

APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

(First to Second Century A.D.)

A NEW TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION

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

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

Texts

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

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

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

C—A Palaia, Lenin Library, Moscow, fond 173.III, No. 136, fols. 18–43. 16th cent. Unpublished.

K—Solovec Palaia, Leningrad, Public Library, Kaz. Dukh. Akad. 431, fols. 79–95. 16th–17th cent. Published by I. J. Porfir'ev, in "Apokrificheskie skazaniia o vetkhovavetnykh licakh i sobytijakh po rukopisjam Soloveckoj biblioteki," *Sbornik Otd. russ. jaz. i slov. Imp. Akad. Nauk* 17 (1877) 111–30.

We were able to consult the unpublished texts D, B, and C in microfilms, which were made available through the cooperation of the libraries and museums of the U.S.S.R.¹

The Palaia manuscripts, which contain the longer form of the Ladder of Jacob, have the first eight chapters of the Apocalypse of Abraham; this is the later Palaia redaction. The earlier redaction, represented by the Kolomna manuscript of A.D. 1406, has only a few fragments of the Apocalypse of Abraham. An abbreviated text, summarizing chapters 1–12, 15, 17, 20, and 30, is found in two manuscripts, while a derived legend is found in seven. They are not helpful in establishing the early Slavonic text.

Most critics have distinguished two parts to the Apocalypse of Abraham: chapters 1–8 and chapters 9–32; they claim that the former did not belong to the original apocalyptic work but was added later by an editor.² If our interpretation of the apocalypse 1–6 is correct, these chapters form an integral part of the work and were written by the same author who composed the rest of the apocalypse. It is generally accepted that the present text of the apocalypse has many insertions which are due to Slavonic editors. All of chapter 7 seems to be redactional.³

Original language

A thorough investigation of the original language of the Apocalypse of Abraham has never been undertaken. A. Rubinstein studied only ten passages from the apocalypse and concluded that the document probably was written in Hebrew.⁴ The Slavonic text of the Apocalypse of Abraham contains several Hebrew names, words, and phrases. The most impressive examples are the following: Ioavan is a Slavonic deformation of the Hebrew *ywn* (Greece); Souzouch is probably a transcription of the name *kwrs* (Cyrus); and Maroumat is an abbreviation of the Hebrew *Martā Rômā*. The use of parts of the body instead of a simple pronoun is frequent: "My heart was perplexed" (1:4), "Why now have you afflicted my heart?" (27:6).⁵ The parallelism of the verses reflects Semitic thought.⁶

The positive instead of a comparative betrays a Semitic original. "It was heavy of a big stone" (1:5) renders the Semitic *khd mn* (cf. also 6:9), which has to be translated: "heavier than a big stone." Moreover, the prepositions are sometimes utilized according to Hebrew rather than Slavonic syntax (for example: 8:4, "for the sins," lit. "in the sins"; 12:10, "you will see all," lit. "you will see in all" [= Heb. *ʾh bʿ*]; 27:11, "to rule from them in them," lit. "to rule in them" [= Heb. *hmšlytly bhm*]).

The syntax of the temporal phrases reflects the Hebrew original of our apocalypse. Frequently a phrase is introduced by the verb *hyh*: "And it came to pass, that when I saw it, my heart was perplexed . . ." (1:4; cf. e.g. 1:7; 2:5; 5:4; 5:10, 11; 8:5). Numerous other examples could be cited. The foregoing suggests that the Apocalypse of Abraham was written in a Semitic language, probably in Hebrew.

The Slavonic version of the Apocalypse of Abraham was made in the eleventh or twelfth

century A.D. in the south of the Slavic world, probably in Bulgaria. It may be that this pseudepigraphon was translated directly from Hebrew into Slavonic. Between 1108/9 and 1120 the archbishop of Ochride (Macedonia) was Leon Mung, a Jew converted to Christianity.⁸ His teacher was Tobias b. Eleazar (11th cent.), the author of the Midrash *Lekah Tov*. Bulgaria at that time had educated men who could make the translation from Hebrew into Slavonic. Further study needs to be made regarding this issue.

Date

It is commonly held that our pseudepigraphon was composed at the end of the first century A.D. No decisive argument, however, has been given in support of this date. In the following paragraphs the issue will be discussed first in terms of the external and then in terms of the internal data.

The testimonies of Nicephorus,⁹ patriarch of Constantinople (806–15), of Pseudo-Athanasius (6th cent.),¹⁰ and of the Apostolic Constitutions (4/5th cent.)¹¹ are very vague and nothing can be deduced from them in regard to our apocalypse. Epiphanius (4th cent.) speaks about some "Apocalypse of Abraham" used by the Sethians.¹² The same apocalypse was utilized by the Audiens and we know its content, thanks to Theodore bar Konai (8th cent.)¹³ and Origen.¹⁴ There can be no doubt, however, that the writing used by the Sethians and our pseudepigraphon are two different works.

The text of Recognitiones (2nd cent.) gives us at least two traditions. The first one presents Abraham as an astrologer (Rec. 32:3f.), the second one (33:1f.) may be an allusion to the Apocalypse of Abraham. These witnesses permit us to suggest that the Apocalypse of Abraham was possibly known by the second century.

Our pseudepigraphon was written after A.D. 70, because the author describes the destruction of Jerusalem (cf. ch. 27). Hence, the apocalypse—that is the early Jewish stratum—was composed sometime after A.D. 70 and before the middle of the second century.¹⁵ It is unwise to speculate further regarding the date of the apocalypse in the present collection of documents.¹⁶

Provenance¹⁷

If the original language of the Apocalypse of Abraham is Hebrew, then it was most likely composed in Palestine. It is necessary to be conservative regarding the probable provenance of the apocalypse for two main reasons: First, it is preserved in Slavonic manuscripts that are far removed from the conjectured time and place of the original composition. Second, as stated herein by H. G. Lunt and F. I. Andersen respectively in the presentations of the Ladder of Jacob and 2 Enoch, pseudepigrapha preserved only in Slavonic may have been considerably altered by the Bogomils (a medieval dualist sect), who were influenced by passages in the pseudepigrapha and composed new ones.

⁸ Cf. "Notitia Archiepiscopi Iannis Comneni," ed. in: *Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae* (Sofia, 1968) vol. 7, p. 110; see also: N. Snegarov, *Istirija na Ochridskata archiepiskopija* (Sofia, 1924) vol. 1, pp. 204f.; I. S. Emmanuel, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique* (Paris, 1935) p. 34.

⁹ PG, vol. 100, col. 1059.

¹⁰ PG, vol. 28, col. 432.

¹¹ PG, vol. 1, col. 1100.

¹² PG, vol. 41, col. 669.

¹³ Cf. H. Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaites des coupes de Khoubair* (Paris, 1892) p. 195; H. C. Puech, "Fragments retrouvés de l'Apocalypse d'Allogène," in *Mélanges Franz Cumont* (Brussels, 1936) pp. 937f.

¹⁴ PG, vol. 13, col. 1889.

¹⁵ L. Ginzberg ("Apocalypse of Abraham," *JE*, vol. 1, p. 92) placed the ApAb in "the last decades of the first century." G. H. Box and J. I. Landsman argued that the ApAb was composed between A.D. 70 and the first decades of the 2nd cent. See their discussion in *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, pp. xv. This n. 15 and the sentence to which it is attached in the text have been added by J.H.C.

¹⁶ [R. Rubinkiewicz speculates on the date for the composition of ApAb in *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en slave. Édition critique du texte, introduction, traduction et commentaire*. He argues that plagues 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9 describe the events of the years A.D. 69 and 70, especially the war between the Jews and the Romans; and that plagues 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10 reflect the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. On the basis of these observations he suggests that the ApAb was written shortly after A.D. 79, perhaps between 79 and 81. —J.H.C.]

¹⁷ The section of the introduction regarding provenance was written by J.H.C.

¹ A seventh text (Uvarov 85, fols. 297–313, Historical Museum, Moscow) turned out to be a copy of S and therefore of no interest. E. Turdeanu, in his preliminary study of the MSS on the basis of published materials ("L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en slave," *JJS* 3 [1972] 156–64), did not know of MSS C and D, which we found during our work toward a critical edition of the ApAb. He believed that MS Sin. 548 (Historical Museum, Moscow) contained ApAb; N. B. Tikhomirov of the Lenin Library has kindly informed us that this is an error. I am grateful to the editor for polishing the introduction and to H. G. Lunt for improving the English translation.

² Cf. N. Bonwetsch, *Die Apokalypse Abrahams: Das Testament der vierzig Märtyrer*, p. 41.

³ Ch. 7 seems to be derived from *Palaia Tolkovaja* (Moscow, 1892) pp. 123–45.

⁴ Cf. A. Rubinstein, "Hebraisms in the Slavonic 'Apocalypse of Abraham,'" *JJS* 4 (1953) 108–15; idem, "Hebraisms in the 'Apocalypse of Abraham,'" *JJS* 5 (1954) 132–35. He analyzed ten examples: ApAb 8:4; 12:3, 10; 14:4, 6, 13; 29:8, 20; 31:1, 2.

⁵ Cf. also 17:23; 22:2.

⁶ Cf. especially 1:4; 3:1; 6:1, 11; 12:20; 21:3.

⁷ Cf. also 31:4.

The Christian interpolations and gnostic glosses

Chapter 7 appears to be inserted from the legend of Abraham found in the Palaia. The interpolator of 29:3–13 was probably a Christian editor who had nothing to do with gnostic circles. However, the gloss in 22:5, the censure in 20:5, and the gloss in 20:7 reveal that their author wanted to indicate that the God of Abraham is a god of evil. This point of view is usually associated with the gnostics. The gloss in 22:5 and the censured text of 20:5, however, show that they could be made only in the Slavic world. The only Slavs who claimed that the God of the Old Testament was the god of evil were the Bogomils. Their founder was Pope Bogomil (10th cent. A.D.). According to the Bogomils, God had two sons: Satanael and Jesus. Satanael rebelled against God and created the visible world; everything described in the book of Genesis is the work of the devil. If then this world is created by Satanael (= god of the OT), one has to abstain from every contact with the material world. The Bogomils, therefore, condemned marriage, abstained from meat and wine, and did not believe in the resurrection of the body.¹⁸

The glosses in 20:5, 7 and 22:5 perfectly suit their doctrine. We can say the same about the interpolator of 29:3–13; he shows that Jesus came forth from the heathens and not from the Jews (= the people with Azazel!). Perhaps also inserted by a Bogomil were 9:7, an injunction against meat and wine, and 23:4–10, which claims that the sin of Adam and Eve consisted in the conjugal relation. Maybe the same Bogomil editor interpolated 10:6–12 and 17:8b–19. The general content of the account of the sin of Adam and Eve reveals that it comes from Jewish sources. It fits the Bogomil doctrine, however, and therefore was inserted into our apocalypse.

Theological importance

God. The God of eternity (9:3) is the God who protects Abraham and his descendants (9:4). He created the world (9:4), chose Israel, called this nation "my people" (22:5; 31:1), and will give it victory over its enemies (31:1f.).

Angelology. Angelology plays a large role in our apocalypse. The most important figure is the Angel of God, Irael. His fundamental role is to protect and strengthen Abraham (10:3).

Demonology. The chief of the fallen angels is Azazel (13:6). His power is over the earth, because he has chosen it for his dwelling place (13:7f.; 14:6). However, his power is limited (13:10) since God does not permit him to tempt all the righteous (13:11). For example, he cannot seduce Abraham (13:14), and he has no power over the body of the righteous (13:10).

Cosmology. God shows Abraham the firmaments in order that he may know that "on no single expanse is there any other but the one whom" Abraham has searched for or who has loved him (19:3). God says to Abraham: "Look now beneath your feet at the firmament and understand the creation that was depicted of old on this expanse" (21:1). Abraham sees then the earth with the wicked men, and the garden of Eden with the just, he sees the sea with Leviathan, and the waters over the firmaments; at last, he watches the men on the right and on the left side of the "picture of creation" (chs. 21f.). Abraham is told that as the world is divided into two parts: earth and Eden, the waters of the sea and the waters over the firmaments, so mankind is divided into the people of God and the heathens (21:3–7).

