² For the astronomical meaning of Neberu in various Mesopotamian texts, see now Г. Е. Куртик, *Звездное небо древней Месопотамии. Шумеро-аккадские названия созвездий и других светил*. СПб.: Алетея, 2007 [G. E. Kurtik, *The Star Heaven of the Ancient Mesopotamia. Sumer-Akkadian Names of the Constellations and Other Luminaries*. St Petersburg: Aleteya, 2007], pp. 367–370.

³³ CAD 4 (1958) [2004⁶] 10–13 (*s.v. ebēru*).

³⁴ W. H. Brownlee, “The Ceremony of Crossing the Jordan in the Annual Covenanting at Qumran”, in: W. C. Delsman, J. T. Nelis, J. R. T. M. Peters, W. H. Ph. Römer, A. S. van der Woude (Hrsg.), *Von Kanaan bis Kerala. Festschrift für Prof. Mag. Dr. Dr. J. P. M. van der Ploeg, O. P. Zur Vollendung des siebenzigsten Lebensjahres am 4. Juli 1979. Überreicht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Bd. 211; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verl., 1982), pp. 295–302.

³⁵ J. Thomas, *Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie (150 av. J.-C. — 300 ap. J.-C.)* (Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis. Dissertationes ad graduum magistri in Facultate Theologica vel in Facultate Iuris Canonici consequendum conscriptae. Series II. Tomus 28), Gembloux, J. Duculot, 1935; D. VIGNE, *Christ au Jourdain. Le Baptême de Jésus dans la tradition judéo-chrétienne (Études bibliques, n. s., 16)*, Paris, J. Gabalda, 1992.

³⁶ CAD 4 (1958) [2004⁶] 384–395 (*s.v. etēqu*), esp. 388 and 392 (meaning A, 4, e).

³⁷ Unfortunately, both words do not appear in Hayim Tadmor’s studies of the oath and covenant terminology in Mesopotamia, probably, because Tadmor did not take into account the liturgical texts. Cf. H. Tadmor, *The Aramaization of Assyria: Aspects of Western Impact*, in: H.-J. Nissen, J. Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn* (Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient, 1, Berlin: Reimer, 1982), pp. 449–470.

³⁸ We have only two textual evidences for *Enūma elīš* V, 8, which is not sufficient to judge whether one of the variant readings, “Ea” or “Anu” is a mistake. Probably, both are allowable, if only Neberu was considered as a universal “crossing”/“ferry” between different parts of heaven.

whole idea of the apocalypse is that, despite the desolation of Jerusalem, the covenant between Israel and God is not broken. In this way, Baruch's journey is a *renovatio testamenti*.

We are able to conclude that, if not the very wording but the idea of the “gates” between the parts of heaven is, in the Jewish cosmological apocalypses, a part of their Babylonian legacy. It should be noted also, that the three-heaven-gate model in *3 Baruch* U is closer to its Babylonian antecedent of the three “paths/zones” that the six-gate model in *2 Enoch*. This is not to say, however, that *3 Baruch* U is necessarily earlier than the *2 Enoch* calendar.

5.3. Localisation of the Inter-Heavenly Gates

According to the available textual evidence, *3 Baruch* localises the heavenly doors/gates in the way presented in the Table 4.

Table 4.

<i>3 Baruch</i>	Function	*Function in U
2:2	Access to the heaven.	“Ferry” between 1 st and 2 nd heavens.
4:2S	Access to the next heaven (no gate in G).	[No gate.]
10:1	[No gate but an access to some next heaven.]	“Ferry” between 2 nd and 1 st heavens.
11:1	Access to the Holy of Holies (only for Michael).	Access to the Holy of Holies (only for Michael).

The available picture is obviously distorted, and so, there were several attempts of reconstruction. To take a fresh look, let us check our data against the Babylonian astronomical tradition. Recently, Ben-Dov showed that this is procedure is very effective in reconstruction of the Second Temple period Jewish calendrical texts. Thus, let us superpose the data of the Table 4 on the Fig. 2 where Baruch's route occupies the part of the ecliptic limited by some points near the two equinoxes. These points which are the theoretical dates of the equinoxes implied in *3 Baruch* are still unknown to us (on them, see below, 5.4.4). Moreover, we have to take in mind the data of the Table 3 (liturgical meaning of the events).

One can see that there is no inter-heaven border corresponding to 4:2: Baruch is still on the path of Enlil (I beg to excuse me for using the Babylonian terminology; its Jewish equivalent consists in simple numbering of the heavens which may be confusing). On the contrary, there is certainly an inter-heaven border corresponding to 10:1 when Baruch returns to the path of Anu.

In 2:2, Baruch is going from the earth to the heaven but he starts on the feast corresponding to a path of Anu (Passover) while finishes on a feast corresponding to the path of Enlil (Pentecost). One inter-heaven border is crossed.

The gates in 11:1 are a Jewish addition to the Babylonian cosmology, and so, are to be excluded from the present discussion. The presence of some door in 11:1 is certainly authentic.

If *3 Baruch*'s inter-heavenly gates are the “ferries” (Neberu) between the “paths” of the Babylonian cosmology, they are at place only in the positions presented in the third column of the Table 4 (*Function = reconstructed function). The access to the heaven from the earth does not presuppose any specific gate. The gates in 4:2S are a remnant of the gates originally placed in 10:1.

The editors who were producing the five-heaven recension *S faced a severe deficit of the heavenly furniture whose main pieces are the inter-heavenly gates. Nevertheless, they did not invented new gates themselves but simply shifted the two available gates closer to each other. The function of such gates became unclear, and so, the editors who were producing the recension G reduced the number of gates to one assuming that the gates in 2:2 are providing an access to the heavenly realm as a whole.

5.4. The Gates of the Sun

In 6:13, Baruch sees another kind of gates, those passed by the sun when it arises every day. Their number is 365 in G, 65 in the most of mss S but 50 in the mss T and B. The scholarly consensus interprets the number 65 as a distortion of the original reading “365” and the number 365 as corresponding to the implied number of days in the year. The latter supposition is a fundamental one for the reconstruction of the cosmology of G proposed by Martina Frasson. Kulik argues that the reading “365” goes back to U.

I do agree with the scholarly consensus that the number 365 implies the number of days in the year and that the reading “365” goes back to the common *Vorlage* of G and S. However, I disagree with

Kulik that the reading “365” goes back further being the original reading of U. To my opinion, it is the readings of the manuscripts TB (“50”) which is the closest to the genuine one (“52”).

5.4.1. The meaning of “365”

Our previous outline of the liturgical contents of *3 Baruch* is sufficient to see that its calendar is similar to the calendar of the *Temple Scroll*. It is unlikely that a Jewish calendar of the Second Temple period is similar to that of the *Temple Scroll* by its liturgical contents but does not presuppose the 364-day year. At least, so far we do not know any example. The calendar of *2 Enoch* whose cosmology is the closest parallel to *3 Baruch* presupposes the 364-day year, too.

Moreover, the reading “365” is unacceptable by the cosmological reasons (and so, it might be inserted only by the later editors unaware of the cosmology implied).

The heavenly gates on both sides of the horizon are a classical concept of the Mesopotamian cosmology shared by the *Astronomical Book* preserved within *1 Enoch*. These gates are strictly symmetrical, and so, their number must necessarily be even. It is stressed already in one of the earliest pertinent Babylonian texts (about 12th century B.C.E.³⁹) mentioning heavenly gates (*abullu* = ideographic KÁ.GAL), *Enūma elīš* V, 9-10⁴⁰:

Having opened up the gates on both sides (KÁ.GAL.MEŠ *ina še-li ki-lal-la-an*),
He [Marduk] strengthened the locks to the left and the right.⁴¹

In these verses, the symmetry of the heavenly gates is stressed. The firmament itself is meant divided into two “sides” (or, if one translates in the most literalistic way, into two sides of ribcage). Naturally, the number of the gates of heaven, in this sense, must be even: each gate from what the sun appears must have a corresponding gate where the sun disappears.

It is worth noting that, in the Jewish parallels quoted by Kulik for the support of the genuineness of the reading “365,” the number of the gates of heaven is, nevertheless, even, too. The closest parallel is that of y. *Rosh. HaSh.* 2.58a: “The Holy One created 365 windows for the world to use: 182 in the east, 182 in the west, and one in the middle of the firmament, from where [the sun] went out in the beginning of the Creation.” Here, the 365th window is not a “working one,” thus betraying its later origin. In other Kulik’s parallels the number of heavenly windows is either 366 (*Pirque R. El.* 5) or 360 = 180 + 180 (a Pahlavi cosmological treatise *Bundahišn* 5B going back to the Mesopotamian astronomy through the Zoroastrian sources).

Unlike the number 365, the very idea of the number of gates of heaven equal to the number of the days in the year is not unacceptable in the frame of the cosmology of *3 Baruch*. According to Ben-Dov’s analysis, 4Q503 *papDaily Prayers* implied that “...each daily exit of the sun is counted as one ‘gate.’”⁴² However, this Qumranic document implies the 364-day year. Thus, it is possible that the reading “365” in *3 Baruch* 6:13 appeared as a correction of the previous reading “364.”

Be that as it may, there are serious reasons to consider the reading “50” as the closest to the reading of U (s. below, 5.4.4).

5.4.2. Sun’s Yearly Movement in Relation to Horizon: MUL.APIN’s case

Dealing with the sun’s daily passing through heavenly gates, we are in presence of an everlasting problem of Jewish cosmology of the Second Temple period which has never been resolved uniformly, the problem of inscribing the four additional days of the 364-day year into the scheme of sun’s movement. This scheme was inherited from the early Babylonian astronomy and presupposed the 360-day year. For the Babylonian astronomy, the 364-day year was a short-living innovation appeared somewhere before *ca*

³⁹ Hunger, Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia*, esp. 58 and 62.

⁴⁰ Talon, *The Standard Babylonian Creation Myth Enūma Eliš...*, p. 57.

⁴¹ Tr. by E. A. Speiser in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts...*, p. 67 ; cf. CAD 1, I (1964) [1998⁴], s.v. *abullu*, esp. p. 87.

⁴² Ben-Dov, p. 135.

700 B.C.E. in MUL.APIN (“Polar Star”) II ii 11-12,⁴³ probably, never customised with other astronomical calculations which were still implying the 360-day year (as it is in MUL.APIN). In the mainstream of the Babylonian astronomy, the 364-day year was later replaced by the 365-day one.

Even in MUL.APIN where the 364-day year first appeared, the movement of sun is described within the 360-day year. This year is divided into four equal quarters of 90 days each with the turning points on the days of the solstices and the equinoxes exactly in the middle of the corresponding months (I, IV, VII, X), on 15th days of these months.⁴⁴ According to MUL.APIN II Gap A 1-6,⁴⁵ these four quarters are distributed as following:

Path of Anu	1.XII — 30.II
Path of Enlil	1.III — 30.V
Path of Anu	1.VI — 30.VIII
Path of Ea	1.IX — 30.XI

On the Fig. 3, a typical for the Babylonian astronomy linear zigzag function is presented; the axis of ordinates presents the place of the sun relating to the horizon between the two extreme lines corresponding to the two solstices.

