

The Flooded Arboretums: The Garden Traditions in the Slavonic Version of *3 Baruch* and the *Book of Giants*

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THE APOCALYPSE known as *3 Baruch* (= *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*) depicts a celestial tour during which an angelic guide leads a visionary through five heavens revealing to him the wonders of the upper realm. Scholars have noted that some details of this heavenly journey resonate with the visionary accounts found in Enochic materials.¹ Despite the similarities, the author of *3 Baruch* seems to avoid making direct references to the motifs and themes associated with Enochic tradition. In this regard, Richard Bauckham comments: “It is remarkable that *3 Baruch*, which throughout chapters 2–5 is preoccupied with the stories of Gen 2–11, makes no reference to the Watchers.”² He suggests, further, that the author of this apocalypse “is perhaps engaged in a polemical rejection of the Enoch traditions, so that as well as substituting Baruch for Enoch he also substitutes the human builders for the angelic Watchers. Instead of deriving evil on earth from the fall of the Watchers, he emphasizes its origin in the Garden of Eden.”³ In response to this

I am indebted to professor Francis Andersen for his insight and encouragement in convincing me to undertake this study. My research was inspired by his illuminating remarks on the connection between *3 Baruch* and the Enochic traditions.

¹ F. I. Andersen, “The Sun in the Book of the Secrets of Enoch,” *Xristianskij Vostok* 2001 (forthcoming); R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (NovTSup 93; Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill, 1998); H. E. Gaylord, “3 (Greek Apocalypse of) Baruch,” *OTP*, 1. 653-79; M. I. Sokolov, “Feniks v apokrifah ob Enohe i Varuhe,” in *Novyj sbornik statej po slavjanovedeniju, sostavlennyj i izdannyy uchenikami V. I. Lamanskago* (St. Petersburg, 1905) 395-405.

² R. Bauckham, “Early Jewish Visions of Hell,” *JTS* 41 (1990) 355-85, esp. 372.

³ *Ibid.*, 372.

observation, Martha Himmelfarb agrees that various textual features of *3 Baruch* reveal a polemic against the Enochic literature.⁴ These observations are intriguing and deserve further investigation. Even a brief look at the apocalypse shows that despite a conspicuous coloring of the Adamic interpretation of the origin of evil, the details of *3 Baruch*'s descriptions of the garden expose the motifs and themes linked to another prominent story in which the source of evil is traced to the myth of the Watchers/Giants.

This article will investigate the account of paradise found in *3 Baruch* 4 and its possible connection with Enochic and Noachic traditions.

I. The Paradise Traditions of the Slavonic Version of *3 Baruch*

Third Baruch became known first in its Slavonic version,⁵ and only later were

⁴ M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 93.

⁵ For publications of the Slavonic MSS of *3 Baruch*, see E. Hercigonja, "‘Videnie Varuhovo’ u Petrisovu Zborniku iz 1468 godine," *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku* 7 (1964) 63-93; H. E. Gaylord, "Slavjanskij tekst tret’ej knigi Varuha," *Polata knigopisanija* 7 (1983) 49-56; J. Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi* (Sofija: Pridvoma Pечатint’s’a, 1925) 193-200; P. A. Lavrov, "Otkrovenie Varuha," *Sbornik otdelenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti (SORJaS)* 67/3 (1899) 149-51; S. Novakovic, "Otkrivene Varuhovo," *Starine* 18 (1886) 203-9; M. I. Sokolov, "Apokrificheskoe otkrovenie Varuha," *Drevnosti. Trudy slavjanskoj komissii imperatorskogo Moskovskago arheologicheskogo obshchestva* 4 (1907) 201-58; N. Tihonravov, "Otkrovenie Varuha," in "Apokrificheskie Teksty," *SORJaS* 58 (1894) 48-54. For translations of the Slavonic version of *3 Baruch*, see G. N. Bonwetsch, "Das slavisch erhaltene Baruchbuch," in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1896) 91-101; W. Hage, "Die griechische Baruch-Apokalypse," in *Apokalypsen* (ed. W. Hage, K.-G. Eckart, et al.; JSHRZ 5/1; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1974) 15-44; Gaylord, "3 (Greek Apocalypse of) Baruch," 1. 653-55; A. G. Kuz'min and A. Ju. Karpov, *Zlatostruj. Drevnjaja Rus'. X-XIII vv.* (Moscow: "Molodai'a' gvardij'a", 1990) 276-82; W. R. Morfill, "The Apocalypse of Baruch translated from the Slavonic," in *Apocrypha Anecdota II* (Texts 5/1; ed. J. A. Robinson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897) 95-102. For research on the Slavonic version of *3 Baruch*, see H. E. Gaylord, "How Sataniel Lost His '-el,'" *JJS* 33 (1982) 303-9; idem, "Redactional Elements behind the Petrisov Zbornik of III Baruch," *Slovo* 37 (1987) 91-115; idem, "The Slavonic Version of III Baruch" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1983); W. Lüdtkke, "Beiträge zu slavischen Apocryphen: 2. Apokalypse des Baruch," *ZAW* 31 (1911) 218-31; A. Ju. Karpov, "O kalendare slavjanskoj knigi 'Otkrovenie Varuha,'" *Palestinskij sbornik* 32 (1993) 81-83; P. A. Lavrov, "Zametka ob apokrifah v rukopisi Publichnoj Biblioteki Grech. 70," *Juzhnoslovenski Filolog* 2 (1921) 61-64; B. Philonenko-Sayar, "La version slave de l'Apocalypse de Baruch," in *La littérature intertestamentaire: Colloque de Strasbourg, 17-19 octobre 1983* (Bibliothèque des centres d'études supérieures spécialisés: Travaux du Centre d'études supérieures spécialisés d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg; Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1985) 89-97; Sokolov, "Feniks v apokrifah ob Enohe i Varuhe" (see n. 1) 395-405; idem, "O fenikse po apokrificheskim knigam Enoha i Baruha," in *Drevnosti. Trudy slavjanskoj komissii imperatorskogo Moskovskago arheologicheskogo obshchestva* 4/1 [Moscow] (1907); R. Stichel, "Die Verführung der Stammeltern durch Satanael nach der Kurzfassung der slavischen Baruch-Apokalypse," in *Kulturelle Traditionen in Bulgarien* (ed. R. Lauer and P. Schreiner; Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 3/177;

the Greek manuscripts of the book uncovered.⁶ Despite the availability of the Greek evidence, scholars noted that in some parts of the pseudepigraphon the Slavonic text seems to preserve more original material. H. E. Gaylord's newly assembled Slavonic sources show several areas where Slavonic appears to be closer to the original.⁷ One of these areas concerns the fourth chapter of the text. Gaylord observes that the overall structure and content of chap. 4 in Slavonic seem closer to the original⁸ than the extant Greek version, which in this part "has suffered the most at the hands of Christian scribes."⁹ Chapter 4 of the Slavonic version contains several important details that are missing from the Greek version, including the story of the angels planting the garden. Our investigation of chap. 4 will deal primarily with the Slavonic version, which will be in some instances compared with and supplemented by the Greek version.