The numeration of the firmaments is due to editorial expansions, probably by a Slavic editor. The descriptions of the three heavens is similar to that in the Testament of Levi 3:1–4.

Dualism. In the Apocalypse of Abraham there is no ontological dualism. The created world is good before the eyes of God (22:2). There is no other God in the universe than "the one whom" Abraham has "searched for" and "who has loved" him (19:3).

There is evil in the world, but it is not inevitable. God has full control over the world and he does not permit the body of the just to remain in the hand of Azazel (13:10). Azazel is wrong if he thinks he can scorn justice and disperse the secret of heaven (14:4). He will be banished in the desert forever (14:5).

Eschatology. The age of ungodliness endures "twelve periods" (29:2). After the last

period comes the final judgment, which precedes the redemption of the just. God announces ten plagues (29:15; 30:2–8); when they pass, he will send his "chosen one" (31:1) who will gather the dispersed people. Together with him God will punish the heathens (31:2). The apostates will be burned through the fire of Azazel (31:6); the Temple and the sacrifices will be restored (29:17f.).

The doctrine of resurrection is noticeably absent, although it may be reflected in the symbol of the dew (19:4). The Apocalypse of Abraham, however, passed through the hands of the Bogomils, who did not believe in the resurrection of the body. It is possible that phrases mentioning the resurrection were omitted. It is clear, regardless of that possibility, that our author believed in life after death (cf. 21:6).

Relation to the canonical books¹⁹

The books of Genesis and Ezekiel play a fundamental role in the Apocalypse of Abraham. The author begins with the text of Genesis 20:13 (ApAb 1:1), which is quoted according to the exegesis of the Targums; he ends his work with the citation of Genesis 15:13–16 (= ApAb 32:1–3), but he changes the biblical "fourth generation" into "seventh," i.e. a perfect one.

The apocalypse at 8:4 and 9:1–4 reflects respectively Genesis 12:1 and 15:1 seen in the light of Psalm 20:2f. or Deuteronomy 33:29. The author quotes Genesis 15:9f. (ApAb 9:5), and Genesis 15:17a (ApAb 15:1). Apocalypse of Abraham 20:4 calls to mind Genesis 18:27; 20:6 is based on Genesis 18:30.

Chapters 1 and 10 of Ezekiel are behind chapters 18f. Abraham sees four living creatures (ApAb 18:5–11; Ezek 1:10; 10:14), the wheels full of eyes (ApAb 18:3, 12), the throne (ApAb 18:3; Ezek 1:23), and the divine chariot (ApAb 18:12; Ezek 10:6).

There is no direct relationship between the Apocalypse of Abraham and the New Testament. There are some parallel expressions, however, which may indicate that both drew from a shared tradition.

Relation to the apocryphal books

The author of the Apocalypse of Abraham follows the tradition of 1 Enoch 1–36. The chief of the fallen angels is Azazel, who rules the stars and most men. It is not difficult to find here the traditions of Genesis 6:1–4 developed according to the tradition of 1 Enoch. Azazel is the head of the angels who plotted against the Lord and who impregnated the daughters of men.²⁰ These angels are compared to the stars.²¹ Azazel revealed the secrets of heaven and is banished to the desert.²² Abraham, as Enoch, receives the power to drive away Satan.²³ All these connections show that the author of the Apocalypse of Abraham drew upon the tradition of 1 Enoch.

Cultural importance

The Apocalypse of Abraham is one of the most important works written after the destruction of the nation in A.D. 70. The importance of the apocalypse may be compared to that of 2 Baruch or 4 Ezra, but our author analyzes the causes of the destruction of Jerusalem from a different perspective: The defeat was caused by the infidelity of Israel toward the covenant with God and the opportunistic politics of some leaders.

The pseudepigraphon is written with great talent and with a good understanding of biblical exegesis. The symbolical language is clear, logical, and easy to understand. The Apocalypse of Abraham provides us with an insight into the literary "workshop" of the Palestinian

¹⁹ For a full discussion see Rubinkiewicz, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham*.

²⁰ ApAb 14:4; 1En 6:4 and ApAb 14:6; 1En 6:1f.; 10:4.

²¹ ApAb 14:6; 1En 86:1.

²² ApAb 14:4; 1En 8:1 and ApAb 14:5; 1En 10:4.

²³ ApAb 14:3; 1En 14:3.

¹⁸ Cf. D. Obolenski, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge, 1948); S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichees* (Cambridge, 1947); D. Angelov, *Bogomilstvo vŭ Bŭlgarija* (Sofia, 1961).

writers of the first century A.D.; in consequence we may understand better the literary genres of that period.

The Apocalypse of Abraham was practically unknown for ten centuries. Neither the Semitic original nor the supposed Greek version has been found. Perhaps the latter never existed. Translated into Slavonic, our document circulated first in Bulgaria and afterward in Russia. Known only in the Orient, it had no influence on occidental literature.

The transmission of the Apocalypse of Abraham²⁴

The Slavonic Apocalypse of Abraham is to be ascribed to the extraordinarily productive burst of cultural activity during the reign of Simeon of Bulgaria (893–927), when a prodigious amount of material was translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic as part of the effort of the Bulgarian emperor to bring his realm to the level of Byzantium itself.²⁵ The translation contains Greek words well known from Old Church Slavonic (*adū*: “*haidēs*, Hades”; *aerū*: “*aēr*, air”; *stuxija*: “*stoicheion*, element”), along with the conventional bizarre rendering of Gehenna as “fiery race” (by a confusion of *gēenna* with *genēd* or some other derivative of the Gk. root *gen-*) and numerous literalistic phrases that make better sense in Greek than in Slavonic. There can be no question that this text, like the whole Slavonic culture of Bulgaria of the time, was translated from Greek.²⁶ It is, then, fully realistic to assume that a Greek text of the Apocalypse of Abraham still existed in the Balkans as late as the ninth century, although no trace has yet been found in surviving Greek manuscripts.

The style is strongly Semitic but generally within the bounds of the biblical Greek that was presumably used by some hellenistic Jews for original works, e.g. Revelation. It is reasonable to hypothesize that the text was composed in Hebrew or Aramaic and rendered very literally into Greek. While no decisive arguments for a Semitic original have yet been advanced, the sheer number of Semitisms is best explained by this hypothesis. The quotation of the Divine Name *El, El, El, El* (retained only in copy S) and *Eli* (glossed “that is, my God”; replaced, except in copy S, by the spelling *Ili*, in line with the accepted form in Mt 27:46) is suggestive but inconclusive. Final *-il* for Hebrew *’ēl* in the names Azazel, Iael, and Michael indicates Greek mediation. Perhaps the strange wording of 9:4 reflects the Hebrew of Genesis 15:1 (see n. b to ch. 9). It is not impossible that *putī zemīnū* (10:4) reflects *drk ’rs* in the sense of “manners, morality,” but it may be an inept way of expressing “the road to the (promised) land.” This meager evidence may suggest a Hebrew original.

The Slavonic text has come down to us in relatively full form in six manuscripts, the oldest from the early fourteenth century, the second from the fifteenth, and the others from the sixteenth century. The chief distinction among the copies is that four contain the apocalypse more or less integrated into the Explanatory Palaia, while two present the text as an independent (copy S) or nearly independent unit (copy D). The Palaia variants contain long interpolations of anti-Jewish polemical passages, but otherwise the text is so close to S D that only in chapter 7 is a new redaction indicated. The oldest copy, S, is unfortunately extremely faulty, with numerous omissions of syllables, sentences, and even paragraphs; with frequent distortions even of obvious words; and with unsuccessful efforts to update the archaic language, the forms and vocabulary of which were often not understood by the

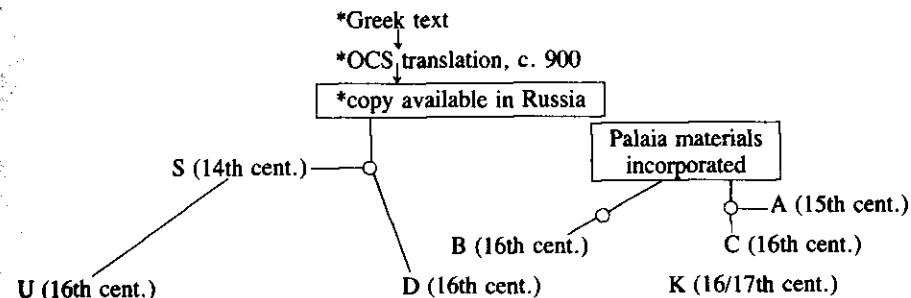
²⁴ [Due to the complicated history of transmission of ApAb, the following remarks by H. G. Lunt are intended to supplement the work of R. Rubinkiewicz. —J.H.C.]

²⁵ The translation of ApAb could be slightly earlier, from the last years of the initial period of Slavonic culture, viz. the Moravian mission of Cyril and Methodius (863–84), and its Bulgarian offshoot after 864; for it appears that the translation was made into an occidental version of OCS and then, like most texts that have come down to us through East Slavic mediation, adapted to the more eastern norm that was elaborated under Simeon. It is impossible, however, to exclude a dating up to about 1050, the end of the OCS period. In any case, the archaic language of ApAb makes Turdeanu’s ascription of the translation to the 13th cent. unacceptable (cf. E. Turdeanu, *JSl* 3 [1972] 156–64). The combined evidence of such works as IEn, the Palaia, and the Visls requires us to posit Slavonic versions of many apocryphal and pseudepigraphic works—along with a remarkable store of more orthodox texts—before the final Byzantine military triumph of 1018 and the rapid withering of Slavonic cultural activity in the Balkans. See H. G. Lunt, “On the Language of the Slavonic Apocalypse of Abraham,” *Festschrift for Moshé Altbauer* (Slavica Hierosolymitana; in press).

²⁶ A few translations from Lat., made in Moravia (or Pannonia or perhaps Dalmatia), may have been in use in Macedonia and Bulgaria, e.g. the GNic. The products of western Slavonic culture are somewhat better represented in Russia, where they were introduced between about 988 and 1100.

scribe.²⁷ Copy D stems ultimately from the same *Vorlage* as copy S, but unfortunately the scribe, clearly not at home in the style and special sphere of apocalyptic tradition and allusions, gave up well before the end and simply omitted most of the apocalyptic vision (from 26:5 on), reducing all of it to a few phrases. On the other hand, the Palaia texts A B C K continue beyond the end of S (in 31:3).²⁸ Tikhonravov²⁹ apparently chose to exclude a paragraph (ch. 32) that Porfir’ev,³⁰ probably rightly, assigns to this text rather than to the subsequent episode in the Palaia account of Abraham’s life.

It is reasonable to assume that all six copies stem originally from a single old manuscript (very likely with some faults) representing the archaic language in South Slavic orthography. All copies reflect Novgorod phonetics at some state in their history; this shows up in 6:7 (*učinen*: “appointed, installed”) of A B C K instead of S D’s correct *učenen*: “valued.” B is, overall, the most reliable text, occasionally agreeing with S D against A C K (e.g. in retaining in 17:2 *pokljače*, “knelt,” a word not known in Russian, against the replacement *ponik*, “having bowed his head,” of A C K). A and C often go together,³¹ but they have independent omissions and distortions. K, the youngest copy, shows many clarifying paraphrases or lexical substitutions that are illuminating even when they only show precisely in what way the scribe understood the old text. B has as marginal notes materials K incorporates into the text. The picture is approximately as follows:



Agreement of S D B provides the most reliable readings. On the whole, variations are minor and a plausible text can be established, but there are important passages where the textual corruptive cannot be repaired.

The German translation by Bonwetsch³² and the English one by Box, assisted by Landsman,³³ were based on rather indiscriminate selections of variants from the published texts of S A K. Neither translator was fully acquainted with the medieval language, and both made a number of conjectures and emendations based on modern Russian rather than Old Slavonic. Since these translations have been the basis of much of the work on the apocalypse, we have felt it necessary to point out some of their mistakes in our notes.