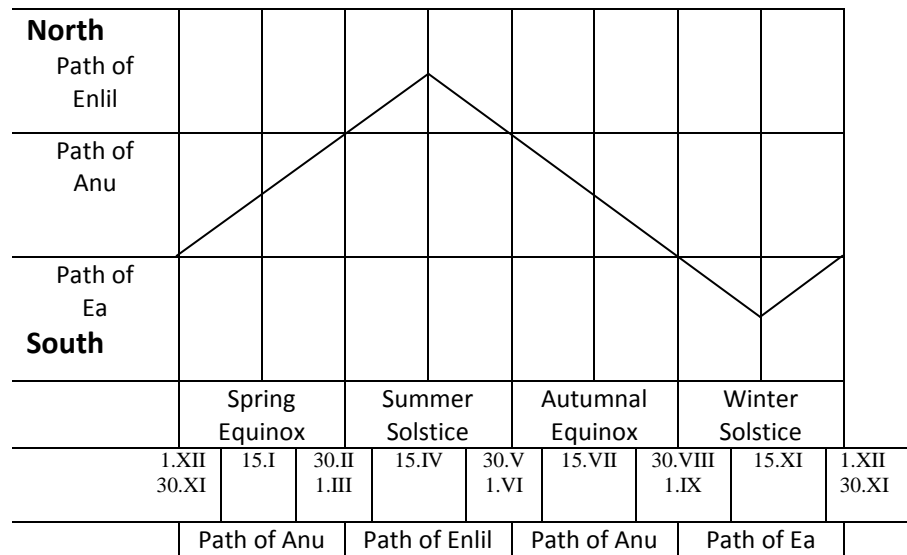


Fig. 3: Sun’s yearly movement between the three “paths” of heaven according to MUL.APIN (adapted from HOROWITZ, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography...*, 173).

It is obvious that this perfect symmetry would be destroyed by insertion of the four additional days. And it was destroyed, indeed, although the 360-day scheme continued to be in use as an idealised one.

5.4.3. Sun’s Yearly Movement in Relation to Horizon: 1 Enoch’s case

In the Jewish astronomy where the 364-day year became normative the problem of the four additional days became acute. Several decisions were proposed. The most known today is that of the *Astronomical Book* (s. esp. 1 Enoch 72) where the 360-day year is still traceable as a feature of the original recension while the 364-day year is a result of later reworking (here I agree with Albani’s and

⁴³ H. Hunger, D. Pingree, MUL.APIN. *An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform* (Horn, 1989) (Archiv für Orientforschung, 24) 94. These two lines of MUL.APIN mention an intercalary lunar month of 30 days in 3 years caused by the difference of 10 days between the lunar year (354 days) and the calendric year; thus, the calendric year implied is the 364-day year.

⁴⁴ See above n. 12, on the two different Mesopotamian traditions concerning the dates of the cardinal points. There is no data, so far, concerning the old Babylonian tradition on the Jewish ground, and the data of 3 *Baruch* show no connexion with it, either.

⁴⁵ Hunger, Pingree, MUL.APIN..., 88-89.

Ben-Dov's analysis). The four extra-days are distributed among the four quarters of the year where the months III, VI, IX, and XII have 31 days instead of 30; however, the cardinal points of the year, corresponding to the theoretical dates of the two solstices and the two equinoxes, are the first days of the following months (IV, VII, X, I). Indeed, as Ben-Dov shows, there are other Jewish texts where an opposite scheme was realised although in the same frame of the four 91-day quarters: the cardinal points are the 31st days of the four corresponding months. Instead of the three "paths" of heaven in the Mesopotamian astronomy, the heavenly gates appear.

In the *Astronomical Book*, the number of gates is $12 = 6 + 6$. The sun is passing one pair of gates per month, and thus two times per year (Fig. 4).

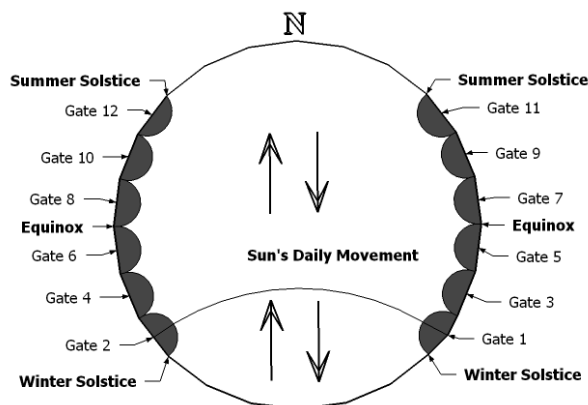


Fig. 4: Sun's daily movement between the twelve gates of heaven according to *1 Enoch* 72 (represented on the scheme as an ark from Gate 1 to Gate 2). Sun's yearly movement between the pairs of gates is indicated by the arrows.

The sun starts its yearly movement on the vernal equinox on 1.I (1 Nisan) in the gates 7-8; on 1.II, it reaches the next pair of gates (9 and 10) and continues to move northward up to the gates 11-12 which it passes during the month III. The last day of this month, 31.III, is the day before the summer solstice. The sun reaches the extreme northern point (summer solstice) on the first day of the fourth month (1.IV).⁴⁶ Then, the sun turns backward continuing its movement to the South. It reaches the equinox again at the first day of the seventh month (1.VII) and its extreme southern point (winter solstice) at the first day of the tenth month (1.X). Then, the sun again turns backward and continues to move northward. It reaches the point of the vernal equinox at the first day of a new year, 1.I.

This scheme is equivalent to that of the Mesopotamian astronomy where the trajectory of the daily movement of the sun is moving between the same points of the two solstices. The rationale of the sixfold subdivision in the *Astronomical Book* is explicit: to harmonize the yearly movement of the sun with the twelve months. One can ask further what is the sense of such a harmonization⁴⁷ but, to our purpose, this question is irrelevant. It is important to note, however, that it is the harmonization with the twelve months that shifted the cardinal points of the year from the 15th days of the corresponding months to either 31st or 1st ones.

In such a harmonization, the problem to resolve is to divide the parts of the horizon between the two solstices into the arks corresponding to one month each. The two solstices correspond to the extreme northern and southern points of the movement of sun's daily trajectory. If the dates of the solstices are 15th days of the corresponding months, the corresponding arks must be semi-"idle": they will contain the

⁴⁶ A mathematically equivalent scheme where the summer solstice corresponds to 31.III is known to other Jewish sources. For details, see Ben-Dov....

⁴⁷ This question is discussed by Ben-Dov who put forward a hypothesis that the twelve gates of heavens might be an earlier version of the zodiac (related to the horizon instead of the heavenly equator) and, then, by me (Lourié, *Between Babylonia and Ethiopia...*). I argued that the 12-gate system is, indeed, an early Babylonian form of the zodiac, although not preserved in the available Mesopotamian evidence, and so, is not an invention of the Jewish author of the *Astronomical Book*.

halves northward of the summer solstice and southward of the winter solstice which can be never reached by the sun. Therefore, it is necessary to arrange the cardinal points of the year on either 1st days of the first months of the quarters or 31st days of the last (third) months of the quarters.

If you have the priority to preserve the 15th days as the cardinal points of the year, you have to choose for harmonization another time unit than the month.

5.4.4. Sun's Yearly Movement in Relation to Horizon: 3 Baruch's case

In the Mesopotamian tradition which is the common background of all Jewish 364-day calendars, the cardinal points were 15th days of the four corresponding months. These days coincided with the monthly *šabattu(m)* or *šapattu(m)*, the days of full moon, which were always considered of great importance. This scheme, too, is to be expected in Jewish calendrical works, even if so far undetected. We will see that it is this scheme that is of primary interest for the study of 3 Baruch.

Within the frame of this scheme, the 91-day quarters can be subdivided into 13 weeks, the whole 364-day year comprising 52 weeks. This fact opens a possibility to harmonize the traditional Babylonian scheme with the cardinal points on the 15th days with the cycle of the weeks. The idea is rather obvious: the two symmetrical parts of the horizon are to be divided into 26 arks thus providing 52 symmetrical “gates” on both sides of the horizon. The principle of the yearly sun's movement remains the same as in the case of the *Astronomical Book* (see Fig. 5).

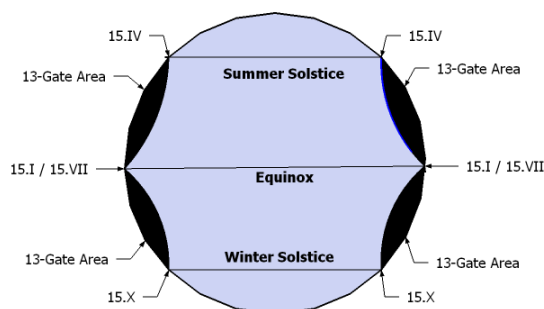


Fig. 5: Sun's yearly trajectory through 52 gates.

The sun starts its way on the day of the vernal equinox, 15.I, the first day of the week (Sunday). Then, it moves northward during 13 weeks passing 13 gates up to the day of the summer solstice (15.IV). Then, it returns backward and passes again 13 gates during 13 weeks up to the day of the autumnal equinox, 15.VII. Then, it continues its way to South for 13 weeks and 13 gates more up to the day of the winter solstice, 15.X. Finally, it returns northward and goes for 13 weeks and 13 gates more up to the vernal equinox.

Before discussing this scheme in details, we have to discuss the actual reading of mss TB which is in fact not “52” but “50.” These two manuscripts are the main representatives of the α -family, both are Russian; ms T is dated to the fifteenth-sixteenth century, ms B to the seventeenth-eighteenth century.

This reading runs as follows (6:13, ms T, f. 248v = ms B): $\overline{\text{УВЕРЗАЮТЬ}} \overline{\text{АНГЛИ}} \overline{\text{Н}} \overline{\text{ДВЕРНИ}} \overline{\text{Е}}$ $\overline{\text{НБ(С)Ъ}}$ “the angels open 50 doors of (the) 5 heavens.”

One can see that this phrase, as it is, goes back not further than to the five-heaven recension, thus, the reading “of (the) 5 heavens” does not belong to U. Nevertheless, nothing precludes to consider the reading “50” as belonging to U. Its alternative, the reading “65,” which is, most probably, a corruption of “365,” has even less chances to be genuine. Assuming that the reading “50” belongs to U and taking into

account the cosmological considerations exposed above in this section I think that we have to reconstruct the genuine reading of U as “50 and 2”; such kind of number designation (when the tens and the ones were written separately) was quite common but one part of such designation easily might be dropped.⁴⁸ The verse 6:13 as we can now read it in G and S is certainly severely damaged, but our reconstruction has advantage of respecting both one of the manuscript readings and the cosmology.

The number of heavenly gates in the *Urtext* of *3 Baruch* is 52 corresponding to the 52 weeks of the 364-day year. The movement of the sun through the cardinal points of the year is harmonized with the cycle of the weeks. The rationale of such harmonization is the need of preserving the distribution of the four cardinal points on the days of *šapattu*. This is an indirect argument in favour of Johannes Meinhold’s hypothesis on the Babylonian origin of the Jewish Sabbath (by generalisation of *šapattu* on the seven-day cycles), in our time supported by Gnan Robinson.⁴⁹ Regardless to the possible Babylonian background, such a harmonization would be especially welcome in Jewish milieu.

6. Liturgical Calendar

The results of our reconstruction of the liturgical calendar are presented in the Table 5. Some details are already discussed above (part 4), within the outline of the liturgical calendar. Here we continue the discussion referring to the Table 5. For the sake of convenience, I divided the whole text of *3 Baruch* (excepting the final chapter) into four sections.

Table 5.