In 3 *Baruch* 4 the reader finds Baruch in the middle of his heavenly journey. The angelic guide continues to show him celestial wonders. In the beginning of the chapter, Baruch sees a serpent on a stone mountain who "eats earth like grass." Then, in 4:6, Baruch asks his *angelus interpres* to show him the tree that deceived Adam. In response to this request, Baruch hears the story about the planting and destruction of the heavenly garden. In the Slavonic version, the story has the following form:

And the angel said to me "When God made the garden and commanded Michael to gather *two hundred thousand*¹⁰ and three angels so that they could plant the garden, Michael planted the olive and Gabriel, the apple; Uriel,¹¹ the nut; Raphael, the melon; and Sataniel,¹² the vine. For at first his name in former times was Sataniel, and similarly

Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989) 116-28; E. Turdeanu, "Apocryphes bogomiles et apocryphes pseudo-bogomiles," *RHR* 69 (1950) 22-52, 176-218; idem, "L'Apocalypse de Baruch en slave," *Revue des études slaves* 48 (1969) 23-48; idem, "Les apocryphes slaves et roumains: Leur apport à la connaissance des apocryphes grecs," *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 8 (1953) 47-52; B. M. Zagrebina, "O proishozhdenii i sud'be nekotorykh slavjanskikh palimpsestov Sinaja," in *Iz istorii rukopisnyh i staropechatnyh sobranij Otdela rukopisej i redkih knig GPB (Issledovanija, obzory, publikacii). Sbornik nauchnyh trudov* (Leningrad, 1979) 61-80.

⁶ J.-C. Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi Graece* (PVTG 2; Leiden: Brill, 1967).

⁷ Gaylord, "3 Baruch," 655.

⁸ In his recent research D. Harlow (*The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (3 Baruch) in Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity* [SVTP 12; Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill, 1996] 40) supports this position, observing that "in some instances the Slavonic likely does possess an equal or better claim to priority than does the Greek, as is the case in chapters 4-5." See also his comment on p. 150: "certainly the Slavonic presents a more coherent form of material in chapters 4-5."

⁹ Gaylord, "3 Baruch," 657.

¹⁰ Some MSS read "two thousand." See Gaylord, "Slavjanskij tekst," 52.

¹¹ Slav. *Uril'* (Gaylord, "Slavjanskij tekst," 52); Slav. *Sarasail'* (Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi*, 196). Variants of this angel's name in the Slavonic MSS of 3 *Baruch* show that the author/editor knew the Enochic variations involving the names Uriel, Phanuel, and Sariel.

¹² Slav. *Satanail'/Sotonail'* (Gaylord, "Slavjanskij tekst," 52; Tihonravov, "Otkrovenie Varuha," 48-54). Both Greek manuscripts read Σαμουηλ (Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi Graece*, 85).

all the angels planted the various trees.”¹³ And again I Baruch said to the angel, “Lord, show me the tree through which the serpent deceived Eve and Adam.” And the angel said to me, “Listen, Baruch. In the first place, the tree was the vine, but secondly, the tree (is) sinful desire which Sataniel spread over Eve and Adam, and because of this God has cursed the vine because Sataniel had planted it, and by that he deceived the protoplast Adam and Eve.” And I Baruch said to the angel, “Lord, if God has cursed the vine and its seed, then how can it be of use now?” And the angel said to me, “Rightly you ask me.” When God made the flood upon the earth, he drowned every firstling, and he destroyed 104 thousand giants, and the water rose above the highest mountains 20 cubits above the mountains, and the water entered into the garden, (*and destroyed all flower*),¹⁴ bringing out one shoot from the vine as God withdrew the waters. And there was dry land, and Noah went out from the ark and found the vine lying on the ground, and did not recognize it having only heard about it and its form. He thought to himself, saying, “This is truly the vine which Sataniel planted in the middle of the garden, by which he deceived Eve and Adam, because of this God cursed it and its seed. So if I plant it, then will God not be angry with me?” And he knelt down on (his) knees and fasted 40 days. Praying and crying, he said, “Lord, if I plant this, what will happen?” And the Lord sent the angel Sarasael; he declared to him, “Rise, Noah, and plant the vine, and alter its name, and change it for the better.” (*3 Apoc. Bar. 4:7-15*)¹⁵

¹³ After this verse, several Slavonic MSS of the Russian group contain the following tradition: “And he said to Michael, ‘Sound the trumpet for the angels to assemble and bow down to the work of my hands which I made.’ And the angel Michael sounded the trumpet, and all the angels assembled, and all bowed down to Adam order by order. But Sataniel did not bow down and said, ‘To mud and dirt I will never bow down.’ And he said, ‘I will establish my throne above the clouds and I will be like the highest.’ Because of that, God cast him and his angels from his face just as the prophet said, ‘These withdrew from his face, all who hate God and the glory of God.’ And God commanded an angel to guard Paradise. And they ascended in order to bow down to God. Then having gone, Sataniel found the serpent and he made himself into a worm. And he said to the serpent, ‘Open (your mouth), consume me into your belly.’ And he went through the fence into Paradise, wanting to deceive Eve. But because of that one I was cast out from the glory of God. And the serpent ate him and went into Paradise and found Eve and said, ‘What did God command you to eat from the food of Paradise?’ And Eve said, ‘From every tree of Paradise we eat; from this tree God commanded us not to eat.’ And having heard Sataniel said to her, ‘God begrudged the way you live lest you be immortal; take and eat and you will see and give it to Adam.’ And both ate and the eyes of both were opened and they saw that they were naked” (Gaylord, “How Sataniel Lost His ‘-el,’” 305). For the Slavonic text, see Tihonravov, “Otkrovenie Varuha,” 50.