The aim of the present translation is to give readers the clearest possible picture of the complicated Slavonic text we believe to have been available in Russia in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The history of that text back to about A.D. 900 and of its Greek model or models of earlier date remains a matter for speculation. It is quite possible that individual component parts have very diverse origins.

The translation follows the chapter divisions established by Bonwetsch and, with a few exceptions, the verses used by Rubinkiewicz in his Rome dissertation. The song in chapter 17 is treated as verse, but 21:3–7, which might be viewed as poetry, is set as prose.

²⁷ The scribe mistreats in the same way the other texts in the codex; however, some of these are far less exotic in theme and archaic in language. Thus no editorial purpose is to be discerned for the odd omissions and distortions in S, although of course they must be noted in cases where we must depend on the witness of other MSS.

²⁸ The scribe of S ends another text in mid-sentence.

²⁹ N. S. Tikhonravov, *Pamjatniki otrečennoj russkoj literatury*, vol. 1, p. 77.

³⁰ I. J. Porfir’ev, *Sbornik Otd. r. jaz. i slov.* 17 (1877) 130.

³¹ E.g. the angel’s headdress in 11:3 is *sudari*, “bandkerchief, sudarium,” in A C, but *kidari*, “kidaris,” in S D B K. See also the variants discussed in n. c to ch. 8.

³² N. Bonwetsch, *Die Apokalypse Abrahams*.

³³ In G. H. Box and J. I. Landsman, *The Apocalypse of Abraham* (London, 1918).

In view of the difficulty and obscurity of much of the text, the translation has adhered as closely as possible to the original, and the notes supply even more literal renderings when necessary. The notes also point out the most important cases where the translation is based on emendations of S, where various manuscripts have omissions, where significant variants occur, or where the text must be deemed corrupt. Words added in the text to obtain idiomatic English have been enclosed in parentheses.

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THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

TRANSLATED BY R. RUBINKIEWICZ
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The Book of the Apocalypse of Abraham, son of Terah, son of Nahor, son of Serug, son of Arphaxad, son of Shem, son of Noah, son of Lamech, son of Methuselah, son of Enoch, son of Jared.^a

Abraham's rejection of idolatry

- 1 **1** On the day I was guarding^b the gods of my father Terah and the gods of my brother Nahor, while I was testing (to find out) which god is in truth the strongest, 2 **I** (then) Abraham, at the time when my lot came, when I was completing the services of my father Terah's sacrifice to his gods of wood, of stone, of gold, of 3 silver, of copper, and of iron, •having entered their temple for the service, I found a god named Marumath, carved from stone, fallen at the feet of the iron god 4 **Nakhin**.^c •And it came to pass, that when I saw it my heart was perplexed and I thought in my mind that I, Abraham, could not put it back in its place alone, 5 because it was heavy, (being made) of a big stone. •But I went and told my father, 6 and he came in with me. •And when^d we both lifted it to put it in its place, its head 7 fell off, even while I was holding it by its head. •And it came to pass, when my father saw that the head of his god Marumath had fallen, he said to me, "Abraham!" 8 And I said, "Here I am!" •And he said to me, "Bring me the axes and chisels^e 9 from the house." And I brought them to him from the house.^f •And he cut another Marumath from another stone, without a head, and he smashed the head that had fallen off Marumath and the rest of Marumath.
- 1 **2** He made five other gods and he gave them to me and ordered me to sell them 2 outside on the town road. •I saddled my father's ass and loaded them on it and 3 went out on the highway to sell them. •And behold, merchants from Phandana^a of Syria were coming with camels, on their way to Egypt to buy *kokonil*^b from 4 the Nile. •I asked them a question and they answered me. And walking along I conversed with them. One of their camels screamed. The ass took fright and ran

1 a. The heading is only in S; the badly garbled names are normalized here. D contains instead a few introductory lines (following a completely different text, from the Chronicle of John Malalas), which may be rendered as follows: "Moses put together the following, which he wrote in the Book of the Small Genesis (= Jubilees), how Abraham came to know God. For previously he obeyed the gods of his father Terah the astrologist. And (while I was) guarding his gods and the gods of my brother Nahor, my father complained about me. And it came to pass on one of the days . . ."

In the Palaia MSS, A B C K, the preceding text briefly mentions Serug's idol-making and the beginning of idol worship by his son Nahor, continued (to the joy of the Devil) by Nahor's son Terah, father of Abraham. But Abraham perceives that the idols are of unfeeling wood and recalls Ps 115:5–7. Then ApAb begins.

In view of the abrupt opening in all three variants, it is possible that the original beginning of the story

has been lost.

b. The verb is found in no other text. G. N. Bonwetsch (*Die Apokalypse Abrahams*) and G. H. Box and J. I. Landsman (*The Apocalypse of Abraham*) translated "planed," supposing the root *strug, "scrape." Variant readings indicate rather *nastirzajušču* here, with the root *sterg, "guard."

c. S by error *naricena*, "named"; A *Nakhon*.

d. S *jegda*, "when"; D K *jedva* = A B C *odva*, "scarcely."

e. Exact sense uncertain, but etymologically *izimalo* is "tool for taking (something) out."

f. A B C K omit.

2 a. Probably Paddan-aram, cf. Gen 25:20 and LadJac 4, n. b.

b. Unknown word, perhaps reflecting Gk. *kokkina*, "scarlet clothing," or *koukkinos*, "dour palm; fiber of palm." Bonwetsch's "papyrus" is a groundless conjecture.

away and threw off the gods. Three of them were crushed and two remained (intact). •And it came to pass that when the Syrians saw that I had gods, they said to me, "Why did you not tell us that you had gods? We would have bought them before the ass heard the camel's voice and you would have had no loss. •Give us at least the gods that remain and we will give you a suitable price." •I considered it in my heart. And they paid both for the smashed gods and the gods which remained. •For I had been grieving in my heart how I would bring payment to my father. •I threw the three broken (gods) into the water of the river Gur, which was in this place. And they sank into the depths of the river Gur and were no more.

3 As I was still walking on the road, my heart was disturbed and my mind distracted. •I said in my heart, "What is this inequality^b of activity which my father is doing? •Is it not he rather who is god for his gods, because they come into being from his sculpting, his planing, and his skill? •They ought to honor my father because they are his work. What is this food^c of my father in his works? Behold, Marumath fell and could not stand up in his sanctuary, nor could I myself lift him until my father came and we raised him up. •And even so we were not able (to do it) and his head fell off of him. And he put it on another stone of another god, which he had made without a head. •And . . . ^d the other five gods which got smashed (in falling) from the ass, who could not save themselves and injure the ass because it smashed them, nor did their shards come up out of the river." •And I said to my heart, ^e "If it is so, how then can my father's god Marumath, which has the head of another stone and which is made from another stone, save a man, or hear a man's prayer, or give him any gift?"

WisSol 13:10-16

4 And thinking thus, I came to my father's house. And I watered the ass and gave him hay. And I took out the silver and placed it in the hand of my father Terah. And when he saw it, he was glad, and he said, "You are blessed, Abraham, by the god of my gods, since you have brought me the price for the gods, so that my labor was not (in) vain." •And answering I said to him, "Listen, father Terah! The gods are blessed in you, because you are a god for them, because you made them, for their blessing is their perdition and their power is vain. •They did not help themselves; how then can they help you or bless me? •I was good for you in this transaction, ^a for through my good sense I brought you the silver for the smashed (gods)." •And when he heard my speech he became furiously angry with me, because I had spoken harsh words against his gods.

5 But having pondered my father's anger, I went out. And afterward when I had gone out, he called me, saying, "Abraham!" •And I said, "Here I am!" •And he said, "Up, gather wood chips, for I was making gods from fir before you came, and prepare with them food for my midday meal." •And it came to pass, when I was choosing the wooden chips, I found among them a small god which would fit^a . . . ^b in my left hand. ^c •And on its forehead was written: god Barisat. •And it came to pass when I put the chips on the fire in order to prepare the food for my father, and going out to inquire about the food, I put Barisat near the enkindling

3 a. S omits through vs. 4.

b. Slav. *likhoti*, usually "excessiveness, superfluity," but it also represents Gk. "anómalia," "unevenness."c. Though grammatical, (si) *izédi*, "(this) food," is probably corrupt; *izédi* usually renders the Gk. *katábrōma*, i.e. "food for beasts." K makes things worse by changing it to *estí zlo prelisti*, "is the evil of deceit," but the pronoun *si* does not fit.

d. Corrupt; perhaps "he made" is omitted.

e. Sic. Perhaps a Hebraism, meaning simply "to myself."

4 a. Slav. *obrjašča*, probably for Gk. *heurēma*, "what is found unexpectedly, piece of good luck; sum realized by a sale."

5 a. S D; A B C K "(was)."

b. Slav. *vū oslony*, meaning unknown. Bonwetsch's (*Die Apokalypse Abrahams*) "in die Streu" and Box and Landsman's (*The Apocalypse of Abraham*) "among the brush-wood" are both thoroughly implausible.c. Slav. *vū šuici mi* cannot mean "on my left," as Bonwetsch and Box and Landsman render it.

7 fire, ^d saying to him threateningly, ^e "Barisat, watch that the fire does not go out before I come back! If the fire goes out, blow on it so it flares up." •I went out and I made my counsel. ^f •When I returned, I found Barisat fallen on his back, his feet enveloped by fire and burning fiercely. •And it came to pass when I saw it, I laughed (and) said to myself, "Barisat, truly you know how to light a fire and cook food!" •And it came to pass while saying this in my laughter, ^g I saw (that) he burned up slowly from the fire and became ashes. •I carried the food to my father to eat. ^h •I gave him wine and milk, and he drank and he enjoyed himself and he blessed Marumath his god. •And I said to him, "Father Terah, do not bless Marumath your god, do not praise him! Praise rather Barisat, your god, because, as though loving you, he threw himself into the fire in order to cook your food." 15,16 And he said to me, "Then where is he now?" •And I said, "He has burned in the fierceness of the fire and become dust." •And he said, "Great is the power of Barisat! I will make another today, and tomorrow he will prepare my food."

6 When I, Abraham, heard words like this from my father, I laughed in my mind, and I groaned in the bitterness and anger of my soul. •I said, "How then is a figment of a body made by him (Terah) an aid for my father? •Or can he have subordinated (his) body to his soul, his soul to a spirit, and the spirit to stupidity and ignorance?" •And I said, "It is only proper to endure evil that I may throw my mind to purity and I will expose my thoughts clearly to him." •I answered and said, "Father Terah, whichever of these gods you extol, you err in your thought. Behold, the gods of my brother Nahor standing in the holy sanctuary are more venerable than yours. •For behold, Zouchaios, ^a my brother Nahor's god is more venerable than your god Marumath because he is made of gold, valued^b by man. And if he grows old with time, he will be remodeled, whereas Marumath, if he is changed or broken, will not be renewed, because he is stone. •What about^c Ioav, the god on the other god, ^c who stands with Zouchaios?^d For he is also more venerable than the god Barisat; ^e he is carved from wood and forged from silver. •Because he too is a term of comparison, ^f being valued by man according to external experience. •But Barisat, your god, when he was still not carved, ^g rooted^h in the earth, being great and wondrous, with branchesⁱ and flowers; and praise^j . . . •But you made him with an axe, and by your skill he was made a god. •And behold he has already dried up and his fatness has perished. •He fell from the height to the earth, he came from greatness to smallness, •and the appearance of his face wasted away. ^k •And he himself was burned up by the fire •and he became ashes and is no more. •And you say, Let me make another and tomorrow he will make my food for me. •But in perishing ^l he left himself no strength^l for his (own) destruction."

d. Lit. "the enkindling (or catching) of the fire."

e. S *prěšćeníeml*, "with a threat"; A B C K *prěšćeníemú* (D *prě-*), "with a visitation."f. Old *sūvētū*, "counsel, council, advice," is hopelessly confused orthographically with *světū*, "light," in all medieval Slav. MSS. We may posit here Gk. *epoiēsa boulēn* (or *phōs*). Box and Landsman suggest this phrase reflects Heb. 'sh 'sh in the sense of "execute a plan."

g. S D; A B C K "in my mind and laughing."

h. S D; A B C K "and he ate it."