3 Baruch	Sections	Topics	Calendaric Date	Notes
Ch. 1	First Section: From the Passover to the Pentecost	Baruch when weeping on Jerusalem is taken by an Angel.	14.I, Passover, Sabbath	
2:2 N		Journey 50 days.	14.I—4.III	Traversing an inter-heaven border on 1.III.
Ch. 2–3		Builders of the Tower of Babel.	4.III, Sunday, Pentecost	Implies counting off the seven weeks from 15.I.
4:2 BT	Second Section: The Summer Solstice and the New Wine Festival	Journey 40 days.	4.III—13.IV	Cf. Ex 24:18.
6:1-12		Chariot of sun, Phoenix.	13.IV, Friday	The highest point of the heaven, the summer solstice.
6:12		Baruch “waits.”	14.IV, Sabbath	
6:13 to ch. 9		Sun’s daily movement, 52 gates of heaven, moon’s movement.	15.IV, Sunday, Summer solstice.	Day’s beginning at dawn.
3:2 BT		Journey 8 days.	16.IV—23.IV	
Ch. 4-5		Garden, Tree of vine, Hades.	New Wine festival, 23.IV	“Second Pentecost”: 4.III + 50 (=

⁴⁸ There is a reason to suppose that “52” was transformed into “50” deliberately. At least, 50 is a multiple of the number of heavens in the five-heaven cosmology. Some structure of the five heavens with ten gates each was probably meant.

⁴⁹ J. Meinhold, *Sabbat und Woche im Alten Testament. Eine Untersuchung* (FRLANT, 5; Göttingen, 1905) ; G. Robinson, *The Origin and Development of the OT Sabbath. A Comprehensive Exegetical Approach* (BET, 21; Frankfurt a.M., 1988).

				40 + 1 + 1 + 8) days.
4:2 PVID	Third Section: Vision of Paradise	Journey 70 days.	24.IV—2.VII	70 days = 10 weeks.
10:1		Traversing an inter-heaven border.	1.VI	
Ch. 10		Paradise of birds.	2.VII	Cf. <i>Navigatio S. Brendani</i> : Paradise of birds visited between Easter and Pentecost.
Ch. 11-13	Fourth Section: Consecration/New Oil Festival and Yom Kippur	Michael as the heavenly archpriest, baskets of flowers brought by angels.	Consecration festival, days from I to VII of the eight, from 3.VII to 9.VII.	Attached to the Day of Atonement as its culmination.
Ch. 14-16		Heavenly Yom Kippur, distribution of oil to the righteous ones and locusts to the wicked ones.	Day VIII of the Consecration festival, 10.VII	Yom Kippur is combined with the Consecration festival and the New Oil festival.
Ch. 17		Baruch returns to the point of depart.	14.I, Passover, Sabbath	

6.1. First Section: The Date of the Pentecost and the Sunday 364-Day Calendar

In the discussion above (see 4.1 and 4.3) we did not pay account to the exact number of days in the first journey of Baruch (2:2). Indeed, the reading of ms N, “50,” is the closest to any possible number of days between the feasts of the Passover (always 14.I; Lev 23:5) and the Pentecost but it is not without problems. It does not coincide with that of the corresponding number of days in the rabbinic Judaism (16.I + 49 days) or with that of the *Book of Jubilees* (26.I + 49 days). It does not coincide with that of the *2 Enoch* calendar (22.I + 49 days), either.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, such a calendar is not absolutely unknown in the sources. In an Alexandrian Jewish calendar used somewhere in the third century as a theoretical scheme for Christian calendaric calculation and now preserved as the theoretical “Jewish” calendar in the Christian computus in Ethiopia, the formula for the calculation of the Pentecost from the Passover is exactly $p + 50$, which means that the “Jewish” Pentecost is after 50 days after the “Jewish” Passover.⁵¹

The parallel from an early Jewish calendar preserved in the Ethiopian computus demonstrates that the number 50 is allowable as the number of days between the Passover and the Pentecost, and so, the reading of ms N “50” has a good chance to be genuine (in the sense of belonging to U). Nevertheless, some other difficulties still prevent from definitively accepting this reading.

The three formerly known methods of counting off the seven weeks of the Pentecost differ in their comprehension of the biblical phrase prescribing to start “from the day after the Sabbath (מִמָּחֳרַת הַשַּׁבָּת), from the day on which you bring the sheaf of the elevation offering” (Lev 23:15 NRSV). The literal meaning of some parts of the biblical prescriptions is mostly ignored. In the rabbinic Judaism, ignored is the commandment to appoint the day of raising of the sheaf “on the day after the Sabbath” (Lev 23:11, 15): the seven weeks are counted from 16.I regardless to the weekday, considering 15.I as the first day of the Passover because the night from 14.I and 15.I when the paschal Lamb is to be eaten is considered as belonging to 15.I (the nyctemeron begins in the evening); this counting leads to 6.III as the

⁵⁰ Lourié, *Calendrical Elements in 2 Enoch*.

⁵¹ O. Neugebauer, *Ethiopian Astronomy and Computus* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosoph.-hist. Kl. Sitzungsberichte, 347; Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichte der Mathematik, Naturwissenschaften und Medizin, 22; Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979), pp. 142-143; B. Lourié, *Computus*, in: S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*. Vol. I: A—C (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003), pp. 784-787.

Day of Shavuoth = Pentecost, the 2nd month having 29 days. In the calendars of the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*, all the rules of Lev 23 regarding the Sabbath are kept in their literal sense; moreover, the nychtemeron begins in the morning, and so, the first day of the Passover is 14.I, the nychtemeron which includes the night when the paschal Lamb is to be eaten. 1.I (the first day of the year) is Wednesday (this is why this 364-day calendar may be called Wednesday calendar), 14.I (Passover) is Tuesday. The commandment to start counting after the day of raising of the sheaf is considered as postponing the initial point of counting off up to the end of the seven-day feast of Unleavened Bread (Lev 23:6-8), 15–21.I. The first Sunday after 21.I is 26.I, which is therefore the first day of the counting off of the seven weeks leading to the Pentecost on 15.III, Sunday. In these Wednesday 364-day calendars, however, broken is, in its literal sense, the second part of the verse Lev 23:15 “...from the day on which you bring the sheaf of the elevation offering.”

However, in 2 *Enoch*, the first day of counting off of the seven weeks is 22.I, the next day after the last day of the festival of Unleavened Bread. This became possible because, in 2 *Enoch*, 22.I is Sunday. This, in turn, became possible because the 2 *Enoch* calendar is a Sunday 364-day calendar, that is, a calendar where the year starts on the first day of the week, Sunday, which is the first day of creation. In this calendar, the Passover falls on Sabbath which turned out especially important for the early Christian tradition.⁵²

The existence of the Sunday-type of the 364-day calendar resolves the last problems with the reading of ms N “50” and allows accepting it as genuine.

The 3 *Baruch* calendar where the Pentecost is counted with the formula $p + 50$ implies that the first day of counting of the seven weeks (= 49 days) is 15.I, the next day after the Passover if the nychtemeron begins in the morning, as it is normal for the 364-day calendars. This makes sense if 15.I is Sunday, 14.I is Sabbath, and 1.I is Sunday, that is, in the frame of the Sunday 364-day calendar. The seven-day festival of Unleavened Bread is ignored in this counting, and, similarly to the rabbinic tradition, the day of raising of the sheaf (although its date is here 15.I, not 16.I) is the only day to be taken into account.

Let us note that the Sabbath is not suiting for the heavenly journey. The similar attitude toward the Sabbath will be repeated in 6:12, where Baruch will have “to wait” during the Sabbath 14.IV (s. below, 6.3). All this is, of course, in general agreement with the role of Sabbath in the whole calendar of 3 *Baruch* where the course of Sabbaths is the most important subdivision of the year (s. above, 5.4.4).

Discussion of the manuscript readings in 2:2 (Table 2). The correct reading “50” is preserved in the only ms N but the reading “30” (α-family and Z) is to be read as an incorrect Cyrillic transliteration of the Glagolitic number “50” (see above, part 4). Other readings (“6” and “7”) were tentatively explained above (see 4.1) as a remnant of a 7-day period before the Pentecost, according to Ex 24:16. However, an alternative explanation is not less probable: both “6” and “7” are distortions of the original reading “8” (Glagolitic “8” > Cyrillic “7” > Old Bulgarian Cyrillic uncial “6”) preserved in 3:2 BT whose original place is in the Second Section (before the New Wine scene, see below, 6.2).

6.2. Second Section: A “Cosmological” Shift in the Five-Heaven Recension

The discussion of the original places of the heavenly gates above (see 5.3) gives an idea of the “cosmological” shift performed in the recension where the five heavens first appeared. These heavens were considered as a five-level pyramid, and so, the earlier idea that Baruch’s journey contained a descending part became untenable. Thus, the some scenes were rearranged in a more “logical” sequence: evildoers—Hades—luminaries—Paradise; the earlier sequence where the luminaries (the summer solstice scene) were before the scene with the Garden and Hades was abandoned. This is why the main contents of the actual chapters 4 and 5 was posed before the that of chapters 6–9.

In addition to this “cosmological” shift, two new heavens with two new heavenly borders appeared. All these changes did not stroked so much at the consequence of the episodes as at the cosmological parameters including the number of days between Baruch’s stations.

The reading “40” in 4:2 BT is certainly genuine and preserved on its genuine place (opening the second section of our reconstruction). It is an obvious allusion to Ex 24:18 (40 days as duration of the revelation on Sinai). A 40-day period starting from the day of the Pentecost does make biblical sense.

⁵² Lourié, *Calendrical Elements...*; *idem*, *Calendrical Implications in the Epistle to the Hebrews: Seven questions concerning the liturgy of the Sabbath rest*, *Revue biblique* 115 (2008) 245-265.

Thus, the next scene after the Pentecost (4.III) is to be appointed on 13.IV, Friday (the third month being of 31 days).

In our 364-day calendar, the quarters contain 91 days each (13 weeks, see above), and so, the four additional days must be distributed in the same manner as in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* calendars; thus, the months III, VI, IX, and XII must contain 31 days.

The next festival after the Pentecost is that of New Wine (s. above, 4.2). However, the same mss BT which provide us the reading “40” in 4:2 provide the reading “8” in 3:2 where it is out of place (in the preserved recensions, 3:2 corresponds to Baruch’s travel from the first scene with the Babylonian evildoers to the second one, although in U it was the only and the same scene). Another reading in 3:2 (in Table 2) is “7,” a likely Cyrillic misspelling of the Glagolitic “8,” and so, an indirect confirmation of the reading “8” of BT. Thus, “8” in BT is certainly misplaced but, nevertheless, genuine.

The sum of two readings of BT “40” and “8” gives a distance from the day of Pentecost leading near to the expected day of the New Wine festival (about 49 days after the Pentecost). Therefore, the order of the intervals “40” and “8” (days) is to be restored as following: 40 days after the Pentecost up to some scene which is not yet the New Wine festival and, then, 8 days somewhere between this scene and the New Wine festival. In *3 Baruch*, there is the only scene which is fitting these conditions, that of the heavenly luminaries (actual chapters 6–9) which is, in our reconstruction of U, to be replaced before the New Wine scene described in the actual chapters 4 and 5.

The exact chronology of events is following. On 13.IV, Friday, at the end of his 40-day journey, Baruch observes the chariot of the sun and the bird Phoenix. The next day, 14.IV, is Sabbath; no activity allowed. On this day, the angel says to Baruch “to wait” (6:12, both S and G). After having waited one day, the angel shows to Baruch the daily movement of the sun and the moon and the *52 gates of heaven. Here it is especially evident that the beginning of the day is the sunrise, as it is common in the 364-day calendars. This scene occupies the whole nychthemeron, 15.IV, the day of the summer solstice. Then, after 8-day journey, the festival of New Wine takes place. Its date is 23.IV.

It is worth noting that, unlike the festival of New Wine in the *Temple Scroll* or its later (Christian) avatars⁵³ where the second Pentecost takes place after 49 days from the first Pentecost, the calendar of *3 Baruch* implies a 50-day interval. Thus, the second Pentecost is counted off by the same formula as the first one ($p + 50 + 50$). This so specific feature is certainly connected, in some way, to the wish of preserving the Mesopotamian attitude to the summer solstice.