¹⁴ Slav. *i v'zat' ves' zvet'* (Gaylord, “Slavjanskij tekst,” 52). This expression can also be translated as “and took all that was blooming.” This sentence about the destruction of all vegetation in the garden is not included in Gaylord’s English translation of the Slavonic version, published in *OTP*. The reading, however, can be found in Gaylord’s publication of the Slavonic text of *3 Baruch* in “Slavjanskij tekst,” 52. See also Tihonravov, “Otkrovenie Varuha,” 51.

¹⁵ Trans. Gaylord, “*3 Baruch*,” 666. Here and later I use Gaylord’s English translation of the Slavonic version of *3 Baruch* and follow his division of chapters and verses. The Slavonic citations of *3 Baruch* are drawn from the following publications of the Slavonic MSS: Hercigonja, “Videnie Varuhovo’ u Petrisovu Zborniku iz 1468 godine,” 63-93; Gaylord, “Slavjanskij tekst,” 49-56; Ivanov,

The depiction conveys several rare traditions about the garden, of which two are especially important for this investigation: the angels planting the garden and the flooding of the garden by the waters of the Deluge. Both of these traditions are preserved only in this pseudepigraphon. There are, however, some early materials that seem to allude to the same rare traditions about the garden's planting and flooding. One of these sources includes the fragments of the *Book of Giants*.

II. The Garden Traditions in the *Book of Giants*

The composition known as the *Book of Giants* exists only in a very fragmentary form preserved in Jewish and Manichean sources, including the Aramaic fragments of the *Book of Giants* found at Qumran,¹⁶ the fragments of the Manichean *Book of Giants*,¹⁷ and the later Jewish text known as the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azazel*.¹⁸

In these materials associated with the *Book of Giants*, we find the themes of the planting and the destroying of a garden. The Aramaic fragment of the *Book of Giants* from Qumran (4Q530) and the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azazel* depict a dream in which the giant Hahyah, the son of the watcher Shemihazah, sees a certain garden planted and then destroyed.

4Q530 lines 3-12 read:

. . . Then two of them dreamed dreams, and the sleep of their eyes and come to [. . .] their dreams. And he said in the assembly of [his frien]ds, the Nephilin, [. . . in] my dream; I have seen in this night [. . .] gardeners and they were watering [. . .] numerous roof[s] issued from their trunk [. . .] I watched until tongues of fire from [. . .] all the water and the fire burned in all [. . .] Here is the end of the dream.¹⁹

Bogomilski knigi i legendi, 193-200; Lavrov, "Otkrovenie Varuha," 149-51; Novakovic, "Otkrivene Varuhovo," 203-9; Sokolov, "Apokrificheskoe otkrovenie Varuha," 201-58; Tihonravov, "Otkrovenie Varuha," 48-54.

¹⁶ É. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 (XXII): Textes Araméens, Première Partie, 4Q529-546* (DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001); J. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments from Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976); K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984); idem, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994); F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992); J. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmology: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992); L. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1997).

¹⁷ W. B. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," *BZOAS* 11 (1943-46) 52-74; P. O. Skjærvø, "Iranian Epic and the Manichean Book of Giants: Irano-Manichaica III," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 48/1-2 (1995) 187-223; W. Sundermann, "Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch," in *Hommages et opera minora 9: Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* (Acta Iranica 23/Second Series 9; Leiden: Brill, 1984) 491-505.

¹⁸ I use the Hebrew texts and the English translation of the *Midrash* published in Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 321-28.

¹⁹ F. García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden/New York/Cologne: Brill, 1997) 2. 1063.

The fragment seems to depict certain gardeners planting or sustaining a garden by watering its numerous “roots.” It also portrays the destruction of the same garden by water and fire. The description of both events is very fragmentary, and many features of the story appear to be missing from 4Q530. Both motifs seem better preserved in the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*, which provides additional important details. It refers directly to the planting of the garden by using the Hebrew verb **נטע**:

... One night the sons of Shemhazai, Hiwwa and Hiyya,²⁰ saw (visions) in dream, and both of them saw dreams. One saw the great stone spread over the earth. . . . The other (son) saw a garden, *planted* (**נטע**)²¹ whole with (many) kinds of trees and (many) kinds of precious stones. And an angel (was seen by him) descending from the firmament with an axe in his hand, and he was cutting down all the trees, so that there remained only one tree containing three branches. When they awoke from their sleep they arose in confusion, and, going to their father, they related to him the dreams. He said to them: “The Holy One is about to bring a flood upon the world, and to destroy it, so that there will remain but one man and his three sons.”²²

Besides 4Q530 and the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*, the Hahyah/Hiyya dream is mentioned also in the Middle Persian Kawân fragment *j* of the Manichean *Book of Giants* published by W. B. Henning. The evidence, however, is very terse and ambiguous,²³ containing only one line:

Nariman²⁴ saw a gar[den full of] trees in rows. Two hundred . . . came out, the trees . . .²⁵

Henning suggests that this fragment should be interpreted in the light of another Middle Persian fragment *D* (M 625c), which links the Watchers with the trees:

. . . outside . . . and . . . left . . . read the dream we have seen. Thereupon Enoch thus . . . and the trees that come out, those are the Egregoroi, and the giants that came out of the women. And . . . over . . . pulled out . . . over . . .²⁶

Several important details in these descriptions from Jewish and Manichean sources should be clarified. The first concerns the subjects planting the garden. 4Q530 refers to the gardeners watering numerous roots issued from their trunk. Who are these gardeners? J. Milik was first to identify the “gardeners” as *angelic* beings. He argued that the gardeners are “guardian angels” or “bailiffs of the

²⁰ = Hahyah.

²¹ Trans. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 325.

²² *Ibid.*, 328.

²³ In view of its extremely fragmentary nature, this evidence can be considered only tentative.

²⁴ = Hahyah.

²⁵ Trans. Henning, “Book of the Giants,” 57 and 60.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 66.

world-garden” and are matched by the shepherds in the Book of Dreams in *I Enoch* 89:59 and 90:1.²⁷ L. Stuckenbruck agrees that the “gardeners” might be angelic beings but notes that there is reason to question whether the “gardeners” are meant to represent *good* angelic beings. He suggests that in light of 4Q530 line 8 the ultimate outcome of the “gardeners’” work seems to be the production of “great shoots” from the root source, which, in Stuckenbruck’s opinion, signifies “the birth of the giants from the women.” He further argues that “watering” activity is a metaphor for impregnation and that the “gardeners,” in fact, represent fallen angelic beings, the Watchers.²⁸ J. Reeves had earlier suggested that the “gardeners” might represent the Watchers prior to their apostasy. He notes that the image of the gardeners “watering” the garden may allude to the initial educational mission of the Watchers, who, according to *Jub.* 4:15, were originally sent by God on earth to instruct humans in moral conduct.²⁹

The second detail of the description concerns the imagery of the trees. It seems that the trees symbolize not the vegetation but the inhabitants of the garden: angelic, human, or composite creatures. Arboreal metaphors are often used in Enochic tradition to describe the Watchers and the Giants (cf. *CD* 2.17-19).