6 a. Here *zukeh*, below in vs. 9 *zukeh* or *zukhij* (or possibly *uzukhej*); a Gk. form *Zouchaios* is thus probable.b. S D *učēnen-*, "valued"; A B C K, by phonetic substitutions common in Novgorod texts, *učinen-*, "ordered, ordained."

c. S D corrupt; A B C K may reflect text altered

by scribal conjecture. Original possibly "Iao, the other god."

d. S omits from here through vs. 15.

e. D omits.

f. A B C *sūprimireníe*, K *sūpriměreníe*; Gk. *symmetria*, *symmetrēsis*; D omits prefix, producing *primireníe*, "reconciliation."

g. D A C K lit. "before being worked"; B "before the division" or "separation."

h. Lit. "uprooted," surely from an early scribal error.

i. C *sū vēiem*, B D *sū vēem*; A K by error *sū vēnem*, "with a bride-price" or "dowry."

j. S omits. The whole sentence is obscure, possibly corrupt.

k. Either *vū istjasknovenie* D or *vū istjasknovenii* B (others distorted), lit. "became in wasting-away."

l. S omits. The sentence is probably corrupt.

(S C)

(A B C K)

- 1 **7^a** This I say: Abraham, having thought this, came to his father and said, "Father Terah,
- 2 "Fire is more venerable in formation, for even the unsubdued (things) are subdued in it, and it
- mocks that which perishes^b easily by means of its
- 3 burning.^c •^dBut neither is it venerable, for it is
- subject^e to the waters.^d
- 4 But rather the waters
- are more venerable than it (fire), because they overcome fire and sweeten the earth with fruits. •But I will not call them god either, for the waters subside under the earth^g and are subject to it.^g •But I will not call it a goddess either, for it is dried by the sun (and) subordinated to man for his work.
- 5 More venerable among the gods, I say, is the sun, for with its rays it illuminates the whole universe and the various airs.^h
- 6 Nor will I place among the gods the one who obscures his course by means of the moon and the clouds.ⁱ
- 7 Nor again shall I call the moon or the stars gods, because they too at times during the night dim their light.
- 8 Listen, Terah my father, I shall seek before you the God who created all the gods supposed by us (to exist).^j
- 9 For who is it, or which one is it who made the heavens crimson and the sun golden, who has given light to the moon and the stars with it, who has dried the earth in the midst of the many waters, who set you yourself among the things^k and who has sought me out in the perplexity of my thoughts?
- 10 If [only]^l God will reveal himself by himself to us!"

Abraham, having thought this, came to his father and said, "Father Terah, fire is more venerable than your gods, the gold and silver ones, and the stone and wooden ones, because the fire burns your gods. And your gods being burned obey the fire, and the fire

mocks them while it is consuming your gods.

But neither will I call it (fire) god, because it is

subjugated to the waters.^f

The waters

The sun I call more venerable than the earth, for with its rays it illuminates the whole universe.

But I will not call it a god because when night comes it becomes murky with darkness.

But this is the true God who has made the heavens crimson

me out now in the perplexity of my thoughts.

But hear this, Terah my father, let me proclaim to you the God who created all things.

But this is the true God who has made the heavens crimson

me out now in the perplexity of my thoughts.

But hear this, Terah my father, let me proclaim to you the God who created all things.

c. Plural *palenii*, "burnings" (D by error *pa-denii*, "fallings").

d. S omits.

e. D by error *pokrovenii*, "covered," for *pokorenii*, "subjugated, subject."

f. The plural "waters" is probably a Hebraism.

g. A B C K omit.

h. Cf. *aer* in the sense of "atmosphere" or "firmament" in 15:5 below. D has an ungrammatical phrase which adds a form (instrumental plural?) of the word "man, human."

i. Both S and D are slightly corrupt here, but together they yield a plausible sentence.

j. Lit. "the, supposed by us, gods."

k. Slav. *vŭ g[lagol]ěxŭ*, "in the words," reflecting Gk. *rēmata* (or *logoi*) for Heb. *dbrym*.

l. Lit. merely "if," which would imply omission of a clause; the Palaia exegesis obviously considers this a complete sentence. Possibly Gk. *eiper* or *eithe* translated as simple *ei*.

7 a. Ch. 7 (plus 8:1) is the only part of ApAb that occurs in the early redaction of the Explanatory Palaia (represented by the 1406 Kolomna MS and its family), where it follows immediately after Abraham's paraphrase of Ps 115:5-7 that in the later type of Palaia (like A B C K) precedes the beginning of ApAb. The ch. was supplied with somewhat clearer opening lines than the obscure text witnessed by S D, and subsequent minor modifications clearly change the emphasis and, as far as can be judged from the faulty work of the scribes of S and D, simply remove difficult phrases. Later, when the first six chs. were inserted into the Palaia type that underlies A B C K, the modified text of ch. 7 was unchanged, even though in B C the third-person reference to Abraham at the beginning violates the first-person narration that precedes and follows.

b. Lit. plural "the things which perish."

- 1 **8** And it came to pass as I was thinking things like these with regard to my father Terah in the court of my house,^a the voice of the Mighty One came down^b from the heavens in a stream of fire, saying and calling, "Abraham, Abraham!" •And
- 2 I said, "Here I am." •And he said, "You are searching for the God of gods, the
- 3 Creator, in the understanding of your heart.^c I am he. •Go out from Terah, your
- 4 father, and go out of the house, that you too may not be slain in the sins of your
- 5 father's house." •And I went out. And it came to pass as I went out—I was not
- 6 yet outside the entrance of the court— that the sound of a great thunder came and burned him and his house and everything in his house, down to the ground, forty cubits.^d

The Apocalypse

- 1,2 **9** Then a voice came speaking to me twice: "Abraham, Abraham!" •And I said, Gen 15:1
- 3 "Here I am." •And he said, "Behold, it is I. Fear not, for I am Before-the-World
- 4 and Mighty, the God who created previously, before the light of the age.^a •I am
- 5 the protector for you^b and I am your helper. •Go, get me a three-year-old heifer, Gen 15:9f.
- 6 a three-year-old she-goat, a three-year-old ram, a turtledove, and a pigeon, and
- 7 make me a pure sacrifice. And in this sacrifice I will place the ages.^c •I will
- 8 announce to you guarded things^d and you will see great things which you have not
- 9 seen, because you desired to search for me, and I called you my beloved. •But
- 10 for forty days abstain from every kind of food cooked by fire,^e and from drinking
- 11 of wine and from anointing (yourself) with oil. •And then you shall set out for me
- 12 the sacrifice which I have commanded you, in the place which I will show you
- 13 on a high mountain. •And there I will show you the things which were made by
- 14 the ages and by my word, and affirmed, created, and renewed. •And I will announce
- 15 to you in them what will come upon those who have done evil and just things in the race of man."^f

- 1 **10** And it came to pass when I heard the voice pronouncing such words to me
- 2 that I looked this way and that. •And behold there was no breath of man. And my
- 3 spirit was amazed, and my soul fled from me. And I became like a stone, and fell
- 4 face down upon the earth, for there was no longer strength in me to stand up on
- 5 the earth. •And while I was still face down on the ground, I heard the voice^a
- 6 speaking, "Go, ^bIa'el of the same name,^b through the mediation of my ineffable
- 7 name, consecrate this man for me and strengthen him against his trembling."^c •The
- 8 angel he sent to me in the likeness of a man came, and he took me by my right

8 a. At this point, the text of A B C K is interrupted by a long passage (identical to that in the older redaction, cf. MS of 1406) with heterogeneous material. There is some exegesis, then the story of how Abraham burned Terah's sanctuary and his brother Haran perished trying to save the gods (derived from the Chronicle of George the Monk), then more exegesis concerning the lineage from Abraham to the Virgin Mary. Then the first part of 8:1 is repeated and ApAb continues.

b. Lit. "fell."

c. S D *vŭ umě srdca svojego*, probably Gk. "en dianoiā kardias sou," "in the thought of your heart." Since *umŭ* often means "mind," B K expanded to "in your mind and the thoughts of your heart," while A C simplified to "in your mind."

d. The syntax of the last two words is obscure.

9 a. D *iže preže pervėje stvorixŭ svĕta vĕka*; S omits *preže*; A B C *preže s. pervėje sv. v.* (K expands to "first created heaven and earth and then the first light of the light and world"). Not fully clear, for both *preže* and *pervėje* may mean "first

of all" and "previously." Further, *svĕtŭ* may represent older *sŭvĕtŭ*, "counsel, council." *Vĕkŭ* reflects Gk. *aiōn*, "age, eternity," Heb. *'olam*; both can also mean "world."

b. Probably Gen 15:1, *'nky mgn lk*, read as *mĕgĕn 'alĕka* and translated absolutely literally.

c. A B C K add "for you." *Vĕky*, "ages," perhaps replaces archaic *vĕtŭ*, "word, pact, agreement, permission"; a similar conjecture was made by the scribe of C, who substitutes *zavĕt*, "covenantant," producing the plausible "I will set down a covenant."

d. Slav. *sŭbjudenaja*, possibly Gk. (*syn*)*tĕrĕmena*.

e. Lit. "which issues from fire."

10 a. A B C K add "of the Holy One."

b. Slav. *ioailŭ tĕze* can be restored from the variants here, and at vs. 10:8, 13:1, and 17:7. The element *-il-* in the angels' names shows Gk. mediation, with *-ĕi* for Heb. *'i*. Here *yhwĕ'i* is indicated.

5 hand and stood me on my feet. •And he said to me, "Stand up, Abraham, friend
6 of God who has loved you, let human trembling not enfold you! •For lo! I am sent
to you to strengthen you and to bless you in the name of God, creator of heavenly
7.8 and earthly things, who has loved you. •Be bold and hasten to him. •I am Iaoel
and I was called so by him who causes those with me on the seventh expanse, on
the firmament,^c to shake, a power through the medium of his ineffable^d name in
9 me. •I am the one who has been charged according to his commandment, to restrain
the threats of the living creatures^e of the cherubim^f against one another, and I teach
those who carry the song^g through the medium of man's night of the seventh hour.^h
10 I am appointed to hold the Leviathans, because through me is subjugated the
11 attack and menace of every reptile. •I am orderedⁱ to loosen Hades and to destroy
12 those who wondered^j at the dead. •I am the one who ordered your father's house
13 to be burned with him, for he honored the dead. •I am sent to you now to bless
you and the land which he whom you have called the Eternal One has prepared
14.15 for you. •For your sake I have indicated the way of the land.^j •Stand up, Abraham,
go boldly, be very joyful and rejoice. And I (also rejoice) with you, for a venerable^m
16 honor has been prepared for you by the Eternal One. •Go, complete the sacrifice
of the command.ⁿ Behold, I am assigned (to be) with you and with the generation
17 which is predestined (to be born) from you.^o •And with me Michael blesses you
forever. Be bold, go!"

1 **11** And I stood up and saw him who had taken my right hand and set me on my
2 feet. •The appearance of his body^a was like sapphire, and the aspect of his face
3 was like chrysolite, and the hair of his head like snow. •And a kidaris^b (was) on
his head, its look that of a rainbow, and the clothing of his garments (was) purple;
4 and a golden staff^c (was) in his right hand. •And he said to me, "Abraham." And
I said, "Here is your servant!" And he said, "Let my appearance not frighten
5 you, nor my speech trouble your soul. Come with me! •And I will go with you
6 visible until the sacrifice, but after the sacrifice^d invisible forever. •Be bold and
go!"