An interesting detail showing “scholarly” character of *3 Baruch*’s cosmology is 36 angels accompanying the sun at the sunset (8:1S; 40 of 6:2 minus 4 taking care of Sun’s crown in 8:4): they are the 36 decans. Subdivision of the 360-grade heaven circle into thirty-six 10-grade sectors (called “decans” in Greek) is known from the earliest stages of the Babylonian and Egyptian astronomy.

6.3. Third Section: The Paradise of Birds, an Undigested Fragment of a Mesopotamian Cult

On the ground of analogy with the *Temple Scroll*, the next festival should be expected at the end of the next seven-week period, and it should be the festival of New Oil. Indeed, there are, in *3 Baruch*, motives of such a festival but much later, near the end of Baruch’s journey. These motives are inseparable from those of the Day of Atonement, and so, any misplacing for them is excluded. Therefore, an analogy with the calendar of the *Temple Scroll* is applicable here only in a limited way. The exact dates of the events are to be searched in the text itself.

After the New Wine festival scene, the text contains the scene of the Paradise of Birds. The souls of the deaths transformed into birds is a widespread motive, as Kulik’s commentary shows, but the whole paradise of the righteous souls transformed into birds is not so common. At least, there is no Jewish parallel and only one Christian parallel (a seventh-century Celtic *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*⁵⁴). However,

⁵³ The Christian feasts on the fiftieth day after the Pentecost (that is, on the date counted as the date of the Pentecost plus 49 days) are the following: the earliest form of the Byzantine feast of the Holy Apostles (fixed as 29 June in the sixth century and limited to Peter and Paul) still persisting in the East Syrian (“Nestorian”) rite, the Armenian feast *Vardavar*, and the Georgian feast *Athenagoba* (commemoration of St Athenogenes). See, in more details, В. Лурье, *Введение в критическую агиографию* (Санкт-Петербург: Аxiōma, 2009) [B. Lourié, *An Introduction to the Critical Hagiography* (St Petersburg, 2009)], pp. 141–142.

⁵⁴ Jewish roots of this motif have never been recognised by the Celtic scholars, cf. P. Ch. Jacobsen, The Island of the Birds in the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, in: G. S. Burgess, C. Stijbosch (eds.), *The Brendan Legend. Texts and Versions* (The Northern World, 24; Leiden/Boston, 2006), pp. 99–116. The *Navigatio* could be interpreted

a Babylonian background is present: *Gilgameš*, Tablet VII.182-190 (pre-death dream of Enkidu; only the beginning of this part of the text is preserved),⁵⁵ and the *Descent of Ištar*.⁵⁶ These parallels, and especially the latter, have a calendaric meaning, and so, might be useful for our understanding of *3 Baruch*. Moreover, there is a Sumerian text RBC 2000, first published by W. W. Hallo in 1985, — a round “hand tablet” that “...was given to the deceased person in the grave to be held by hand, to be consulted and recited on his or her journey to the netherworld”; it is the oldest text mentioning the netherworld populated by the birds, probably dated to the 22nd century B.C.E.⁵⁷

The Mesopotamian ritual connected with the topics of the *Descent of Ištar* covered a large period from the IV (death of Tammuz) to the V month (descent of Ištar into the kingdom of deaths where the deaths “are clothed like birds, with wings for garments,” and, then, to the VI month (ascent of Ištar from the underworld). The topics of the month V was also a struggle against the dangers issuing from the deaths, sometimes under the patronage of Gilgameš.⁵⁸

In *3 Baruch*, Baruch’s journey across the paradise inhabited by the bird-like souls of deaths begins on 24.IV and continues until the celebrations of the festival of New Oil connected with the Day of Atonement whose date is 10.VII. Thus, this part of Baruch’s journey covers the months from IV to VI corresponding to the Mesopotamian rituals connected to the underworld inhabited by the birds. This long interval is too large for the 49-day period provided by the calendar of the *Temple Scroll* for the space between the festivals of New Wine and New Oil. Thus, here, the pentecontad distribution of the feasts is broken.

Among the manuscript readings presented in the Table 2, there is one which fits perfectly the interval corresponding to the Paradise of birds: “70” (preserved as the reading of mss PVID in 4:2⁵⁹). This reading is especially attractive because it is still harmonized with the cycle of weeks (70 days = 10 weeks). This leads us to 2.VII as the date when Baruch leaves the Paradise of birds (month VI has 31 days). This date will be confirmed additionally by the chronology of the festival of New Oil (see below, 6.4).

It is worth noting that, in the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, the monks live on the island of birds between the Easter and the Pentecost, a period in Christian calendars when the week is still remaining the basic calendaric structural element (in the Celtic Christian calendars, such periods are absent in the summertime after the Pentecost). This is an echo of an earlier attribution of this imagery to another period inscribed into a week-cycle starting on the Easter/Passover.

This part of Baruch’s journey included traversing of an inter-heaven border on 1.VI (between the paths of Enlil and Anu; cf. Figs. 2 and 3). Traces of this border are still visible in 10:1 (see above, 5.3).

6.4. Fourth Section: Consecration/New Oil Festival Attached to Yom Kippur

The liturgical content of this section is already extensively studied by Kulik. He showed that the angel Michael acts during these days as the heavenly high priest whose Holy of Holies is the supercelestial realm inaccessible to everybody else, with no exception for Baruch.

The main rituals are the following:

within the Jewish-Christian tradition as an apocalypse where the ocean replaces the heaven; cf., Лурье, *Введение в критическую агиографию*, pp. 210-215.

⁵⁵ “...he turned me into a dove, [He bound] my arms like (the wings of) a bird” (vv. 182-183), “They are clad like birds in coats of feathers”; A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction, Critical Edition, and Cuneiform Texts*, Vol. I (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), pp. 644/645 (transliteration of the text/tr.).

⁵⁶ On those in the netherworld, v. 10: “...Where they are clothed like birds, with wings for garments” (tr. by E. A. Speiser in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts...*, p. 107. The edition by P. Lapinkivi, *The Neo-Assyrian Myth of Ištar Descent and Resurrection* (State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts, 6; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Texts Corpus Project, 2010) is to me unavailable.

⁵⁷ Veldhuis, N. Entering the Netherworld, *Cuneiform Digital Library Bulletin* 6 (2003) 1-4. Cf. a forthcoming article by V. Emelianov, *Миры несвободы в шумерском гимне Нунгаль* [The Worlds of Unfreedom in the Sumerian Hymn to Nungal], in: В. Н. Колотов (ред.), *Политические структуры Востока* [V. N. Kolotov (ed.), *Political Structures of the East*]. I am grateful to Vladimir Emelianov for the reference to RBC 2000.

⁵⁸ For a detailed analysis of the pertinent Mesopotamian sources, see В. В. Емельянов, *Нунпурский календарь и ранняя история Зодиака* (Санкт-Петербург: Наука, 1999) [V. V. Emelianov, *The Nippur Calendar and the Early History of Zodiac* (St Petersburg, 1999)], pp. 77-98.

⁵⁹ The only unexplained manuscript reading in Table 2 is “32” of mss SZ in 4:2. It is tempting to suppose that it resulted from an erroneous attempt of an editor who subtracted 8 from 40 (readings of mss BT in 3:2 and 4:2) instead of adding (to get “48,” the main part of Baruch’s journey from the Pentecost to the New Wine festival).

- Angels transmit the offerings of flowers to Michael (ch. 12-13) (in U, there were two groups of angels, representing the righteous men who offer their gifts and the evil ones who do not),
- Michael passes the offering to the “higher heaven” behind the closed gate (ch. 14; ceremony is not visible),
- Oil Reward distributed by Michael on his return to the righteous (ch. 15; G has “oil” while S has “mercy” due to a mistranslation complicated by a wordplay ἔλεος/ἔλαιον in Greek; see Kulik *ad loc.*) and locusts to the evil ones (ch. 16).

The main problem of this ritual, presence of an oil ceremony in the rite of the Yom Kippur, is already resolved by Kulik (see esp. his commentary to ch. 15). This “oil of mercy” has many parallels in Jewish traditions of different periods as well as the Christian ones. The semantics of sealing/anoointment is especially important in the context of justification and judgment. The closest parallels are *Life of Adam and Eve* and *2 Enoch* where Michael is in charge of the celestial oil. However, only *3 Baruch* and only in Slavonic version provides the reason of this: the Cosmic Olive was planted by Michael (4:7 S).

Our further remarks will pertain to calendaric issues.

The whole ceremony of the heavenly Yom Kippur preceded by the offerings of the people is a ceremony of (re)consecration of the Temple. Here the liturgical “plot” of *3 Baruch* has the closest parallel in that of *4 Baruch* where the Second Exodus starts by the events which take place on the Passover and ends by the ten-day Yom Kippur ceremony performed by Jeremiah as a consecration of the Jerusalem Temple and the Land (see above, 4.3). In *3 Baruch*, the heavenly Yom Kippur is obviously a sign of the hope for the Second Exodus but, first of all, a revelation that the participation of the people in the heavenly liturgy does not stop when the earthly sanctuary is destroyed; the angels are still representing both righteous and evils before the heavenly Holy of Holies.

In the *Temple Scroll* (cols. 23–25), the one-day festival of New Oil (whose date is here the 50th day after the festival of New Wine; thus, most probably, 22.VI) is followed by the six-day festival of Wood Offering which is a festival related to the Temple, although so far it is not studied quite well.⁶⁰ In *4 Baruch*, the nine-day rite of the sacrifices before the Yom Kippur is connected to the reconsecration of the Temple explicitly. In *3 Baruch*, the days of offerings preceded to the Yom Kippur are patterned after the biblical eight-day rituals of the consecration of the Tabernacle/Temple (Ex 29; Lev 8; 1 Kgs 8; 1 Chr 29; 2 Chr 29:17; Ez 43:18-27) and have a parallel in the festival of the Consecration in the *Temple Scroll* (cols. 15–17). In Ez 43:26, “the atonement for the altar” is mentioned explicitly (cf. also Ez 45:18). However, all these consecration festivals belong to the first month, Nisan, in conformity with Ex 40:2 (“In the first day of the first month you shall set up the tabernacle of the tent of meeting.” NRSV). We know, nevertheless, that in the situation of the Second Exodus the consecration may be appointed on the Yom Kippur in the seventh month; at least, we have seen such an arrangement in *4 Baruch*. In a more general context, one has to keep in mind that, in the Second Temple period, the festivals of the first and the seventh months tended to assimilation with each other.⁶¹

In *3 Baruch*, the ceremony of offering begins on 3.VII (next day after 2.VII, the end of the Paradise of birds scene) and continues up to the Day of Atonement which is certainly 10.VII. This time schedule makes the Day of Atonement the last and the most important day of the eight-day consecration ceremony. Thus, the liturgical value of 3.VII in *3 Baruch* is somewhat similar to the fast of Gedaliah in the rabbinic tradition (also on 3.VII and considered as a preparation to the Day of Atonement).

This agreement with a standard eight-day consecration scheme is an important support to our reconstruction of the calendar in both third and fourth sections, although we know from *4 Baruch* another (ten-day) consecration rite attached to the Yom Kippur.

7. Conclusion: Calendar and Cosmology Implied in *3 Baruch*

⁶⁰ Cf. J. Maier, *The Temple Scroll. An Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, JSOT Suppl 34; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985, pp. 82-85 [published in German in 1978]; M. O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll of Qumran Cave 11*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 49; Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1990, pp. 44-50. The most comprehensive study of this feast is now that of Cana Werman, “The Wood-Offering: The Convolution of a Halakah in Qumran and Rabbinic Law,” in: E. G. Chazon, B. Halpern-Amaru, and R. Clements (eds.), *New Perspectives on Old Texts: Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 9–11 January, 2005* (Studies on the texts of the Desert of Judah, 88; Leiden, 2010), pp. 151-182.