Another important detail is found in the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*, in which the destruction of the garden is associated with the flood and Noah’s escape from it. 4Q530 line 10 also seems to allude to the flood, since Haahyah’s dream mentions the destruction of the garden by fire and *water*. A short Qumran fragment, 6Q8, also provides evidence for the connection of Haahyah’s dream with Noah’s escape. F. García Martínez observes that the reference to Noah and his sons in the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* has its equivalent in 6Q8 line 2,³⁰ which speaks of three shoots preserved from the flood so as to signify the escape of Noah and his three sons.³¹

J. Reeves offers the following reconstruction of the dream based on the two fragments:³²

Haahyah beholds in his vision a grove of trees carefully attended by gardeners. This tranquil scene is interrupted by the sudden appearance (or transformation?) of two hundred figures within this garden. The result of this invasion was the production of

²⁷ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 304.

²⁸ Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants from Qumran*, 114.

²⁹ Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 95, 96.

³⁰ 6Q8 line 2: “its three roots [. . . and] while I was [watching] came [. . .] all this orchard, and [. . .]” (García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2, 1149).

³¹ García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 101. See also Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 87 and 95; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 309.

³² Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 95-96; Stuckenbruck, *Book of Giants from Qumran*, 114-15. It should be noted that any arrangement of the fragments must be considered tentative. On this issue, see L. T. Stuckenbruck, “The Sequencing of Fragments Belonging to the Qumran *Book of Giants*: An Inquiry into the Structure and Purpose of an Early Jewish Composition,” *JSP* 16 (1997) 3-24, esp. 10.

“great” shoots sprouting up from the roots of the trees. While Hahyah viewed this scene, emissaries from Heaven arrived and ravaged the garden with water and fire, leaving only one tree bearing three branches as the sole survivor of the destruction.³³

A comparison of this description from the *Book of Giants* with the story found in the Slavonic version of *3 Baruch* 4 shows that both accounts seem to have three similar events that follow one another in the same sequence: the planting of the garden, the destruction of the garden, and the escape of one tree from the destruction. These intriguing similarities call for a more thorough investigation of the parallels between the garden traditions found in the *3 Baruch* 4 and the *Book of Giants*.

III. The Angelic Planting of the Garden (*3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:7-8)

The motif of angels planting the garden is uniquely preserved in the Slavonic version of *3 Baruch*.³⁴ In the text, the tale about the planting comes from the mouth of Baruch’s angelic guide. From him the visionary learns that God commanded Michael to gather two hundred thousand and three angels in order to plant the garden. The story further tells that Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael and Sataniel planted five trees. Other angels also planted “various trees.”

Several features in the story of the planting found in *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:7-8 seem to resonate with the account found in the *Book of Giants*. These details include the following significant points:

1. *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:7 mentions two hundred thousand and three angels planting the garden;
2. the fallen angel Sataniel also takes part in planting the “trees”;
3. according to the story, Sataniel plants the *bad tree*—the tree of deception;
4. the tree is described as a *sinful desire* that the fallen angel had for humans;
5. *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:7 mentions the planting of five types of trees in the garden.

1. The first feature of *3 Baruch* 4 that recalls the *Book of Giants* is the number of angelic hosts involved in planting the garden. *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:7 tells that God commanded Michael³⁵ to gather two hundred thousand and three angels in order to plant the garden. The number two hundred thousand and three, reserved here for the number of angelic hosts, gives a clue to the reader that the angelic “gardeners” described in *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:7 are somehow related to the fallen

³³ Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 95.

³⁴ The Greek version contains only a very short reference to Samael’s planting of the tree: “It is the vine which the angel Samael planted (ἐφόρτευσεν) by which the Lord God became angered, and he cursed him and his planting (τὴν φυτεῖαν αὐτοῦ)” (Gaylord, “3 Baruch,” 667; see also Picard, *Apocalypse Baruchi Graece*, 85).

³⁵ The commissioning of Michael for the mission of gathering two hundred thousand angels might allude to Michael’s role in the Book of Watchers (*1 Enoch* 10:11-15), where he is responsible for the affairs connected with Shemihazah and the Watchers.

Watchers, who in the *Book of Giants* “planted” gigantic “trees” on the earth through their iniquities.³⁶ In early Enochic accounts, the numeral “two hundred” often refers to the number of the Watchers descending on Mount Hermon.³⁷ Some later Enochic accounts, however, tend to exaggerate the number of the fallen Watchers, depicting them as *two hundred thousand* or *two hundred myriads*. For example, in the longer recension *2 Enoch* 18:3, the angelic guides give Enoch the following information about the Watchers: “These are the *Gregori* (Watchers), who turned aside from the Lord, *200 myriads*, together with their prince Sata-nail.”³⁸ It is noteworthy that in *3 Baruch* 4, similar to *2 Enoch* 18, the tradition about the two hundred myriads of angelic beings is creatively conflated with the name of Sataniel.³⁹

2. In *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:7-8, one of the angelic creatures planting the garden along with the four principal angels (Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael) is the fallen angel Sataniel. The description of Sataniel as the gardener is puzzling. The pseudepigraphic texts usually follow the biblical account⁴⁰ that claims that the garden was planted by God (Gen 2:8).⁴¹ This motif of the fallen “planter” might,

³⁶ That three angels are mentioned in *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:7 in conjunction with the two hundred thousand angels might be a reference to a tradition in which the three principal angels (Raphael, Uriel, Gabriel) were called by the fourth principal angel, Michael, to fulfill God’s command to plant the garden. Another explanation of the angelic triad in *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:7 is that it could represent the leaders of the Watchers group. The later Enochic accounts often speak about *three*, not two, leaders of the fallen Watchers. See *3 Enoch* 4:5-6 “. . . And the Holy One, blessed be he, appointed me [Enoch] in the height as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels. Then three of ministering angels, Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael, came and laid charges against me in the heavenly height” (P. Alexander, “3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch,” *OTP*, 1. 258). See also *3 Enoch* 5:9 “. . . it was only because Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael taught them sorceries that they brought them down and employed them, for otherwise they would not have been able to bring them down” (*OTP*, 1. 260). Annette Yoshiko Reed (“From Asael and Šemihazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael: 3 Enoch 5 [§§7-8] and Jewish Reception-History of 1 Enoch,” *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 8/2 [2001] 105-36, esp. 110) argues that the tradition about Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael reflects “direct knowledge of the account of the fall of the angels in *1 Enoch* 6-11.”