1.2 **12** And we went, the two of us alone together, forty days and nights. •And I ate
no bread and drank no water, because (my) food was to see the angel who was
3 with me, and his discourse with me was my drink. •We came to God's mountain,
4 glorious Horeb. •And I said to the angel, "Singer of the Eternal One, behold I have
no sacrifice with me, nor do I know a place for an altar on the mountain, so how
5.6 shall I make the sacrifice?" •And he said, "Look behind you." •And I looked

Dan 7:9
Rev 1:14

c. Slav. *na tverdi* is possibly a gloss explaining "on the seventh expanse."

d. Only S has the negation; the others thus read "speakable name."

e. I.e. Heb. *hywt*.

f. Or simply "the cherubim," an apposition explaining "living creatures."

g. A B C K "his song."

h. Slav. *posrědlstvomi človečskija nošči sedmago časa* is unclear, but Box and Landsman's (*The Apocalypse of Abraham*) omission of "medium" and the inversion to produce "the song of the seventh hour of the night of man" requires justification. Perhaps "at the seventh hour" might be possible. Cf. TAdam.

i. S D *povelěnu*, passive "having been commanded"; A B C K *povelěvyi*, active "who gave the command."

j. The sentence is clear, but offers no clue as to why these people merit destruction. The verb *diviti sja* unambiguously means "wonder, be astonished at" and often renders Gk. *thaumazein*. Perhaps the Gk. version of ApAb had a related verb or phrase

denoting some wonder-working that involved corpses, a practice abominated by pious Jews.

k. S omits from i to k through homoeoteleuton.

l. Conjecturing that *puti zemeni*, "the way of the land," reflects Heb. *drk 'rs*, we may translate "I have established manners (or morals) for you."

m. A B D K; S "eternal."

n. Probably means "the sacrifice which was commanded," cf. 9:8.

o. Slav. *prougotovlenym is tebe*, lit. "pre-prepared out of you."

11 a. S B *těla ego*; D A C K *těla nogu ego*, perhaps "of his body (and) legs," or perhaps sapphire refers only to the legs or feet and a separate description of the body has been lost.

b. Kidaris in LXX is "headdress" (e.g. Ex 39:28), "turban" (e.g. Zech 3:5), and "cap" (e.g. Ezek 45:18). A D by error *sudari*, "handkerchief" (Gk. *sudarium*), a word known to Slavs from Jn 20:7, but probably unclear in meaning.

c. Or "scepter."

d. B adds in margin "I will be for you."

14.5 behind me. And behold all the prescribed sacrifices were following us: the calf, Gen 15:9f.
7 the she-goat, the ram, the turtledove, and the pigeon. •And the angel said to me,
8 "Abraham." And I said, "Here I am." •And he said to me, "Slaughter all these
9 and divide the animals exactly into halves. But do not cut the birds apart. •And
give them to the men whom I will show you standing beside you, for they are the
10 altar on the mountain, to offer sacrifice to the Eternal One.^a •The turtledove and
the pigeon you will give to me, for I will ascend on the wings of the birds to show
you (what)^b is in the heavens, on the earth and in the sea, in the abyss, and in the
lower depths, in the garden of Eden and in its rivers, in the fullness of the universe.
And you will see its circles in all."^c

1 **13** And I did everything according to the angel's command. And I gave the angels
who had come to us the divided parts of the animals. And the angel Iaoel^a took
2.3 the two birds. •And I waited for the evening gift.^b •And an unclean bird flew down Gen 15:11
4 on the carcasses, and I drove it away. •And the unclean bird spoke to me and said,
"What are you doing,^c Abraham, on the holy heights, where no one eats or drinks,
nor is there upon them food for men. •But these all will be consumed by fire and
5 they will^d burn you up. •Leave the man who is with you and flee! For if you
6 ascend to the height, they will destroy you."^e •And it came to pass when I saw
the bird speaking I said this to the angel: "What is this, my lord?" And he said,
7 "This is disgrace,^f this is Azazel!" •^gAnd he said to him, "Shame^h on you,
8 Azazel!^h For Abraham's portionⁱ is in heaven, and yours is on earth, •for you have
selected here, (and) become enamored of the dwelling place of your blemish.^j
Therefore the Eternal Ruler, the Mighty One, has given you a dwelling^k on earth.
9 Through you the all-evil spirit (is) a liar, and through you (are) wrath and trials
10 on the generations of men who live impiously. •For the Eternal, Mighty One did
not allow the bodies of the righteous to be in your hand, so through them the
11 righteous life is affirmed and the destruction of ungodliness. •Hear, counselor, be
12 shamed by me! You have no permission to tempt all the righteous.^l •Depart from
13 this man! •You cannot deceive him, because he is the enemy of you and of those
14 who follow you and who love what you wish.^m •For behold, the garment which
in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him, and the corruption which
was on him has gone over to you."

1 **14** And the angel said to me,^a "Abraham!" And I said, "Here I am, your
2 servant." •And he said, "Know from this that the Eternal One whom you have
3 loved has chosen you. •Be bold and do through your authority whatever I order
4 you against him who reviles^b justice. •Will I not be able to revile^b him who has
5 scattered about the earth the secrets of heaven^c and who has taken counsel against
6 the Mighty One? •Say to him, 'May you be the firebrand^d of the furnace of the

1En 9:6

12 a. The men are the altar. The infinitival phrase *prinositi tertzvu* specifies no subject and its connection with the men remains unclear. Perhaps it should be taken literally, "to carry the sacrifice to the Eternal One."

b. The sentence is incomplete.

c. Obscure, perhaps corrupt. Possibly "in the fullness of the universe and its circles, and you will see . . . in all." Seems to look forward to ch. 21.

13 a. S D A C omit, B in margin.

b. Or "reward"; Gk. *dōron, dōrea*.

c. Or "what business do you have"; Gk. *ti soi*.

d. S (D unclear); A B C K, with unspecified subject, "they all will consume (you) with fire and."

e. Only in S.

f. Gk. *atimia*, "dishonor," or *asebeia*, "im-

piety."

g. S omits.

h. Gk. *oneidos*, "reproach."

i. Texts all have spellings reflecting *čisti*, "honor," but surely *častil*, "part, portion," was original.

j. Or "filth."

k. Texts faulty; emend acc. *tja* to dat. *ti* and read *žitěli*, "dwelling-place" rather than ungrammatical *žitěli*, "dweller."

l. Text odd, more literally "to be a tempter as far as all just men are concerned."

m. Or "want."

14 a. S omits from here through vs. 4.

b. Or "mocks," "mock."

c. Cf. 1En 9:6.

d. Or "torch" or "burning coal"; Gk. *dolos* or *anthrax*.

6 earth! Go, Azazel, into the untrodden parts of the earth.^e •For your heritage is over those who are with you, with the stars and with the men born by the clouds,^f 7 whose portion you are, indeed they exist through your being.^g •Enmity^h is for you 8 a pious act.ⁱ Therefore through your own destruction be gone^j from me!" •And 9 I said the words as the angel had taught me. •And he said, "Abraham." And I 10 said, "Here I am, your servant!" •And the angel said to me, "Answer him not!" 11,12 •And he spoke to me a second time. •And the angel said, "Now, whatever he 13 says to you, answer him not,^k lest his will run up to you.^l •For the Eternal, Mighty 14 One gave him the gravity^m and the will. Answer him not." •And I did what the angel had commanded me. And whatever he said to me about the descent,ⁿ I answered him not.^o

Gen 15:17

1 **15** And it came to pass when the sun was setting, and behold a smoke like that of a furnace, and the angels who had the divided portions of the sacrifice ascended 2 from the top of the furnace of smoke. •And the angel took me with his right hand and set me on the right wing of the pigeon and he himself sat on the left wing of 3 the turtledove, (both of) which were as if^a neither slaughtered nor divided. •And 4 he carried me up to the edge of the fiery flames. •And we ascended^b as if (carried) 5 by many winds to the heaven that is fixed on the expanses.^c •And I saw on the air^d 6 to whose height we had ascended a strong light which can^e not be described. •And behold, in this light a fiery Gehenna was enkindled,^f and a great crowd in the 7 likeness of men.^g •They all were changing in aspect and shape, running and changing form and prostrating themselves and crying aloud words I did not know.

1 **16** And I said to the angel, "Why is it you now brought me here? For^a now I can 2 no longer see, because I am weakened and my spirit is departing from me." •And 3 he said to me, "Remain with me, do not fear. •He whom you will see coming directly toward us in a great sound^b of sanctification^c is the Eternal One who has 4 loved you. You will not look at him himself. •But let your spirit not weaken,^d for I am with you, strengthening you."

1 **17** And while he was still speaking, behold the fire coming toward us round about, and a voice was in the fire like a voice of many waters, like a voice of the 2.3 sea in its uproar. •And the angel knelt down^a with me and worshiped. •And I wanted to fall face down on the earth. And the place of highness on which we

e. Vss. 6-14 are omitted by S, which has only "And the angel said to me, 'Answer him not, for God has given him freedom [lit. 'will'] over those who answer him." "
f. I.e. men to whom the clouds gave birth.
g. Or 'generation'; Gk. *to einai* or *genēsis*. The whole sentence is obscure.
h. Possibly Gk. *echthra*, "hatred."
i. Probably Gk. *dikaiōma*, "just action," or *eusebeia*, "piety." The sentence is unclear.
j. Lit. "may you have disappeared."
k. D omits.
l. Textual *pritecei*, "runs up to," surely represents archaic **pritiucei*, "touch, come in contact with": "lest his will affect you."
m. Probably Gk. *baros* for Heb. *kbd*, "honor, glory."
n. Slav. *o sūniti* is clear (Landsman to the contrary). The word usually reflects Gk. *katabasis*, referring to Christ's descent into Hades, but it may also be *synkatabasis* or *sybasis* in any meaning possible.
o. S D negative; A C *vēšcar*, "I said, told," B K *ovēšcar*, "I answered."

15 a. S D omit "as if."
b. S omits from here to "ascended" in vs. 5.
c. Or "firmaments," see note to 19:3, below.
d. Slav. *na aerē* presents the air as a surface.
e. S; others "could."
f. Text somewhat corrupt. Archaic gen. *ognna rodu*, "of fiery Gehenna," misread as nom. *ogni narodu*, "fire for the crowd (or nation)," and the grammar was adjusted, possibly with the loss of a word or two.
g. Lit. "of male shape, of male form."
16 a. S D *jako*; A B C K *zane jako*, "for it is as though."
b. Lit. "in many voice," perhaps rendering Gk. *en polyphōnia*.
c. Variants of S D A C establish *svjatiby*, "of sanctification." Gk. *hagiasmos*. B K understood this old word in its narrower meaning "threefold Sanctus" and modified the text to clarify it: "saying, 'holy, holy, holy'" (K adds "[is] the Lord").
d. A B C K add "because of the shouting."
17 a. S D B K; A C replace an unfamiliar verb with "bent his head."

4 were standing now stopped on high, now rolled down low.^b •And he said, "Only 5 worship, Abraham, and recite the song which I taught you." •Since there was no ground to which I could fall prostrate, I only bowed down, and I recited the song 6,7 which he had taught me. •And he said, "Recite without ceasing." •And I recited, and he himself recited the song:^c

8 Eternal One, Mighty One, Holy El,^d God autocrat
9 self-originate, incorruptible, immaculate,
10 unbegotten, spotless, immortal,
11 self-perfected,^e self-devised,^f
12 without mother, without father, ungenerated,^g
13 exalted, fiery,
14 just, lover of men, benevolent, compassionate, bountiful,
15 jealous over me, patient one, most merciful.
16 Eli,^h eternal, mighty one, holy, Sabaoth,
17 most glorious 'El, El, El, El,ⁱ Iael,
18 you are he my soul has loved, my protector.
19 Eternal, fiery, shining,^j
20 light-giving, thunder-voiced, lightning-visions, many-eyed,
21 receiving the petitions of those who honor you^k
and turning away from the petitions of those who restrain you
by the restraint^l of their provocations,
22 redeemer of those who dwell in the midst of the wicked ones,
of those who are dispersed among the just of the world,
in the corruptible age.^m
23 Showing forthⁿ the age of the just,
you make the light shine^o
before the morning^p light upon your creation
"from your face"
to spend the day^q on the earth,^r
and in your heavenly dwelling place
(there is) an inexhaustible light of an invincible^s dawning
from the light^t of your face.
24 Accept my prayer "and delight in it,"
and (accept) also the sacrifice which you yourself made
to yourself through me as I searched for you.
25 Receive me favorably,
teach me, show me, and make known to your servant
what you have promised me.

b. That is, the surface is undulating up and down.
c. A B C K add "with me." B has a marginal note, incorporated into the text of K: "The first song of Abraham which the holy angel Iael taught him when he was traveling with him about the air, crying out like this."
d. Only S retains "El."
e. Gk. *autoteleios* or *autotelēs*.
f. Assuming original *samosvētine*, Gk. *autoboulētos*, rather than the derivationally implausible *samosvētine*. An inept calque of the Gk. *autophōs* or *autophōtos*, "absolute light," is not impossible, however.
g. Slav. *bezrodine* is probably Gk. *agennētos* or *agenealōgētos* (cf. Heb 7:3), but it could also mean "without kin."
h. A B C K all distort this form and add a gloss: "that is, my God."
i. S only.
j. Possibly a compound, "shining with fire," Gk. *pyrophengēs*, *pyrophlogos*.

k. S omits from here to end of first clause in vs. 22.
l. Or "hold you by the compassing."
m. The translation of vss. 21f. can only be approximate, for the grammatical relations are ambiguous.
n. D *projavljaja*; A B C K *ponovljaja*, an innovated form for expected old *ponavljaja*, "renewing, restoring."
o. Or "you, the light, shine."
p. S *utrinimū*; A B C D K *vnuurimimū*, "inner."
q. S omits.
r. Or possibly "by your face, through the agency of your countenance."
s. Or "continue through the day."
t. D *nepobēdima* (S *nepovēdimo*, surely with v for b, and with incorrect ending); A B C K *neispovēdima*, a late form (for *neispovēdoma*), "indescrivable, unexpressible."
u. A C; S D B K plural "lights."
v. S omits.