⁶¹ J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover from the Earliest Times to A. D. 70* (London Oriental Series, 12; London—New York—Toronto: Oxford UP, 1963), pp. 117-127.

As a kind of conclusion, I recollect in the Table 6 the calendaric and cosmological data retrieved from *3 Baruch* but free from the episodes related to the “plot” of a given literary work. The calendar presented in the Table 6 presupposes the 364-day year and the domination of the weekly cycle (four quarters by 13 weeks each) with no great attention to the months (unlike *1 Enoch* where the twelve-month cycle is fundamental while the weekly cycle is ignored).

This calendar is an adaptation of some models of the Mesopotamian cosmology (of the type presented in MUL.APIN and so-called “astrolabes” texts) analogous to the *Astronomical Book* (preserved as a part of *1 Enoch*) but independent from it. *3 Baruch* is closer than the *Astronomical Book* to the mainstream of the Mesopotamian science in its fidelity to the 15th days of months as the cardinal points of the year and in its attention to the threefold partition of the heaven. Moreover, in its liturgical calendar, *3 Baruch* preserves a scene whose Mesopotamian background is evident but which is unfamiliar to the Jewish traditions (Paradise of birds).⁶²

Table 6.

Date, Weekday	Feast/Event	Notes
1.I, Sunday	New Year	Featuring Sunday 364-day calendar.
14.I, Sabbath	Passover	Mourning festival with eschatological hopes.
15.I, Sunday	Raising of the sheaf.	Starting point for counting off the seven weeks.
1.III	The sun traverses an inter-heavenly border.	From the path of Anu to the path of Enlil (= from the first heaven to the second heaven).
4.III, Sunday	Pentecost/Shavuoth	On the 51 st day after the Passover.
15.IV, Sunday	Summer solstice	Retaining some meaning of the Assyrian summer solstice on 15.IV and the Mesopotamian <i>šapattu</i> (15 th day of the month).
23.IV	New Wine festival	On the 51 st day after the Pentecost.
1.VI	The sun traverses an inter-heavenly border.	From the path of Enlil to the path of Anu (= from the second heaven to the first heaven).
24.IV – 2.VII	Some rites related to the commemoration of deaths.	Heavily depending on their Mesopotamian background. The only close parallel in either Jewish or Christian sources is the seventh-century Celtic <i>Navigatio Sancti Brendani</i> .
3.VII – 10.VII	Festival of the Consecration	Eight-day festival having many parallels in biblical and other Jewish sources but for the month of Nisan. For Tishri, the closest parallel is a ten-day consecration rite in <i>4 Baruch</i> .
10.VII	Day of Atonement	The final (eighth) day and the culmination of the Consecration festival; absorbed as well the semantics of the New Oil festival.

⁶² I am very grateful to Vladimir Emelianov for his continuous help and Jonathan Ben-Dov for his discussion of the first draft of this paper and for his valuable bibliographical references. I was trying to take into account all his suggestions and criticisms, although, of course, in some matters, our approaches may differ.

Appendix:

CALENDRIAL STRUCTURE OF THE *APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM*

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* became especially fortunate in the latest years with scholars' attention. I mean, first of all, the studies of Alexander Kulik⁶³ and Andrei Orlov.⁶⁴ However, liturgical and calendrical sides of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* remain almost unexplored (the rare exceptions will be mentioned below). It is a good occasion to deal with them here, because the calendar of *3 Baruch* can serve as a key to the calendar of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

1. Calendrical Data in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*: an Overview

The data having—potentially, at least,—calendrical and/or liturgical value are summarised in the Table 7. The meaning of each of these episodes will be discussed below.

Table 7.

Ch. 1-8	Destruction of idols (one day that is the same day as in 9:1).
9:1-12:2	God's command on sacrifice, appearance of Yahoel, journey to Horeb.
12:3-13:2	Sacrifice on the Mount Horeb.
13:3-14:14	Dialogue with Azazel.
15:1-15:4	Ascension.
15:5-16:4	Abraham on the highest heaven.
17:1-21	Song of Abraham.
18:1-11	Vision of the four Living Creatures and the Throne of Glory
18:12-14	Vision of the <i>Merkavah</i> .
19:1-20:5	Vision of the lower firmaments from the highest one.
20:6-7	Question of Abraham to God (covering the topics of the further revelation).
21:1-22:5	First looking at the propitiatory ("образъ/образование"; cf. 22:1).
23:1-14	Second looking at the propitiatory.
24:1-25:6	Third looking at the propitiatory.
26:1-27:12	Fourth looking at the propitiatory.
28:1-28:5	Fifth looking at the propitiatory [propitiatory is unmentioned but implied in 28:3: "And he showed me a multitude of his people"].
29:1-21	Sixth looking at the propitiatory.
30:1-31:12	Final (seventh) revelation on the earth.

2. The First Day of the Pentecost

The liturgical part of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is constituted by the chapters dedicated to the revelation (from 9 to 31). It opens with the revelation of an angel (on the same day when Abraham destroyed the idols) followed by 40-day journey of Abraham, accompanied by the angel Yahoel, to the Mount Horeb, without eating and drinking (12:1-2). This scene is clearly patterned after Elijah's 40-day journey to Horeb where Elijah was assisted by an angel (1Kgs 19:8). The Mount Horeb, which is another name of Sinai, is the place of the following revelation. The revelation itself, however, is not patterned after Elijah's one.

2.1. Sacrifice on Mount Sinai/Horeb

Ryszard Rubinkiewicz noticed that the initial scene of Abraham's revelation on the Mt Horeb (12:3-13:2) goes back ultimately to Moses' revelation on Sinai. The parallel is not limited to the identity

⁶³ A. Kulik, *Retroversing Slavonic Pseudepigrapha. Toward the Original of the Apocalypse of Abraham* (SBL. Text-Critical Studies, 3; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2004); cf. review B. Lourić, *JSP* 15 (2006) 229-233. Below I quote the *Apocalypse of Abraham* in Kulik's translation from this book.

⁶⁴ Several articles, partially collected in his book *Divine Manifestations in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (Orientalia Judaica Christiana, 2; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009); Orlov is now preparing a monograph dedicated to the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

of place but includes the details of priestly initiation.⁶⁵ A parallel between Moses and Abraham is implying that both of them entered into a covenant with God, and so, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* presents itself as an earlier version of the Torah. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* starts its part of the liturgical year on the Pentecost (*Šavuoth*). The reality is more complicated, however. As we will see, the rite performed by Abraham on the Mount Horeb has much in common with the Yom Kippur.

2.2. Azazel: the Wrong Addressee of the Sacrifice of Covenant and the Scapegoat

One can add to Rubinkiewicz's considerations that they are now corroborated by Orlov's analysis of the scenes related to Azazel,⁶⁶ one of which—the first appearance of Azazel in the text—takes place immediately after Abraham's sacrifice and even as its "by-product" (13:3-14:14). According to Orlov, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* introduces Azazel as a counterpart of God with his own *kabod* ("glory"). Therefore, the sacrifice of the covenant with God is accompanied by a competition with Azazel who is trying to replace by himself the true addressee of the sacrifice. The whole episode 13:3-14:14 is a specific "Pentecostal" temptation with entering into covenant with Azazel.

The problem is that Azazel as he is depicted here is a personage of the Jewish mystical traditions where Azazel is the scapegoat of the Yom Kippur ceremony, and, thus, the whole ascendance of Abraham and the descendance of Azazel as they are depicted in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (ch. 13-14) are a kind of the scapegoat ritual.⁶⁷

Orlov points out the late rabbinic opinion that the Tablets of Law were given to Moses for a second time on the Yom Kippur. Taking into account that the story of Abraham destroying the idols (ch. 1-8) is somewhat parallel to the Golden Calf episode, Orlov supposes that the liturgical setting of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is the Day of Atonement.

There are different possibilities of combining of the Yom Kippur and *Šavuoth* features within the same festival rites. For instance, the Epistle to the Hebrews combines the Yom Kippur and the *Šavuoth* features with the Passover rite,⁶⁸ and this text is roughly contemporaneous to the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and much earlier than the rabbinic accounts. What is even more important, both *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the Epistle to the Hebrews belong to the Christian tradition: the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is a part of the Jewish legacy in the Christianity rejected by the Judaism of Rabbis and preserved exclusively because of being accepted by the Christianity. Thus, the Epistle to the Hebrews may be, judging *a priori*, closer to the *Apocalypse of Abraham* than the rabbinic sources. Therefore, now, we continue to explore our working hypothesis that the liturgical setting of the sacrifice of Abraham is the feast of Pentecost. It can be verified or falsified only within the liturgical frame of the whole apocalypse, as well as the Yom Kippur features can be evaluated only within the same context.

2.3. Ascension: an Effect of the Sacrifice

The ascension to the heaven occurs on the sunset of the same day and is described, as Rubinkiewicz noted, in "Pentecostal" wording: "And it came to pass that when the sun was setting, and

⁶⁵ R. Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave. Édition critique du texte, introduction, traduction et commentaire* (Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego: Źródła i monografie, 129; Lublin: Société des Lettres et des Sciences de l'Université Catholique de Lublin, 1987), pp. 58-61. The Slavonic text of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* will be quoted according to this edition. Rubinkiewicz also enumerates the 40-day fast in both cases (p. 60). I think, this parallel is not completely correct because Abraham's fast took place before the revelation, whereas Moses' fast—during the period of revelation itself. We will see below that Moses' fast on Sinai is reflected in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* in another manner. Rubinkiewicz sees in this account a contamination of three traditions, not only those of Elijah and Moses, but also of the *aqedah* of Isaac (*ibid.*, p. 137).

⁶⁶ A. Orlov, "The Likeness of Heaven": The *Kavod* of Azazel in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, in: D. Arbel, A. Orlov (eds.), *With Letters of Light: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Early Jewish Apocalypticism, Magic and Mysticism in Honor of Rachel Elior* (Ekstasis: Religious Experience from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, 2; Berlin; N.Y.: de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 232-253.

⁶⁷ A. Orlov, Eschatological Yom Kippur in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, *Scrinium* 5 (2009) 79-111, here 79-92.

⁶⁸ The fact is explicit in the Epistle itself; for details, s. B. Lourié, Calendrical Implications in the Epistle to the Hebrews: Seven questions concerning the liturgy of the Sabbath rest, *Revue biblique* 115 (2008) 245-265.

behold, a smoke like that of a furnace [cf. Ex 19:18⁶⁹], and the angels who had the divided parts of the sacrifice ascended from the top of the furnace of smoke” (15:1). Then, the angel and Abraham fly on the wings of the sacrificed birds as if they were never divided into parts (15:2). Thus, their ascension is, too, a part—or, more precisely, a result—of the Pentecostal liturgy (sacrifice), and so, a part of the Pentecost sacrificial rite.

The sacrifices (birds) ascended to the abode of God in a quite literal sense, taking the angel and Abraham with them.

2.4. The Pentecost on the Heaven: the Tower of Babel Imagery

On the heaven, Abraham sees “a crowd of many people” (15:6). They are “all changing in appearance and likeness, running and being transformed and bowing and shouting in a language the words of which I did not know” (15:7). This “shouting” in an unintelligible language is further opposed to “a great sound of *qedushah*” (16:3). This scene is a close parallel to the scene of the builders of the Tower of Babel in *3 Baruch*. They are also transformed, although in another way. The unintelligible language is not mentioned in *3 Baruch* but it is one of the clearest marks of the Tower of Babel motive. As it was shown above for *3 Baruch*, the Tower of Babel is a traditional commemoration of the Pentecost.