³⁷ See *1 Enoch* 6:6: “And they were in all two hundred, and they came down on Ardis which is the summit of Mount Hermon” (M. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* [2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978] 2. 68).

³⁸ F. I. Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” *OTP*, 1. 130.

³⁹ The possibility that the author of *3 Baruch* was cognizant of the myth of the Watchers is supported also by the information found in other parts of the book. According to Bauckham (“Early Jewish Visions of Hell,” 372), the author of *3 Baruch* indeed knew about the story of the Watchers. He suggests that two groups of condemned angels in chaps. 2 and 3 of *3 Baruch* parallel two groups of Watchers in the second and fifth heaven from *2 Enoch* 7 and 18.

⁴⁰ I am indebted to Professor Michael Stone for this clarification.

⁴¹ See also 4Q504 8:4-6 “. . . [. . . Adam,] our [fat]her, you fashioned in the image of [your] glory [. . .] [. . . the breath of life] you [b]lew into his nostril, and intelligence and knowledge [. . .] [. . . in the garden] of Eden, which you had planted . . .” (García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2. 1009).

therefore, parallel the *Book of Giants*, where the fallen angels are also depicted as gardeners.

3. In *3 Baruch* and in the *Book of Giants*, the “planting of trees/tree” is part of the angelic plot to corrupt the human race. In the *Book of Giants*, the “gardeners,” represented by fallen angelic beings, “plant” bad “trees”—the wicked offspring that, through their enormous appetites, brought many disasters to the antediluvian generation. In *3 Baruch* 4, the “gardener,” the fallen angel Sataniel, also plants a tree designed to cause the fall and degradation of the human race. In *3 Baruch*, the vine tree eventually becomes the tool through which Adam and Eve were deceived and corrupted.

4. The account in *3 Baruch* connects the tree planted by Sataniel with the “sinful desire” spread by this fallen angel over the first humans. In 4:8, the *angelus interpres* tells Baruch that “in the first place, the tree was the vine, but secondly, the tree (is) sinful desire⁴² which Sataniel spread over Adam and Eve.”⁴³ This reference to the “sinful desire” of the fallen angel over humans is intriguing since it alludes to the terminology found in Enochic tradition. Thus *1 Enoch* 6 says that the Watchers had *sinful desire* for human creatures.⁴⁴ The *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* also uses the term “evil desire” or “evil inclination” (Heb. יצר הרע) in reference to the relationships between the descended Watchers and the “daughters of man”:

Forthwith the Holy One allowed the *evil inclination* (יצר הרע) to rule over them, as soon as they descended. When they beheld the daughters of man that they were beautiful, they began to corrupt themselves with them, as it is said, “When the sons of God saw the daughters of man,” they could not restrain their inclination.⁴⁵

In the story from the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*, the evil desire of the Watchers over humans seems to come as consequence of the Watchers’ disrespect for humanity in general and the first human creature in particular.⁴⁶ It is intriguing

⁴² Slav. *pohot’ grehovnaju* (Novakovic, “Otkrivene Varuhovo,” 206).

⁴³ Gaylord, “3 Baruch,” 666.

⁴⁴ *1 Enoch* 6:1-2a: “And it came to pass, when the sons of men had increased, that in those days there were born to them fair and beautiful daughters. And the angels, the sons of heaven, saw them and desired them” (Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2. 67).

⁴⁵ Trans. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 327.

⁴⁶ *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* 1-4: “When the generation of Enosh arose and practiced idolatry and when the generation of the flood arose and corrupted their actions, the Holy One—Blessed be He—was grieved that He had created man, as it is said, ‘And God repented that he created man, and He grieved at heart.’ Forthwith arose two angels, whose names were Shemhazai and Azael, and said before Him: ‘O Lord of the universe, did we not say unto Thee when Thou didst create Thy world, “Do not create man”?’ The Holy One—Blessed be He—said to them: ‘Then what shall become of the world?’ They said before Him: ‘We will suffice (Thee) instead of it.’ He said: ‘It is revealed and (well) known to me that if peradventure you had lived in that (earthly) world, the evil inclination would have ruled you just as much as it rules over the sons of man, but you would be more stubborn than they.’ They said before Him: ‘Give us Thy sanction and let us descend {and dwell} among the creatures and then Thou shall see how we shall sanctify Thy name.’ He said to them: ‘Descend and

that some Russian manuscripts of *3 Baruch* contain the passage about Sataniel's refusal⁴⁷ to venerate Adam,⁴⁸ which recalls the account found in *Midrash* 1–4.⁴⁹ Gaylord, however, does not include this account in his English translation of the Slavonic version of *3 Baruch* in *OTP*, considering it to be a later interpolation.

5. Finally, *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:7 refers to five kinds of trees. The text says that the olive tree was planted by Michael, the apple by Gabriel, the nut by Uriel, the melon by Raphael, and the vine by Sataniel. Although the number of the principal angels seems unusual, the reference to the "five trees" excites interest in light of a passage found among the fragments of the Manichean *Book of Giants* published by W. B. Henning. This fragment, similar to *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:7, also operates with the notion of the "five trees": ". . . evil-intentioned . . . from where . . . he came. The Misguided fail to recognize the five elements, [the five kinds of] trees, the five (kinds of) animals" (frag. h).⁵⁰

In both Enochic and Adamic accounts, the flooded garden is depicted as a place where the drama of the primordial evil unfolds. Enochic and Adamic traditions often compete with each other, offering different explanations of the origin of evil in the world.⁵¹ The Enochic tradition bases its understanding of the origin of evil on the story of the Watchers, in which the descended Watchers corrupt human beings by passing on to them various celestial secrets. By contrast, the

dwelt ye among them.' Forthwith the Holy One allowed the evil inclination to rule over them, as soon as they descended. When they beheld the daughters of man that they were beautiful, they began to corrupt themselves with them, as it is said, 'When the sons of God saw the daughters of man,' they could not restrain their inclination" (trans. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 327).