18 And as I was still reciting the song, the mouth^a of the fire which was on the firmament^b was rising up on high. •And I heard a voice like the roaring of the sea, and it did not cease from the plenitude of the fire. •And as the fire rose up, soaring to the highest point, I saw under the fire a throne of fire ^cand the many-eyed ones round about, reciting the song, under the throne four fiery living creatures, singing. ^{Ezek 1:6-12,23}

4.5 And the appearance of each of them was the same, each having four faces. •And this (was) the aspect of their faces: of a lion, ^dof a man, ^eof an ox, ^fand of an eagle. Each one had four heads ^gon its body so that the four living creatures had sixteen faces. •And each one had ^hsix wings: two on the shoulders, two halfway down, and two at the loins. •With the wings which were on their shoulders they covered their faces, with the wings at their loins they clothed their feet, and they would stretch the two middle wings out and fly, erect. ⁱ•And when they finished singing, they would look at one another and threaten one another. •And it came to pass when the angel who was with me saw that they were threatening each other, he left me and went running to them. •And he turned the face of each living creature from the face which was opposite it so that they could not see each other's faces threatening each other. •And he taught them the song of peace which the Eternal One has in himself. ^h•And while I was still standing and watching, I saw behindⁱ the living creatures a chariot with fiery wheels. Each wheel was full of eyes round about. •And above the wheels was the throne which I had seen. And it was covered with fire and the fire encircled it round about, and an indescribable light^j surrounded the fiery crowd. ^k•And I heard the voice of their sanctification^l like the voice of a single man. ^{Ezek 1:15-25; 10:6-12}

14 •And I heard the voice of their sanctification^l like the voice of a single man. ^{Ezek 1:26-28}

19 And a voice came to me out of the midst of the fire, saying, "Abraham, Abraham!" •And I said, "Here I am!" •And he said, "Look at the expanses^a which are under the firmament to which you have now been directed and see that on no single expanse is there any other but the one whom you have searched for or who has loved you." •And while he was still speaking, behold, the expanses under me, the heavens, opened and I saw on the seventh firmament upon which I stood a fire spread out^b and a light^c and dew^d and a multitude of angels and a host of the invisible glory, ^eand up above^f the living creatures I had seen; I saw no one else there. •And I looked from on high, where I was standing, downward to the sixth firmament. •And I saw there a multitude of spiritual angels, incorporeal, carrying out the orders of the fiery angels who were on the eighth^f firmament, as

18 a. Perhaps for Gk. *cheilos* in the sense of "edge, brink," i.e. the fire is envisioned as a brimming lake or river.

b. Or "expanse," see n. to 19:3, below.

c. Ambiguous as to whether *ot ognja*, "from fire," describes the throne or the "many-eyed ones" (Gk. *polymmatōi*), or both; or perhaps the creatures were standing at a distance, "away from the fire."

d. S *člveč* for *člověči*, "of a human being"; D A B C K *mužesk*, "of a male," placed after "of an ox," perhaps under the influence of Rev 4:7.

e. As in Heb. Ezek 1:10; LXX has "calf," as does Rev 4:7.

f. S omits because of homoeoteleuton.

g. The last clause is faulty and obscure. The final word is *prosti*, "simple," but may mean "upright."

h. Obscure; unclear whether "self" refers to the Eternal One or the angel, and whether "which" refers to "song" or "peace."

i. Or "following after."

j. If *světú*; possibly, however, *súvětú*, "council."

k. Or "nation." Also possible: "an indescribable light (or council) of the fiery crowd (or nation)

surrounded (it)." The text is probably corrupt.

l. Or "acclamation," Gk. *hagiasmos*, cf. 16:3 above.

19 a. Three Slav. roots underlie synonyms for "heaven" that probably stand for three Gk. words. *Tvirđi* (19:6, well-known elsewhere) and *tvirdisvo* (19:4) with a variant *tvirdstvie* (19:8) and both known only from ApAb, surely translate *stereōma*, "firmament." *Protjaženie*, "a pulling out tightly," and *prostirtie*, "a spreading out broadly," doubtless reflect forms based on Gk. *ten*. Here *prostirtie* is rendered "firmament" (18:1; 19:3, 6; 21:1, 2) and *protjaženie* "expanse" (19:3, 4; 21:1); but the plural, *prostirtija*, at 15:4 is rendered "expanses."

b. Or "a widespread fire."

c. B adds "great" in the margin; K places it in the text. Cf. n. c to 17:7.

d. Slav. *rosu*; D *ručku*, "vessel, container."

e. S A C K *ot svyše*, D *i tú svyše*, B *i svyše*; perhaps something has been omitted.

f. Surely for "sixth"; the Glagolitic letter-symbol for 8 corresponds to the Cyrillic letter whose numerical value is 6. S has other indications of a fore-text written in Glagolitic.

7 I was standing on its elevation (?)^a. •And lo, neither on this firmament was there in any shape any other host, but only the spiritual angels. •And the host I saw on the seventh firmament commanded the sixth firmament and it removed itself. ^b•I saw there, on the fifth (firmament), hosts^c of stars, and the orders they were commanded to carry out, and the elements^d of earth obeying them.

20 And the Eternal, Mighty One said to me, "Abraham, Abraham!" •And I said, "Here I am!" •And he said, "Look from on high^a at the stars which are beneath you and count them for me and tell me their number!" •And I said, "When can I? For I am a man." ^b•And he said to me, "As the number of the stars and their power^c so shall I place for^d your seed the nations and men, set apart for me in my lot with Azazel." ^e•And I said, "Eternal and Mighty One. Let your servant speak before you and let your fury not rage against your chosen one. •Behold, before you led me up, Azazel^f insulted me. How then, since he is now not before you, did you establish^g yourself with them?" ^h

21 And he said to me, "Look now beneath your feet at the firmament and understand the creation that was depicted of old^a on this expanse, (and) the creatures which are in it^b and the age^c prepared after it." ^d•And I looked beneath the firmament at my feet and I saw the likeness of heaven^e and the things that were therein.

3 And (I saw) there the earth and its fruit, and its moving things and its things that had souls, and its host^f of men and the impiety of their souls and their justification, ^gand their pursuit^h of their worksⁱ and the abyss and its torments, ^jand its lower depths and (the) perdition in it. •And I saw there the sea and its islands, and its cattle and its fish, and Leviathan and his realm and his bed and his lairs, and the world^k which lay upon him, and his motions and the destruction he caused the world. ^k•I saw there the rivers and their upper (reaches) and their circles.

6 And I saw there the garden^l of Eden and its fruits, and the source and the river flowing from it, and its trees and their flowering, making fruits, and I saw men doing justice^m in it, their food and their rest.

7 And I saw there a great crowd of men and women and children, half of them

g. Unclear; the word appears to mean lit. "suspensions."

h. Or "to remove itself."

i. "Hosts" here and "host" in vss. 4, 7, 8 above could be translated "powers" or "power."

j. Gk. *stoicheia*.

20 a. Explicitly contrasts with the "look up" of Gen 15:5.

b. B K add "earth and ashes" from LXX Gen 18:27. A C harmonize further by omitting "man."

c. Or "host."

d. Or "to," or perhaps "under."

e. Possibly "the lot [Gk. *klēros*] belonging to me and Azazel." S is slightly corrupt, and the others may represent some sort of modification of the original text.

f. Possibly "before Azazel led me up, he."

g. Or "support" or "secure."

h. S D *sū nimi*. (A?) B C K *sū nimū* "with him." The whole sentence is obscure.

21 a. Lit. "formerly shadowed," with a unique verb D *stēnovanuju*. S corrupt, A B C K *stēnevanuju*, cf. *stēni*, "shadow" which may be a clumsy calque of Gk. *skiagraphēin*, "sketch, outline, depict; prefigure, foreshadow."

b. Viz. "creation."

c. S (D "unto the age, forever"); A B C K "ages."

d. Or "according to it (creation)." The sentence is obscure, not least because *ivari* is used apparently both for "creation" and "creature."

e. D A B C K *podobie nebesa*; S corrupt, *podū 6 nbsē*, roughly "under 6th heaven" (less likely "under 6 heavens"), but ungrammatical. The original text was surely *acc. podūnebesie*, Gk. *tēn hyp' ouranon*, i.e. "I saw (the terrestrial world) beneath the sky."

f. Or "power."

g. S omits because of homoeoteleuton.

h. Gk. *epitēdeumata*.

i. Perhaps a gloss; in S it stands after "lower depths and perdition."

j. Or "inhabited world," *oikoumenē*.

k. Lit. "destructions to the world because of him."

l. Slav. *sadū*, usually "plant," Gk. *phyton*; "tree," Gk. *dendron*; here probably "newly planted area." At 12:10 Eden is *vertepū, kēpos*, at 23:4 *ovošćtnikū*, "orchard."

m. Slav. *pravdu dějuščixū* is not found elsewhere. *Pravida* is "righteousness, justice, rule, truth"; *dikaioσynē, dikaion, dikaiōma, alētheia*.

on the right side of the portrayal, and half of them on the left side of the portrayal.¹

22 And I said, "Eternal, Mighty One! What is this picture of creation?" And he said to me, "This is my will with regard to what is^a in the light^b and it was^c good before my face. And then, afterward, I gave them^d a command by my word and they came into existence. Whatever I had decreed was to exist had already been outlined^e in this^f and all the previously created (things) you have seen stood^g before me." And I said, "O sovereign, mighty and eternal! Why are the people in this picture on this side and on that?" And he said to me, "These who are on the left side are a multitude of tribes who existed previously . . . and after you^h some (who have been) prepared for judgment and order,ⁱ others for revenge and perdition at the end of the age. Those on the right side of the picture are the people set apart for me of the people with Azazel; these are the ones I have prepared to be born of you and to be called my people.

23 "Look^a again at the picture: Who is the one who seduced Eve, and what is the fruit of the tree?^b And you will know what will be and how much will be for your seed^c in the last days. And what you cannot understand,^d I will make known to you because you have been pleasing before my face and I will tell you what I have kept in my heart." And I looked at the picture, and my eyes ran to the side of the garden of Eden. And I saw there a man very great in height and terrible in breadth, incomparable in aspect, entwined with a woman who was also equal to the man in aspect and size. And they were standing under a tree^f of Eden, and the fruit of the tree was like the appearance of a bunch of grapes of the vine.^g And behind the tree was standing (something) like a dragon in form, but having hands and feet like a man's, on his back six wings on the right and six on the left. And he was holding the grapes of the tree^f and feeding^h them to the two I saw entwined with each other. And I said, "Who are these two entwined with each other, or who is this between them, and what is the fruit which they are eating, Mighty One, Eternal?" And he said, "This is the worldⁱ of men,^j this is Adam and this is their thought^k on earth, this is Eve. And he who is between them is the impiety of their behavior^l untoⁿ perdition, Azazel himself."^m And I said, "Eternal,

n. Slav. *obrazstvo*, attested only here, must be more than *obrazū*, "image," Gk. *eikōn*, *typos*, implying a suffixed Gk. form like *eikonisma* or *eikonismos*.