We have to note a close parallel with *3 Baruch* and to conclude that the Pentecost in general and especially the first day of the Pentecost is underlying the narrative from 12:3 to 16:4.

Rubinkiewicz considers the Pentecost as “*Le milieu liturgique*” of the apocalypse. This is only partially true. For instance, Andrei Orlov reviewed important features of the Day of Atonement rituals in the further chapters of the apocalypse. He noticed that, although Rubinkiewicz’s observations are valid, “...it is possible that the priestly traditions found in the text are not limited to only one particular setting or festival but possibly reflect connections with several events of the liturgical year.”⁷⁰ I think, that, indeed, the further parts of the liturgical year continue to unfold in the following chapters.

3. The Afterfeast of the Pentecost

In *3 Baruch*, the afterfeast of the Pentecost covers the whole 40-day period and ends with the vision of Phoenix and the chariot of sun. The tradition of the 40-day Sinai revelation is going back to Moses (Ex 24:18); however, the text of Exodus seems to imply that it was the whole period of Moses’ staying on Sinai that took 40 days, whereas *3 Baruch* uses exclusive counting (the journey starts on the next day after the Pentecost but is continued for 40 days, not 39).

This part of *3 Baruch* also has parallels in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.

3.1. The Genuflexion Prayer: the Second Day of the Pentecost

The scene with the song (prayer) of Abraham continues immediately the previous scene (17:1: “...while he [the angel] was still speaking...”). Thus, the date is the same, the first day of the Pentecost. The prayer is long (17:8-21) and enumerates many divine attributes but especially deals with the ultimate destiny of the two kinds of deaths: “[You, *sc.* God, are he who] releases those who are in the midst of the impious, those who are mixed⁷¹ among the unrighteous of the inhabited world in the corruptible life, receiving the life of the righteous” (17:17).⁷²

The time of this prayer is early morning, at the dawn. This is rather natural given that the whole heavenly journey started after the sundown but especially clear from the very wording of the prayer itself: “You make the light shine before the morning light upon your creation from your face in order to bring the day on the earth” (17:18).

⁶⁹ According to Rubinkiewicz (*op. cit.*, p. 60), in 15:1 Ex 19:18 (“And mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke... and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace”) is contaminated with Gen 15:17 (“And it came to pass, that, when the sun went down...”).

⁷⁰ Orlov, Eschatological Yom Kippur in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, 83.

⁷¹ Kulik translates “confused.” The original has смѣшаннымъ which means that in this “corruptible life” the righteous are mixed with the unrighteous (although it is the life of the righteous that will be received by God in the life of future).

⁷² For other features of this prayer, see an interesting study by Steven Weitzman, The Song of Abraham, *HUCA* 65 (1994) 21-33.

The mise-en-scène of the prayer is especially important. The verb поклонитися used throughout the description of angel's and Abraham's posture has here not a large sense of worship/adoration (as the translators of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* used to translate it into European languages) but a quite technical sense of genuflexion (kneeling).⁷³ "And the angel bowed with me and kneeled down"⁷⁴ (17:2). "And I wanted to fall face down to the earth. <...> And he said: 'Only kneel down,'⁷⁵ Abraham..." (17:3-4). And, finally, an especially clear formulation: "Since there was no earth to fall to, I only kneeled down"⁷⁶... (17:5).

We see that Abraham is performing a genuflexion prayer on the early morning of the next day after the first day of the Pentecost; this prayer enumerates the attributes of God and is especially dedicated to the deaths. One can easily recognize here the very early Christian rite of the Pentecostal genuflexion prayers. It is common to all the Christian traditions,⁷⁷ although it was not so far detected in the Jewish sources. However, its Jewish origin is very likely because it is one of the most common and most ancient Christian liturgical customs. Thus, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* must be considered as a confirmation of its Jewish origin.

In the Christian traditions, this rite is attached to either Vespers or Matins. Anyway, it is considered to be placed when the first day of the Pentecost is finished because during the whole period from the Easter to the Pentecost the genuflexions are forbidden (canon 20 of the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea, 325). For instance, in the Byzantine rite, the genuflexion prayers are attached to the Vespers but this Vespers belongs to the next day (Monday) after the Pentecost Sunday.

We see, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, that the prayer is performed on the morning. This is in agreement with the beginning of the nyctemeron at the sunrise. Indeed, the ascension of Abraham to the heaven which took place after the sundown must belong to the day of the Pentecost (because it is a part of the Pentecost sacrifice rite), which is also in agreement with counting off the nyctemeron from the sunrise. This practice is common to the 364-day calendrical schemes.

3.2. The Four Living Creatures and the *Merkavah*

In 3 *Baruch*, the afterfeast of the Pentecost ended with the vision of sun's chariot and the bird Phoenix. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, there is no sun's chariot but there is God's chariot, *merkavah*; and there is no Phoenix but there are four Living Creatures of Ezekiel. Indeed, the *merkavah* with its fiery Wheels not less Ezekielian, too. This Ezekielian background is identified in details by Rubinkiewicz, who noticed in one case a quotation from the targumic text of Ez 1:6 instead of the Hebrew Bible.⁷⁸

However, the calendrical setting of the corresponding vision of Ezekiel, 5.IV (Ez 1:1), is not meant in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. The parallels with 3 *Baruch* where Phoenix and sun's chariot appear after the 40-day journey, do not work on the chronometric level, either. Instead, the Ezekielian visions of the four Living Creatures and the *Merkavah* are introduced on the same second day of the Pentecost whose beginning was marked by the prayer-song. The Living Creatures appear "while I was still reciting the song" (18:1), and the chariot—"[w]hile I was still standing and watching" before the Creatures (18:12).

⁷³ *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského. Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae*. 4 vols. (Prague, 1966—1997; reprint: St Petersburg: St Petersburg UP, 2006), vol. 3, p. 124, s.v. поклонити ся.

⁷⁴ Kulik translates "...bowed and worshiped"; the original has И поклече съ мною аггелъ и поклонися.

⁷⁵ Kulik translates "Only worship..."; the original has поклонися точию. Cf. пасти на земли ниць ("to fall face down to the earth").

⁷⁶ Here Kulik translates "I only bowed down" but, in the Slavonic text, the verb is the same: поклонихся токмо. "To bow down" makes more sense than an absolutely unclear, in this context, verb "to worship" but, indeed, it is the posture of kneeling down rather than "bowing down" is meant. It would be impossible to sing a prayer when one is bowed down, that is, having one's face turned to the earth.

⁷⁷ As a general introduction, remains valid A. Rücker, Die feierliche Kniebeugungszeremonie zu Pfingsten in den orientalischen Riten, in: O. Casel (ed.), Heilige Überlieferung: Ausschnitte aus der Geschichte des Mönchtums und des heiligen Kultes; Dem hochwürdigsten Herrn Abte von Maria Laach Dr. theol. et iur. h. c. Ildefons Herwegen zum silbernen Abtsjubiläum dargeboten von Freunden, Verehrern, Schülern und in deren Auftrag (Münster, 1938), pp. 193-211; also of importance: O.-H.-E. Burmester, The Office of Genuflexion on Whitsunday, *Le Muséon* 47 (1934) 205-257 (Coptic rite); Ch. Renoux, Un rite pénitentiel le jour de la Pentecôte ? L'office de la genuflexion dans la tradition arménienne, *Handes Amsorya* 86 (1972), cols. 185-198, 3044-3046.

⁷⁸ Rubinkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 163, note to 18:5: "...Four heads were on their bodies, so that the four Living Creatures had sixteen faces"; these "sixteen faces" are from the targumic text.

Similar traditions are presented in the *Hekhalot* literature when it deals with Moses' revelation on Sinai. For instance, in the Moses' ascent scenes in the *Hekhalot Zutarti*, §§ 336 and 340-343 establish a direct connexion between the day of the revelation on Sinai, that is, the Pentecost, and the visions of the Living Creatures and the *Merkavah*. What is especially important, among the divine names revealed to Moses according to the New York manuscript of the *Hekhalot Zutarti*, § 340c, ends with the name Yahoel repeated twice. In fact, connexions between the *Hekhalot* tradition (its earlier forms preceding macroforms' texts) and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* are well-known since the monograph of David Halperin (1988) and continue to be studied now.⁷⁹

We have to conclude that, despite their parallel with the scenes in *3 Baruch* (Phoenix, sun's chariot), the visions of the four Living Creatures and the *Merkavah* in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* do not conclude the 40-day Pentecost period but occupy the second day of the Pentecost. In both cases, however, some connexion with the feast of the Pentecost exists.

4. 40-day Period before the Pentecost and the Way of Counting Off the Šavuoth

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* insists on a precise chronology of Abraham's journey to the Mount Horeb. The first part of the apocalypse (ch. 1-8) dealing with destroying of idols, is encompassed with the one-day time span.⁸⁰

The further chronometry of the narrative is partially implicit. God reveals himself to Abraham gives him the command to perform the 40-day journey to Horeb (ch. 9). Then, the 40-day journey starts. The journey finished after "forty days and nights" having been passed (12:1); therefore, forty nychtemera were dedicated exclusively the journey. The nychtemeron is counted off from the morning, and so, the day precedes the night.

The sacrifice of Abraham takes place on the next day after the 40th day of the journey. This conclusion is confirmed by the command of Yahoel to Abraham "Look behind you" (12:5) and Abraham's action ("And I looked behind me"; 12:6). Such a mise-en-scène would be impossible in the night darkness, and so, it takes place on the next day.

The first dialogue with God that preceded the journey and was followed by "looking hither and thither" (10:1) in vain attempts to obtain the prescribed sacrifice animals must take one separate day as well. It is not to be accounted with the forty full nychtemera of the journey but its events are also hardly compatible with the former events (described in ch. 1-8) within the frame of one day.

Therefore, the sacrifice is performed on the 42nd day after destroying of the idols.

What was the day when Abraham destroyed the idols of his father and left his father's home? Does it fitting with any known way of counting off the day of the Pentecost? Once more, *3 Baruch* is here of help (s. section 6.1 above).

The 364-day calendar of *3 Baruch* is a Sunday calendar (that is, 1.I falls on Sunday, not Wednesday) where the seven weeks of the Šavuoth are counted off from the day of raising of the sheaf 15.I, Sunday, the next day after the Passover 14.I, Sabbath.

In *3 Baruch*, the Sunday of Pentecost, 4.III, falls on the 51st day from the Sabbath of Passover, and so, on the 42nd day from the Sunday 22.I. However, the liturgical meaning of the date 22.I in *3 Baruch*'s calendrical scheme seems to be rather unclear. The seven days of the feast of Unleavened Bread must start on the next day after the Passover, and so, in *3 Baruch*, the first day of this feast must coincide with the day of raising of the sheaf, in the same manner as it is in the rabbinic tradition. If so, the festival days end on 21.I, and the day 22.I has nothing specific to be suitable for such important things as destroying idols, leaving one's father's home, and to receive a divine revelation.

Another version of the Sunday 364-day calendar is that of *2 Enoch*. Here, the seven days of Unleavened Bread fall on 15-21.I but the day of raising of the sheaf is 22.I. The latter is the starting point of counting off the seven weeks of the Šavuoth.

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* seems to follow a hybrid version of the Sunday 364-day calendar: the starting point of counting off the seven weeks of the Šavuoth is 15.I (as in *3 Baruch*), the first day of Unleavened Bread, but the day of raising of the sheaf is 22.I (as in *2 Enoch* and in the known Wednesday 364-day calendars such as that of the *Book of Jubilees*).