⁴⁷ The Adamic story of Satan's refusal to venerate Adam is attested in many Jewish, Christian, and Muslim materials, including Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve* 13-15; *Gospel of Bartholomew* 4; *Coptic Enthronement of Michael*; *Cave of Treasures* 2:10-24; and *Qur'an* 2:31-39; 7:11-18; 15:31-48; 17:61-65; 18:50; 20:116-123; 38:71-85. On Satan's refusal, see M. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve," *JTS* 44 (1993) 145-48; G. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 6 (1997) 105-34.

⁴⁸ "And he said to Michael, 'Sound the trumpet for the angels to assemble and bow down to the work of my hands which I made.' And the angel Michael sounded the trumpet, and all the angels assembled, and all bowed down to Adam order by order. But Sataniel did not bow down and said, 'To mud and dirt I will never bow down.' And he said, 'I will establish my throne above the clouds and I will be like the highest.' Because of that, God cast him and his angels from his face just as the prophet said, 'These withdrew from his face, all who hate God and the glory of God.' And God commanded an angel to guard Paradise" (Gaylord, "How Sataniel Lost His '-el,'" 305).

⁴⁹ "Forthwith arose two angels, whose names were Shemhazai and Azael, and said before Him: 'O Lord of the universe, did we not say unto Thee when Thou didst create Thy world, Do not create man?'" (trans. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 327).

⁵⁰ Trans. Henning, "Book of the Giants," 63.

⁵¹ M. E. Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Chazon and M. E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 133-49.

Adamic story traces the source of evil to the fall of Adam and Eve in Eden. These two accounts share many common details that reveal a persistent and strenuous polemic between the two traditions. The description in *3 Baruch* 4 of the flooded garden as the arena of the primordial heavenly rebellion involving angelic beings of the highest status brings the two traditions closer together.

IV. The Flood in the Garden (*3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:10-11)

In *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:8, the angel tells the visionary about the evil role the vine tree played in Sataniel's deception of Adam and Eve. According to the story, God, as a result of this deception, cursed the vine and its seed. Upon hearing this story, Baruch asks the angel why, despite God's curse, the vine can still exist. The angel tells Baruch about the flood in the heavenly garden.

The story recounts that God first caused the flood upon the earth, which led to the drowning of "every fistling," including 104,000 giants. Then the water rose above the highest mountains and flooded the heavenly garden. As God withdrew the water, "all flower" was destroyed except for one shoot from the vine. When the land appeared from the water, Noah went out from his ark and discovered the vine lying on the ground.

Several points of this flood story resemble the account found in the *Book of Giants*, including the following details:

1. In *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:10 and in the *Book of Giants*, the flooding of the garden is parallel to the flood on the earth.
2. In both traditions the destruction of all vegetation (in *3 Baruch* "all flower"⁵²) in the garden "mirrors" the destruction of all flesh and the giants on earth.
3. In both traditions the surviving "plant" from the flooded garden is parallel to the escape of Noah from the flood.

1. Later rabbinic materials sometimes operate with the notion of two gardens: the celestial garden of Eden and the terrestrial garden. In *3 Enoch* 5:5-6 we learn that before the generation of Enosh had sinned, God's *Shekinah* freely traveled from one garden to the other:

When the Holy One, blessed be he, went out and in from the garden to Eden, and from Eden to the garden, from the garden to heaven, and from heaven to the garden of Eden, all gazed at the bright image of *Shekinah* and were unharmed—until the coming of the generation of Enosh, who was the chief of all the idolaters in the world.⁵³

The story of the garden in *3 Baruch* 4 might represent an early tradition about the two gardens, since in this apocalypse the garden becomes the locus of celestial

⁵² Slav. *ves' zvet'* (Gaylord, "Slavjanskij tekst," 52).

⁵³ Trans. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 260.

and terrestrial events at the same time. In the story of the flood in *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:10-11, the events taking place in heaven and on earth are depicted as if they were to mirror each other: the destruction of “all flesh,” including the giants on earth, “mirrors” the destruction of “all flower” in the heavenly garden. Both accounts also mention survivors, the patriarch Noah from the flooded earth and one plant from the flooded heavenly garden. This parallelism resembles the one in the *Book of Giants*, where the dream(s) about the destroyed “vegetation” of the garden and the single preserved shoot symbolized the drowned giants and Noah’s miraculous escape.

2. As we mentioned above, in the Enochic traditions the fallen angels and their offspring are often depicted through arboreal imagery. CD 2.17-19 refers to the giants as tall cedars.⁵⁴ The *Book of Giants* supports this tendency: in the Manichean fragments of this composition, the Watchers are unambiguously associated with trees.⁵⁵ The *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* also seems to take the vegetation of the garden as a symbol of the Watchers/Giants group. This correspondence is made not directly but through parallelism. In the *Midrash*, Shemhazai’s statement about the flood on earth follows immediately after Hiyya’s dream about the destruction of the trees. The two events seem to “mirror” each other in such a way that the first depicts the second symbolically.

3 Apoc. Bar. 4:10 follows the same pattern, portraying the destruction of “all flesh” and the giants on earth and the destruction of “all flower” in the heavenly garden as two “mirroring” processes taking place in the celestial and terrestrial realms. The similarities between the descriptions in *3 Baruch* 4 and the *Book of Giants* seem not to be coincidental. In addition, the description of “all flesh” in *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:10 includes a direct reference to the drowned giants.⁵⁶

3. The next point is the identification of Noah with the “escaped plant.” In the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*, the giant Hiyya beholds in his dream one tree with three branches that survived the destruction of the garden. The text tells that “an angel (was seen by him) descending from the firmament with an axe in

⁵⁴ “For having walked in the stubbornness of their hearts the Watchers of the heaven fell; on account of it they were caught, for they did not heed the precepts of God. And their sons, whose height was like that of cedars and whose bodies were like mountains, fell” (García Martínez and Tigheleaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1. 555).

⁵⁵ “. . . outside . . . and . . . left . . . read the dream we have seen. Thereupon Enoch thus . . . and the trees that come out, those are the Egregoroi, and the giants that came out of the women. And . . . over . . . pulled out . . . over . . .” (Henning, “Book of the Giants,” 66).