22 a. Slav. *kā susčemu*, lit. "toward that which is (or exists)," possible Gk. *pros* (or *eis*, *epi*) to *onta*.

b. *fi svētū*; possibly *sūvētū*, "council, counsel."

c. Lit. "became, came to be."

d. The text of the previous sentence is probably corrupt; in any case it provides no clear referent for this plural pronoun.

e. S *načerta sja*; others inappropriately *načertaša*, "they outlined."

f. S B K imply original *vū semī*, although the reference is not clear; distorted in D A C to *vsemū*, "to all."

g. Or "came to stand, took position."

h. Or "because of, through you." The following phrases are in the acc., so loss of a preceding verb must be assumed.

i. Slav. *ustrojenie*, "ordering, being put in order; restoration."

23 a. D A B C K *posmotri*; S *po smotrenii*, "after a look."

b. Slav. *dreva*; A C *črēva*, "of the womb."

c. S differs: "for your name among people."

d. S "days of the age, or how one cannot understand."

e. Or "the things that."

f. Slav. *sadū*, not specifically a tree, cf. n. 1 to ch. 21.

g. Slav. *vinična*, probably "of a wild vine"; A K *finična*, "of the palm [Gk. *phoinix*]," is surely secondary within Slav.

h. B C *zalašaše*, a verb with the specialized sense "put morsels of food into the mouth of someone" (a meaning preserved in Serbo-Croatian), other MSS distorted because this meaning was unknown. Bonwetsch (*Die Apokalypse Abrahams*) and Box and Landsman (*The Apocalypse of Abraham*) ignored the grammar and completely mistranslated the sentence. Here the serpent explicitly is feeding the fruit both to Adam and to Eve.

i. Slav. *svētū* only rarely means "world." Gk. *kosmos*, ordinarily rendering "light," *phōs*, *phenogōs*, *photismos*. Or this may be *sūvētū*, "council, counsel."

j. Or "of man, human."

k. Slav. *pomyšlenie* is "thought" in any possible sense, including "intention, plan" or negative "plot, evil design," and "desire."

l. Slav. *načinanija*, lit. "deed, act, doing."

m. D omits.

n. S A K *vū*; B C omit, making "perdition" an apposition with "impiety" and "Azazel."

Mighty One, why then did you adjudge him such dominion that through his works he could ruin humankind on earth?" And he said to me, "Hear, Abraham! Those who desire evil, and all whom I have hated as they commit^a them^b—over them did I give him dominion, and he was to be beloved of them." And I answered and said, "Eternal, Mighty One! Why did it please you to bring it about that evil should be desired in the heart of man, because you are angered^d at what was chosen by you . . . him who does useless things^e in your light (?)."

24 And he said to me thus, "Close^a to the nations . . . for your sake and for the sake of those set apart after you, the people of your tribe, as you will see in the picture, what is burdened^b them. And I will explain to you what will be, and everything that will be in the last days. Look now at everything in the picture." And I looked and saw there the creatures that had come into being^c before me. And I saw, as it were,^d Adam, and Eve who was with him, and with them the crafty adversary and Cain, who had been led by the adversary to break the law, and (I saw) the murdered Abel (and) the perdition brought on him and given through the lawless one.^e And I saw there fornication^f and those who desired it, and its defilement and their zeal; and the fire of their corruption in the lower depths of the earth. And I saw there theft and those who hasten after it, and the system of their retribution, the judgment of the great court.^g I saw there naked men, forehead to forehead, and their shame and the harm (they wrought) against their friends and their retribution. And I saw there desire,^h and in her hand (was) the head of every kind of lawlessness; and her tormentⁱ and her dispersal^k destined to destruction.

25 I saw there the likeness of the idol of jealousy, like a carpenter's figure such as my father used to make, and its body was of glittering copper,^a and before it a man, and he was worshiping it. And (there was) an altar opposite it and boys being slaughtered on it in the face of the idol. And I said to him, "What is this idol, or what is the altar, or who are those being sacrificed, or who is the sacrificer, or what is the handsome temple which I see, the art and beauty^b of your glory that lies beneath your throne?" And he said, "Hear, Abraham! This temple which

o. Reading *vūvorjaščixū* as acc. plural, whereby the sense of the prefix is unclear. Or perhaps "everything I hated in those who commit," reading *vūvorjaščixū* as a prepositional phrase.

p. The plural pronoun has no obvious referent; it might be an error and somehow refer to "evil," or there may be an omission here.

q. The rest of the sentence is obscure, probably corrupt.

r. S D *na izvolenoē tebě*; A B C K *na izvolenie tebě* is meaningless.

s. Slav. *dělajuščemu nepoleznoje* is clear, but the only possible dat. that could agree is *tebě*, which would mean "by you who are doing useless things." Could Abraham be upbraiding God? If not, there must be a lacuna here.

t. S has *nū svētšvojemī*, which could be emended to a plausible *svētšvijemī* and mean "but through your radiance"; this phrase precedes *dělajuščemu*. The D A B C K *vū svētšvojemī*, "in your light [or world; or counsel, council]," could well be secondary, an attempt to repair an incomprehensible passage.

24 a. The text is corrupt and at some point there must be omissions. Perhaps "thus" goes with "close." The notion of anger introduced by Bonwetsch and copied by Box and Landsman is totally absent from the passage.

b. Slav. *utjažičenaja*, possibly "things which have been made grievous against"; grammatical connection with the preceding text is not clear.

c. Or "what had come into being in creation."

d. Slav. *jako*, "as," Gk. *hōs*.

e. Slav. *bezakonnikomī*, presumably an echo of the description of Cain just before, *vragomī bezakoninovavūšago Kaina*.

f. I.e. Gk. *porneia*.

g. S omits.

h. Slav. *želanie*, a neuter, but the following possessives are feminine, surely reflecting mechanical translation of pronouns referring to Gk. *epithymia*.

i. S omits to end of the sentence.

j. D *mučenie*, Gk. *martyrion*, *basanos*, *timōria*; A B C K *molčanie*, "silence," Gk. *hēsychia*, is surely secondary, a scribal slip in the fore-text common to the Palaia MSS.

k. Slav. *rastočenie*, usually renders the Gk. *diaskorpismos*, but also possibly "alienation," *ekpōiēsis*, or "abortion."

l. Slav. *predajemo*, lit. "being given over."

25 a. Or "bronze." Gk. *chalkos*.

b. None of the MSS is quite grammatical. Perhaps emend to *dobrolēpinu xyrostijū i krasotoju*, "handsome [Gk. *euprepēs*] with the art and beauty."

you have seen, the altar and the works of art, this is my idea of the priesthood of the name of my glory, where every petition of man^c will enter and dwell; the ascent of kings^d and prophets and whatever sacrifice I decree to be made for me among my coming people, even of your tribe. • And the body^e you saw is my anger, because the people who will come to me out of you will make me angry. • And the man you saw slaughtering is he who angers me, and the sacrifice is a killing of those who are for me a testimony of the judgment of the completion at the beginning of creation.”

¹ **26** And I said, “Eternal, Mighty One! Why did you establish it to be so and to call on the testimonies of this one?” • And he said to me, “Hear, Abraham, and understand what I will explain to you, and answer whatever I ask you. • Why did your father Terah not obey your voice and abandon the demonic worship of idols until he perished, and all his house with him?” • And I said, “Eternal, Mighty One, surely because it did not please him to obey me, nor did I follow his works.” • And he said to me, “Hear, Abraham. As the counsel^a of your father is in him, as your counsel is in you, so also the counsel of my will is ready.^b • In days^c to come you will not know them in advance, nor the future (men) you will see with your own eyes that^d they are of your seed. • Look at the picture!”

¹ **27** And I looked and I saw, and behold the picture swayed. And from its left side a crowd of heathens^a ran out and they captured the men, women, and children who were on its right side. • ² And some they slaughtered^b and others they kept with them. • Behold, I saw (them) running to them^c by way of four ascents^d and they burned the Temple with fire, and they plundered the holy things that were in it. • And I said, “Eternal One, the people you received from me are being robbed by the hordes of the heathen. • They are killing some and holding others as aliens, and they burned the Temple with fire and they are stealing^e and destroying^f the beautiful things which are in it. • Eternal, Mighty One! If this is so, why now^g have you afflicted my heart and why will it be so?” • And he said to me, “Listen, Abraham, all that you have seen will happen on account of your seed who will (continually) provoke me because of the body^g which you saw and the murder in what was depicted in the Temple of jealousy, and everything you saw^h will be so.”^h • And I said, “Eternal, Mighty One! Let the evil works (done) in iniquity now pass by; but make commandments in themⁱ more than his^j just works. • For you can do this.” • And he said to me, “Again the time of justice will come upon them, at first through the holiness^k of kings. • And I will judge with justice^l those whom I created earlier,^m to rule from them in them. • And from these same ones will come men who will have regard forⁿ them, as^o I announced to you and you saw.”

c. Specifically “male.”

d. S D; A B K “kingdoms”; C by error “temple.”

e. Or “statue.”

²⁶ a. S D A C have *světū*, “light,” but B specifies *sūvēt* and K the newer spelling *sūvētū*, “counsel, council.” B K thus believed that “light” was inappropriate here.

b. Or “prepared.”

c. From this point D departs radically from other MSS, reducing the rest of the work to a dozen lines made up of recognizable phrases from later chs., but utterly incoherent and therefore useless for our purposes.

d. Or “for, since.” The sentence is not clear.

²⁷ a. Or “a heathen people.”

b. S omits because of homoeoteleuton.

c. Slav. *prīekšaja*, “(them) running,” probably is the heathen, while “to them” denotes the victims; but the passage is not clear.

d. S *sūxody*, “descents, goings down”; A B C

K *vūxody*, “entrances, goings in”; philologically also *vūxody*, “ascents, goings up,” or *isxody*, “exits, goings out,” are justifiable, cf. also 28:4, 5 below and Ladlac 5, n. d. The acc. numeral *četyri* here makes no sense (“four descents running”); instrumental *četyrimi* is to be posited.

e. S omits.

f. A B C K “from now.”

g. Or “statue.”

h. A B C K omit.

i. S *zapovědi stvori vū nixū*, probably corrupt.

Others are not much better, *zapovědi stvorivūšixū*, “those who have made commandments”; but neither acc. nor gen. fits the context.

j. Reference unclear. This whole sentence is garbled and probably has lost words or phrases.

k. Archaic *prēpodobie*, Gk. *hosiotēs*, simplified in A B C K to *podobie*, “semblance.”

l. Slav. *vū pravdě*, lit. “in justice.”

m. Or “at first.”

n. Slav. *potūščati*, probably Gk. *spoudazein*.

o. Or “inasmuch as.”

¹ **28** And I answered and said, “Mighty, Eternal One, you who are sanctified by your power, be merciful in my petition, since for this you informed me^a and showed me. • Since you have brought me up on to your height, therefore inform me,^a your beloved, about whatever I ask: Will what I saw be their lot^b for long?”

^{3,4} And he showed me a multitude of his people. • And he said to me, “For this reason (it is) through the four ascents^c you saw^d (that) my anger will be because of them,^e and in them will be retribution^f for their works. • And in the fourth ascent^g is one hundred years. And one hour of the age will also be one hundred years^h in evil among the heathenⁱ and an hour in their mercy, even with reproaches as among the heathen.”^j

¹ **29** And I said, “Eternal, Mighty^a One! How long a time is an hour of the age?”