⁷⁹ D. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*. (TSAJ, 16; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988), pp. 103-112; some author's views are criticized in Orlov's articles mentioned above and in the Orlov's monograph in preparation.

⁸⁰ As it is noticed by Rubinkiewicz in his note to 1:1; *op. cit.*, p. 101.

A calendar assuming 3 *Baruch*'s way of counting off the seven weeks but retaining Sunday 22.I as an important date might emerge from a contamination of 3 *Baruch* and 2 *Enoch* calendrical traditions. These traditions are already close to each other and, as we have seen above, an impact of the 2 *Enoch*'s cosmology is responsible for the recension S of 3 *Baruch*.

5. The Festival on 22.I

5.1. Forefeast of the Pentecost

As it was mentioned above (2.2), Orlov considered the struggle of Abraham with the idols as a parallel to the Golden Calf episode. Moses ascended on the Mount Sinai for a second time after having destroyed the Golden Calf; then, he passed here 40 days, for a second time (Ex 34:28). This 40-day period of the second revelation on Sinai one can consider, according to Orlov, as the prototype of the 40-day period of Abraham journey.

In the light of the previous reconstruction of the calendrical scheme, there is a much closer Mosaic prototype, namely, the Exodus. Moses left Egypt, a land of idolaters, like Abraham left the land of his father which was, too, a land of the idolaters. Moses undertakes a journey from Egypt to Sinai, and Abraham, too, is undertaking a journey. As to the Golden Calf episode, its sense is not so similar: it contains no 40-day journey but only a 40-day sojourn, nor "genuine" idolaters but only apostates among the Israelites.

In different Second Temple traditions (including the Samaritan one), the commemorations of the feast of Unleavened Bread were connected to the period of the route from Egypt to the opposite shore of the Red Sea (cf., e.g., *Jubilees* 49:23). In most of them, the last (seventh) day of Unleavened Bread is the day of crossing.⁸¹ The most important feature of the day of crossing was, however, that it is the starting point of counting off the seven weeks.

In the Sunday 364-day calendars, the last day of Unleavened Bread is 21.I which falls always on Sabbath. It is not a good time for crossing the sea. However, the next day, Sunday 22.I, is fitting with this purpose quite well. It is worth to become a separate festivity.

The plot of the *Apocalypse of Abrahams* begins on 22.I which is, in the 364-day calendar, not the last of the seven days of Unleavened Bread but the day of raising of the sheaf. Even if the day of raising of the sheaf is considered, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, as a lesser feast in comparison with the Pentecost, it must be nevertheless something more than an ordinary minor feast; otherwise it is impossible to appoint on such day the opening scenes of the apocalypse.

Fortunately, we do have, at least, one witness of a tradition where the day of raising of the sheaf is a major festival by itself. Philo, describing the great feast of the *therapeutae* dedicated to the commemoration of crossing of the Red Sea, specify that it is "a forefeast" (προέορτος) of the greater festival (μεγίστης έορτής) of the Pentecost (*De vita contemplativa*, VIII, 65)⁸²; in another work, *De specialibus legibus*, II, 176, he states that the προέορτος of the Pentecost is the "celebration of the sheaf" (ή επί τῷ δράγματι πανήγυρις προέορτός έστιν... έτέρας έορτής μείζονος...)⁸³. In both cases, Philo explains the connexion between the Pentecost and its "forefeast" stating that the latter is the starting point of counting off the seven weeks.⁸⁴ Similarly, in 2 *Enoch* calendar it is the day of raising of the sheaf, 22.I, which is the starting point of counting off the seven weeks, although (at least, in the liturgy implied in 2 *Enoch*) it was not an important feast.

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* in the ch. 1 to 8 implies that the events take place on the day of raising the sheaf, 22.I, which retains a high value of the raising of the sheaf festival known from the calendar of the *therapeutae*, but this day is no longer the starting point of counting off the seven weeks

⁸¹ J. Van Goudoever, *Fêtes et calendriers bibliques*. Troisième édition revue et augmentée. Traduit de l'anglais par M.-L. Kerremans (Théologie historique, 7; Paris: Beauchesne, 1967), pp. 177-184.

⁸² L. Cohn, S. Reiter, Philonis Alexandrini *Opera quae supersunt*, vol. 6 (Berlin: Reimer, 1915), p. 63.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, vol. 5 (Berlin: Reimer, 1906), p. 129.

⁸⁴ The feast described in the *De vita contemplativa* was often mistakenly described as the Šabuoth. Cf., for the details, Van Goudoever, *Fêtes et calendriers bibliques*, p. 182-183. Van Goudoever dates this festival to 21.I, the last day of the seven days of Unleavened Bread. However, the relationship between the day of raising of the sheaf and the days of Unleavened Bread in the calendar of the *therapeutae* remains unknown, and, therefore, other dates of this festival are equally possible (15.I, 22.I, 26.I, but not the rabbinic date 16.I because it presupposes the evening beginning of the nyctemeron).

(as it was in 2 *Enoch*). In its way of counting off the seven weeks, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* follows 3 *Baruch*.

The liturgical reason to open the apocalypse with the feast of raising of the sheaf is absolutely clear. The apocalypse is constructed around the sacrificial rite of the Pentecost, and so, it starts from the forefeast of the Pentecost. The feast of raising of the sheaf is still considered as the forefeast of the Pentecost despite the fact that its original value as the starting point of counting off the seven weeks is lost.

5.2. Raising of the Sheaf

The contents of the chapters 1-8 of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* has something in common with the topics of the raising of the sheaf. Lev 23:11 “He [*sc.*, the priest] shall raise the sheaf (וַיִּקַּח אֶת־תְּבֻלַּת הַקֹּמֶץ) before the Lord...” uses the verb which can be translated, in *Hiphil*, in different ways, such as “to wave” or “to shake.” Thus, the name of the festival is often translated as “the waving of the sheaf.” In the corresponding ritual, the priest was moving and waving the sheaf.

In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, similar procedures, whereas performed not with a sheaf but with idols, led Abraham to the conclusion that the idols are not the true gods.

The first scene is 1:6, when Abraham with his father Terah “both were moving” (двизаховѣ) the idol of Mar-Umath (“the Lord of the Nation”) but “his head fell off of him.” The second episode is the fall of five idols when three of them were smashed (ch. 2), and Abraham “cast into the water of the river Gur” their debris, and “they sank into the depths and were no more” (2:9).

Then, Abraham is reflecting about this event in the following terms (3:5, 7): “Behold, Mar-Umath fell and was unable to get up [въстати, *lit.* “to rise, to stand up”] again in his own temple, nor could I lift [въздвигнути, *lit.* “to make him standing up again”] him on my own, until my father came and we both lifted [въздвигнуховѣ, *lit.* “we both made (him) standing up again”] him. <...> And [likewise were] the other five gods which were smashed down from the ass, which were able neither to save themselves nor to hurt the ass for it smashed them, nor did their shards come up [ни... възыдоша, *lit.* “nor... did rise”] from the river.”

The first day of the apocalypse became, for Abraham, the day of raising, although not of the sheaf but of idols. The idols were found unsuitable for the true worship.

6. The Cosmological Vision

In 3 *Baruch*, the vision of sun’s chariot is followed by the vision of the “heavenly mechanics” (sun’s and moon’s daily movements, heavenly gates). Likewise, in the parallel scenes of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the vision of the *Merkavah* is followed by the vision of the structure of heavens (ch. 19).

Rubinkiewicz’s opinion that the original number of heavens was three,⁸⁵ is now corroborated by 3 *Baruch*’s *Urtext* as it is reconstructed by Kulik. Indeed, Abraham looks from the highest heaven at the heavens under him but sees only the sixth heaven and, then, the fifth heaven. No other heavens are mentioned. Moreover, the stars are placed on the fifth heaven (19:9) but the stars are viewable from the earth, and so, they must be placed on the lowest heavenly level which cannot be the fifth one.

It is reasonable to conclude that, like in 3 *Baruch*, the original number of heavens in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* was three. Nevertheless, the cosmology was different: these three heavens are located hierarchically one above another, with no reminiscences of the subdivision of the heavenly hemisphere into the Mesopotamian “paths.”

As to the cosmology of the extant recension of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, it is possible that the reading “eighth” in 19:6 is genuine (for the present recension, not for the *Urtext*). If so, the cosmology of the eight, not seven heavens was implied by the editor.⁸⁶ Anyway, these details do not affect the liturgy and the calendar.

⁸⁵ Rubinkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 and 165, 167 (note to 19:1).

⁸⁶ I basically agree with the argumentation of John C. Poirier, *The Ouranology of the Apocalypse of Abraham*, *JSJ* 35 (2004) 391-408, especially in his criticism toward the hypothesis of H. G. Lunt and R. Rubinkiewicz that the genuine reading in 19:6 was “sixth.” The argumentation of Lunt is, however, different from that of Rubinkiewicz and is misrepresented by Poirier [s. *The Apocalypse of Abraham*. Translated by R. Rubinkiewicz. Revised and Notes Added by H. G. Lunt, in: J. H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), pp. 689-705, here 698, n. f]. Lunt rightly states that the Glagolitic letter for “8” is the same as the Cyrillic letter for “6,” and so, it is Poirier (*op. cit.*, p. 399) who mistakenly “correct”

The most important to us is the date of the cosmological vision. When the description of the vision of the *Merkavah* is finished, the text continues (19:1): “And a voice came to me out of the midst of the fire...” This fire was mentioned a bit earlier (18:13) in the description of the *Merkavah*: “And above the Wheels there was the throne which I had seen. And it was covered with fire and the fire encircled it round about, and an indescribable light surrounded the fiery people.” The following scenes are thus represented as the direct continuation of the previous vision of the *Merkavah* which took place on the second day of the Pentecost.

The parallel scene of 3 *Baruch* (“heavenly mechanics”) corresponds to the summer solstice (15.IV), which is certainly far from the Pentecost. However, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* does not specify the duration of the previous vision, that is, how much time Abraham was hearing the qedusha of the fiery heavenly beings (18:14). Is it possible that the time span could reach 30 days, from 5.III (the second day of the Pentecost) to 15.IV? To answer, we need more data. We will return to this question after having examined the rest of the apocalypse.

7. The New Wine Feast as a Day of Atonement

7.1. The Two Lots Ritual and the Propitiatory

The rest of the apocalypse, from 20:6 to the end, is describing a series of seven dialogues between Abraham and God. These dialogues form a detailed answer to the question posed by Abraham in 20:6-7 concerning the role of Azazel. Abraham asked God “Why... have you set yourself with him [*sc.*, Azazel]?” (20:7). The wording (како... оутвердися с нимъ) implies that Abraham is asking about such connexion as some covenant or agreement.⁸⁷ God’s answer is divided into seven dialogues with Abraham.

Each of the former six dialogues is accompanied by a vision with further discussion. These six dialogues take place still on the heaven. The seventh dialogue takes place on the earth, with no specific vision.

God’s answer to Abraham is expressed in the language of liturgy—in particular, as Andrei Orlov demonstrated, through the two lots ritual of the Day of Atonement (s. Lev 16:8-10 for the biblical prototype).⁸⁸ Indeed, there is a “lot” or a “part” of Azazel, which comprises the sinners. In the limits of this group, Azazel has some rights guaranteed by God himself, and this is the general sense of God’s answer to Abraham. Moreover, God reveals that the progeny of Abraham will be the lot (part) of God. Thus, it seems that there is an implication that Abraham, whose role is symmetrical to that of Azazel, is represented as the “goat of YHWH” in the two lots ritual. The topics of the two lots throughout the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is analysed by Andrei Orlov.