⁵⁶ It is possible that *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:3 also attests to the traditions of the giants. The text says that Baruch’s angelic guide showed him a serpent who “drinks one cubit of water from the sea every day, and it eats earth like grass.” This description might allude to the appetites of the giants, who were notorious for consuming everything alive on the surface of the earth. The *Book of Watchers* and the *Book of Giants* also attest to the enormous appetites of the giants. The *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* has it that “each of them eats daily a thousand camels, a thousand horses, a thousand oxen, and all kinds (of animals)” (trans. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 328).

his hand, and he was cutting down all trees, so that there remained only one tree containing three branches."⁵⁷ A verse later, the story switches to Noah and his three sons:⁵⁸ "He [Shemhazai] said to them [Hiwwa and Hiyya]: 'The Holy One is about to bring a flood upon the world, and to destroy it, so that there will remain but one man and his three sons.'⁵⁹ In *Midrash* 10b-11a, the reference to Noah and his three sons enduring the flood follows immediately after the symbolic depiction of the tree with three branches surviving the destruction. Although the *Midrash* does not directly identify the tree with Noah, it makes the identification obvious by correlating these two descriptions.

The same correlation is seen in *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:10b-11, where the reference to Noah and his escape follows immediately after the statement about the preserved shoot: "and the water entered into the garden and destroyed every flower, bringing out one shoot from the vine as God withdrew the waters. And there was dry land, and Noah went out from the ark."⁶⁰ It is important, however, that the escaped "tree," which in the *Book of Giants* was associated with the righteous remnant, becomes associated in *3 Baruch* with the evil deception. This difference might point to the polemical character of *3 Baruch*'s appropriation of Enochic imagery.

V. The Noachic Narrative (*3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:11-15)

3 Apoc. Bar. 4:11-15 deals with Noah's story.⁶¹ It depicts the patriarch after his debarkation seeing the shoot of vine lying on the ground. Noah hesitates to

⁵⁷ Trans. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 328.

⁵⁸ Associations of Noah with the plant abound, e.g., *1 Enoch* 10:16: "Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth. . . . And let the plant of righteousness and truth appear" (Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2, 90). For a survey of the evidence, see Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 99-100. Scholars believe that 6Q8 liné 2 also refers to the story of Noah and his three sons.

⁵⁹ Trans. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 328.

⁶⁰ Trans. Gaylord, "3 Baruch," 666.

⁶¹ On Noachic traditions, see M. Bernstein, "Noah and the Flood at Qumran," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 199-231; D. Dimant, "Noah in Early Jewish Literature," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergren; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 1998) 123-50; García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 24-44; F. García Martínez, "Interpretation of the Flood in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Interpretations of the Flood* (ed. F. García Martínez and G. P. Luttikhuisen; Themes in Biblical Narrative 1; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 86-108; H. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and the Son of Man* (WMANT 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988) 242-54; J. P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1968); A. Orlov, "'Noah's Younger Brother': The Anti-Noachic Polemics in 2 Enoch," *Henoah* 22/2 (2000) 259-73; idem, "Overshadowed by Enoch's Greatness: 'Two Tablets' Traditions from the Book of Giants to Palaea Historica," *JSJ* 32 (2001) 137-58; J. Reeves, "Unapishtim in the Book of Giants?" *JBL* 12 (1993) 110-15; J. M. Scott, "Geographic Aspects of Noachic Materials in the Scrolls of Qumran," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S. E. Porter

plant the vine, knowing the fatal role this plant had in deceiving Adam and Eve. Puzzled, Noah decides to ask the Lord in prayer if he can plant the vine. The Lord sends the angel Sarasael, who delivers to Noah the following command: "Rise, Noah, and plant the vine, and alter its name and change it for the better."⁶² Sarasael's address to Noah is important for establishing the connection between *3 Baruch* 4 and the broader Enochic/Noahic traditions. It reveals that the author of *3 Baruch* was familiar not only with the details of Noah's escape from the flood that are found in the extant materials of the *Book of Giants* but also with the peculiar details of Noah's story in the *Book of Watchers* and in the traditions associated with the *Book of Noah*.

The Greek and Ethiopic versions of *1 Enoch* 10:1-3 attest that God commissioned Sariel to inform Noah about the approaching flood.⁶³ This story might possibly parallel Sarasael's⁶⁴ revelation to Noah in *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:15, but Sariel's revelation in *1 Enoch* 10:1-3 does not contain any information about the plant. It may be, however, that the "original" reading of *1 Enoch* 10:3 survived in its entirety not in the Ethiopic text of *1 Enoch* but in the text preserved by Syncellus,⁶⁵ which corresponds closely to the Aramaic evidence.⁶⁶ In the passage found in Syncellus, God commissioned Sariel to tell Noah not only about his escape from the flood but also about a *plant*: "And now instruct the righteous one what to do, and the son of Lamech, that he may save his life and escape for all time; and from him a plant shall be planted and established for all generations for ever."⁶⁷

and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 368-81; R. C. Steiner, "The Heading of the Book of the Words of Noah on a Fragment of the Genesis Apocryphon: New Light on a 'Lost' Work," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2 (1995) 66-71; Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran" (see note 51); idem, "Noah, Books of," *EncJud*, 12. 1198; J. VanderKam, "The Righteousness of Noah," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (ed. J. J. Collins and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; SBLSCS 12; Chico, CA: Scholars, 1980) 13-32; idem, "The Birth of Noah," in *Intertestamental Essays in Honor of Józef Tadeusz Milik* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Qumranica Mogilanensia 6; Crakow: Enigma Press, 1992) 213-31; Cana Werman, "Qumran and the Book of Noah" in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives* (ed. Chazon and Stone), 171-81.

⁶² Gaylord, "3 Baruch," 668.

⁶³ *1 Enoch* 10:1-3: "And then the Most High, the Great and Holy One, spoke and sent Arsyalalyur to the son of Lamech, and said to him: Say to him in my name 'Hide yourself,' and reveal to him the end which is coming, for the whole earth will be destroyed, and a deluge is about to come on all the earth, and what is in it will be destroyed. And now teach him that he may escape, and (that) his offspring may survive for the whole earth" (Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2. 87).

⁶⁴ Sarasael represents here the corruption of Sariel, the angelic name of the archangel Uriel also known in various traditions under the name of Phanuel. On the Uriel/Sariel/Phanuel connection, see A. Orlov, "The Face as the Heavenly Counterpart of the Visionary in the Slavonic Ladder of Jacob," in *Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity* 9 (ed. C. A. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003) (forthcoming).

⁶⁵ M. Black (*The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* [SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985] 133) observes that "the longer text of Sync. seems closer to an original."

⁶⁶ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 161-62.