² And he said, “I decreed to keep twelve periods of the impious age among the heathens and^b among your seed, and what you have seen will be^b until the end of

^{3,4} time. • Count (it) up, and you will understand. • Look down at the picture.” • And I looked^c and saw a man going out from the left, the heathen side. From the side of the heathen went out men and women and children, a great crowd, and they

⁵ worshiped him. • And while I was still looking, those on the right side came out,

⁶ and some insulted this man, and some struck him and others worshiped him. • And I saw that as they worshiped him Azazel ran and worshiped and, kissing his face,

⁷ he turned and stood behind him. • And I said, “Eternal, Mighty One! Who is this

⁸ man insulted and beaten by the heathen, with Azazel worshiped?”^a • And he answered and said, “Hear, Abraham, the man whom you saw insulted and beaten and again worshiped is the liberation^e from the heathen for the people who will

⁹ be (born) from you. • In the last days, in this twelfth hour of impiety, in the twelfth period of the age of my fulfillment,^f I will set up this man from your tribe, the one

¹⁰ whom you have seen from my people. • All will imitate him, . . . (you) consider^g

¹¹ him as one called by me . . . (they) are changed^h in their counsels.ⁱ • And those you saw coming out from the left side of the picture and worshiping him, this

¹² (means that) many of the heathen will trust in him. • And those of your seed you saw on the right side, some insulting him, some beating him, and others worshiping

¹³ him, many of them shall be offended^j because of him. • It is he who will test those of your seed who have worshiped him in the fulfillment of the twelfth hour, in the

²⁸ a. S omits because of homoeoteleuton.

b. Lit. “will what I saw be to them.”

c. S B C K *sxody*, “descents”; A *isxody*, “exists”; cf. n. d to ch. 27.

d. S A C K “which you saw”; B “as you saw.”

e. Obscure. Lit. “will be to me from them anger (or angering).”

f. S B C K *vūzdanie*; A *vzderlanie*, “restraint.”

g. S *sxodū*, “descent”; A B C K *vxod*, “entrance”; cf. n. c.

h. C omits to end of vs.; but a mark in the MS leads one to expect a marginal note that is not visible in the microfilm.

i. S omits rest of sentence because of homoeoteleuton.

j. Sense of last clause is obscure.

²⁹ a. S omits.

b. Ambiguous, could be “what you have seen will be among your seed even.”

c. S omits.

d. This sentence is obscure and may well be corrupt; the translation is strictly literal and retains the original word order. Two opposite interpretations are possible. In one, the phrase “with Azazel” is construed with “by the heathen” to mean that the heathen are being aided by Azazel in insulting,

beating, and, presumably, also worshiping the man. In the other, “with Azazel” is construed with the following participle to mean that both Azazel and the man are being worshiped.

e. Slav. *oslaba*, “liberation, security, relaxation.” Gk. *adeia*, *anesis*.

f. Slav. *sūkončanie*, “ending, completion, consummation.” Gk. *symplērōsis*, *plērōsis*, *synleleia*.

g. Slav. *prīūči*, apparently imperative of *prīūknuti*, “push, touch, prove,” which furnishes the stem for the noun *prīūča*, “comparison, proverb,” and related words. The connection of this clause with the context is obscure.

h. This clause is corrupt, and omissions must be assumed. The nom. plural present participle *preminujušče sja* has no subject; and it requires emendation. Assuming the Novgorod substitution of *i* for *ě* (well attested in all MSS elsewhere), *preminujušče sja* means “being exchanged for, turning into.” Alternatively, the reflexive particle *sja* may be suppressed, yielding the sense “passing by, going past.”

i. The reflexive possessive may refer to the lost subject of the participle, or to some other possessor not preserved in the context. Instead of “counsels,” the meaning may be “lights” or possibly “worlds.”

j. Or “led into error,” Gk. *skandalizontai*.

14 curtailing of the age of impiety. • Before the age of justice starts to grow,^k my judgment will come upon the heathen who have acted wickedly through the people
15 of your seed^l who have been set apart for me. • In those days I will bring upon all earthly creation ten plagues through evil and disease and the groaning of the
16 bitterness of their souls. • Such will I bring upon the generations of those who are on it,^m out of anger and corruption of their creationⁿ with which they provoke me.
17 And then from your seed will be left the righteous men in their number, protected by me, who strive^o in^p the glory of my name toward the place prepared beforehand
18 for them, which you saw deserted in the picture. • And they will live, being affirmed by the sacrifices and the gifts of justice and truth in the age of justice. • And they will rejoice forever in me, and they will destroy those who have destroyed them,
19 they will rebuke those who have rebuked them through their mockery, and they will spit in their faces. • Those rebuked^q by me when they are to see me rejoicing^r
20 with my people for those who rejoice and receive and truly return^s to me. • See, Abraham, what you have seen, hear^t what you have heard, know what you have known.^u Go to your inheritance! And behold I am with you forever.”^v

1 **30** And while he was still speaking, I found myself on the earth, and I said, “Eternal, Mighty One, I am no longer in the glory in which I was above, and all
2 that my soul desired to understand in my heart I do not understand.” • And he said to me, “I will explain to you the things you desired in your heart, for you have sought^a to know the ten^b plagues^c which I prepared against the heathen, and I
3 prepared them beforehand in^d the passing of the twelve hours on earth. • Hear what I tell you, it will be thus. • The first: sorrow from much need. The second: fiery
4 conflagrations for the cities. • The third: destruction by pestilence^e among the cattle. • The fourth: famine of the world, of their generation.^f • The fifth: among the rulers,
5 destruction by earthquake and the sword. The sixth: increase of hail and snow. • The seventh: wild beasts will be their grave. The eighth: pestilence and hunger
6 will change their destruction.^g • The ninth: execution by the sword and flight in distress. The tenth: thunder, voices, and destroying earthquakes.

1 **31** “And then I will sound the trumpet out of the air, and I will send my chosen one, having in him one measure of all my power, and he will summon my people,

k. This clause may belong to the preceding sentence.

l. It is possible to read “of your seed” as describing the heathen.

m. Presumably on earth.

n. Slav. *tvari*, “creation, creature, creatures”; but also Gk. *epitēdeuma*, perhaps then ultimately here (as in Ezek 20:39) Heb. *glwlym*, “idols.” Yet the whole vs. is obscure, and may well be corrupt.

o. Or “hastening,” Gk. *spoudazontes*.

p. S *vū*, “in”; A B C K *kū*, “toward.” Either could be secondary.

q. Passage unclear; it is possible that the ones who “will be spitting in their faces” are identical with those “being rebuked.”

r. Grammatical agreement fails here and the connections of this and the following participles cannot be established with certainty; the whole verse is corrupt.

s. S *obrazujuščix sja*, “forming themselves, being formed (shaped, depicted)”; B K *obraščajuščix sja* (acc. or gen.), A C *-im sja* (dat.), “returning, turning back, converting.”

t. S omits.

u. S omits.

v. At this point A B C K insert a long passage beginning “And the Lord said to him from the clouds: ‘Abraham, I am the Lord himself, maker

of heaven and earth.’” In the earlier Palaia which does not contain ApAb this passage is an independent unit, which is introduced by the sentence: “This is written out of the Book of the Sons of Jacob [is knigū iže sutl ljakovičij].” The passage has some echoes from earlier parts of ApAb, then specific reference to 29:11f., 14, 15, 19, 20, but simplified. (Porfir’ev prints this much in his edition of K, p. 129.) These quotations, or rather paraphrases, are then explicated in the anti-Jewish Christian polemic manner usual in the Palaia commentaries.

30 a. A B C K *iskalū*; S by error *skazalū*, “explained.”

b. All *desjatyja*, acc. plural “tenth,” surely by error for *desjať*, “ten,” but perhaps this is a sign of a more serious corruption.

c. S *vredy* (from *vrédū*), “wound, ulcer, illness; hurt, harm,” Gk. *blabē*; A B C K *věry*, “faiths.” The word translated “plague” in 29:15 is *jazva*, “wound,” Gk. *plēgē*.

d. A B C K v; S *po*, “after.”

e. S gen. *mora*; A B C K nom. *morū*, making it appositive to “destruction.”

f. Obscure.

g. Obscure; possibly means “take turns in causing destruction,” but this cannot be certain.

2 humiliated by the heathen. • And I will burn with fire^a those who mocked them and ruled over them in this age^b and I will deliver those who have covered me with
3 mockery over to the scorn^c of the coming^d age. • Because I have prepared them^e (to be) food for the fire of Hades, and (to be) ceaseless soaring in the air of the
4 underworld (regions)^f of the uttermost depths,^g (to be) the contents^h of a wormy belly. • For the makersⁱ will see in them^j justice, (the makers) who have chosen my
5 desire and manifestly kept my commandments, and they will rejoice with merry-making over the downfall of the men who remain and who followed^k after the
6 idols and after their murders. • For they shall putrefy in the belly of the crafty
7 worm Azazel, and be burned by the fire of Azazel’s tongue. • For I waited so they
8 might come to me, and they did not deign to. • And they glorified an alien (god).
9 And they joined one to whom they had not been allotted, and they abandoned the Lord who gave them strength.^l

1 **32** “Therefore, hear, Abraham, and see, behold your seventh generation shall
2 go with you. • And they will go out into an alien land. • And they will enslave^a Gen 15:13
3 them and oppress them as for one hour of the impious age. • But of the nation
4 whom they shall serve^b I am the judge.”^c • And the Lord said this too,^d “Have you
5 heard, Abraham, what I told you, what your tribe will encounter in the last days?”
6 Abraham, having heard, accepted the words of God in his heart.

31 a. S *ognmī*; A B C K *s nīmī*, “with him.”

b. Slav. *vū věkū*, “in an age, for an age” (or “the age”), but usually “forever,” Gk. *eis aiōnion*.

c. Slav. *ukorizništvo*, unique to this passage; not clearly different from usual *ukorū* or *ukorizna*, “shame, mockery, derision, reproach.”

d. S *nastajuščago*, a rare word; A B C K substitute the ordinary *nastajuščego*, “present” (which is used for Gk. *epiousios* in the Lord’s Prayer).

e. S *ry*; A B C K to “this.”

f. S *podzemnymū*, dat. plural adjective, “underworld, subterrestrial”; A B C K *pod zemnymi*, “under the earthy,” with an instrumental plural noun to be supplied.

g. S ends here; the rest of ApAb is transmitted only in the Palaia texts.

h. C *napolnenie*, “filling”; B adds *ploda*, “fruit,” which might mean “fullness of/with fruit” but the syntax is odd; A has past passive participle *napolnenny* (acc.), “filled”; K has nom. *napolneni*, plus *ploda*, “filled with (the) fruit.” Translation assumes *plod* is a gloss to explain *napolnenie*.

i. Slav. *tvorici*, “doers,” Gk. *poiētoi*.

j. Reference unclear.

k. The participle *sedūše* lacks agreement, but this is a common fault of Slavonic MSS. It is probably to be taken as gen. referring to the same people as the previous clause. If it is nom. and belongs with the next clause, then the conjunction *bo*, “for,” is inappropriate.

l. Accepting either A *vozmogšago ja*, “having

strengthened them,” or C *vozmoguščago ja*, “strengthening them”; B *vūzmūščago sja*, “who became a man [adult], gained courage,” does not fit; and K *vozmogšaščago* is meaningless.

32 a. The text gives no clue that the subject of this sentence is different from that of the preceding and following sentences, but perhaps this represents secondary harmonization with LXX Gen 15:13.

b. Lit. “to whom they will be slaves,” not exactly either LXX or Heb. Gen 15:14.

c. Lit. “I am the one who judges,” reflecting Heb. *dn* translated as (*ho*) *krinōn*.

d. The exact end of ApAb is not certain. Porfir’ev printed vss. 5, 6 in his edition of K (p. 130). Tikhonravov, however, excluded them from his edition of A, surely because he considered them additions made by the editors of the Palaia. To be sure, these two sentences do occur in the older Palaia, following the text referred to above in n. v to ch. 29, but in the absence of detailed studies of the Abraham material in different redactions of the Palaia, it is premature to make a final judgment. After the two sentences, the older Palaia says: “After this, it is said, Abraham rose up (to go) to Egypt because of the famine,” and continues with a paraphrase of Gen 12:14–20 about Sarah and Pharaoh. B C (and presumably A K, which are not available), on the other hand, quote Gen 12:1–3 and paraphrase in some detail the following account.