The six visions are shown to Abraham in an object called in Slavonic образъ or образование. I argued elsewhere that such an odd terminology results from a mistranslation of the Aramaic word ܥܡܬܐ used in the meaning “propitiatory”; this Aramaic term, although unknown to Rabbinical Aramaic (where the corresponding Hebrew loanword כִּפָּרָה is used), is preserved in Christian Syriac.⁸⁹ The propitiatory shows the destiny of the righteous and the sinners, those of the part of God and those of the part of Azazel.

The ceremony with the propitiatory is repeated six times, which is somewhat at odds with the rite of the Day of Atonement as it is described in the Torah.

him (saying that the Glagolitic letter has meaning “6” and the Cyrillic one “8”; moreover, Poirier mistakenly writes that the letter in question is 3, that is, *zemplja*, whereas it is s, *zēlo*). However, the very mistake of Poirier results from his understanding of the logical inconsistency committed by Lunt: in fact, the possibility of misspelling of “6” as “8” exists only in the transliteration from Cyrillic to Glagolitic and not vice versa. Rubinkiewicz’s own supposition that the reading “eighth” in 19:6 is “...probablement une faute due à la lecture de .s. (sixième) comme ‘os (moi)’—hutième” (Rubinkiewicz, *L’Apocalypse d’Abraham...*, p. 167, note to 19:6) is untenable because Slavonic осмои (“eighth”) cannot be spelled with the letter *zēlo* instead of the letter *slovo* (c); neither the corresponding graphemes are similar, nor the corresponding phonemes (for *zēlo*, either affricate /dz/ or /z/; for *slovo*, voiceless /s/) can be confused in pronunciation.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, vol. 4, p. 707, s.v. оутврѣждати.

⁸⁸ Orlov, *Eschatological Yom Kippur...*, 93-111.

⁸⁹ B. Lourié, *Propitiatorium in the Apocalypse of Abraham*, in: Ch. Böttrich, L. DiTommaso (eds.), *The Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition. Continuity and Diversity* (TSAJ, 140; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), pp. 267-277.

Some modifications of the rite of the Day of Atonement in a late Jewish text accepted by the Christian tradition but rejected by the rabbis are to be expected. For instance, the (contemporaneous Christian) *Epistle to the Hebrews* portrays the Christ as the sacrifice of the Passover, the Pentecost, and the Day of Atonement simultaneously; moreover, this text implies the Passover/Easter falling on Sabbath, and so, most probably, a Sunday 364-day calendrical scheme,⁹⁰ sharing this feature with the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Some diffusion between the Day of Atonement and other feasts was customary at that time. Likewise, in *3 Baruch* we have seen the Day of Atonement absorbing the feast of the New Oil. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, an analogous diffusion between the Day of Atonement and some other feast(s) led to a different result.

A mergence of the Day of Atonement with the New Wine festival seems to be an important trend in the late Judaism. For instance, it might contribute to the development of the Christian Eucharist.

7.2. Inversion of the Rite of the Consecration

The seven episodes of the remaining part of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* are represented in the Table 8.

Table 8.

Verses	Scene's Nr	Contents
21:1-22:5	I	Vision of the two kinds of people (born and to be born), those taken apart for God and those with Azazel.
23:1-14	II	Vision of Adam and Eva with Azazel around the tree of Eden whose fruits are "like a bunch of grapes of vine" (23:6).
24:1-25:6	III	Vision of the sinners starting from Adam and Eva; the idol of jealousy in the Temple.
26:1-27:12	IV	Vision of the destruction of the Temple and killing of people from the seed of Abraham because of the idol of jealousy.
28:1-28:5	V	Vision of the Exile for one hundred years.
29:1-21	VI	Vision of the two messiahs (true and false ones) with the two groups of people as their corresponding lots (cf. 29:21)
30:1-31:12	VII	The last dialogue on the earth, outside "the glory in which I [Abraham] was above" (30:1): the future plagues and the condemnation to the "belly of Azazel" for the sinners, prediction about the seventh rightful generation after Abraham.

The seventh generation after Abraham (31:9 in Kulik's reconstruction = 32:1 in Rubinkiewicz's edition) points out Moses (son of Amram, son of Kehat, son of Levi, son of Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham). Thus, the loop of the Abraham-Moses typology becomes closed.

In the tradition represented by *3 Baruch* and *4 Baruch*, the Day of Atonement is the day of consecration of the Temple, the last and culminating day of the eight-day (*3 Baruch*) or ten-day (*4 Baruch*) ceremony. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the meaning of the ceremony is opposite. Its preparative days are spent in the heavenly sanctuary but it ends on the earth and—as the text specifies—outside the divine glory (30:1). This is an inversion of the already familiar to us rite of the consecration unified with the rite of the Day of Atonement.

Indeed, the account says explicitly about a profanation instead of the consecration. The scenes from III to V deal with the idol in the Temple and the punishment for it. Other scenes deal with more remote events which are either preceding and causing the idol in the Temple (scenes I-III) or following and caused (directly or indirectly) by it (scenes VI-VII). Nevertheless, inversion is a kind of parallel, and so, the tradition represented in *3 Baruch* and *4 Baruch* is still recognisable.

The inversion of the consecration rite explains why the last scene of the whole apocalypse is unlinked with any sanctuary; its place is completely and expressly profane.

The seven scenes show decreasing in degree of sanctity. In the first, Eden is shown as the place of the eternal abode of the rightful, although in contrast with the "people of Azazel" (22:5): "...I saw [in Eden] those who act righteously. And I saw in it their food and rest" (21:6). In the second scene, the Eden is no longer the eternal abode but the earthly paradise with Adam and Eve. In the third scene, the vision

⁹⁰ Lourié, Calendrical Implications in the Epistle to the Hebrews...

covers the events from the fall of the progenitors to the profanation of the Temple with the idol. In the fourth scene, the Temple is destroyed. In the fifth scene, the chosen people are deprived of their Holy Land. In the sixth scene, the false messiah is worshipped amidst the holy people, in the same manner as the idol of jealousy was established in the Temple. Finally, in the seventh scene, returns to the initial situation of Abraham when even the chosen people did not exist yet. Thus, the sevenfold ritual represented in the seven scenes-dialogues is the story of profanation of the whole God's creation. It is also the story of Azazel and his accumulation of those with him, that is, his "part" or "lot."

7.3. Calendrical Setting

As it was stated above, the sevenfold ritual of Abraham is very close to the seven-day consecration rite in *3 Baruch*. Thus, one could ask whether its implied calendrical setting is the seven-day period from 3.VII to 9.VII, that is, excluding the Day of Atonement 10.VII. However, our sevenfold ritual certainly does not exclude both Day of Atonement and the consecration ritual, even if the latter is performed in a reverse consequence.

Alternatively, one can ask whether the calendrical setting of the ritual in question are days preceding the New Wine festival. For this hypothesis, the parallels with *3 Baruch* are more favourable.

In *3 Baruch*, the New Wine festival scene is closely attached to the former scenes of the vision of sun's chariot and the summer solstice and the "heavenly mechanics." The New Wine scene occurs on the eighth day of the trip started after the day of the summer solstice. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the analogous scenes (vision of the *Merkavah*, vision of the firmaments from the highest point) are also closely attached to the sevenfold ritual in question.

What is the most important, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, as well as *3 Baruch*, explores the symbolism of the tree of vine as the tree of Eden. In both apocalypses, the fall of the progenitors is connected to the vine. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the role of the fruits of the vine is stressed in the most explicit way: "And he [Azazel in a dragon-like appearance] was holding in his hands the grapes of the tree and feeding the two [Adam and Eve]..." (23:8).

This scene and the whole role of the tree of vine in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* together with a close connexion between the sevenfold rite and the preceding scenes overbalance the parallels with the seven-day consecration rite in the seventh month. We have to conclude that the calendrical setting of the sevenfold ritual is the feast of the New Wine—in the same way as in *3 Baruch* but with seven- and not eight-day liturgical micro-cycle.

The exact date of the New Wine festival is not absolutely clear. It is possible that the *Apocalypse of Abraham* follows here the pattern of *3 Baruch* where the New Wine fest falls on the 51st day after the Pentecost, but it is also possible that it shares the common calendrical scheme where the day of the second Pentecost is the 50th day after the first. The corresponding dates are, therefore, 23.IV and 22.IV (the III month has 31 days). In turn, these dates correspond to 17.IV or 16.IV as the implied calendrical date of the first scene of the sevenfold ritual.

The latter dates remind us the 42-day time span between the day of destroying of the idols and the first Pentecost. Indeed, the time span between the date of the latest scene before the sevenfold ritual, 5.III, and the date 16.IV is exactly 42 days, which corresponds for the date of the final scene of the apocalypse to 22.IV, Sunday. As it seems, the difference between *3 Baruch* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* in the number of the days between the feast of the New Wine and the summer solstice depends on the way of counting off the seven weeks of the second Pentecost: the *Apocalypse of Abraham* counts from the day of the Pentecost, not the next day, and so, its second Pentecost (New Wine festival) occurs one day earlier: on 22.IV, Sunday.

The time span of 42 day after the Pentecost is not mentioned explicitly. However, we have noticed above (section 6) that 18:14 ("And I heard the sound of their [Living Creatures'] qedusha...") can be understood as an indication of a relatively long time. If our reconstruction based on the parallel with *3 Baruch*'s calendrical structure is correct, the time span meant in 18:14 must be 40 days (between 5.III and 15.IV). This number of days seems to be extremely likely because it corresponds to the duration of Moses' staying on Sinai in Ex 24:18. The difference is, however, in a specific value of the second day of the Pentecost, still unknown to the Hebrew Bible but appeared in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* as not including in the counting of 40-day staying.

I do not suppose that the number "40" was deliberately dropped or simply lost by some editor of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. This is not necessarily. The duration of staying on Sinai must be known to everybody, and so, there was no need to indicate it explicitly in such an esoteric work.

The post-Pentecostal 40-day period is not only symmetrical to the pre-Pentecostal one but also similar in the way of Abraham's alimentation. First time, Abraham's "food was to see the angel... and his [angel's] speech with me [Abraham] was my drink" (12:2). Likewise, during the *Merkavah* vision, Abraham sees and hears angelic creatures.

8. Layout of the Calendrical and Liturgical Contents

In Table 9 our observations are summarised. The data from the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (*ApAbr*) are presented in parallel with those of *3 Baruch*, including the data not mentioned but only implied.

Table 9.

Date	Weekday	<i>ApAbr</i>	Content	<i>3 Baruch</i>
1.I	Su	–	New Year.	+
14.I	Sa	–	Passover.	+
15-21.I	Su–Sa	–	Days of Unleavened Bread.	No data
22.I	Su	Ch. 1-8	Raising of the Sheaf.	15.I
23.I	Mo	Ch. 9	God's command to Abraham.	–
24.I-3.III	Tu–Sa	Ch. 10-12:2	40-day journey.	+ (50 days)
4.III	Su	12:3-16:4	Pentecost.	+
5.III	Mo	16:5-18:14	Second day of the Pentecost.	–
6.III–14.IV	Tu–Sa	[18:14]	40-day staying.	+ (journey)
15.IV	Su	19:1-20:5	Summer solstice.	+
16.IV–22.IV	Mo–Su	20:6-31:12	7-day ritual.	+ (8 days)
22.IV	Su	30:1-31:12	New Wine.	23.IV

The seven-day ritual (20:6-31:12) has prototypes in *3 Baruch* but mostly not in the eight-day period before the New Wine festival (where *3 Baruch* presupposed only a journey). Its main parallel is *3 Baruch's* Day of Atonement eight-day rite which is also the consecration rite. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, this is also a Day of Atonement rite combined with the inversed consecration rite. However, unlike *3 Baruch*, such an already complex rite is projected onto the festival of the New Wine.