⁶⁷ Black, *Book of Enoch*, 30.

Although “a plant” in this revelation can be taken as a symbolic reference to the restored humanity⁶⁸ or to Noah himself, who is described in *1 Enoch* 10:16 as the “plant of righteousness and truth,” some texts associated with Enochic traditions reveal that, besides “planting” justice and righteousness, Noah was involved literally in the planting of the vine. Thus, *Jub.* 7:1, for example, says that “during the seventh week, in its first year, in this jubilee Noah planted a vine at the mountain (whose name was Lubar, one of the mountains of Ararat) on which the ark had come to rest. It produced fruit in the fourth year.”⁶⁹ Here, just as in *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:13-15, the planting of the vine is associated with Noah’s debarkation.

Noah’s story as found in *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:11-16 gives additional support to the hypothesis about the existence of the materials associated with the *Book of Noah*. F. García Martínez’s pioneering research demonstrates that the materials of the *Book of Noah* are closely associated with the Enochic/Noachic traditions found in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the Qumran materials, and Syncellus.⁷⁰ In *3 Baruch* 4 several traditions associated with the *Book of Noah* appear to be intimately interconnected, which may point to their common origin in the *Book of Noah*. For example, in *3 Apoc. Bar.* 4:15-17, Sarasael tells Noah about the dangers of the vine. The angel tells him that the plant still retains its evil. This revelation about *the plant and the evil it possesses* recalls another passage possibly associated with the *Book of Noah*, namely, the tradition about the angelic revelation to Noah recorded in *Jub.* 10:1-14, which has it that Noah was taught by angels about *the plants and evil spirits*.⁷¹

VI. Conclusion

1. The foregoing analysis has demonstrated a number of intriguing parallels between the theme of the garden in *3 Baruch* 4 and similar traditions associated

⁶⁸ P. A. Tiller, “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 4/3 (1997) 312-35, esp. 317. See also S. Fujita, “The Metaphor of Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period,” *JSJ* 7 (1976) 30-45.

⁶⁹ J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols.; CSCO 510-11, *Scriptores Aethiopiici* 87-88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989) 2. 43.

⁷⁰ García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 1-44. Even though the *Book of Noah* is not listed in the ancient catalogues of the apocryphal books, the writings attributed to Noah are mentioned in such early materials as the *Book of Jubilees* (*Jub.* 10:13; 21:10), the *Genesis Apocryphon* from Qumran, and the Greek fragment of the Levi document from Mount Athos. In addition to the titles of the lost *Book of Noah*, several fragmentary materials associated with the early Noachic traditions have survived. Most researchers agree that some parts of the lost *Book of Noah* “have been incorporated into *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* and that some manuscripts of Qumran preserve some traces of it” (García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 26).

⁷¹ *Jub.* 10:11b-14: “All of the evil ones who were savage we tied up in the place of judgement, while we left a tenth of them to exercise power on the earth before the satan. We told Noah all the medicines for their diseases with their deceptions so that he could cure (them) by means of the earth’s plants. Noah wrote down in a book everything (just) as we had taught him regarding all the kinds of medicine, and the evil spirits were precluded from pursuing Noah’s children. He gave all the books that he had written to his oldest son Shem because he loved him much more than all his sons” (VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 2. 60).

with the materials of the *Book of Giants*.⁷² In both accounts, the garden is depicted as the place of the primordial heavenly rebellion involving angelic being(s). Although 3 *Baruch* 4 is written from the Adamic perspective,⁷³ this account demonstrates several details that are absent from “traditional” Adamic accounts but can be found in the Enochic tradition. This suggests that the author of 3 *Baruch* might be involved in anti-Enochic polemics, borrowing and rewriting Enochic motifs and themes from the Adamic perspective. Therefore, the story of the planting and the destruction of the garden in 3 *Baruch* seems to represent the locus of intense debates involving substantial rewriting of the “original” Enochic/Noachic motifs and themes. The details of the Enochic Watchers/Giants story appear to be rearranged⁷⁴ and transferred to new characters of the Adamic story, including Samael/Sataniel and the serpent.⁷⁵

2. The author of 3 *Baruch* seems to be engaged in anti-Enochic polemics not only with the traditions associated with the *Book of Giants* but also with the Enochic motifs and themes found in the *Book of Watchers*, the *Book of Jubilees*, and Syncellus. It appears that even the theme of the flooding of the heavenly garden represents an anti-Enochic motif. *Jubilees* 4 depicts Enoch as the one who was translated to the garden of Eden. *Jub.* 4:23 further tells that because of Enoch “the flood water did not come on any of the land of Eden because he was placed there as a sign and to testify against all people in order to tell all the deeds of history until the day of judgment.”⁷⁶

3. A substantial part of 3 *Baruch* 4 is occupied by the Noachic account, and the Noachic tradition found in 3 *Baruch* 4 is closely connected with the fragments of the *Book of Noah* found in 1 *Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the Dead Sea Scroll fragments, and Syncellus. It appears, however, that the Noachic materials found in 3 *Baruch* 4 have also undergone the “Adamic” revisions. H. E. Gaylord observes that “a

⁷² The analysis demonstrates that, among the Jewish and Manichean materials associated with the *Book of Giants*, the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* shows the closest proximity to the traditions about the garden found in 3 *Baruch* 4.

⁷³ 3 *Baruch* 4 appears to be one of the texts where the Adamic tradition plays a prominent role. Scholars have previously noted that Adamic and Enochic/Noachic traditions often compete with each other, offering different interpretations of the origins of evil in the world and the agents responsible for the transgression. In the course of the long-lasting polemics about these matters, Adamic and Enochic traditions often allude reciprocally to the motifs and themes of both. For a detailed discussion of this subject, see Stone, “Axis of History at Qumran,” 133-49.

⁷⁴ Harlow (*Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*, 59) noted that the author of 3 *Baruch* 4 “put the Watcher’s myth on its head.”

⁷⁵ The depiction of the serpent in 3 *Baruch* seems to allude to the enormous appetites of the giants; see 3 *Apoc. Bar.* 4:3: “And he showed me a plain, and there was a serpent on a stone mountain. And it drinks one cubit of water from the sea every day, and it eats earth like grass” (Gaylord, “3 *Baruch*,” 666).

⁷⁶ VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 2. 28.

strong typological relation is set up between Adam and Noah, who discovers a piece of the vine through which Adam and Eve sinned washed out of the garden by the receding floodwaters.”⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Gaylord, “3 Baruch,” 659.